

N Á R O D O P I S N Á

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NATIONAL MINORITY ORGANISATIONS IN PRAGUE: STRUCTURE, COMPETENCE AND SOCIAL ACTIVITIES

Andrej Sulitka – Zdeněk Uherek (*Institute of Ethnology, Czech Academy of Sciences*)

A survey among members of national minorities in Prague, its goals and methodology

National minorities in the Czech Republic are settled dispersedly throughout the country and do not create spatially bounded large enclaves, except for the Polish minority in the Těšínsko area. All of them create numerous formalized structures whose number has increased since 1990 in accordance with the already invalid legal regulation on associations, which expired on January 1st, 2014.¹ As of December 31st 2014, the Ministry of the Interior, according to the Government Report on the situation of national minorities in 2013, registered altogether 771 civic associations that declared a focus on national minorities in their statutes.² There are no more detailed data available indicating the number of real active organizations from the above summary. As well as this, any data about the number of such organizations are not available even if their seat is bound especially to Prague.

The aim of this contribution is to point out the minorities' organizational structures as well as the priorities of their activity, and to explain the attitudes of representatives of minorities to the situation of heterogeneity of clubs and associations inside their minorities. To define the object-matter we used the definition of the term "national minority" as stated by the contemporary Czech legal order, or Act No. 273/2001 Coll. on rights of members of national minorities and amendment of some acts, as amended. The Act says that "*a national minority is a community of the citizens of the Czech Republic living in the territory of the contemporary Czech Republic, who differ from other citizens mostly by their common ethnic origin, language, culture and traditions, form a numerical minority of inhabitants and show their will to be considered a national minority.*" (Act No. 273/2001 Coll. §2). We understood this formulation as a binding one with the conviction that: "The definition of the term 'minority' is one of the most complicated issues in legal protection of national minorities" (Scheu 2009). Recently, its complexity, historical changeability, contextuality and situationality have been discussed mainly by the research

team from the Faculty of Law, Charles University, under the leadership of Prof. Jan Kuklík (e.g. Kuklík, Petráš 2014; Kuklík, Němeček 2013). However, our approach was based - besides the legal theory – especially on the contemporary practice of the exercise of minority rights, as implemented by the Czech Government Council for National Minorities. In accordance with the above, we focused on minorities represented in the Council and acting in Prague.

We ground our arguments on the data acquired during the survey among selected representatives of national minority organizations working in Prague, in particular Belarussian, Bulgarian, Hungarian, German, Polish, Roma, Ruthenian, Russian, Greek, Slovak, Serbian, Ukrainian and Vietnamese minorities.³ The survey ran in July / August 2014. It was to scrutinize the organizational structure of national minority organizations in Prague and to gain knowledge on the terms and conditions for work of national minority associations within the present legal settings of the Czech Republic. As to the survey methodology, let us mention that representatives of national minorities, whose organizations have their seat in the House of National Minorities (hereinafter referred to as HNM) as well as outside this institution received a larger questionnaire with the request to complete it.⁴ The respondents were offered the option to conduct interviews according to the scheme of the questionnaire. The questionnaire was distributed by means of electronic mail to nearly 50 addresses but its rate of return with filled-in answers was low (approx. 10 %). Therefore, at least one representative was chosen from each minority organization having its seat in the HNM with whom a guided interview was held.⁵ The representatives of particular organizations who took part in the dialogue are mostly also functionaries of these organizations. The interviews were conducted by the authors of the texts, they were recorded and not intended to be anonymous. The date and the time were agreed upon in advance, the partners in the interviews sometimes took over the role of associations' speakers spontaneously and they expressed their "personal opinions" interspersed with

sentences compiled as an opinion of a wider group of persons. They supposed their opinions would be published and being aware of this, they articulated their explanations. Their partners in the dialogues were not strangers for them and they knew these were informed about the national minority issues. The assumption that both parties were familiar with the theme also implied a due rate of openness in the answers of the members of national minorities as well as a higher or lower trust in presenting the expressed opinions seriously (those asking can imagine the difficulties the particular associations have to face).

The questions contained in the questionnaire roughly concerned:

1. Functioning of formalized and non-formalized groups within a minority, interest of members of a national minority to get involved in activities of its associations and priorities within association activities (lessons of mother tongue, social and cultural events).

2. Participation of representatives of a national minority in the decision making processes of matters concerning the exercise of rights of national minorities at the level of the state administration and self-government bodies, cooperation with self-government bodies in Prague, institutional conditions to exercise the rights of national minorities, role of the HNM.

3. Legal knowledge and orientation of members of national minorities in legislation relating to national minorities, government measures to support the declared needs of national minorities, definition of the state subsidy policy towards national minorities.

4. Attitudes of members of national minorities to the opportunity to get involved in political life, either as an individual or on behalf of national minorities.

Considering that we have received questionnaires just partially completed electronically from the respondents, the total informative value of answers to the asked questions is low. For this reason, we proceed mainly on the information resulting from the guided interviews with the representatives of particular national minorities.⁶ The collected information corresponds to the results of qualitative research. Our conclusions concern the minority organizations in Prague, not national minorities as a whole or persons who could be considered members of a national minority. We pay attention solely to those persons who advocate the national minorities and are organized as members of national minorities.

Formalized and non-formalized groups, their structure and hierarchy

As resulting from the summarized data about the registered associations in 2013, the quantity index in the framework of particular minorities is very different. Roma and Pro-Roma organizations constitute the largest group among the formally registered associations. The Ministry of the Interior registered 566 Roma and Pro-Roma organizations as of 31st December 2013.⁷ However, most of them do not manifest any activities at the moment. On the other hand, among the Roma and Pro-Roma associations are some highly-active organizations and especially those aimed at culture and education exceed the narrow focus on one specific minority. Other national minorities have dozens of organizations whereby organizational structures of each national community are different.

The existing structure of Prague minority associations features two approaches to their formation. The first one represents a model with a central umbrella organization whereby other groupings with legal personality, and non-formalized groups fall within its authority. This model is used by Polish, Hungarian, German, Greek and Vietnamese national minorities. The Polish minority has its *Kongres Poláků v ČR* (*Congress of Poles in the Czech Republic*) and *Polský kulturně osvětový svaz* (*Polish Union for Culture and Public Enlightenment*) (their activity does not relate to the territory of Prague; the *Klub Polski – Polish Club* functions as an autonomous organization here), the Hungarian minority with its *Svaz Maďarů žijících v českých zemích* (*Union of Hungarians Living in the Czech Lands*), the German minority with its *Shromáždění Němců v Čechách, na Moravě a ve Slezsku* (*Assembly of Germans in Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia*) and *Kulturní sdružení občanů německé národnosti v ČR* (*Cultural Association of the German Nationality Citizens in the Czech Republic*), the Greek minority with its *Asociace řeckých obcí* (*Association of Greek Communities*) and the Vietnamese minority with its *Svaz Vietnamců v ČR* (*Union of Vietnamese in the Czech Republic*). Besides the organizations that accept their position under a common umbrella, there are independent minority organizations that operate in parallel and reject the role of an umbrella entity. The latter model is open – the organizations operate on an autonomous basis within a national community. Their position, however, can significantly be affected by the “central” entity if members of the national minority accept this as a representative of the minority interests.

Since the outset of the 1990s, all national minorities made good use of the liberal attitude to the registration of an unincorporated association, which corresponded to the formation of opinion platforms inside national communities. Their members were bound by individual and collective membership, even in the case of an association of several clubs within one national minority, or an association of organizations associating several national communities.⁸ The new organizations came into being in the situation when they struggled to get financial funds from public budgets for their activities. Therefore, they formalized their positions to be able to negotiate as legal entities with the public administration bodies. Associations even applied for registration for purpose-oriented reasons before or during the tender for subsidies,⁹ and if an entity did not succeed with its project and application for subsidies, the organization often remained in the registry as a dead entity.

The ability of existing unincorporated associations to adapt their statutes within a given period and to submit them for entry into a corresponding register will show whether the quantity of existing associations will not change in accordance with the new regulation of club law.¹⁰ It will still be difficult to identify the situation in Prague because numerous organizations only have their seat there. Their activity consists in the work in regions where the group acts either as an independent legal entity, or as an informal group. However, it turns out that – from the total quantity of the hitherto registered associations, only some national minority organizations are ready to implement the transformation according to the given procedure. One can suppose that the biggest reduction in registered organizations will concern the Roma national minority.

Regarding the interest of members of national minorities to take an active part in events of Prague minority associations, the interviewed representatives of minority organizations claimed that the willingness to participate in club activities or to help organize the club life is small. The interest in becoming a formal member of a club or association is missing as well. The activities of minority associations and clubs do not attract especially the younger generation of members of national minorities and the programme of activities thus depends on the initiatives of leading personalities of associations. During the guided interviews, the functionaries of particular minorities mentioned that members of national minorities

appreciated the opportunity to take part in events, especially if these are held in the Prague HNM. In the first place, such events are organized by the associations that actively develop their minority programmes in the field of mother tongue lessons, cultural and social life and printed or electronic media solely or partially in the minority language. Such projects also address a wider group of the minority members.

One of the goals of the survey was to show whether and how certain entities struggle to occupy a dominating

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An information poster of the Library of the House of National Minorities (2014). The picture gives information about the opening hours of the library, its sections and what can be found in the library. Photo from the HNM Archives.

position within particular minority communities or on the minority scene at all. This is one of the important aspects which testify to the promotion of practical political intentions and presentation of the position of a national minority among the majority population. The situation in the settings of particular minorities can be briefly described, as follows:



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The House of National Minorities in Prague – an information board (2014). The board describes the purpose of the institution and the services provided. The motto of the information board: the House of National Minorities is a place where minorities are the majority. Author of the board's graphic design – Roman Kliský. Photo from the HNM Archives.

In the Belorussian minority, the key position is occupied by the Pahonia club (in Belorussian language, the word *Пагоня* has two meanings: originally it meant an enemy-hunt; at the same time, the word is used as a term for the historical coat-of-arms of Belorussia and historical and present Lithuania, depicting an armed rider on a white horse).¹¹ In its activity, this club put emphasis on systematic provision of Belorussian language courses for children not only from Belorussian families but also for those from nationally mixed families in which one of the parents is a Belorussian. Prague *Pahonia* also helped the minority members to adapt themselves to the social, cultural and economic life of the Czech society. *Скарына* (Skaryna), a Prague educational club, is another active Belorussian association that sets itself a target to spread knowledge about the Belorussian nation, its culture and language.

There are a dozen Bulgarian organizations in Prague (Havránková 2009: 147–154; Penčev 2012: 87–98) among which clubs *Заедно* (*Together*) and *Възраждане* (*Revival/Resurrection*) occupy a leading position. Both of them take an important part in providing the programme for Bulgarian Sunday schools for children from Bulgarian or nationally mixed families as well as the programme of folklore groups' activities and social events of the Bulgarian minority. Their editorial activity, publishing of non-periodicals and periodicals is understood as a prestigious matter. *Възраждане* publishes *Българи* (*Bulgarians*), a magazine treated at a professional level. Simultaneously, another Bulgarian club, *Bulharská kulturně osvětová organizace* (*Bulgarian Organization for Culture and Public Enlightenment*) issues the bimonthly *Роден глас* (*Native Voice*). This organization also tries to become a dominating one as the sections of former Bulgarian G. Dimitrov Clubs became integrated into it after November 1989. Because of this, it uses the building of the former Club in Prague and – among other things – conducts business activity. Within the Bulgarian national community, representatives of other Bulgarian organizations consider this club to be a controversial minority organization.

From the point of view of how the club life should function, the Hungarian minority is an example of a stabilized structure (Sadílek – Csémy 1993; Gál 1998: 34–49; Gál a kol. 2002; Holas 2010: 609–622). The Prague centre of *Cseh- és Morvaországi Magyarok Szövetsége* (*Union of Hungarians Living in the Czech Lands*) is accepted as an umbrella organization by Prague and extra-Prague representatives of other Hungarian clubs.

They appreciate the HNM institutional hinterland for the club life. The Union also confirms its position by publishing the magazine *Prága Tükör* (*Prague Mirror*) which the members of the Hungarian minority understand as one of the mainstays to safeguard the national identity.

The organizational structure of German minority clubs consists of two groupings (see Bienert – Piverka 1998: 50–61): *Landesversammlung der Deutschen in Böhmen, Mähren und Schlesien* (*Assembly of Germans in Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia*) founded in 1992, hereinafter referred to as AG and *Kulturverband der Bürger deutscher Nationalität der ČR* (*Cultural Association of the German Nationality Citizens in the Czech Republic*), founded in 1968, hereinafter referred to as CACGN. Both organizations include a dozen regional associations.¹² The newspaper *Landeszeitung* (*Provincial Newspaper*) was considered a press body of the German minority between 1999 and 2014. In 2014, this was replaced by the magazine *Landesecho – Zeitschrift der Deutschen in der Tschechischen Republik* (*Provincial Echo – a magazine of Germans in the Czech Republic*). The original printed materials of the German minority, *Prager Volkszeitung* (*Prague Folk Newspaper*) from the period before November 1989, issued by the CACGN, ceased to exist in 2005. The sizeable activities of the AG (German lessons for children and adults, cultural and social events, activities within the centres of German-Czech gathering etc.) as well as its outward activities aimed at the Czech public and the appropriate authorities of the Federal Republic of Germany make this organization a representative club institution of the German minority.

Club activity of the Polish minority in Prague is specific. *Klub Polski* (*Polish Club*) belongs to the traditional Prague minority organizations,¹³ but its activities are limited today because of the low number of its members. However, it keeps its leading position (cooperating with the organizations *Kurier Praski – Prague Messenger*, *Szkola Polonijna – Polish School of Compatriots*, *Trampolina – Trampoline*, a metaphoric term for a space serving for minority children's entertainment) and works as an autonomous organization within the *Congress of Poles in the Czech Republic*, an umbrella Polish organization in Cieszyn Silesia. With another umbrella organization in Cieszyn Silesia, the *Polish Union for Culture and Public Enlightenment*, the Congress maintains just formal relations. The club significantly participates in the integration of Polish families newly settling in Prague.

With regard to the hitherto frequent registration of Roma associations and non-governmental organizations with close relations to the Roma (compare e.g. Goral – Filová a kol. 1998: 71–86), the notable positions are occupied by *Romea* publishing at the professional level, the magazine *Romano vodi* (*Roma Soul*) and running the Roma information service, an Internet labour exchange for Roma users,¹⁴ *Romano džaniben* (*Roma Knowledge*), the association of Roma and non-Roma intellectuals publishing a specialized romistic journal with the same name,¹⁵ *R-Mosty, Rompraha, Romodrom* (*Roma Way*), *Lačhe Čhave* (*Good Children*) and the artistic association *Ara Art* as well as the organizations with pro-Roma orientation – *Slovo 21* (*Word 21*) and *Pražská společnost bloumající veřejnosti* (*Prague Society Roaming around the Public*) etc.

The programme of the club life of the small minority of Ruthenians in Prague¹⁶ is traditionally provided by the *Společnost přátel Podkarpatské Rusi* (*Society of Carpathian Ruthenia Friends*). Since 2013, the Society has been closely cooperating with a new organization – *Rusíni.cz – rusínská iniciativa v ČR* (*Ruthenians.cz – a Ruthenian initiative in the Czech Republic*) associating migrants from Eastern Slovakia. The Society publishes the journal *Podkarpatská Rus* (*Carpathian Ruthenia*) in Czech. Because members of the Ruthenian minority form a linguistically diverse community (speaking several dialects of Ruthene), only a part of the texts is published in the codified form of Ruthene as a magazine supplement titled *Кварталник Русинів в Чехах – Родный край. Додаток до новинки Подкарпатська Рус* (*A Quarterly of Ruthenians in Bohemia – Native Land. A Supplement to the Carpathian Ruthenia Journal*).

Recently, the structure of the Russian minority organizations (Volková 2006: 123–140; Korbéliková 2006) has met with an increase in the number of new associations, which corresponds to the ideological orientation of the *Coordination Council of Compatriots from the Russian Federation* that is operated by the Embassy of the Russian Federation in Prague. This situation causes considerable tension within the Russian community. The *Russian Tradition* club disavows the influence of the Coordination Council, trying to implement – together with the organizations *More Valuable than a Pearl* and *Russian Culture in Prague* – the national minority programme independently of the pro-Putin political pressure of the Embassy of the Russian Federation. Unlike the clubs of

other national minorities, the *Russian Tradition* does not organize its own mother-tongue courses for pupils from Russian or nationally mixed families, which relates to the existence of Russian schools in the Czech Republic and opportunities to learn Russian language at some Czech elementary and secondary schools. The *Russian Tradition* publishes at a professional level the children's magazine *Слово нашим детям* (*A Word for Our Children*), which forms a supplement to the magazine *Русское слово* (*Russian Word*) and pays more attention to the activity of children's circles (a theatre, a recitation, a choral, and a chess circle work successfully) that give scope for their language education. The editorial activity of the Russian Tradition in the field of non-periodic publications,¹⁷ as well as organizing cultural and scientific events can serve as a good example for others.

Řecká obec Praha (*Greek Community Prague*) acts within the organizational structure of the *Asociace řeckých obcí v České Republice* (*Association of Greek Communities in the Czech Republic*) as an independent legal entity cooperating with other organizations of Greeks in Prague (Tsivos 2000: 142–146). The national-minority programme is entirely fulfilled by the *Greek Community* which also publishes the magazine *Καλημέρα* (*Kaliméra* – *Good Morning*). Similarly to other Greek communities



Carrying out the *Morena* as performed by the Slovak folklore ensemble *Limborka* in Prague next to the Charles Bridge. The girls lit the figure in the middle of the bridge and threw it into the Vltava River (2015). Photo from the archives of the folklore ensemble *Limborka*.

in the Czech Republic, the key realm of the Prague community consists in organizing Greek language lessons for children and adults in the HNM and Greek dance lessons for children, youth and adults as well as in the protection of cultural traditions.

Two dozen Slovakian minority organizations in Prague show strong tendencies to occupy a leading position in the club life. The organizational structure of Slovakian clubs is considerably diversified (see Rychlíková 2011: 52–65; Nosková 2000: 147–157; Nosková 2014: 173–179). At the present, the club scene is divided in principle into two groups: the first grouping includes the entities that have ties to the HNM institutional facilities (*Dokumentační a muzejní středisko slovenské menšiny v ČR* – *The Documentary and Museum Centre of the Slovakian Minority in the Czech Republic*, *Klub slovenské kultury* – *Club of Slovakian Culture*, *Bona Fide*, *Spolok Detvan* – *Detvan Club*, *Slovenské folklórne združenie Limbora* – *The Limbora Slovakian Folklore Association*, *Asociácia Etnica* – *Etnica Association*); on the other hand, a new grouping with the dominating *Slovensko-český klub* (*Slovakian-Czech Club*) is arising, covered by the *Slovakian House* in Prague; the *Slovensko-český klub* (*Slovakian-Czech Club*) is supported especially by the club on the other hand, a new grouping with the dominating *Slovensko-český klub* (*Slovakian-Czech Club*) is arising, covered by the *Slovakian House in Prague*; the *Slovakian-Czech Club* is supported especially by the club *Obec Slovákov v ČR* (*Community of Slovaks in the Czech Republic*).¹⁸ The spontaneous extension of the number of minority organizations after the dissolution of the Czechoslovak Federation resulted in 1993 in the formation of an informal association titled *Fórum slovenských aktivít* (*Forum of Slovakian Activities*) (FOSA). Its goal was to coordinate the activities of Slovakian organizations. This intention was not very successful in practice and the platform's activity reached a deadlock. The FOSA idea returned in 2013, in connection with the foundation of the *Slovakian House* in Prague which is to spread the Slovakian culture and to present the events of Slovakian minorities in the Czech Republic. That is why the *Slovakian-Czech Club* initiated the foundation of another informal grouping titled *Slovenské fórum* (*Slovakian Forum*), which is in opposition to the original FOSA. At the present, the key problem of the Slovaks' club life in Prague consists in communication inside the national community.

The Slovakian associations have developed notable publication activities. They perceive the publishing of periodicals and non-periodicals as a matter of prestige. This concerns *The Documentary and Museum Centre of the Slovakian Minority, Club of Slovakian Culture and Slovakian-Czech Society* (they publish non-periodical printed materials and the magazine *Listy Slovákov a Čechov, ktorí chcú o sebe vedieť viac – A Journal of Slovaks and Czechs who desire to know more about each other*), the *Slovakian-Czech Club* (non-periodical printed materials and the magazine *Slovenské dotyky – The Touches of Slovakia*) and the *Community of Slovaks* (non-periodical printed materials and the magazine *Korene – prvý slovenský časopis v Českej republike – Roots – the first Slovakian magazine in the Czech Republic*).

A quite small Serbian minority in Prague (Zezulová 2009) is represented by *Српско удружење св. Сава* (*Serbian Association of St. Sava*). In addition to this association, the Ministry of the Interior registered other four Serbian organizations in 2013 – publicly known are *Srbské sdružení Nikola Tesla* (*Nikola Tesla Serbian Association*) and *Srbské kulturní centrum* (*Serbian Cultural Centre*). The St. Sava Association is implementing the project of the *Serbian House in Prague*, a social and cultural centre whose programme intends to support migrants from Serbia and their integration into the Czech society. The Association of St. Sava also publishes the magazine *Српска печ* (*Serbian Word*).

Representatives of the Ukrainian minority develop their club activities at two levels: In relation to members of national minorities – the citizens traditionally settled in the Czech lands – and in relation to the migrants. Since the outset of the 1990s, *Ukrajinská iniciativa v ČR* (*Ukrainian Initiative in the Czech Republic*) has been working in Prague. Other organizations were founded hand in hand with migration waves from Ukraine; *PYTA* (*Rose*); one such is focused on help for Ukrainian migrants and their integration into the majority population. Representatives of the informal association *Fórum Ukrajinců v ČR* (*Forum of Ukrainians in the Czech Republic*) have become involved in assistance to the migrants in a similar way. However, it is the *Ukrainian Initiative* that occupies the leading position among approx. twenty Ukrainian clubs (compare e.g. Bezoušková 2008: 141–171), namely because it provides regular social and cultural activities as well as consultations to the Ukrainian migrants. The

minority's periodicals are represented by two magazines: *Пороги – Часопис українців у Чеській Республіці* (*Thresholds – The Journal of Ukrainians in the Czech Republic*), a magazine published by the *Ukrainian Initiative in the Czech Republic* and aimed at the theme of cultural history and human migration; and *Український журнал* (*Ukrainian Journal*), published by RUTA. The *Ukrainian Journal* is a monthly for Ukrainian migrants and their integration not only in the Czech Republic but also in Poland and Slovakia. The editorial offices are situated in Prague and in Warsaw, and a network of correspondents work in the Czech Republic, Poland, Slovakia and Ukraine.

The organizational structure of Vietnamese clubs is specific. The dissimilarity of Vietnamese organizations to traditional national minorities in the Czech Republic consists in the fact that they have been established since the 1990s with the direct participation (or under the supervision) of the Diplomatic Corps of the Socialistic Republic of Vietnam in Prague. As the representative of the Vietnamese minority in the Council said, the estimated quantity of Vietnamese minority organizations, including non-formalized groups, amounts to three dozen. From the point of view of regional segmentation, however, the structure of formalized Vietnamese organizations as well as non-formalized groups shows a much higher number, nearly one hundred in the Czech Republic (on the situation in Prague, see Martinková 2010).¹⁹ The position of leading organization is occupied by the *Svaz Vietnamců České republiky* (*Union of Vietnamese of the Czech Republic*) that fulfils its role as an organization subordinated to the Vietnamese Embassy to Prague and controls the local organizations of Vietnamese settled throughout the Czech Republic. A similar scenario applies in the case of the *Asociace českých občanů vietnamského původu* (*Association of the Czech Citizens of Vietnamese Origin*), *Klub Hanoi* (*Hanoi Club*) etc. The only Prague organization that tries to work independently of the Vietnamese embassy is *Van Lang*. Its major activity is aimed at the promotion of civic society principles in the Vietnamese community.

National minorities and minority rights

Executives of the minority clubs consider the participation of representatives of national minorities in the decision of matters concerning the exercise of minority rights at the level of state administration and local

government bodies, especially at the Prague City Hall, to be extraordinarily important. According to many Prague representatives of minority clubs, the effectiveness of the exercise of this right remains an open issue. On the one hand, they are critical of formalism in the attitude of the appropriate state-administration authorities to the administration of minority agendas, while on the other hand they consider it a drawback that the criteria to develop a representative of a national minority who could be appointed a member of the Council are unclear. The representatives of national minorities view with reservation the status of the Government Council for National Minorities (hereinafter referred to as "Council") as an advisory body of the Czech Government for the matters of policy towards the national minorities and their members without executive powers. They would consider the participation of the Council in deciding about matters of national minority rights adequate if the position of the Council changed to an executive body.

It is noteworthy that members of particular national minorities understand the function as a Council member in a different way. Members of the German minority, for instance, hold the representation in the Council to be very important. This function is understood in the sense of being the representative of the minority. If it is the government that appoints a representative as a Council member, this representative of the minority negotiates with the appropriate authorities of the Federal Republic of Germany which deal with the issues of German minorities abroad as an official representative of the German minority in the Czech Republic. On the other hand, a lot of representatives of national minorities point out that the Council is just an advisory body without executive powers and the appointment of Council members is solely a political gesture towards the minorities.

Regular cooperation between representatives of minority organizations and the appropriate state-administration bodies is focused mainly on the subsidy policy.²⁰ In the minority representatives' opinion, the amount of subsidies does not correspond to the declared needs of the minorities to ensure their activities; critical reservations concern especially the procedure of deciding whether to provide subsidies or not. According to activists of national minorities, the deciding procedure is accompanied by an insufficient rate of objectivity. Therefore, the representatives request a change in the

existing system of financial support which would reflect the priorities of the particular minorities and determine the criteria of the checking mechanisms. It is obvious that the declared needs of particular minority organizations are more extensive than the realms for which one can get subsidies within the subsidy programmes to support the activities of national minorities.

In comparison with the above, representatives of national minorities evaluate the institutional conditions the HNM in Prague provides the clubs with very positively. Representatives of national minorities consider the HNM to be their own minority centre and they appreciate that the HNM Programme Council, a body consisting of statutory representatives of the organizations having their seat there, participates in creating the activity plan. The HNM leaves room for activities not only of particular minorities but also for common events and mutual cooperation of the minority organizations.

Legal consciousness and orientation of members of national minorities

The survey has confirmed that the legal consciousness and the awareness within Czech legislation concerning national minorities are at a low level in the community of national minorities. Members of national minorities have just a general idea about the exercise of national minority rights to be in conformity with legal rules. Simultaneously, representatives of national minorities hold the state-administration measure to support the declared needs of the minorities and the definition of state subsidy policy towards national minorities to be unsuitable. This concerns not only the limited amount of funds in the budgets of the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Culture which should be allocated for the projects of national minorities but also the conception of the state subsidy policy system. The subsidy programmes expect the funds to be granted solely for non-investment expenses, i.e. projects for the events arranged for in the corresponding calendar year. Because these are often events that are organized regularly every year in accordance with the time schedule of the minority's cultural calendar, the support should concern even projects lasting for several years. The subsidy system does not allow the clubs to be provided with funds covering the investments and the running costs for offices, including the administration which organizes the activity of the club.

If members of national minorities debate about the minority legislation, such debates concern two realms: a) definition of the term “national minority” – members of traditionally settled minorities, b) migrants/foreigners. Representatives of national minorities feel a lack of legal clarity in connection with the integration of new migrants into organizational structures of their own national minority and their participation in the implementation of minority programmes. Groups of migrants, on the other hand, independently found their own minority organizations that either cooperate with traditional clubs of a minority, or define themselves in relation to their different ideological attitudes, as witnessed by the situation e.g. within the Russian minority. The unclear relationship between citizens and foreigners with resident alien permits penetrates the contemplations of representatives of all national minorities, especially those of Vietnamese, Russians, Ruthenians and Ukrainians.

Members of national minorities and political life

The survey has not brought convincing knowledge about the attitudes of the Prague representatives of national minorities with regard to the opportunities for becoming involved in political life. Representatives of Prague minority organizations take a restrained position towards political engagement; however, they do not exclude individual engagement and cooperation of all their members with already established political entities. Usually, they do not conduct any discussions about the formation of new separate minority political parties. The opinion prevails that any national-minority political entity would be lacking in the potential to assert itself on the political scene.

Outside of Prague, there has been a national minority political entity in the municipal policy in the Těšínsko Region since the 1990s, namely the political movement *Soužití (Coexistence)*. The representatives of the Polish minority enter the municipal policy on behalf of that political entity and they have a considerable number of deputies in local governments.

The interest to become involved in political life accompanies mainly discussions among representatives of the Roma minority. One illustration of this is a series of attempts to establish a Roma political entity that would put forward the rights of the Roma people. Representatives of the Roma minority often refer to the experience from the

1990s as the *Romská občanská iniciativa (ROI) (Roma Civic Initiative)* acted as a political movement which tried to present itself as a social party, as other entities also did.²¹ However, no Roma grouping has succeeded in elections so far – neither at the national nor at the municipal level. Nowadays, it is the *Romská demokratická strana (Roma Democratic Party)* (originally Roma Democratic Social Party) and the *Strana rovných příležitostí (Party for Equal Opportunities)* that struggle for political participation of the Roma people in a similarly unsuccessful way. It is typical for the Roma political scene that although Roma political groupings still continue in their endeavour to participate in the political life of the country without remarkable success,²² especially during the last twenty years, the Roma people have succeeded in cooperating and defending their interests at the international level and overcoming the state borders which constitute barriers in the cooperation of particular Roma groupings. The forms of their international networking can be deemed a specific feature of this minority.

It is significant that representatives of national minorities explore the space left for the participation of members of national minorities in political life on an individual basis as members of Parliamentary and non-Parliamentary parties. The respondents refer to a lot of representatives of political parties whom they consider members of their minority.

Conclusion

National minorities form a specific segment in social activities. The contribution to this segment is different from the part of each minority but it is obvious that the registration of an association with legal personality within particular minorities was/is one of the indicators to maintain the identity of minority communities. The aspirations and meaning the members put into the particular associations symbolize to a large extent a tension between the tendencies to coordinate the activity of associations of particular minorities at the nationwide level on the one hand, and on the other hand the endeavour to establish small functioning specialized interest organizations that can decide autonomously about their activity and be independent in spending the financial funds they have available.

It is typical for a neoliberal society that such tension was often articulated not as an issue of social and power

relations, but as a question of financing. The possibilities and limits of subsidy programmes and the critics of their adjustment from representatives of national minorities might have been the most explicit warnings about where the group borders are felt and how the minority interconnection and solidarity are understood. Interviews with representatives of many important minorities (especially the Ukrainian, Vietnamese, Russian as well as other ones) showed one open question in the limelight – subsidy programmes to support the activities of national minorities and the participation of migrants/

foreigners in the implementation of those programmes. Although both groups overlap in practice, programmes of the state subsidy policy towards national minorities do not reflect this fact. Therefore, there were repeated demands to extend the programme to support the activities of traditional national minorities by the theme of migrants/foreigners taking part in the activities of their compatriots' community.

Another open issue which is seen negatively by representatives of minority clubs is the limited use of the subsidy funds. Financial funds can be usually used solely to pay the costs for implementation of the permitted projects but not the administration that ensures operation of the organization. Representatives of such active organizations also consider limiting the fact that the subsidy funds cannot be used to build up an infrastructure of the organizations (see also Uherek 2015).

Representatives of clubs held the fact that the state administration through its subsidy policy indicates its readiness to support rather cultural and social events of national minorities than minority organizations to be non-systematic. In this connection they pointed out that the existing situation plays into the hands of organizations which assert their influence in the Czech Republic through foreign institutions and their financial resources from the mother country.

The lack of availability of EU subsidies constitutes a specific problem in the case of minority organizations. Because many minority clubs have bad or no experience with applications for and administration of EU projects, the representatives of minority organizations would welcome some kind of advisory and consultancy assistance provided by state authorities.

The issue of financing and opinions on opportunities to get subsidies, participate, cooperate with compatriots as well as other discussed themes showed how difficult it is to link together the interests of particular groupings that the legislative framework of the Czech Republic terms as national minorities. It is this legislative framework that establishes a common category – which to a certain extent attempts to harmonize its needs and articulate them towards the state authorities – of groups with different interests declaring themselves Germans, Vietnamese, Slovaks or Ukrainians.

In this text, we monitored a dialogue of particular national minorities directed mainly at the majority

Hlavní město Praha a Slovenské združenie Limbora ve spolupráci s:
ETNICA, Klub Polski, Anima Artis, Bulharské spolky, Svaz Maďarů, Sdružení Němců, Svaz Němců, Detvan,
BONA FIDE, Rečká obec, Společnost přátel Podkarpatské Rusi, Srbské sdružení, Svaz Vietnamců, KSK,
Ruská tradice, DomuS, Romské kluby a Ukrajinská iniciativa Vás zvou na



17. MEZINÁRODNÍ FESTIVAL NÁRODŮ,
NÁRODNOSTNÍCH MENŠIN A ETNIK
PRAHA SRDCE NÁRODŮ
Záštitu převzal velvyslanec SR pan Peter Weiss a ministr pro lidská práva pan Jiří Dienstbier

28.5. – 31. 5. 2015

Účinkují:
Szászcsávás band (RO)
Šumadija (SRB)
Mladost (SK)
Rudar (BiH)
Bulgari (BG)
Njachas (afr.)
Polana (rusín.)
Mariachi (MEX)
Trombenik (klezmer)
Dawnsyrt ar Daiti (UK)
Shum Davar (GE/SK/CZ)
Slavinski Aliaksandr (BY)
Compañia Flamenkeria (ES)
Nagytarcsai táncgyűttes (HU)

Rosénka (mor.)
Cosceim (IRL)
Limbora (SK)
Radost (SRB)
Kitap (tatar.)
Zirjab (arab.)
Džerelo (UA)
Matenik (CZ)
Vsacan (mor.)
Divčata (RUS)
Vietnam (VN)
Limborka (SK)
Akropolis (GRČ)
H. Herák Band (rom.)
a další

Výběr z programů:
28.5. a 29.5. Václavské a Staroměstské nám.: 17:00 Hudebně-taneční soíree
30.5. Václavské a Staroměstské nám.: 13:00 Defilé, 14:00 Roztanečené nám.
31.5. Nejsv. Salvátor: 14:00, Divadlo na Vinohradech: 19:00 GALAPROGRAM
www.prahasrdcenarodu.cz

The 2015 poster for the Praha srdce národů [Prague, a Heart of Nations] Festival, an international folklore festival of nations and national minorities. Under the auspices of the municipal authority of the capital of Prague the Festival is prepared annually by the Limbora Slovak Association and ETNICA in cooperation with the representatives of national minorities living in Prague. The author of the board's graphic design – Jaroslav Miňo Jr. Photo from the archives of the folklore ensemble Limbora.

population. When conducting the interviews, our position allowed us to uncover the discourse level that includes two parties – a representative of a national minority on the one hand in dialogue with an informed representative of the majority population on the other. During the interviews, we respected the discourse role of the informed

representatives, which was the most adequate for us, and did not try to leave it. However, representatives of minority clubs develop a series of similar but structurally different discourses and the content of these has to be taken into account when compiling a multi-sighted image of their activity.

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NOTES:

1. Act No. 83/1990 Coll. on association of citizens, as amended. The new regulation of “Club Law” is a part of Civil Code that became effective on 1st January 2014. (Act No. 89/2012 Coll., Civil Code, Club Law regulated in §§ 214-302).
2. See The 2013 Report on Situation of National Minorities. Retrieved from: < <http://www.vlada.cz/cz/ppov/rmm/aktuality/zprava-o-situaci-narodnostnich-mensin-v-ceske-republice-za-rok-2013-119931/> [10. 7. 2014] - hereafter “Council Report 2013”. For the annual Government Report on the Situation of National Minorities, the Ministry of the Interior has made available the regularly generated information about the number of minority associations, entered in the database of continuous registration of civic associations. According to the new regulation of the “club law”, this procedure cannot be applied in the coming period. As a general principle, the hitherto associations have to undergo a transformation and be registered as clubs in the Registry of Clubs at the appropriate Commercial Court.
3. This concerns the national minorities that have their representatives in the Government Council for National Minorities. However, the Croatian minority, whose activities are connected with South Moravia in the Mikulovsko area, a region of the original Croatian settlement, is missing from the list. In Prague there is only the *Chorvatský kulturní klub Praha (Croatian Cultural Club Prague)* as an informal grouping. As to the situation of the Croatian minority in the Czech Republic, it is proper to mention that members of the Croatian minority were compulsorily transferred from the Moravian-Austrian borderland after World War II and resettled in Central and North Moravia. After 1989, the Croats experienced a revitalization of minority life and their *Sdružení občanů chorvatské národnosti v ČR (Association of the Citizens with Croatian Nationality in the Czech Republic)* has had its seat in the village of Jevišovka near Mikulov since 1991. After 2008, other organisations were established, the *Občanské sdružení chorvatské národnosti Čechy a Morava (Civic Association of Croatian Nationality Bohemia and Moravia)* and then the club *Moravští Chorvaté (Moravian Croatians)* (founded in Jevišovka in 2012).
4. The questionnaire is attached as an annex to this contribution.
5. In particular, these were representatives of the following minorities: Belorussian (Adam Kalita), Bulgarian (Petr Popov and Sylvia Georgieva), Hungarian (Béla Szaló), German (Martin Dzingel), Polish (Michał Chrzastowski and Władysław Adamiec), Roma (Ladislav Goral), Ruthenian (Agáta Pilátová), Russian (Igor Zolotarev), Greek (Androniki Podlahová), Slovakian (Helena Nosková and Jana Haluková), Serbian (Živojin Vukadinovič), Ukrainian (Bohdan Rajčinec) and Vietnamese (Huu Uyen Pham).
6. Simultaneously, however, we take into account the texts of the representatives of the national minority, which are mentioned in the appendix to the annual Government Report on the situation of national minorities under the title “Reflexions of National Minorities”. The material is available on the website Documents of the Government Council for National Minorities – see <<http://www.vlada.cz/scripts/detail.php?PgId=125>>.
7. A high number of “Roma” associations that declared their focus on social work, leisure-time activities, Roma culture support, folklore development etc. related to the formal approach to the opportunity to register an association after 1990. Such organizations were often not founded by Roma themselves. The situation in the 1990s was faithfully described by Jiřina Šiklová in her study about Roma and pro-Roma organizations (Šiklová 1999: 271–289). For the total data about the number of Roma organizations as of 31st December 2013 see The 2013 Report on the situation of the Roma minority in the Czech Republic. Retrieved from: <<http://www.vlada.cz/cz/ppov/zalezitosti-romske-komunity/dokumenty/zprava-o-stavu-romske-mensiny-v-ceske-republice-za-rok-2013-124136/>> [accessed July 10, 2014].
8. In 1998, for example, an informal group began to act in Prague, which declared itself the *Asociace národnostních sdružení (Association of Nationality Associations)*. Its goal was to act as an umbrella branch organization with regard to the solution of problems concerning all communities of national minorities in the Czech Republic; therefore, it made its registration in the following year and got legal personality. See <<http://rejstrik.finance.cz/70805377-asociace-narodnostnich-sdruzeni/>> [accessed June 9, 2014].

9. This procedure was eliminated by the appropriate ministries when they defined a condition that a kind of subsidy can be granted solely to such entities that were established at least one year before submission of the application and developed provable activity during this time.
10. Within two years after the new Civic Code became effective (i.e. by 1st January 2016), the legal entities concerned are obliged to bring their title into line with the requirements of the Act and by 1st January 2017, to adapt their Statutes, to complete the facts entered into the public registry and to deliver them to the appropriate Commercial Court to be filed in the collection of charters.
11. For the situation in club activities of the Belorussians in the Czech Republic see e.g. Šmídová 2009: 209–224; for the relation of Belorussian students in the Czech Republic to existing compatriots' clubs see Šmídová 2008: 173–187.
12. An up-dated overview of German Unions in the Czech Republic incl. centres for gathering was regularly published in the newspaper *Landeszeitung* until 2014; since 2015, this task has been fulfilled by the magazine *Landesecho* (publisher the Union of the Germans). The overview also contains a link to the contacts of the central office of CACGN in Prague.
13. For the activities of the Polish Club in Prague and other Prague organizations of the Polish minority after 1990 see e.g. Zárybnický 2002: 90–103; and Klípa 2005: 52–74.
14. See <<http://burzaprace.romea.cz/spolup.php>> [accessed April 18, 2015].
15. Other Roma periodicals, the newspaper *Romano hangos* (*Roma Voice*) and *Kerereka* (*Circle*), a magazine for elementary schools with Roma pupils, are published out of Prague.
16. For the development in the situation of Ruthenians see e.g. Hořec 1998: 87–90; Matola 2001.
17. For an overview of non-periodicals and periodicals see <<http://www.ruslo.cz/>> [accessed April 18, 2015].
18. The grouping consists of: *Slovensko-český klub* (*Slovakian-Czech Club*), *Obec Slovákov v České republice* (*Community of Slovaks in the Czech Republic*), *Svetové združenie Slovákov v zahraničí* (*World Association of Slovaks Abroad*), *Slovenský evanjelický cirkevný zbor augsburského vyznania v Prahe* (*Slovak Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession in Prague*), *Spoločnosť generála M. R. Štefánika* (*General M.R. Štefánik Society*), *Slovenský literárny klub v ČR* (*Slovak Literary Club in the Czech Republic*), *Spoločnosť Jána Kollára* (*Ján Kollár Society*), *ČeskoSlovenská scéna* (*CzechoSlovak Stage*), *Združenie Slovákov v Prahe* (*Association of Slovaks in Prague*), *Slovenské vzdelávacie centrum Pro Futuro* (*Pro Futuro – Slovak Educational Centre*), *Slováci v Čechách* (*Slovaks in Bohemia*), *Analytické centrum Slovákov v ČR* (*Analytical Centre of Slovaks in the Czech Republic*). In 2015, this grouping submitted a common proposal for one of the candidates to be appointed as the Slovakian representative in the Council for National Minorities of Prague City Assembly.
19. The organizational structures of Vietnamese in the Czech Republic are described thoroughly in the research report written by Tereza Kušniráková, Andrea Plačková and Tran Vu Van Anh and titled *Vnitřní diferenciace Vietnamců pro potřeby analýzy segregace cizinců z třetích zemí – výzkumná zpráva (rozšířená verze)* (*Internal Differentiation of Vietnamese for the Needs of an Analysis of Segregation of Foreigners from Third Countries – a research report, extended version*). Praha: Ministerstvo pro místní rozvoj, 2013 (únor). Retrieved from: <<http://www.geomigrace.cz/?Q=cs/node/133>> [accessed April 28, 2015].
20. In principle, this is governed by the rules to grant subsidies – see the full wording of the Government Principles to Grant State Budget Subsidies to Non-Profit Organizations through Central State-Administration Bodies; permitted by the Government Resolution from 1st February 2010 as amended by the Government Resolution from 19th June 2013 No. 479 and the Government Resolution from 6th August 2014, No. 657.
21. Besides ROI, the following organizations struggled for participation in the political arena: *Romský národní kongres* (*Roma National Congress*), *Hnutí angažovaných Romů* (*Movement of the Engaged Roma*), *Romský demokratický kongres* (*Roma Democratic Congress*), *Demokratický svaz Romů* (*Democratic Union of Roma*) etc.
22. As for Roma politicians and Roma politics see for instance Kašparová 2014.

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ANNEX

Prague National Minority Organizations in the Contemporary Legal Settings of the Czech Republic Questions for representatives of national minorities with focus on situation in Prague:

- 1) How many formalized and non-formalized groups do exist within the minority? How does the organizational structure of the corresponding minority look like?
- 2) Which clubs do occupy the dominating position in the minority life? Which is their direction?
- 3) Are the members of the minority interested in taking an active part in club activities?
- 4) Do the minority provide its own lessons in mother tongue? In which form?
- 5) Do music, dance or choral ensembles act within the minority in Prague? What kind of status do they have?
- 6) Participation with the representatives of the minority in the decision on the matters concerning the minority:
 - a) at the level of state authorities, b) local governments, c) bodies charged with minority policy in the mother country.
- 7) Is the post of representative of a national minority in the Government Council for national minorities understood as representative of the whole minority?
- 8) What does the cooperation between the representatives of the minority club and the local government authorities in at the Municipality of Prague look like?
- 9) How is the function of the House of National Minorities in Prague understood?
- 10) Do you consider the constitutional regulation of the national minority rights for a sufficient one? Don't the mere two articles in the Charter of the Fundamental Rights and Freedoms from 1991 seem to you insufficient in comparison with the older constitutional law on the situation of nationalities from 1968?
- 11) Are you well versed in the Czech legal regulation concerning the situation of minorities? What do you consider to be its major ambiguities or weak points?
- 12) Do you in practice encounter consequences of international treaties regulating the minority status? Do you know activities of international organizations dealing with the minority rights within Council of Europe?
- 13) Do the state financial assistance cover the declared minority needs to a corresponding extend? How do you evaluate the state subsidy programmes, range of their assistance and the activity realms that cover?
- 14) Is there a need to change the existing system of financing of minority activities from public funds? If representatives of the minority struggle for this, is this theme discussed?

- 15) Are the minority activities supported from the mother country? If yes, is this support continual or ad hoc?
- 16) Do the minority clubs take part in subsidy programmes within international cooperation? What are the experiences with elaborating the projects?
- 17) Does the club management struggle for fundraising?
- 18) Do sponsors support the minority activities?
- 19) Do the minority members have ambitions to become involved into political life?
- on an individual basis
 - on behalf of enforcement of minority rights
- 20) Do the representatives of the minority conduct a discourse about the participation of minority entities on political scene?
- 21) Do the minority representatives cooperate with well-established entities on political scene?
- at local government level
 - at Parliamentary level
- 22) Problems in the minority life:
- Communication inside the national community,
 - Functioning of the organizational structure of minority clubs,
 - Communication between the club's statutory bodies and the members,
 - Communication between the representatives of the minority and the statutory bodies of other minorities,
 - Communication between the representatives of the minority and the public administration bodies,
 - Conditions to exercise the national-minority rights.

Summary

The focus of this text is on the assessment of the in-depth interviews which the authors of this article conducted in 2014 with the functionaries of important Prague minority associations associated in the House of National Minorities in Prague. The interviews concentrated on their attitudes to formal and informal institutions that the minorities form, on their opinion about the exercise of minority rights in Czech society, on the influence of the House of National Minorities on the club life in Prague and on the problems with administrative work which is necessary for club activity. Last but not least, the interviews focused on the financing of clubs and the political ambitions of their members. The interviews with the representatives of particular organizations showed diversity in the organizational structure of clubs and interest associations of particular minorities in Prague, and their different biases. The interviews showed a variety of strategies used in getting financial funding for the club activities and the resulting different financial security. The interviews also showed frequent problems with the infrastructure of the clubs. Quite a low level of legal consciousness of the interview participants was a significant piece of knowledge, although some of the participants take part in wider political life especially as members of political parties exceeding the minority groups. The authors of the article state in the conclusion that the opportunities for particular minorities to exercise their cultural and social needs through minority clubs are becoming differentiated. Without more purposeful support by the Czech Republic, especially the minority clubs bound to economically less successful countries will soon get into difficulties with their selection of services in comparison with the clubs bound to wealthier countries which fund the minority club activities in the Czech Republic.

Key words: Ethnology; social anthropology; Czech Republic; minority; national policy.

NATIONAL MINORITIES IN BRNO. THE CULTURAL HERITAGE OF ROMA IN EXCLUDED LOCATIONS

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The City of Brno is the second largest city and an important administrative centre in the Czech Republic; it is the capital of the South Moravian Region, and the seat of several universities. Brno was an important industrial centre in the Austrian-Hungarian Empire and Czechoslovakia and as such, it attracted various foreign experts. The city has its reputation also thanks to the Exhibition Area opened in 1928. The history of Brno features a mixed ethnic situation as well as the century-long Czech-German coexistence and conflicts which were crowned with the tragic expulsion of German residents in 1945 (Sirovátka 1992: 30). The Czech-German Brno – despite the miserable existence of some minority groups – became an almost ethnically homogenous city. After the Second World War, Brno as an industrial and trade fair city remained behind the Iron Curtain and could not take part in the inflows of migrating force labours, in contrast to West-European agglomerations. This was a significant factor in the development of Brno. After 1989, the ethnic composition of Brno residents changed and the integration and acculturation processes of the newly formed ethnic minorities evolved in different ways.

A Short Excursion into Ethnological and Sociological Research in Brno

At the end of the 1950s, Karel Fojtík published his first large study aimed at the way of life of working classes in the 18th and 19th centuries (Fojtík 1953). With this study, K. Fojtík followed large sociological research on Brno commenced by the sociologist Arnošt Bláha in 1946. This survey could not be finished for political reasons and the related materials were archived.¹ Until that time, ethnological research primarily focused on the rural environment; its focus on the urban environment and industrial locations came with and in the spirit of the then reigning ideology. The research paid attention to working classes as bearers of progressive culture. All

the texts from the early 1950s are also largely devoted to the search for new methods to be applied to ethnological research on the urban environment and industrial locations. Fojtík's studies *Tři typy dělnických obydlí* [*Three Types of Worker's Dwellings*] and *Dům na předměstí* [*A House in the Suburbs*] were groundbreaking; they give methodological inspiration even today (Fojtík 1959, 1963). In the 1970s, local researchers observed especially the relics of rural culture transferred to the town within the concentration on the ethnology of the present. The town as a research field seemed to be a new framework for folk culture (Niedermüller 1987). In the 1990s, the Institute of Ethnography and Folkloristics CSAS under the leadership of Oldřich Sirovátka began to develop urban ethnology focused on the urban everyday culture. The Institute observed the cultural identity of the Czech and partially the German residents of Brno (Sirovátka et al. 1993). After 2000, a new era began which included interdisciplinary projects with the participation of ethnologists and other experts focused on research on Brno. In 2003, the Austrian Institute for Eastern and Southeastern Europe supported a project called *Das multikulturelle Brunn an der Schwelle zum EU-Beitritt* [*The Multicultural Brno on the Threshold of the Entry into the EU*]. The project articulated three types of interethnic relations: the Roma presented a heritage of the unsuccessful struggle for integration and acculturation; the interethnic situation of the Vietnamese was between segregation and integration and acculturation; the Vietnamese, Russians and Ukrainians were in interethnic relations on the background of a competitive (black market) economy (Fischer – Pospíšilová 2005: 194–198). Further multidisciplinary research included the *CoNDeNSE* international project² with the cooperation of sociologists, cultural geographers and ethnologists. This project presented the results of the research focused on depopulation and reduction of central districts in the towns of Lodź, Gdańsk, Ostrava and Brno

(Haase et al. 2011). The project *Kolektivní paměť města Brna. Její proměny a vývoj v průběhu 20. století [The Collective Memory of the City of Brno. Its Transformations and Development throughout the 20th Century]*³ was based on the interdisciplinary cooperation of ethnology and history (Ferencová – Nosková 2009). The pioneering book *Měla jsem moc krásné dětství [I Had a Very Good Childhood]* (Nosková – Čermáková 2013) is a result of qualitative research that used the oral history method and focused on the everyday life of the Brno native Germans in the Czech environment.

Between 2007 and 2013, the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs undertook the research project “The Analysis of Socially Excluded Romani Locations and the Absorption Capacities of the Subjects Working in this Field”. This project was funded by the European Social Fund and the Czech national budget and the Map of Socially Excluded Romani Locations and the Romani Locations in Danger of Social Exclusion in the Czech Republic (hereinafter the Map) is one of the outcomes of this project. Four excluded locations were identified in Brno based on this research (see the Map).

The long-term monitoring of the situation in Romani communities in the Czech Republic drew attention to problems the Roma have with school attendance, education, habitation etc. (Kašparová et al. 2008). Concerning the Roma community in Brno, the location A on the map, also called Cejl, became an object matter of our interest (Kašparová et al. 2008: 26–30).⁴

National Minorities and Groups Living in Brno

In addition to Czechs (191 385), Moravians (72 367) and Silesians (148), i.e. nationalities making up the majority population in the Czech Republic, there are also Armenians, Slovaks, Ukrainians, Vietnamese, Russians, Hungarians, Germans, Greeks, Roma, Belarussians, Serbians and Ruthenians living in Brno according to the last census in 2011.⁵ No person with a common residence in Brno declared himself to be of Bulgarian, Romanian, Albanian or Croatian nationality.⁶

Except for Romanians and Albanians, the other national groups use the status of a national minority.⁷ According to the experience and representatives of these minorities, the officially mentioned numbers are often undervalued and they do not always copy the real ethnic structure of the city population. This and further

characteristics of national minorities living in Brno correspond to the results of research we undertook in Brno in 2003 (Pospíšilová – Fischer 2004).

The Brno national minorities demonstrate their cultural expressions⁸ annually in the summer at the Babylonfest, which has been organized by the Committee for National Minorities of the Brno Municipal Government since 2007, and at the Days of National Minorities Festival organized by the Regional Authority of the South Moravian Region since 2003. The minority members as well as other Brno citizens also visit a lot of gatherings before Christmas which offer rich culinary experiences and which were organized by the Slovakian Folklore Association Púčik for some years at the turn of the century.

Some minorities can be considered to be integrated. Especially the Bulgarians who came between the world wars and the Greeks who came between 1948 and 1950 command high respect. The number of Ukrainians and Vietnamese increased sharply in the 1990s, yet their relationship with the majority residents can be described as stabilized and mutually tolerant. Contrary to this, the Roma in Brno as well as in the whole of the Czech



The map of socially excluded Romani locations – Brno.

Republic are an example of unsuccessful integration and long-term segregation. A huge increase in unemployment among the Roma after 1989 is among the problems which can hardly be solved by the state administration. This situation leads to the fall in social status of a large group of the Roma (Pavelčíková 2015: 307–308).

National Minorities in Brno

The **Armenians** are an ethnic group which did not declare itself as an ethnic minority at the 2011 census in Brno. According to the members of this minority, there are about 250 persons living in Brno who are said to be the second largest community in the Czech Republic.⁹ The Armenian immigration to our country was stronger at the end of the 1980s in reaction to political events, the earthquake in Armenia and the economic collapse of the country after the disintegration of the Soviet Union. Although many Armenians living in Brno have a university education and worked as teachers, engineers, doctors, nurses, musicians, artists, etc. in their homeland, in Brno they operate small grocery shops or bistros. The second generation is bilingual and many of its members do not intend to return to their original homeland at all; they consider the Czech Republic to be their homeland (Oganesjan 2014: 62–64).

At the last census, 121 persons declared themselves to be of **Belarussian** nationality. Although the history of Belarussians living in our country dates back to the early 20th century, the Belarussian national minority was officially acknowledged only in 2013. The Belarussians come to the Czech Republic for economic and political reasons, as they did in the First World War (Šmídová 2003). The second youngest national minority in Brno currently has no association or club in Brno.

The **Bulgarians** came to Brno from the 1920s, mostly as gardeners. They were one of the largest and most compact groups of working migrants in the modern history of Brno (Bočková – Pospíšilová 2006). The Bulgarians were a minority whose club represented their own economic interests externally. Thanks to their work in nurseries, they took part in transformations of the diet in the urban and rural environments when they helped to overcome the prejudices in the consumption of raw vegetables (Ludvíková 1991: 14). The next immigration wave followed after 1945. At that time, more than one thousand Bulgarians lived in Brno, of whom about 500

were university students. The prospect of their return to their homeland was quite real immediately after the Second World War; however, it became weaker with the increasing length of their stay. Their gradual social growth was noteworthy. The formula “from a gardener to a doctor or engineer” was repeated very often among the highly motivated Bulgarians. After 1948, they had to adapt themselves to the new system of the economy. In 1957, they founded the Bulgarian Club, which carried out rich cultural activities (library, film projections, and performances of folklore ensembles from Bulgaria, etc.). Nowadays, the *Bulharský kulturně osvětový klub [The Bulgarian Cultural and Educational Club]* is active. The number of Bulgarians living in Brno has been decreasing since the 1970s. As a consequence of mixed marriages, the next generations are losing their relationship to Bulgaria and the Bulgarian identity. Although about 500 Bulgarians live in Brno, none of them declared themselves to be of Bulgarian nationality at the 2011 census.

The small group of **Croatians** is also “invisible” from the statistical point of view. Their number is estimated to be about 150 people living in Brno now. The first groups of Croatians came to Southern Moravia five centuries ago, under the pressure of the Ottoman Empire (Kučerová 1973: 209–219). After 1945, they were mostly resettled in Northern Moravia, which was a collective punishment for the apparent collaboration of many Croatians with the Nazi regime (Fojtík 1986: 21; Melzer 1996). After 1989, there was a certain renaissance of Moravian Croatians, as documented by many publications¹⁰ and the activity of the *Sdružení občanů chorvatské národnosti v ČR [Association of Citizens with Croatian Nationality in the Czech Republic]*. The Kermesse – the Kiritof International Folklore Festival has taken place in Jevišovka since the 1920s. This includes a Holy Mass in Croatian, a parade in folk costumes and performances of folklore ensembles and groups.¹¹ In Brno, examples of Croatian culture can be seen as multicultural festivals and events.

The immigration of **Hungarians** to the Moravian territory was documented soon after the end of the First World War. The first Hungarian club, Corvina, was founded in Brno in 1921; however, no detailed information exists about its activity before the outbreak of the Second World War. After 1945, the Hungarians were largely banished and deported as a punishment for the alliance of Hungary with Nazi Germany. In the 1960s,

the working immigration from Hungary became stronger and Hungarian students founded the Ferenc Kazinczy KAFEDIK Club in Brno in 1969. This Club associated about 200 members.¹² In 1993, an organizational unit of the *Svaz Maďarů žijících v českých zemích [Union of Hungarians Living in the Czech Lands]* was established. The Union offers translation services, organizes lectures, social activities and events for children, and publishes the irregular *Brněnský maďarský kurýr / Brünni Magyar Futár / Brno Hungarian Courier*. The Union's dance group has performed several times at the International Folklore Festival in Strážnice. Most Hungarians living in the Czech Republic come from southern Slovakia and the majority of them live in mixed marriages. The number of Hungarians in Brno is estimated at about 450 persons; the official number is 361 persons.

The **Germans** had settled in Brno since the 13th century. In 1880, when colloquial speech had to be mentioned at the census, 40 % of Brno residents declared themselves to be of Czech nationality and 60 % of German nationality (Bočková 1993: 28). This ratio completely changed by 1938. The town expanded and the ethnic relations changed after suburban villages were attached to the town and Czech workers moved into the town due to its industrialization. After the formation of the Czechoslovak Republic, 72.4 % of Czechs and 25.99 % of Germans lived in Brno in 1921 (Bočková 1990: 9). After fascism won in Germany and Austria, many immigrants came to Brno and established German anti-fascist groups there (Müller 2003: 89–90). After the Germans were expelled, only relics of this once significant ethnic group remain in Brno. The *Německé kulturní sdružení pro region Brno [German Cultural Association for the Brno Region]* is a major and active club. The Association has about seventy members, mostly of retirement age, and a children's song and dance group. The Association arranges for nationwide educational courses and gatherings every year; it also organizes language courses and exhibitions. The *Německý jazykový a kulturní spolek DSKV Brno [German Language and Cultural Club DSKV Brno]* was established in 2000; it has about one hundred members, a choir and a theatre group. The *Kulturní sdružení občanů německé národnosti v ČR [Cultural Association of the German Nationality Citizens in the Czech Republic]* focuses on the preservation of church traditions and the organization of journeys to cultural and historical destinations in Austria.

In 2011, two hundred and three Brno inhabitants declared themselves to be of German nationality; the real number is estimated to be double.

The history of **Poles** in Brno dates back to the Middle Ages, although the Poles began to take up permanent residence in Brno only in the 20th century. The castle of Spilberk is of big symbolic importance even for the Poles because two hundred Pole revolutionaries fighting for the independence of Poland were arrested there between 1839 and 1848. Club activities of the Poles in the territory of what we call the Czech Republic now originated in the first Czechoslovak Republic. In 1925, the *Československo-polský klub [Czechoslovak-Polish Club]*, which worked until 1952, was founded in Brno. Its activity aimed at lectures, educational courses, literary evenings, exhibitions, concerts and courses of the Polish language. At the beginning of 1997, a new organization of the Polish national minority – *Polonus – Polský klub v Brně [Klub Polski w Brnie – Polish Club in Brno]* was founded after a long break during which the Poles gathered more or less by accident. This civic association tries to maintain and strengthen the national identity of its members, to make the Polish language and the Polish culture more popular in Brno and in the South-Moravian Region.¹³ The Club is a co-organizer of the Polish Days Festival in Brno. In addition to intensive club life, it is possible to observe bilingual education of children, strong family ties and religious and national consciousness. In 2011, 464 Brno inhabitants declared themselves to be of Polish nationality.

The **Russians** have also been among the national minorities living in Brno for long time. In 2011, 551 persons declared themselves to be of Russian nationality. A high number of Russians immigrated after the 1917 October Revolution and the follow-up period of sovietisation when so-called “white emigrants” found asylum in Czechoslovakia. These groups largely assimilated and integrated into society. The formation of the Eastern Bloc under the Soviet hegemony, in which Czechoslovakia was also involved, determined the attitude to the Russians, and the events in 1948 and 1968 were the reason for the merging of anti-Sovietism and Russophobia. Many members of the nations of the former Soviet Union came to Czechoslovakia upon the dissolution of the Soviet Union with the goal of making a living here. New economic conditions brought about the image of the “Russian

mafia” which became a source of new prejudices (Fischer – Pospíšilová 2005: 198). The development of Russian cultural heritage is supported by the *Asociace ruských spolků v České republice* [Association of Russian Clubs in the Czech Republic].

The **Ruthenian** minority is among fourteen national minorities that are officially acknowledged and live in the Czech Republic. The minority members come mostly from Carpathian Ruthenia. In Brno, only a small group of individuals declare themselves to be Ruthenian (47 persons according to the census in 2011). The *Společnost přátel Podkarpatské Rusi* [Association of Friends of Carpathian Ruthenia] was established in 1990. The ideology of this Association follows the *Klub přátel Podkarpatské Rusi* [Club of Friends of Carpathian Ruthenia] founded in Czechoslovakia between the world wars. The Association's goal is to deepen relations with the Transcarpathian region in Ukraine, to support the Ruthenians living in the Czech Republic, and to make Carpathian Ruthenia more popular. The Association publishes its own journal *Podkarpatská Rus* [Carpathian Ruthenia] and other non-periodicals; it organizes talks, exhibitions and film projections.¹⁴

After 1948 (until 1950), during the civil war in **Greece**, Eastern-European countries, i.e. the then Czechoslovakia as well, saw a strong inflow of refugees.¹⁵ Estimates say 14 000 Greeks from the regions of Macedonia, Thessalia, and to a smaller extent from Thracia came here at that time. Approximately three thousand Greeks settled in Brno. At the end of the 1970s (1974), after the fall of the Junta, more and more Greeks re-emigrated to Greece. Many Greeks studied at Brno schools and universities or they acquired special education in Brno, which provided them with a good base for their re-integration to Greece. Currently 195 Greeks live in Brno according to the official data; however, the estimate is double. Several Greek clubs work in Brno, e.g. *Řecká obec v Brně* [Greek Community in Brno] or *Lyceum Řekyň v České republice* [Lycée of Greek Women in the Czech Republic]. They devote themselves to the development of culture, courses of the Greek language and life and customs in Greece; they organize common events and gatherings. The folklore ensembles Prometheus, Akropolis, and Gorgona take an active part in the preservation of cultural heritage.

The historical interconnection with the **Slovak** minority is supported by the geographical and language proximity

of Brno. The idea of czechoslovakism anchored in the Constitution of the Czech Republic from 1920 was even legalized by several ethnographers between the world wars (Pospíšilová 2014: 59-60). The Slovak identity changed into a minority theme only after the dissolution of Czechoslovakia into the Czech Republic and Slovakia. In Brno, 5 956 persons declared themselves to be of Slovak nationality in 2011. The Slovak minority is one of the groups which preserve and present their culture very actively. The *Obec Slováků v Brně* [Community of Slovaks in Brno] was founded in 1993. Its major tasks include the support of Slovak identity, the cultivation of Slovak culture and Czech-Slovak mutuality and participation in the public life of the Czech Republic. Other organizations, for instance *Mosty* [Bridges], *Klub slovenskej kultúry* [Club of Slovak Culture] and *Slovenská národopisná skupina* [Slovak Ethnographic Group] organize trips to Slovakia, visits to theatres, and talks with Slovak artists, as well as educational, sports and cultural events. The university folklore ensemble *Polana* and the folklore association *Půčik* have been part of the Brno cultural platform since 1949.

Only 96 persons declared themselves to be of **Serbian** nationality in 2011. The first more noticeable settlement of Serbians in our country in the 1960s and 1970s related to economic cooperation with the then Yugoslavia. The most immigrants came from the countryside or small towns. Those who settled here mostly integrated into the majority society. A new immigration wave came in the 1990s upon the beginning of the military conflict in the former Yugoslavia as a reaction to the political regime in the newcomers' homeland. The immigrants came mostly from the region of Voivodina and big cities (Zezulová 2009).

The *Společnost přátel jižních Slovanů* [Society of Friends of South Slavs] with its branches in Prague and Brno was established in 1990. The Society follows the tradition of similar organizations which were founded at the time of the first Czechoslovak Republic. It preserves and disseminates the culture of Balkan Slavic nations, organizes social events, and ensures translations and publications.¹⁶

The **Ukrainian** immigrants came to Bohemian and Moravian towns including Brno in a number of waves. Students and workers came at the time of Austria-Hungary, war refugees from Galicia arrived during the First World

War and after it, and so-called white emigrants came after 1917. After 1918, the Czechoslovak state supported the evolving Ukrainian minority in the construction of its infrastructure (especially the educational system). The next group of immigrants came after the Second World War and the last one included mostly migration for work in the 1990s (Jelínková 2010: 27–30). In 2013, the folklore ensemble *Sudaruška* was founded at Masaryk University. Its focus is on the Russian and Ukrainian folk culture. Although several clubs uniting Ukrainians work in our republic, an institution covering Ukrainian activities in Brno came into being only at the beginning of 2014. This is the *Ukrajinská iniciativa Jižní Moravy [Ukrainian Initiative of Southern Moravia]*.¹⁷ Its goal is to organize educational social and cultural events, to present the Ukrainian culture in the Czech Republic and to help the Ukrainians to adapt to and integrate into society in the Czech Republic. The priest (father) celebrating holy masses in the Orthodox church on Gorazdova Street is a person who welds together all Orthodox believers especially from Eastern Europe. In 2011, 3271 persons declaring Ukrainian nationality lived in Brno.

The newly constituted **Vietnamese** minority joined the list of national minorities in the Czech Republic in 2013. In Brno, 1487 persons declared themselves to be part of the Vietnamese minority in 2011. The representatives of the Vietnamese minority estimates that two to three thousand Vietnamese live in Brno. The most Vietnamese living in the Czech Republic belong to the Kinh people, the majority ethical group in Vietnam (Brouček 2013: 6). Because the Vietnamese try to be independent and self-supporting, their club activity is not very developed. Currently, a branch of the state-wide *Svaz Vietnamců [Union of Vietnamese]* works in Brno; the *Svaz vietnamských studentů a mládeže [Union of Vietnamese Students and Youth]* has been established recently. Both organizations help to arrange official and administrative matters and they are active in the realm of education. They try to preserve the cultural heritage of their original homeland and to do this they organize different cultural events, activities and presentations inside the community as well as for the majority. The most important task for the generation born in the Czech Republic is to maintain knowledge of the Vietnamese language and cultural traditions of their original homeland. The **Roma** community has the biggest difference between the official results of the census and

the reality. According to a qualified estimation, there are **15 000 – 17 000 Roma living in Brno now**. Only 157 persons of this number declared themselves to be of Roma nationality in 2011. The difference has several reasons: many Roma confuse citizenship with nationality and for this reason, they mostly mentioned Czech or Slovak nationality. Their reluctance, disinclination and ignorance of the possibility to declare themselves to be of Roma nationality are a result of the long-term historical development. Therefore, many Roma mention in various questionnaires that their nationality is Czech, Slovak or Hungarian (Horváthová 1997: 100, 103).

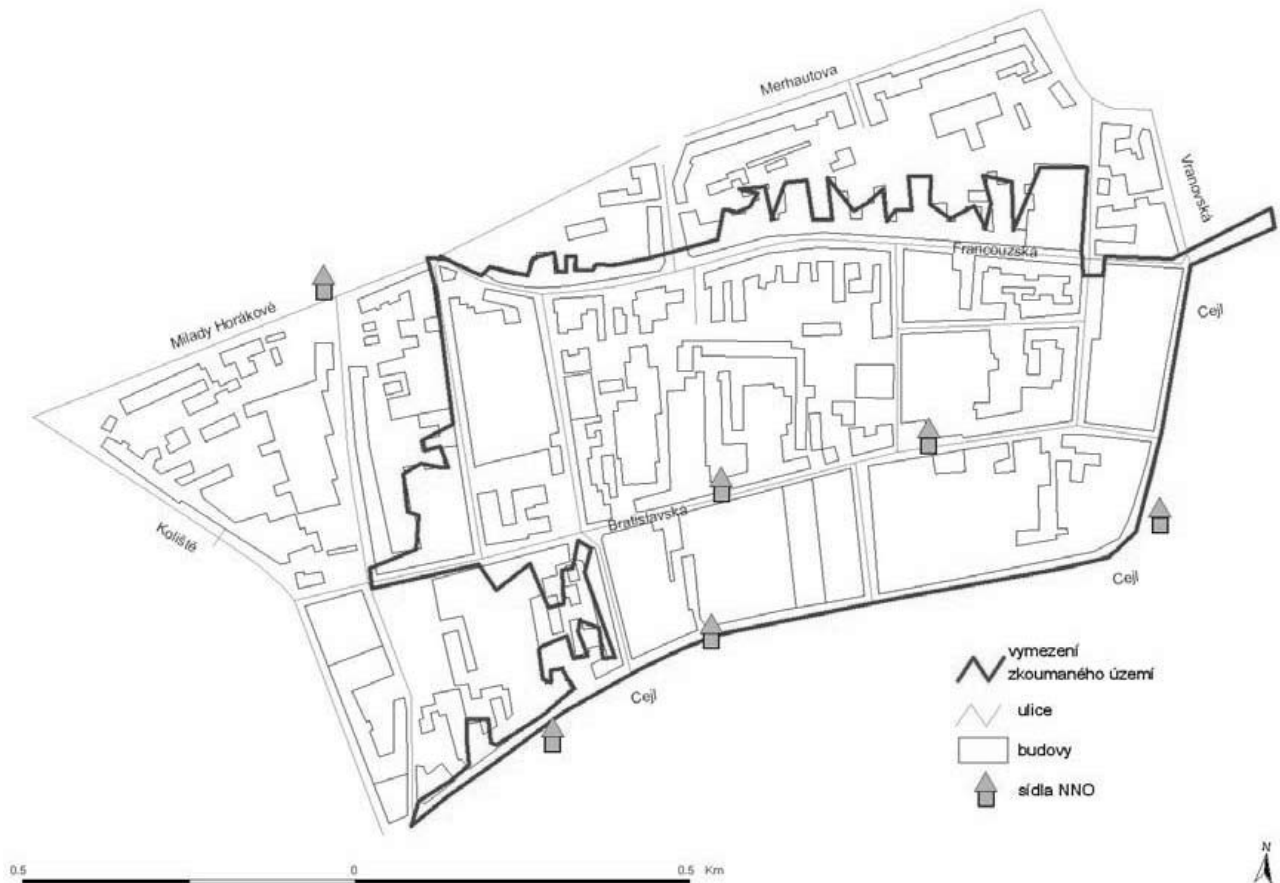
The Roma have more distinct populations from which Slovak, Olach, Moravian and Hungarian Roma and Sinti live in the territory of Brno. The first Roma families came to Brno in the mid-19th century and they settled in the district of Černovice. In 1930, 103 Roma lived in Brno (Nečas 2005: 90 –95). Only a few out of 3 400 Moravian Roma survived the period of the holocaust (Nečas 2005: 319). After forty years of Communist regime with its strict assimilation and acculturation procedures, the Roma got the status of a national minority in 1991. The loss of employment and the social insecurity of many of them as well as expressions of latent and open racism caused the increasing segregation of the Roma and their fall into permanent poverty. Since 1991, the *Společenství Romů na Moravě – Romano jekhetaniben pre Morava [Community of Roma in Moravia]* has been working in Brno. This Community supports the integration of the Roma into society in the social, cultural and political realms. It also publishes the newspaper *Romský hlas / Romani Voice*. The educational centre *DROM – romské středisko [DROM – a Romani Centre]* focuses on the work with children and youth. The world-unique *Muzeum romské kultury [Museum of Romani Culture]* also supports the social and cultural development. The Museum is an exceptional institution as to its range, history and specialization. Its foundation in 1991 crowned the attempts from the 1960s to institutionalize Romani culture and history. The need to found a museum like this was contained in policy statements of the then Romani political parties.¹⁸ However, the idea was pushed through by several persons of Romani intelligentsia some thirty years ago. Most Roma do not make the efforts to preserve and present the cultural heritage of the Romani minority through the Museum their own (Horváthová 1997: 52).

Cejl, a socially excluded location

Interaction between natural conditions and primary industrialization of the town was the reason for an industrial zone built along the Svitava River. This fact is reflected in the town structure to date. The building boom at the time of capitalist and socialistic industrialization reflected the natural conditions as well. For example, the socialistic law on the protection of agricultural land did not allow Brno to expand to the south. This meant that the town expanded to the north while its core did not move (Pospíšilová et al. 2009: 47). The inner town was quite differentiated; the inner city's built-up area combined factories and infrastructural and habitable buildings – several-storey blocks of flats. Mostly industrial workers lived there and the buildings

were of a corresponding standard. These town districts are being reconstructed now, and these are locations where the issues of brownfields and gentrification have to be resolved (Pospíšilová et al. 2009: 47) and which combine the Roma ethnic group, poverty, and violation of the norms of co-existence. All of this creates a social and ethnic problem (Vašečka 2002).

In addition to social and ethnic transformations, an inconspicuous process of transformation of the Cejl location can be observed since the mid-1990s. The construction of the IBC centre, a multifunctional facility combining offices, luxurious accommodation, garages, shops, cafés, restaurants and other public services built in 1997 may



The map of Brno-Cejl, a socially excluded location.

be considered as the initial act.¹⁹ Another important step was the reconstruction of the Radost Theatre in 1999. The Museum of Romani Culture moved to a building in Bratislavská Street, in the centre of the excluded location, in the year 2000. The place for the Museum was not chosen by accident, because the then municipality was well aware of the exceptionality of this institution which could influence the ethic and emancipation thinking of the Roma and preserve and develop the cultural heritage of one of the oldest and largest ethnic minorities in the Czech Republic. The young institution was offered large rooms for its activities which it declares in its motto.²⁰ Facing the everyday life of the Roma, the Museum employees got a clearer idea about the relations of the Roma to the museum as their own cultural and memory institution. The journey between the realization of the values offered to an ethnic group through its culture and the preservation of these values is not long if it is possible to cultivate this culture (Horváthová 1997: 39). The efforts to preserve and cultivate the cultural heritage of a national minority depend on several factors that are mutually interconnected. The position of an ethnic group in the majority society and state influences the intensity of their interest in their own history and cultural heritage. At present, a high percentage of the Roma fall within the group with a low social level. Everyday struggles with unemployment, bad situations in terms of housing and financial funds, a certain rate of discrimination and latent and open racism from the majority leads to disinterest in their own ethnic identity. The negative phenomena accompanying the social exclusion and material poverty force the people to think about whether they would not live better “in a different skin”. Some individuals can search for a simpler way of resolving their social and economic crisis in the intended rejection of their ethnicity. Unique research on the attitude of the Brno Roma to how the museum presents their own cultural heritage showed some of their opinions and tendencies which accompany the realization of their own identity (Horváthová 1997). The majority of the forty-five respondents were proud of their origin. The younger generation with secondary and university education didn’t want their nationality to play any crucial role in the future. Two ladies understood their origin in a negative way and one man did not declare himself to be of Romani origin at all (Horváthová 1997: 82–83). The integration degree of individuals and their assimilation with the majority also

influence their consent to the existence of the museum. As J. Horváthová writes, the members of the Olach Roma conservative sub-ethnic group were uninterested in the preservation of their own cultural heritage. She believes the reason is that the members of this community consider adherence to traditions to be natural and they do not think about this as this is a constant and integral part of their everyday life (Horváthová 1997: 88). Thus they do not see any sense in the efforts to preserve their own traditions, contrary to many representatives of other sub-ethnic groups living in the Czech Republic.



*Museum of Romani Culture in the socially excluded location Brno-Cejl.
Photo Jana Poláková 2015.*

Shortly after the Museum had moved to the new building, the surrounding location expressed a need to extend the services of social and educational activities. The Museum of Romani Culture continued its work in the same spirit after the year 2005 under the umbrella of a state organization established by the Ministry of Culture. The “nationalization” of the Museum had an essential impact from the future perspective. On the one hand, financial and existence troubles were consolidated, but on the other hand some work procedures changed and the portion of administrative acts increased. The strong focus on the work with the inhabitants from the surrounding excluded location was the subject-matter of the Museum’s long-term development as a state institution. In reaction to the change in the Museum status, a certain number of the Roma began to hold the Museum as a majority institution where they could no longer search for protection, and they lost their trust in the Museum. Yet the number of Roma visitors is slowly increasing even though it is concentrated only on selected activities. A high number of Roma visitors can be noticed, e.g. at vernissages, events for children and socialwide events, such as the Brno Night of Museums.

What is gentrification: use of the term within the research context of an excluded location

In the Czech Republic, the process of gentrification can be observed after the revolution in the 1990s when the originally homogenous society of the then Czechoslovakia began to polarize based on democratic and market principles. The process of gentrification is typical for large settlements, i.e. we can also observe gentrification development e.g. in the capital Prague (Sýkora 2005; Novotná 2007).

Private investors who buy real estate in the Brno locations may be divided into two groups according to whether they simultaneously become residents. While bigger investors usually let out the flats they buy, smaller buyers become residents in the location and settle in the property purchased which often becomes their “start-up” flat. The latter group may also include young residents staying in rental flats who settle in the location due to the location’s low rents. The renovation of urban housing units in reaction to demographic and economic changes, which instigates private investments in public space, is theoretically analysed by Elisabeth Zukin (Zukin et al. 2009).

Both aspects, the economic and the social one, are theoretically interconnected by David Ley who suggests that a location is inhabited because of its peculiarity, close position to the centre and, at the same time, difference from the homogenous look of the city (Ley 1986).

The numerous groups of students who move to this location not only due to cheap rental flats support this theory. At the same time, this group of temporary residents is open to inter-ethnic and relatively alternative co-existence when sharing the students’ flats with other people and creating a kind of interstage between both social groups of local residents. Students as a community feature high flexibility, which means that they stay in the locations for several semesters and then they move to other town districts. Quite a large community of artists is among the alternative residents as well. They live or have their studios in the location even though this is not a typical sought-for location for artists.

Theories dealing with gentrification and its influence on the local population may be divided into pro-gentrification and anti-gentrification ones. The pro-gentrification theories consider the arrival of middle-class newcomers in town districts to be positive, emphasizing their political and economic assets. If this population was concentrated in the town suburbs, it would lose all its civic abilities and could evolve into a gentrified environment. Even local politicians and official documents accentuate the arrival of a population group strongly in terms of economic and social matters, when they use euphemisms, such as “recovery of town”, “regeneration of town”, and “sustainability of town”, etc. The vocabulary in official documents also refers to the transformations in the physical environment of the location whereby it does not take into account the class structure which is also included in the process of gentrification (Lees 2008).

The other, quite large group includes theories which point out the fact that the process of gentrification means displacement of socially excluded residents, which also relates to ethnicity in Brno. The process of gentrification presupposes the existence of an environment which concentrates socially weak groups and, at the same time, this environment is attractive enough for possible investments from middle-class members. Ruth Glass, author of the term “gentrification”, proceeds from this hypothesis about the displacement of former residents. She claims that as soon as this process of gentrification

begins in a location, it continues very quickly until all or most of the former residents from working classes are displaced and the social character of the location changes (Glass 1964: 18).

Gentrification must be regarded as a bipolar process: on the one hand, a physical renewal of the location is carried out and an economically stable population arrives increasing the quality of services and the overall standard of living, but on the other hand, former socially weak residents are displaced. In the Brno location of Cejl the displacement of former residents is based on their social status but assumes strong ethnic connotations too, as the socially weak inhabitants are frequently (albeit not exclusively) of Romani origin.

The zone of the streets Cejl/Bratislavská in the city of Brno is undergoing the process of gentrification now (Kašparová et al. 2008: 25). Its course may be described as a textbook example of displacement of socially weak inhabitants by newcomers of the middle class. As Ruth Glass describes in her primary definition of gentrification, this neighbourhood is changing both socially and visually (Glass 1964). Run-down houses in which socially weak inhabitants lived are reconstructed, which is another motive for members of the middle class to move here (Karpińska 2012: 140). In this respect, gentrification can be analysed in accordance with Neil Smith who accentuates the economic basis of the process. He works with the concept of the *rent gap* (Smith 1996), taking into account the economic opportunities offered in an underinvested location. Former workers' quarters usually feature high economic potential caused by their attractive position and, at the same time, lower real prices of property and plots. Such disproportion between the market price and the real value opens scope for speculative investments, which also brings middle class investors to the zone. Smith's theory is predominantly based on economy, supposing that people would follow the offer and the opportunity of available financial resources without taking other factors into consideration (Smith 1996).

DROM, a non-profit organization, carried out a project of community housing in Bratislavská Street between 1999 and 2003, supported by the Ministry for Regional Development and the Municipality of Brno. Within this project two blocks of flats in disrepair, inhabited fully by Romani inhabitants, some of them

illegally, were reconstructed. The residents contributed to the reconstruction with unskilled labour, thus working off their rent debts.²¹ Having worked a stipulated number of hours and adequately participated in the project they could sign a one-year lease agreement which offered them a way to obtain legal social housing, hence the possibility to stay in the location.

Transformation in the Cejl Zone after 2000

After the year 2000 representatives of the majority population, mainly students looking for cheap rental housing, began to inhabit the zone. This flexible group can be regarded as pioneers in the category of newcomers to the location. In terms of housing, students can be considered a relatively alternative category: in most cases they share the flat they rent, typically two or three per occupied room. Living in a particular place is a temporary solution for them, which results in a high rate of fluctuation. Such a way of life is practised by individuals during their studies and first years of employment. Its basic motive is financial, as shared rent is more acceptable for young lessees. A location with a higher occurrence of socially weak inhabitants offers low rents, which makes the students' budgets more economic, and there is a sufficient number of large flats



*Children playing in the yards of the houses Cejl No. 75–77.
Photo Jana Pospíšilová 2008.*

that would be unaffordable for students in other quarters located so close to the city centre. The presence of students is significant for two reasons in terms of social situation. The first factor includes the quantitative characteristics of the group, i.e. common occurrence of its representatives in the location. The other fact we should not forget is the pioneering position of students when settling an excluded location with middle-class members (Brožovičová 2013: 51).

As the interviews show the number of apartment privatizations increased around the year 2007 when new residents, who planned long-standing housing, arrived in the location. Most of them were young professionals aged 30 to 40 who were looking for their first “start-up” flats. Also in this period, more flats were bought for investment, which resulted in their owners letting them out and living in other parts of the city. The housing stock previously privatized from municipal property was



Cejl Street in Brno, direction from the town centre; from the left – houses No. 75–77. Photo Jana Pospíšilová 2007.

revitalized in the form of small private investments, thus boosting the displacement of the original residents. The motives of young professionals for moving into the location were very similar to those of students: the economic advantage of the primary investment in housing and, simultaneously, the probable increase in the value of their finance due to the changing context of the location (Brožovičová 2013: 52). This supposition is also taken into account by private investors who buy flats in the location for investment. The increase in investments after 2007 was also caused by the revitalization of the housing in the neighbouring districts of Brno-sever [North] and Brno-střed [Centre] financed by the Integrated Development Plan of the City, a project supported by the European Union.

Between 2007 and 2014, we undertook qualitative research on and participated in observation of a building on Cejl Street (Brožovičová – Pospíšilová 2015). We observed the gradual vanishing of residents and disappearing of one community. It was not easy to find out where the lessees left to because the neighbours often did not know the new addresses of the Roma and the documents at the district Department of Housing showed diverse data: “stay terminated, moved to

Slovakia”; “evicted due to seizure, not in register, probably died”; “evicted due to seizure, address: Municipal Authority in Brno, children at children’s home”, etc. During the research, one lessee left for an addicts’ rehabilitation centre, one lessee moved out of Brno, one family left for their parents’ flat in nearby Bratislavská Street, etc. The observed houses became inhabitable and nearly empty over eight years. Legal actions were taken against the remaining inhabitants of four flats for eviction from the flat and we did not succeed in contacting them in spring 2014. One of these families was among the first ones that came to the house in 1965. The married couple brought up eight children there, was employed and received a retirement pension, which was the only stable income for the large family. Their children were unemployed, participated in activities in the so-called black market zone and they were affected by all attributes of the culture of poverty: indebtedness, non-payment of rent, gambling, usury, alcoholism and taking drugs. The respondents were mostly satisfied with the place of residence, and they were even not able to think of a change. They either wanted to stay in the location or to get to the nearby districts of Husovice or Židenice. They knew that it was a question of money



Family photos in so-called holy corners. Cejl No. 75–77. Photo Jana Pospíšilová 2009.

to be privileged to choose their housing and as long as they were unemployed they had no chance to attain any improvement.

The development of the location is essentially influenced by subsidies from the EU operational programmes. In terms of the EU subsidies the location of Cejl and the adjacent streets complied with the conditions for an excluded location, i.e. increased rate of poverty and long unemployment, considerable insufficiency in skills, high number of early school-leavers, high rate of crime and delinquency, heavy pollution of the environment and low economic activity. The exclusion of the location also featured a technical state of buildings fully unsatisfactory for energy and in disrepair. The characteristics of the zone complied with the criteria for support from the EU within the Integrated Development Plan in the accounting period of 2008–2013 including a contribution from the municipal budget. These subsidies mainly focus on two kinds of activities: one is the revitalization of the urban space, i.e. reconstructions and modernization of apartment blocks, public areas and urban greenery, while another is aimed at pilot projects for the reduction of social exclusion of the Romani community.²² Nevertheless, finance allowed for social inclusion and pilot programmes make a rather marginal part of the project's budget and, besides, pilot projects are implemented by non-profit organizations only. Both facts — the financial framework and the transfer of feasibility — are decisive for the overall effect of the Integrated Development Plan.

As a consequence, the adjustment of the Integrated Development Plan accelerates gentrification which used to be a slow-paced process in its beginnings. Money invested in order to help and lessen the exclusion of the location's inhabitants paradoxically declines the opportunities for the presence of the target group. Renovated buildings, improved look of public zones and the favourable position of the area are factors sought by the majority population. Since the former residents cannot compete in the market with the newcomers, the socially weak inhabitants, mostly Romani, are being displaced. In many cases they have no right for alternative housing because of their indebtedness. As gentrification and the reconstruction of houses run simultaneously, it is hardly possible to say how high the chances are for original residents to stay in the location and, consequently, what impact the pilot projects will have on social exclusion.

Conclusion

Rami Farouk Daher and Charles William Lawrence, American authors dealing with architecture, work in their essays with examples of environments which underwent the process of gentrification and more or less succeeded in applying the policy of cultural heritage preservation. As Farouk Daher writes in his essay we should not forget that the preservation of cultural heritage should not be a mere means to accumulate (cultural, financial) capital; this preservation should not be limited to commodification of historical and cultural environments either. Daher mentions that the preservation should be perceived as a complex activity aimed at the support of cultural continuity and the real development of a community through its participation in these activities, rather than a kind of conservation. Daher also accentuates the necessity to understand the process of cultural changes within its political, social and cultural dimensions in the context of gentrification (Daher 1999: 33).

Charles Lawrence even admits that some critics relate the efforts to preserve cultural heritage to the causes of the process of gentrification. They do this providing that the programmes for heritage preservation use the tools which separate the historicism held for cultural heritage from the contemporary authentic reality of the lower classes. However, according to Lawrence, the conservation and the attempts to safeguard cultural heritage is done by individuals, communities, non-profit organizations and municipalities in pursuit of helping the residents who face the process of gentrification. In his essay, Lawrence is optimistic in terms of the application of the struggle to preserve cultural heritage. Based on Lawrence's analysis of many case studies we can observe that the preservation of cultural heritage was used in the fight against the harsh consequences of gentrification and the relaxation of the process of displacement in a variety of locations undergoing the process of gentrification (Lawrence 2010: 2). According to Lawrence's theory, we can consider it successful in terms of the preservation of cultural heritage that the local community in the observed excluded location in Brno became involved in the public events organized by the Museum of Romani Culture, the open multicultural festival Ghettofest organized by the non-profit organization Tripitaka and other activities of non-profit organizations.

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NOTES:

1. Brno City Archives: collection Q8 – Sociological Research on the City of Brno (1947).
2. Project conDENSE 2006–2009 (Socio-Spatial Consequences of Demographic Change for East Central European Cities) was funded by the German foundation Volkswagenstiftung (Az II/8115; www.condense-project.org).
3. The project was subsidised by the Czech Science Foundation.
4. The results of new monitoring of the excluded communities the research into which began in the early 2014 can be retrieved from: http://www.gac.cz/userfiles/File/nase_prace_vystupy/Analiza_socialne_vyloucenych_lokalit_GAC.pdf.
5. Brno population is 377 440 (census in 2011).
6. All the data about numbers from 2011 are based on a table made according to our own criteria (nationality, community) based on the definitive results of the Czech Statistical Office concerning the census of people, houses and flats in 2011. See “Sestavení tabulky.” [The Composition of a Table]. *Český statistický úřad* [online] [accessed October 26, 2015]. Retrieved from: <https://vdb.czso.cz/vdbvo2/faces/cs/index.jsf?page=uziv-dotaz>.
7. The term “national minority” and “a member of the national minority” is defined by Act No. 273/2001 Coll. on the rights of national minorities’ members and change of some laws, as amended.
8. The minority organizations see <https://www.brno.cz/sprava-mesta/magistrat-mesta-brna/usek-socialne-kulturni/odbor-socialni-pece/organizace-narodnostnich-mensin/> [accessed October 26, 2015].
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10. For example *Moravští Charváti – dějiny a lidová kultura. Antologie [Moravian Croations – History and Folk Culture. Antology]*, edited by Richard Jefábek 1996. Brno: Ústav evropské etnologie FF MU et al., 1991; Dorovský, Ivan et al. *Charváti žijí ještě mezi námi [Croations Still Live with Us]*. Brno: Sdružení občanů charvátské národnosti, 1991.
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15. The theme of the arrival of Greeks and their life in Czechoslovakia is shown by the film *Podzimní návrat [Return in the Autumn]*, directed by G. Agathonikiadis, 2001 and the books published by the Společnost přátel jižních Slovanů [Society of Friends of South Slav] sub-edited by Ivan Dorovský.
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18. See e.g. the policy statement of the Romská občanská iniciativa [Roma Civic Initiative]. Museum of Romani Culture, written documents collection, Order-No. MRK 119/93.
19. This modern building was awarded the prestigious title “Building of the Year 1997”.
20. “We are a space where different cultures meet. We preserve examples of Romani cultural history as part of Europe’s heritage. We educate the younger generation to be tolerant and appreciate other cultures. We are committed to fighting xenophobia and racism. We are paving the way to a new understanding of the roots of Romani identity. All this we do in the name of mutual understanding. For a dialogue of cultures. For us.” Comp. „About Us.“ *Museum of Romani Culture* [online] [accessed August 16, 2015]. Retrieved from: <http://www.rommuz.cz/en/about-us-2/>.
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Summary

During the last century, the multi-ethnic character of Brno changed in reaction to political and economic changes in the Czech Republic. The article is based on qualitative research on the national minorities in Brno and participating observation between 2007 and 2014. It offers a brief and informative overview of ethnological research in Brno since the late 1950s and changes in the methodological access to research on the town from the perspective of ethnology. A separate sub-chapter is devoted to the most important national minorities and ethnic groups. It draws attention to the census in the Czech Republic when its official data are in contrast to the qualified estimations (especially in terms of the number of the Roma). The contribution pays attention to the ethic, social and cultural development of the Roma and offers an informative and analytical view of the process of modernization and gentrification in the socially excluded location of Cejl in the district of Brno-North where a high percentage of the Roma live. In this town district are the most important cultural and educational and social facilities for the Roma (Museum of Romani Culture, various non-profit organizations) which attend to the preservation of cultural heritage of this Czech ethnic minority, among other things. The process of gentrification which is running here now influences the ethnic and social composition of the residents and thus the social culture of this town district. Development is heading towards the displacement of socially weak residents – mainly the Roma – which is in contrast to the intention of the subsidy principles of the European Union and the Integrated Development Plan for the City.

Key words: National minorities in Brno; Roma; cultural heritage; exclusion; Brno.

BETWEEN POLITICS, SCIENCE AND BEARERS. IMPLEMENTATION OF THE UNESCO-CONVENTION FOR THE SAFEGUARDING OF THE INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE

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Intangible cultural heritage (ICH) is a term that is mentioned more and more often in ethnological, socio-cultural, institutional and political contexts,¹ however, it is still unclear and not domesticated in scientific circles. Even though the origin of the concept is significantly older,² the term intangible cultural heritage became a part of the international cultural policy only thanks to the adoption of the *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* by UNESCO – the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization – in 2003.³ Although the document *Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties*⁴ mentioned the tangible and intangible properties (and also folk cultural property) as early as in 1950, the first official definition of intangible cultural heritage was adopted at the international meeting of ICH-experts in Paris in June 2002 (van Zanten 2002).

The Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage was adopted in 1972 and mentions monuments and groups of buildings and locations, but the protection of oral traditions, feast days, customs, folk art etc. and such terms as intangible cultural heritage, traditional culture, folk culture and folklore are not mentioned at all in this Convention. We do not find any mention about the term “intangible cultural heritage” even in the document *The Recommendations on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore* from 1989 (Hamar 2007).⁵

UNESCO began to work on the *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* (2003) as a response to the globalization processes and the dynamic development of new information technologies which can endanger the cultural diversity. With this Convention, UNESCO also tried to open a dialogue between different cultures. It was necessary to define terms based on the already existing documents that concerned cultural heritage at large (Kirshenblatt-Gimblet 2004).⁶

At its 31st session, the UNESCO General Conference adopted the *UNESCO General Declaration on Cultural*

Diversity (UNESCO 2001b). This session laid the foundation for two central parallel projects aimed at the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage. The first project included the *Proclamation of Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity* (UNESCO 2001c, Hamar 2007) and the other one dealt with a draft of an international convention that was evolving for two years of intensive negotiations and efforts to reach a consensus among hundreds of experts and diplomats and that was then adopted by UNESCO in 2003 as the *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* (hereinafter *2003 Convention*).⁷

Before the *2003 Convention* was adopted, experts met more times to discuss the terminology for intangible cultural heritage. In March 2001, a group of experts at its session in Turin defined intangible cultural heritage with the following words: “Intangible cultural heritage means practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills as well as tools, objects and artefacts and related cultural spaces which communities, groups and sometimes even individuals consider to be a part of their cultural heritage. The communities and groups pass down this intangible cultural heritage from generation to generation and create it again as a response to the ambient environment, interaction with nature and their own history whereby the cultural heritage provides them with the feeling of identity and continuity supporting the respect to cultural diversity and human creativity.” (Hamar 2007)

A follow-up meeting was held in Paris in June 2002 where an international group of experts drew up an ICH glossary and definition that served as a basis for the text of the *2003 Convention*.

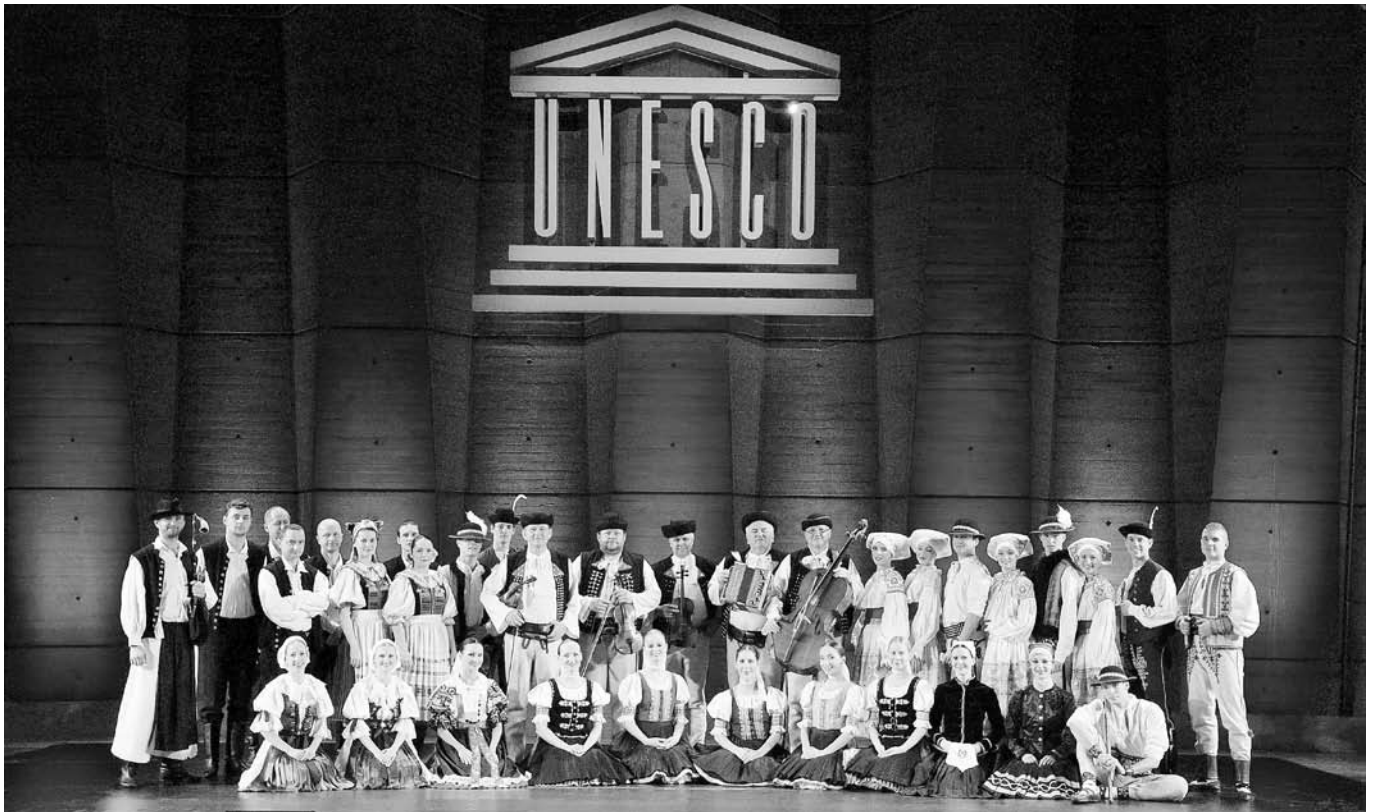
„According to the definition set forth in the previous section 1, the intangible cultural heritage is demonstrated in the following realms, among other things:

- (a) oral traditions and expressions including languages as bearers of intangible cultural heritage;
- (b) performing arts;

- (c) social practices, rituals and festive events;
- (d) knowledge and practices about nature and cosmology;
- (e) traditional handicraft“ (UNESCO 2014a: 5).

The difficulty to divide cultural heritage into the tangible and the intangible one **in terms of terminology and institutions** is not only a problem of the text of the *2003 Convention* but also of its implementation in practice. This difficulty can be observed most transparently on the example of a *2003 Convention* instrument – *The Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity* about which we will speak later. The 2002 glossary, for example, does not mention traditional handicrafts but the *2003 Convention* does. Of course, the

artisan’s knowledge about techniques, materials they uses to make their artefacts etc. is their intangible equipment. But the product itself, the material from which it is made as well as the tools the artisans use for the production are tangible. Traditional puppet theatre known in several nations in Asia – plays, texts, mythology, typology of characters, occasions and feast days with which the theatre performance is closely connected – represent intangible heritage, but puppets, stage, costumes, musical instruments which are a part of a theatre performance are parts of tangible cultural heritage. “Many people consider the separation of tangible and intangible heritage to be unnatural and fancy. Landscapes, mountains, volcanoes, caves and other tangible elements and formations are interwoven with many meanings in many natural communities, and these



SLUK (The Slovak State Traditional Dance Company) and Ťažká muzika from Terchová. UNESCO – Headquarters, Paris, December 2013. Concert dedicated to the 10th anniversary of the Convention. Photo: Michal Veselský.

meanings are inseparably connected with the tangibility in the minds of these communities” (Kurin 2004: 70). Even our Slovak folklore contains a number of songs, tales etc. which speak about local names, mountains or rivers. All the cultural components – science, philosophy, mythology, art, cosmology and knowledge about Nature, belief etc. – are an integral part of human thinking and human existence and as such they are almost always fixed to a tangible aspect, to the tangible essence of things and world. On the other hand, no object – architecture, handmade products, tools, instruments, ritual objects etc. – could exist without intangible equipment and knowledge of its creator.⁸

UNESCO Lists of the Intangible Cultural Heritage – how does this work?⁹

The General Assembly of State Parties (with meetings every two years in June) and the *Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* (hereinafter *Committee*) are the organs of the *2003 Convention*. The *Committee* consists of 24 members, the states are elected according to a previously known key and the efforts to ensure a fair representation of regions, and the *Committee* meets annually in November or December.

Both organs deal with the agenda concerning the protection, identification, documentation, promotion and development of ICH. This should be the major purpose and merit of the *2003 Convention*. The measures to ensure the protection, development and support to intangible cultural heritage, about which the *2003 Convention* speaks, include (at the national level) also the adoption of a frame strategy to support intangible cultural heritage; the formation of organs focused on the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage; the support to scientific, technical and artistic works and research methodologies aimed at an effective protection of intangible cultural heritage; the support to education, the increase in knowledge and the establishment of capacities in the field of intangible cultural heritage etc. (UNESCO 2014a: 9–11). The Operational Directives¹⁰ are an important part of the *2003 Convention*. These are a significant aid for the member states to the *2003 Convention* showing how to implement the *2003 Convention*. These are a result of the *Committee*’s work – the *Committee* prepares the directives for the closing discussion and approval by the *General Assembly*. We cannot forget the period

reports by particular member states which contribute at the most to the “correct implementation” of the *2003 Convention*. In these reports, the member states to the *2003 Convention* every six years report about particular measures taken to implement the *2003 Convention* and assess the condition of all elements in their territory that have been inscribed on the *Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity*.

The international practice of the recent years, however, demonstrates that four mechanisms of protection of and support to the safeguarding of ICH are the most visible aim and result of the *2003 Convention* implementation at the national and international levels. These four mechanisms include: the creation of the *List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding*, the opportunity to apply for an *International Assistance of more than US\$ 25,000*, the creation of the *Register of Best Safeguarding Practices* and the *Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity*. Even though the *Register of Best Safeguarding Practices* is the best mechanisms to preserve ICH because it offers inspirations how to safeguard and support ICH also for other (not only member) states to the *2003 Convention*.¹¹ The *Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity* draws the biggest attention of the member state and the wide public and media and it is the most visible result of the practice.

Nominations for the three Lists (except for the *Representative List*) were assessed by the Consultative Body until 2014. This Body consisted of six accredited non-governmental organizations and six independent experts appointed by the *Committee*. Such structure of the Consultative Body corresponded to the request for independency on pressures exerted by and preferences of the participating states. Everything was more or less a matter of expert opinions. At its follow-up sessions about nominations, the *Committee* usually had confidence in the decision by the Consultative Body. Apparently, it was the chairperson of the Consultative Body who played a significant role during the discussions as his/her consistency and insistence on the decision of the Consultative Body during the evaluation of particular nominations by the *Committee* influenced the results of negotiations (i.e. whether a given element will be inscribed on an abovementioned List, or not). Cecile Duvelle, Secretary of the *Committee* Secretariat, said at the session

in Paris in November 2014, the chairperson with her/his individual approach should feel the atmosphere in the room, whether the *Committee* is inclined to inscribe or not. Then everything really depends on how the chairperson asks the question – whether everybody consents to the inscription, or vice versa, if he/she asks a negative question, i.e. who is against the inscription. In the case the chairperson continued very quickly it could happen that the states that wish to change the Consultative Body decision are not able to express their sufficient support to the inscription of an element in time.

The situation was different in discussion about the nominations for the *Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity* which focuses on better promotion of intangible heritage and more thorough information about its importance. It does not lay claim for a kind of exclusivity and it represent rather a “shop window” of the 2003 *Convention* idea. At present, the List contains 314 items.¹²

The reason for a different course of decision of the *Committee* about individual nominations seems to lie in the different composition of the Subsidiary Body that evaluated the nomination files until 2014. The Subsidiary Body consisted of the representatives from six countries – the *Committee* members. In principle, it provided three kinds of recommendations for the *Committee*: to inscribe the element, to return the nomination to the state for re-working; to reject the element.

In *Committee* discussions about the approval of inscriptions on different lists of intangible cultural heritage it was possible to observe two different tendencies – the efforts to support the decision of the Consultative and Subsidiary Bodies on the one hand. This has been systematically respected by the delegations from Belgium and partially Latvia, until 2014 from the Czech Republic and Burkina Faso and since 2014 also by the delegation from St. Lucia, a new member to the *Committee*. On the other hand, Brazil supported by Spain, and many other countries from the third, fourth and fifth Election groups are probably the most visible defenders of the opinion to inscribe all the nominated items and the countries to have as many items on the Lists as possible.¹³ As shown by their activities during the *Committee* session in November 2014, even the new members (Bulgaria and Hungary) of our – second – Election group seem to hold the same view.

Voting of some countries, which were members of the Subsidiary Body during the discussion at the *Committee* session, against the decisions of the same Subsidiary Body, i.e. against their own decisions shows how deep are the ties between politics and backstage dealings on the one side and the *Committee* decisions about inscription or non-inscription of an item on the Representative List on the other side.

The nomination and the follow-up integration of an item of traditional folk culture especially on the Representative List is a highly prestigious matter for the participating countries, again in connection with the above-mentioned political situation, revitalization of national/state identity, and bigger or smaller crisis in a country where the focus on intangible cultural heritage could be a welcome outlet for undesired emotions which can direct attention to other matters etc.

Therefore no wonder that recent discussions about the possibility to merge both bodies – i.e. the Consultative Body and the Subsidiary Body – into one divided the *Committee* and the delegations into two groups. The formation of a new body will probably lead to a bigger independence on the countries that have been movers in the process of decision to date. During the discussions about the form of the future body, one group of delegates supported the idea of independence, while the other one was afraid of losing the influence of the countries on the decision in case e.g. independent experts or non-governmental organizations would take part in the decision. In the end, a kind of compromise was created which was presented at the 5th General Assembly to the 2003 *Convention* in Paris in June 2014. With the decision about an annex to the Operational Directives, an advisory body called Evaluation Body was established and its members were elected at the *Committee* session in Paris in November / December 2014. Nowadays, the Body consists of six representatives from non-governmental organizations and six experts from the countries that are not members of the *Committee*. This is an essential novelty in the next evaluation of nominations for all four mechanisms (the Lists and the Register), which shall bring an objective assessment of the nominations.

Despite the changes mentioned above, the statement that the Consultative Body and the Subsidiary Body emphasized every year when submitting the report about particular items for nomination, still remains valid: during

the nomination procedure for particular elements, they do not evaluate the element itself, but solely the quality of the nomination file or application, and they express their opinion whether the criteria defined by the *2003 Convention* and the Operational Directives have been met or not. The participants were and are aware of the importance of the community to which the nominations relate, and the relevance of the inscription on one of the Lists for the community itself. The presenting speakers of both Bodies always emphasized that the *2003 Convention* instruments were created to support and promote intangible cultural heritage at large, not only particular items.

Despite this, presence of different kinds of emotions on the side of the countries concerned – from elation during the speech of thanks after the inscription of an item on a List to the expression of disappointment or even disenchantment and anger which accompanied the less successful nominations – refer to interweaving aims of the state policy in particular countries. However, it is the communities practising a particular element that feel the consequences of such policy into which they are mostly not initiated.

A method used to solve different types of pressures in discussions is the language of diplomacy which comes under its own protocol and expresses thanks and congratulations at the beginning of a speech and the delegates address each other by well-established idioms („distinguished delegate of ...”).

The delegates do a lot of useful work during the breaks whereby their common language is a common denominator in their discussions (for instance some countries from Central and South America and Spain) followed by common historical and cultural traditions. These are observed and supported even when the countries are being divided into the UNESCO election groups.

The countries mostly observe and adhere to the decisions of their own election group. However, similarly to the abovementioned behaviour of the chairperson of the Consultative Body, the delegates' behaviour in the discussion is sometimes bound to their own individual decision. The entire area becomes an interesting playground full of stronger and weaker players who have different aims in view which – at the first glance – are not easy to decode.

The *Committee's* task is to deal with many other issues as well, especially with the care of the items which

have been inscribed on the Lists earlier; however, the inscriptions on the Representative Lists get to the first line due to the prestige. The question is whether the communities concerned and their interest are still on the first place in this play.

In the following text, we use different examples to think of problems and open questions which relate to the implementation of the *2003 Convention* in connection with its tools – different registers of ICH.

Let's look at the *Register of Best Safeguarded Practices*. Four practices were nominated for this Register in 2014.¹⁴ One of them – Creation of a cultural space for safeguarding, development and education in intangible cultural heritage at Beautiful Indonesia in Miniature Park – which was not recommended for the inscription gave rise to an interesting debate. The delegation from Indonesia relied on the repeated opening of the file during the *Committee* session. We could observe different tendencies and the discussing countries set up the manner in which also other nomination files that were not recommended for the inscription on a List were discussed. Each discussion contribution of each member state of the *Committee* commenced with a polite formula about the gratitude and thanks to the Consultative or Subsidiary Body for their excellent work, however, after the nominations might have been studied thoroughly by experts who always came from the discussing countries, these countries decided to ask the nominating country some questions which could explain unclear matters. The question is which role the evaluation bodies – i.e. the Consultative and the Subsidiary Bodies – play then when their decisions (made after a thorough analysis of all nomination files and the consensus several weeks before the *Committee* session) are called into questions during the discussion at the session. Moreover, the rules do not allow to accept new information from the nominating country about the item during the discussion at the *Committee* session. The *Committee* should decide exclusively based on the information in the corresponding nomination file.¹⁵ The debate about this nomination file brought about more points discussed repeatedly during the follow-up days: problems with terminology¹⁶ – for example with terms “museumification” and “folklorisation” – as undesired phenomena associated with the preservation of intangible cultural heritage. The European members of the *Committee* as well as

St. Lucia used the arguments that it is not possible to set new rules during the procedure, stating what should be considered for good practice in the preservation of intangible cultural heritage and what not. On the other hand, museums often play a very important role in the theme of intangible cultural heritage at the present. There was also solved the question who is the community in the case of this miniature park – all visitors to the park, or particular communities that prepare programmes relating to proper regions, fellowships... whose miniature samples of architecture or another items of intangible cultural heritage are placed in the park. With increasing rate of urbanisation and interconnection of all people on Earth, it will be probably necessary to re-evaluate the content of some criteria and definitions that concern intangible cultural heritage at the present. In addition to issues about the content, the delegation from Brazil tried to change the procedure. It proposed to inscribe an item first and to adapt the wording of criteria in previous sections later. The logic of such procedure was called in question by the delegation from Belgium which argued that first the *Committee* must be sure whether the criteria have been fulfilled and only after that it can change the decision of the Consultative Body. Moreover, this particular change

in procedure could cause a precedence that would call in question even other procedural steps. Upon the appeal of Bulgaria, the secretariat supported the argumentation of the Belgian representatives and for this reason, the delegations voted about the decision. The voting about the change in the procedure (Brazil proposed this procedure exceptionally and exclusively for the case of Indonesia to save time and not to make precedencies) favoured the common practice and rejected the change. We could say that this was a preliminary voting about the inscription or non-inscription of the element “Creation of a cultural space for safeguarding, development and education in intangible cultural heritage at Beautiful Indonesia in Miniature Park” on the List. During the fixed procedure of approval – paragraph after paragraph – some countries did not manage to respond to the discussion about the first paragraph that remained unchanged, confirming that the first criterion was not fulfilled. The non-fulfilment of one criterion means that an element cannot be inscribed. Other paragraphs with other criteria were changed a little, however, the Indonesian delegation had to express their great disappointment in their speech full of emotions. Because the Consultative Body and the Subsidiary Body awarded an extraordinary high number of rejecting recommendations in this year and contributed to the disappointment of many communities and bearers of traditions, the Indonesian delegation expressed their concern about this trend saying that it would be difficult to convince the governments of particular countries to pay attention to and provide financial funds for the items of intangible cultural heritage when the efforts they made would not be crowned with success.

The Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity about which the Article 16 of the *2003 Convention* speaks is probably the most discussed, most popular and most publicized instrument of the *2003 Convention*.

The national and international Representative Lists help to promote the ideas and goals of the *2003 Convention* on the one hand, but it also constitutes a large space for political and institutional manipulation on the other one, which – among other things – can result in: the commercialization of an element of intangible cultural heritage; the deformation of its presentation and demonstration outside the local community; the camouflage of real forms of the element; the change of



Marek Maďarič, Minister of Culture of the Slovak Republic, inscribes new elements on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Slovakia. Bratislava, 2013. Photo: Michal Veselský.

original norms, values and functions; the misuse of the element to pursue political and personal or group interests to the detriment of interests and goals associated with the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage.

The discussions among the member states of the *Committee* showed at the session which cultural values are at the forefront in particular countries. For example, when an element from Uganda (Male-child cleansing ceremony of the Lango of central northern Uganda) was nominated at the last session of the *Committee* in Paris in November 2014, the delegation from Belgium proposed that the consent of the boys concerned be a part of the nomination. The proposal did not find any support among other countries at the *Committee*. The discussion more times changed to a warning about the caution when evaluating cultural standards of other countries and to the efforts for a kind of hegemony and power to order which elements of intangible cultural heritage are suitable to be safeguarded and which not.

As written by Richard Kurin: „UNESCO does not want to support or encourage practices inimical to human rights such as slavery, infanticide, or torture. Yet the standard is not without controversy. Is female genital mutilation a legitimate part of intangible cultural heritage to be recognized by the Convention or not? Is a religious tradition that includes Brahmins, but excludes non-Brahmins disqualified as intangible cultural heritage because of its discriminatory quality? Is a musical tradition where only men play instruments and only women sing inequitable, and thus contrary to human rights accords? It will be a difficult task to determine what is allowable as intangible cultural heritage under the Convention and what not” (Kurin 2004: 70).

The 2003 *Convention* sets certain rules (respect for human rights, protection of animals etc.) (UNESCO 2014b: 27) but it is not possible to set these rules explicitly. Then there is a danger that ideas and principles of intangible cultural heritage will be adapted and changed as it was in the case of cockfights in the element Torch festival of the Yi people from China which was nominated for the inscription on the Representative List of ICH of Humanity and about which the *Committee* decided at its 9th session in Paris in November 2014. Under the pressure of arguments formulated by the representatives from China, the discussions was directed to the struggle to prove that the cockfights should not be perceived as an entertainment

for the spectators, but as a fight that demonstrates strength and nimbleness of the animals....

The number of nominations that can be evaluated in one cycle (from March to November / December of the subsequent year) provides a space for another deformation. Currently, each member state can nominate one element per year to be inscribed on one of the UNESCO Lists. This fact is the reason for a danger that the official nomination will prefer the element that represents the majority and not the minority in the case of multi-ethnic states. The following nomination which the *Committee* evaluated for the inscription on the **List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding** shows another example of the state interest in the promotion of a certain element or region.¹⁷ At the 8th session of the *Committee* in Baku in December 2013, the Republic of Azerbaijan nominated the element called Chovqan, a traditional game on horses from the region of Nagorno Karabakh. Azerbaijan as the country organizing the *Committee* session opted for an element of intangible cultural heritage from a geographic area that is a matter of conflict between the Republic of Azerbaijan and Armenia. Such choice as well as the representative character of the session in Baku and the fact that the minister of culture was a chairman to the



Eighth Session of the Intergovernmental Committee for Intangible Cultural Heritage UNESCO in Baku, 2013. From the left: Frank Proschan, Section of Intangible Heritage of UNESCO; Cecile Duvelle, Chief of the Intangible Heritage Section of UNESCO, General Secretary of the Convention, chairperson Abulfas Garayev, the Minister of Culture and Tourism of Azerbaijan Republic. © UNESCO

session in certain moments, demonstrates the formation of identity of the young country and follows the same lines as the development in other post-Soviet republics of Central Asia does. This means that the political influence and the manipulation towards international society are quite real.

Moreover, the situation is escalating in connection with the number of elements that can be evaluated within one cycle of nominations for one of the Lists since 2015. The technical and economic reasons (lack of time, funds and people to evaluate the individual nominated elements on the side of the UNESCO Secretariat for ICH and the still increasing number of nominations above all) led to the change of criteria for nomination submitting. The Secretariat and the new Evaluating Body will deal with no more than sixty nominations within one cycle according to the following key: 1) nominations of elements from the countries that have not reached any inscription on the List to date; 2) international nominations; 3) nominations from the countries that have reached the lowest number of inscribed elements on individual Lists among the countries whose nominations are evaluated in a cycle.

The rule to favour international nominations with the justifications of supporting the cooperation and the mutual respect among particular countries as one of the main ideas of UNESCO, faces two potential threats. The



Preparing a video film about The Slovak and Czech Puppetry (being evaluated for the 2016 cycle). Bratislava, 2015. Photo: Michal Veselský.

first is that an element that meets the criteria thanks to the camouflage only will be inscribed on the UNESCO World lists. Erudite experts – ethnologists, historians, anthropologists and sociologists as well as members of the communities concerned can hardly agree with the fact that for example an element that is situated in territories with huge geographic distances between each other, with different culture, religion and ethnic groups meets the identical criteria as stated by the *Operational Directives*. For example, *Falconry, a living human heritage* which was inscribed on the *Representative List ICH of Humanity* in 2012 as an international nomination of the United Arab Emirates, Austria, Belgium, the Czech Republic, France, Hungary, the Republic of Korea, Mongolia Morocco, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Spain and the Syrian Arab Republic. Falconry in the United Arab Emirates, Mongolia and Morocco is surely a different element than falconry in Austria, the Czech Republic and Slovakia. The Slovakian expert commission for the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage did not approve the element *Falconry, an art of raptor breeding, protection, training, and hunting with raptors* to be inscribed because the nominated element does not meet the defined criteria, especially it does not create and confirm the cultural identity of a national or international community, it does not help to connect people and communities and it cannot be marked as an expression of intangible cultural heritage with unbroken continuity. Moreover, the Slovakian legislation does not allow to hunt animals with raptors. Inhumane methods are used to train raptors, which is not an insignificant reason either because UNESCO takes into consideration the abovementioned moral aspect of the nominated elements.

This element is currently demonstrated and represented by exhibition demonstrations of raptor breeding, often in connection with performances of historical fencing groups etc., in Slovakia. Should also the historical fencing be inscribed on national list? Shouldn't such elements, as hunting, fishing, cattle breeding, animal husbandry, traditional procurement of food, fruit and vegetable growing and harvesting, forest berry picking and mushroom harvesting be also inscribed on the national List and the international *Representative List*? We are sure that some of these elements meet much more the criteria for the inscription on the *Representative List of ICH of Humanity*.

The example of falconry brought us to another discussed issue – the involvement of non-governmental organizations in the implementation of the *2003 Convention*. It must be perceived as positive that the non-governmental organizations get involved in the implementation; on the other hand, this is dangerous due to their lay view and biased and narrowly focused personal interest. For example, in Slovakia, a non-governmental organization can be founded by three adult citizens of the Slovakian Republic. This is also important, among other things, because of the grant systems of subsidies. Such organization are founded e.g. by interest associations that engage in the field of stage folklorism (festivals, folklore ensembles, individuals), usually with the aim to support their own folklore ensemble, their own local folklore festival and the local practitioners of traditional handicrafts etc. These associations are often represented by the lay public. Non-governmental organizations can largely contribute to the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage in the space and community they represent. However, this can become a problem if they put through these narrow group interests of theirs at the national or international level, which can be to the detriment of objective evaluation of elements to be inscribed on the List.

The implementation of the *2003 Convention* can be deformed in another way. This deformation is also associated with the focus on international nominations. Some member states to the *Convention* try to place the highest possible number of elements from their territory on the UNESCO World Lists. Instead of solving this issue at the national level first, the states started a large “business” with international nominations. At the 8th *Committee* session (December 2013, Baku), the element Mediterranean Diet nominated by Cyprus, Croatia, Spain, Greece, Italy, Morocco and Portuguese was inscribed on the *Representative List of ICH of Humanity*. This means that different regions, local communities, ethnic groups etc. in Cyprus, Croatia, Spain Greece, Italy, Morocco and Portuguese do not have their own typical diet? Is it not an expression of political strategy to demonstrate each state in UNESCO? Does the local diet in these states have no own specific features? Or is the local diet typical for the whole of the state, even for more states together? What kind of “intangible cultural heritage” shall UNESCO safeguard?

There are also many elements of intangible cultural heritage even at the national level which should be inscribed on the National List. Aren't the local lists of elements and the following national list a more effective and objective instrument to implement the *2003 Convention* then? The local lists would contain elements with which their bearers identify themselves and which guarantee the sustainability and document the historical continuity. The national list would be a formal – statistical summary that would demonstrate which phenomena are considered important by the local communities and which phenomena can be covered by a common title (for example, decorated Easter eggs, ceremonial pastries, blue-print etc.) and which phenomena are really unique and associated with a narrow space or a particular local community (*fujara* (shepherd's flute), ornaments in the village of Čičmany, Radvanský fair, Salamander, folk music in Terchová etc.). And what about the elements that are usually present in a large geographical, ethnical, social and religious area as well as in other areas? For example traditional dress, language – dialect, diet and feast days. These elements constitute significant symbols of identity of a fellowship or a community, they are still viable and passed down from generation to generation; their historical continuity is provable and their viability is ensured. In which way shall



Meeting of the Slovak and Czech commission of experts for the Slovak and Czech puppetry. Bratislava, 2015. Photo: Michal Veselský.

such elements, as folk song, folk music, folk literature, and folk costume and feast days... be inscribed on the representative lists? And what about water drinking? The knowledge and practices bound to symbolics, folk belief, religion, traditional medicine etc.? Is the water and the associated practices, knowledge and belief not a part of our intangible cultural heritage? Which community and which state is to submit the nomination for the inscription on the *Representative List of ICH of Humanity*? Is such a nomination inappropriate from the perspective of the *2003 Convention*?

Who is favoured by the presence on any list? Does the reason lie in promoting an element of intangible cultural heritage associated with a particular community to the public and in ensuring the care, protection and viability of this element? Or is the reason that a community is interested in benefiting from the inscribed element, for example because of the commercial tourist value and another economic potential which the community wishes to exploit?

Another question is which elements should be included on the Representative List. These might be representative elements with extraordinary value. Shall a state nominate for the world list elements that are valuable “for us” and for the local community, or elements that are more attractive,

exotic and unique in international context from the international perspective and as such they have a better chance to be successfully inscribed?

Christoph Brumann's heritage agnosticism offers an inspiration for the search to answer the questions mentioned above. In his concept, Brumann supports the idea of emic approach to the study and interpretation of cultural heritage. Alongside Christoph Brumann (2014) and Daniel Luther (2015) we can claim that because cultural heritage is a socially assigned and therefore constructed category, ethnological, anthropological and any other societal and cultural research “into the evaluation of values of particular phenomena would probably not result in beneficial information” (Luther 2015: 20). However, the ethnological fieldwork can allow to describe particular phenomena more exactly and to comprehend their merit for a community of bearers better. “Heritage agnosticism will of course see such claims (speaking about factual claims about historical roots and continuities, not all of which are fabricated) in their context and be attentive to their social deployment, but it will not dismiss the claim as such and the fact it has significance for many people.” (Brumann 2014: 181) This is people, i.e. members of communities and bearers, who should be at the forefront of any interest in intangible cultural heritage.

Despite all critical reservations about the implementation of the *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* we think that it is important to mention the fact that thanks to this UNESCO initiative, individuals and local communities begin to become aware that their knowledge and practices in the realm of intangible cultural heritage are important from the perspective of the whole-societal and international interest, and that these knowledge and practices have an important value especially for the community of their bearers.

The transmission between generations at different levels of society (from micro to macro) is irreplaceable for the sustainability of the elements and the awareness of them. Society – institutions, politicians, and media – begins to devote itself to the matters from the realm of intangible cultural heritage more and more, also thanks to the existence of the *2003 Convention*. This interest is quite naturally accompanied by the publicity of traditional and folk culture as a significant value of own identity with an adequate interest in promotion of and support to intangible cultural heritage.



Lubica Voľanská and Juraj Hamar during the Eighth Session of the Intergovernmental Committee for Intangible Cultural Heritage UNESCO in Baku, 2013. Photo: archive of authors.

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NOTES:

1. For example, at the last SIEF 2015 conference in Zagreb, there were 14 banners dedicated to the theme of heritage, which was nearly twice more as compared to other themes. From 14 banners, 4 panels displayed the term „intangible cultural heritage“ in their title. More see on <http://www.nomadit.co.uk/sief/sief2015/panels.php?View=All_Panels>. Christoph Brumann (2014: 173) set the same development: „...this is a clear sign of a new discipline in the making“ and Alexandra Bitušiková (2015: 7).
2. The analysis of the origin of ICH concept is mentioned. e.g. by Markus Tauschek (2011).
3. It would be good for the understanding of different relations and connections in this contribution, if the reader knows the text of the 2003 Convention. The authors of this contribution work with the latest printed version: UNESCO (2014). The text in its electronic form is retrieved from <<http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0013/001325/132540e.pdf>>.
4. Retrieved from: <http://www.unesco.org/culture/natlaws/media/pdf/japan/japan_lawprotectionculturalproperty_engto.pdf>.
5. Daniel Luther (2015: 16) even deliberates on the option that “we do not use the term intangible cultural heritage but we have to deal with it due to the contemporary social development”.
6. See also information about international round table held in Piedmont in 2001, retrieved from: <<http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/doc/src/00075-EN.pdf>>, accessed October 20, 2015, and Action Plan for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage that resulted from this round table – retrieved from <<http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/doc/src/05220-EN.pdf>>, accessed October 20, 2015.
7. UNESCO (2014), UNESCO (2003).
8. Daniel Luther reflects on the relationship tangible-intangible in a similar fashion (2015: 18).
9. Besides the source base with quoted official documents of the 2003 Convention, our notes and reflections are based on the ethnological observation during two last sessions of the *Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* in Baku (December 2013) and Paris (November/December 2014) as well as in the course of the *General Assembly of State Parties to the Convention 2003* (June 2014).
10. Thorough information about Operational Directive see on <<http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?lg=en&pg=00026>>, accessed October 20, 2015.
11. See <<http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?lg=en&pg=00559>>, accessed October 20, 2015, about the role of the Representative List of Activities... in Slovakia see <<http://www.ludovakultura.sk/index.php?id=5966>>, accessed October 20, 2015.
12. See on <<http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?lg=en&pg=00748>>, accessed August 10, 2015.
13. The division of Election groups is retrieved from: <<http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?lg=en&pg=00586>>, alebo <<http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0015/001568/156826e.pdf#page=64>>, accessed August 28, 2015.
14. See <<http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?lg=en&pg=746>>, accessed August 12, 2015.
15. Aide memoire for completing a nomination to the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity, UNESCO 2014: 17, there you can find other sources, too..
16. The crusade for the „correctness“ of the language used began in the last decades of the 20th century, more about UNESCO as a source of “inappropriate language strategy” see in study by Marc Jacobs about cultural brokerage (Jacobs 2014: 268ff).
17. This List helps the states to mobilize the international cooperation and assistance for the preservation and passing-on this heritage with the participation of the communities concerned. Thirty-eight items have been inscribed on the List to date. See <<http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?lg=en&pg=00745>>.

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Summary

The contribution deals with the processes that are behind the creation of the lists of intangible cultural heritage at the national and especially the international level (UNESCO). It analyses the role of official documents, directives, materials, recommendations, etc. from the “workshop” of the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003) which plays a recommending role in the procedure of creation of the nomination registers of intangible cultural heritage which should be inscribed on one of the UNESCO Lists. Based on the participating observation from the sessions of the Intergovernmental committee (in 2013 and 2014) and the General Assembly of the 2013 Convention (in 2014) as well as written materials, the contribution shows with particular examples how necessary it is to maintain a balance between the ideas of communities (bearers of traditions), the scientific approach of experts (ethnologists, ethnomusicologists, ethnochoreologists, museologists...), interests of the member states to the 2003 Convention and UNESCO rules in the course of the nomination of particular elements..

Key words: Intangible cultural heritage; cultural politics; UNESCO; Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003); Lists of Intangible Cultural Heritage; local communities.

THE RIDE OF THE KINGS IN VLČNOV FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF CONTEMPORARY RESEARCH

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On 27th November 2011, the Ride of the Kings, a traditional custom in Moravia, was inscribed on the UNESCO Representative List of Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity (hereinafter only the “List”) and as such, it drew greater attention from the general public and the community of researchers. Although this custom became an attractive research theme for the first ethnographers (and remained an attractive theme all the time afterwards) this fact has put it in a new context, offering a wide spectrum of the hitherto less exploited opportunities to research it. Considering this, it was not by accident that the ICTM Study Group on Ethnochoreology chose the Ride of the Kings in Vlčnov to be the theme of their common field research in 2012. The fact that an international multi-language group of ethnologists / ethnochoreologists has decided to focus on this theme can create a contradictory impression at first glance. There is no possibility of direct contact with the local inhabitants, and limited knowledge of sources and the field. However, it is certain that this view from the outside confronted with the views anchored in the local taxonomy can offer a less common research perspective and break some stereotypes in the hitherto perception of this custom. This gave rise to a unique situation that started a number of questions that have become a guideline for the international pilot research in the above year as well as for another field survey which is still running within a smaller domestic team.¹

The purpose of the current research is not to deal with the historical context, which could contribute to the explanation of the Ride of the Kings origin, but to direct attention to its contemporary form and to try to indicate some hidden mechanisms that create its living character. However, I consider the following contemplation about the hitherto research to be essential, as the research captures different options with regard to how to interpret the expressions from several perspectives, so it can considerably help formulate other procedures, hypotheses and questions.

Unclear Origin of the Ride of the Kings

The Ride of the Kings as a phenomenon has been in the spotlight of collectors and researchers for more than one century.² At the end of the 19th century, the ethnographic journal *Český lid* (*The Czech Folk*) began to publish the first more systematic descriptions of the custom from different regions. Gradually, more and more studies have been trying to capture and define the complexity of this traditional phenomenon. The Czech cultural historian and ethnologist Čeněk Zíbrt (1889: 114) described the early-summer Ride of the Kings as a custom “shrouded in an inscrutable veil of mysterious ancient times”. With this, he foreshadowed one stage of the researchers’ efforts to trace the essence of its existence and understand its meaning. The literature hitherto includes a wide spectrum beginning with describing depictions of the course of the event (Zíbrt 1889, 1893, 1950, 2006; Zítek 1899) through professional treatises (Večerková 1969; Jeřábek 1971; Frolec 1979; 1984, 1990; Beneš 1992; Pavlicová 2007) up to searching for the secret past or the enigmatic origin of the Ride of the Kings, written as short sketches (Jilík 2007; Holcman 2012). The ethnologist Václav Frolec dealt with this phenomenon probably in the most consistent way. After having summarized the materials available in Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia, he tried to find more common principles of the existence of this custom in his monograph about the Ride of the Kings (Frolec 1990). Working with the sources and comparing them to the material in the neighbouring countries, he compiles basic data relating to the course of the custom. He also distinguishes between stable and variable elements whereby the stable ones, of course, had regional variations; the consequence of the elements could be different.

This summary of the basic elements appearing in the course of the custom can be understood as its structure:

- election of a new king (in the form of 1. dethroning the old king, 2. request for a king, 3. competition – putting the cattle out to graze);

- appeal to a village representative to permit the Ride;
- Ride or a walking procession round the village;
- town crying - chants, jokes;
- collecting gifts;
- chasing after the king (in the form of 1. racing on horses, 2. putting the cattle out to graze;
- a fictitious execution of the king (in the form of 1. pushing down to water, 2. knocking the crown off the king's head);
- dance party in the pub.

V. Frolec defines this custom tradition³ as a Whitsun King's Ride, Procession and Drama and indicates other internal relations within this complex with many meanings. He especially points out the abundance of meaning-carrying layers in particular, which consist of both the magic and ritual level as well as the social one. In his interpretation and perception of the Ride of the Kings, more levels cross each other. The researcher pays special attention to the different interpretations of the King's dress with dominating white colour and women's garments (Frolec 1990: 47). This fact prompts the comparison e.g. with the so-called Chasing after Kuruc in the 18th century, where a girl's dress might have replaced the mere sheet originally used to disguise the boy⁴, however, it also indicates a possible relation to the genesis of the springtime ceremonial procession "Little Queens". According to Frolec (1990: 48) and based on many parallels in neighbouring Austria and Germany, the King's and other participants' clothes made of bark and decorated with green twigs and flowers may refer to the participation of people in the annual renewal of the nature in spring and at the outset of summer. Referring to Č. Zibrt or J. G. Frazer, Frolec also mentions the connection with Roman Saturnalia and the medieval Festivals of Fools, when many theatre elements contained in the behaviour of the king and the members of his entourage point out the continuity between the medieval laugh culture and the younger folk tradition (Frolec 1990: 50–53).

The presence of many theatre elements aimed at the onlookers' amusement as well as many text stereotypes connected e.g. with the figure of announcer also indicate a connection with medieval theatre or Baroque neighbour's dramas. The prestige of victory as well as the takeover of the power of the temporary king's as one of the competitive elements can be understood as an expression of masculinity. The mimetic execution of the king also points out the transition from the old to the new

(the transformation of spring nature into summer one) with a noticeable resemblance to beheading the cock or ram, or throwing the goat down at the time of the feast. The presence of a horse also offers a bond to travelling around the milestones which marked off the field areas, or ceremonial rides on the feast day of the patron saints of cattle (Frolec 1990: 54–56). As resulting from the collected knowledge, the custom can be perceived as a polysemic form combining pre-Christian rites relating to the transition from spring to summer, a Christian theme of pupil's games as well as significant elements of the Festivals of Fools widespread throughout Europe.

Frolec (1990: 62) considers the 18th century to be the top period for Whitsun King's processions, rides and dramas in their living form. According to him, the reason for their disappearing might have lain in bans imposed on the King's dramas during which young people damaged forest areas. The research points out that even in the locations where the not fully forgotten tradition was revived or resumed after the Second World War, the Ride of the King lost its binding character as a custom, abandoned some expressions and accepted new elements. Frolec states that the former ceremonial rides change into the Ride of the Kings festivities to which other events, aimed at folklore presentation, are added – mainly performances of folklore groups and ensembles. As resulting from his field research, such festivities are no more just a matter of the village where they take place, but the corresponding promotion is organized to attract visitors also from distant places (Frolec 1990: 64). A significant change lies in the fact that in most cases it is not the *local youth* that initiate the Ride of the Kings, even though it would be not possible to perform the festivity without their understanding and willingness; the festivity is organized by folk groups, folklore ensembles, educational or community centres, different societies (mostly fire-fighters) and sports clubs. Frolec (1990: 64–68) also mentions that – besides the traditional course of the custom – the traditional date for the Ride, Whitsun Monday, was also still respected in the 1960s and 1970s. Riders' chants kept fixed rhymes as well as instant improvisations responding to the social situation in the village. The performance of the Ride of the Kings on different occasions, especially at ethnographic events with different themes, has quite a long tradition which commenced with the performance of the Ride at the *Czechoslovak Ethnographic Exhibition* in 1895.

V. Frolec (1979) thoroughly observes transformations in this custom tradition with special regard to the issues of time succession and continuity in preservation of and transformations in social meanings. He tries to unveil the complex process of its origin, development, preservation as well as disappearance and revival, while analysing the basic elements of the custom and comparing them in a synchronous and diachronous plan. Cartographic depiction of early-summer King's customs in different historical periods enables him to show the shift that happened in our territory during the 19th century, as the custom occurred in a significantly narrower space and survived with different intensity until the outset of the 20th century mainly in the Slovácko region, in the area of the towns of Uherské Hradiště, Uherský Brod, Kyjov and Strážnice (Frolec 1979: 423–424). These areas reflected most considerably the influence of the successful performance of the custom at the Czech-Slavic Ethnographic Exhibition, which became an important impetus to revive it in the local culture. Noteworthy also are the changes in the King's ride in the so-called *banderium*, documented e.g. as early as in the 1890s in Skoronice (Frolec 1979: 439). This was a festive ride on horses with a flag when the traditional custom of welcoming the church or the non-religious dignitaries was used at different village festivals or later on, for the purpose of patriotic propaganda.

Based on systematic research (transformations in the Ride of the Kings in Skoronice served as a model situation), Frolec came to several findings that indicate the possibility to study the phenomenon. This is especially the fact that *“in newer periods a custom is usually revived provided that in the village lives a personality with a wider interest in culture and with needful knowledge and experience, who has authority in the village community and is able to get the others interested in social and culture life. These are the authorities of informal bearers of the cultural life in the locality ...”* (Frolec 1979: 427). He also considers the fact that *“as soon as it came about that the procession stopped outside a house, this indicated the decrease in the social importance of the custom”* (Frolec 1979:430) to be an important moment in the transformation. In this way, he points out that the core of customs, such as chasing after the king or play the king (he holds the term “Ride of the King” to be younger) consists in their societal function which could have dominated since the origin of

this custom tradition, which was running at two basic levels. On the one hand it becomes a cultural pattern that expresses the relations among young people in the period, which was also crucial for the economic life of the village (putting out the cattle to graze), while on the other hand it helps exercise social control. The walking procession or the ride around the village allowed (by means of chanting) to share common opinions, attitudes and views within the entire village community (Frolec 1979: 434–38). However, Frolec understands the transformations in traditional customs as a gradual process, and develops a spectrum of model situations including possible transitional stages during which a shift in the perception of a traditional custom and the way the local community performs it occurs. Based on the field survey and available information, the researcher comes to the conclusion that *“interpersonal communication, the basis of which is to satisfy mutual contacts between members of a village community, to influence the formation of inter-generation relations and create stable human relations”* is one of the most important functions of a traditional custom. *“The traditional custom fulfils a function towards a small group”* (Frolec 1979: 440).

However, V. Frolec (1990: 17) also asks the question why the Ride of the Kings fascinates the contemporary



Ride of the Kings, Vičnov 1940. Photo collection of the National Institute of Folk Culture in Strážnice.

human – not in the position of a participant, but as a passive onlooker. He is interested in how a local inhabitant and how a foreign visitor experience the event. He points out that it is not possible to perceive the once important Whitsun custom and today's opulent popular festivity through superficial emotions and mere enthusiasm but solely through systematic study. All these reflections then offer a starting point for discovering other meaning-carrying levels that can be comprehended by high-quality research.

Transformations in the Whitsun King's Ride in connection with the change of societal climate became a detailed theme for the ethnologist Martina Pavlicová (2007). Based on repeated observation of the Ride of the Kings in the village of Hluk, she points out especially the facts that were a reason to revive the custom at the end of the 19th and especially at the outset of the 20th century and to keep on performing it regularly. She emphasizes the merit of enthusiastic promoters of traditional folk culture (František Kretz, Ladislav Rutte), personalities of the developing ethnographic discipline as well as later organizers of village cultural life thanks to whose effort the Ride of the Kings gradually became a part of the modern festivity and was performed more and more often for the public (Pavlicová 2007: 106–107). These personalities mostly mediated a kind of supervision over the safeguarding of the tradition and its “ethnographic purity”. Different associations (Moravsko-slovenská společnost – *Moravian-Slovak Society*, Národopisná Morava – *Ethnographic Moravia, to name a few*), whose activity during the Protectorate was often controversial, played an important role in this process. The period of political normalization in the second half of the 20th century brought about a paradoxical situation when some officially supported expressions, such as the Ride of the Kings, became an expression to speak out against the existing political regime, which showed itself e.g. in *town crying*. The author considers this ambivalence between the official presentation of folk culture and its own legacy to be a typical component of post-war folklorism (Pavlicová 2007: 121). In her essay about the transformations and the contemporary form of the Ride of the Kings, she tries “to capture various moments that can help in discovering the principles of transmission of traditional phenomena and its meaning in contemporary society”. She also asks the question “what makes a modern man preserve

a tradition the expressions of which are sometimes very distant from other activities in his life, yet they play an important role in it” (Pavlicová 2007: 147).

The ethnologist and publicist Josef Beneš dealt with the Ride of the Kings from the perspective of a local participant, unlike the above authors. He paid his attention to the course of the King's Rides in Vičnov, his native village. He perceives this phenomenon mainly from the point of view of a local participant who experiences his own role and position in the event. He highlights the role of young *legrúts* (*riders*) for whom this event is a crucial moment to demonstrate they have grown into adults, and he points out a possible interpretation of this tradition as an initiation rite. With this opinion, he follows Jan Pavelčík (1973) who interpreted this phenomenon as a test of maturity before, and – with tongue in cheek – he called it “savage confirmation”. However, Beneš also emphasizes the protective function of the custom, accentuating its connection with the ceremonial rides around villages – a magic act intended to protect the community and its fields. He perceives the female elements of the King's dress as a symbol relating to the cult of woman as a mother giving birth, and thus a guarantee of life (Beneš 1986).

The publicist Jiří Jilík (2007) agrees with the above interpretation – his contemplation titled *Záhadná jízda králů* (*Mysterious Ride of the Kings*) is a source providing a view by means of his personal experience. The thoughts of the writer Josef Holcman (2012), a native from Skoronice and a regular participant in the King's Ride, also give us valuable impetuses for investigation. He explains the given phenomenon from the view of a participant and in his memoir-like contemplations he thinks about the meaning and importance of the custom for the entire community sharing it. This emic approach can confirm numerous conjectures about several levels at which one can understand the importance of the custom in relation to a different period of its existence. In connection with the era of political normalization, Holcman becomes aware of the meaning of this behaviour. This can provide a kind of escape from the depressing reality into a world of other, acceptable rules, i.e. a situation that can be understood as a liminal state, defined by Victor Turner (2004), which allows us to leave the ordinary structure temporarily. Holcman's perception of the custom as an initiation rite for adolescent men seems to be not less justifiable.

The personal experience is accentuated here as a way to comprehend the importance of the Ride of the Kings: *"...when the scientists search for the origin of the Ride of the Kings without sitting once on a horse then the one who has been riding for so many years, experiencing the feelings of the hundred-year-old riders, will be in an easier situation than they will.... Can the feelings from such a journey through elapsed time suggest something about what the origin (mystery) of the Ride of the Kings is? Can they submit a contemporary report about the past for the future?"* (Holcman 2012: 338). However, the author is also interested in a purely topical meaning of the event which can be clear of its original connotations to a certain extent: *"...the Ride of the Kings does not have much to do with a rational speculation; it originated in an experience and it is an experience because it expresses itself through an image. Even if it did not include the mystery of the elapsed centuries, it includes the contemporary mystery – why are we doing something which we are worried about half a year in advance? Where does the reason come from that we are ready to sacrifice money, time or our own ego during the preparations? Do we wish to learn something about it or rather about us while returning to it?"* (Holcman 2012: 335)

As mentioned above, the present research and this study do not intend to contribute to the extension of a spectrum of theories trying to explain the origin of the early-summer king's procession and to keep on interpreting the historical source; they intend to focus on the actual form of the traditional custom and to put it through qualitative research where the unity of place and time becomes the basic rule. The hitherto ways of explaining the importance of the traditional custom and its presence in today's world can serve as a starting strategy for further investigations focused mainly on its actual forms. The last perspective also opens the possibility to ground the research on empathy and an emotional approach that can become a specific way to get data. The newly selected methods of anthropological research allow us to search for the sense of the traditional expression especially at its social level and to comprehend its importance within the symbolic and the cognitive dimensions. It is necessary to take into consideration the multivocality of symbols when one symbol can have several meanings and can be interpreted by different people in different ways.

Field Research as an Experiment

The inscription of the Ride of the Kings on the UNESCO List⁵ was not the only reason why the Ethnochoreological Study Group ICTM decided to direct its attention to this phenomenon. This group deals with the theme of field research repeatedly at its regular symposiums and smaller work meetings.⁶ The group includes an active-working sub-group focused on field research – ICTM Sub-Study Group on Field Research Theory and Methods – founded and for nearly two decades led by Anca Giurchescu, a Romanian ethnochoreologist living in Denmark. Similar fieldwork outlined as an experiment and implemented in a group has the purpose of not only interconnecting different points of view of the research within a common objective, but especially allowing a continuous confrontation of the knowledge directly in the field and finding a new question flexibly. This method proves its worth where the objective is to capture several parallel processes that are instrumental in preserving a phenomenon with a rich structure (ritual or custom) and to understand the meaning of this complex. This mostly concerns events whose integral part is dance whereby the dance expression stands for one of the structure-forming units contributing to the preservation of the whole. A similar complex usually features multivocality and polysemanticity of its particular elements. The



*The three-day festival also includes a fair with traditional products.
Photo D. Stavělová 2015*

discourse nature of group research can correspond to the arbitrariness of the signs of the monitored system.⁷ Continuing the previous experience, the common research focused on the study of the traditional custom of the Ride of the Kings was outlined in a similar way. The fact that the inscription of the Ride of the Kings on the UNESCO List creates a new situation in terms of its further existence also became an important starting point for the field work – as if a new chapter of the traditional custom's life opened, which is not less attractive than that preceding the inscription.

This group of researchers directs its attention predominantly to the study of dance. For this reason the fact that the king's ride is rigorously tied to the dance expression today became a starting factor for observing this traditional custom. Although in its current appearance, the dance is not perceived explicitly as a matter that cannot be missing at the king's ride, it is not possible to omit the role the dance plays in creating "appropriate" situations to make some stages of the ride's course more visible, and mainly in giving the chance to share these situations (as a dance participant or an onlooker). People dance at the ball in January following the election of the new king, at the Friday evening party with cimbalom music following the contest of *verbunk* dancers; Saturday evening offers the chance to get involved in dancing at the

evening entertainment in the *búdy* [vineculture buildings] area and the king's ride is officially closed with a stylized dance in the local amphitheatre. These moments, which allow the visitor to stay, have a rest and become a part of interactions or a corresponding communication, play their unquestionable role and the dance as a part of them gets new dimensions within the changing context of the current king's ride.

The focus on only one location became an important strategy. The main reason for such limitation lay in the chosen methods of data collection which were to allow exploitation of detailed observation and personal contact to the largest possible extent. For this purpose, the village of Vlčnov was also chosen with regard to the chance to enter into closer contacts with the local inhabitants, and to some specific features in implementing the custom: the king's ride held regularly every year, stress put on a certain age of the entourage members, presence of important local authorities who have an indisputable influence on the every-year organization of the festivity with the king's ride. The connection of the ceremonial ride with the folklore festival affiliated later, invites some stimulating theoretical questions that relate to the transformation in the traditional expression and its viability under the condition of today's society. Observation, interviews and visual documentation of a particular year of the Ride of



Like a media star... The king is being dressed in his home yard in the crossfire of cameras. Photo Daniela Stavělová 2015.



The amusement area is aside from the main venue, however, it is also an integral part of the festivity. 2015. Photo D. Stavělová 2015.

the Kings in Vlíčov became the basic method of the qualitative research defined as “here and now”.

In 2012, the team of researchers consisted of five foreign and eight Czech members, including five students of master and doctoral degree studies (HAMU and FHS UK Prague). Since the beginning, the specific form of this collective research evolved, through a different generation’s technique used for collecting field data. The group of older researchers concentrated rather on interviews with local authorities while the younger group of students were closer to the ways of communication of the main actors’ (*legrůt*) age category. The advantage of this fieldwork concept was the opportunity for the younger-age category to become more active attendants at the event (e.g. as guests invited to purely private events in the king’s house) and to get involved in interactions with the community of the local youth. They could reach the position as *insider* more easily while the other team members mediated exclusively an *outsider’s* perspective.

On the other hand, the limited flexibility of interviews conducted by the whole group was a disadvantage of the common procedure. It was not possible to reflect a number of spontaneous questions and the intended “understanding dialogue” (Kaufmann 2010) had to be guided, controlled or terminated prematurely. Of course, smooth running was also disturbed by the simultaneous interpreting to the foreign members.

On the other hand, however, the presence of foreign researchers encouraged expressions among the local organizers and actors that would not be so obvious under less “representative” conditions. This concerns especially the tendency to point out how important the responsibility towards the traditional custom and its preservation is, or to emphasize the necessity of a kind of continual supervision over its existence. The group of researchers including foreign members also became quite noticeable and they were invited to official festivity events as VIP guests. This raised the question to what extent this “foreign” interest, which crosses the local and the national borders, influences the course of the event, and is reflected in its contemporary appearance and in the process of creating the awareness of so-called ownership of tradition (Bakka 2002).

Different techniques of documenting constituted another important factor of the group research. The

role and position of each member of the team was clearly defined by their personal preferences to write a fieldwork diary, to make records of and to process the interviews or to take visual documentation: photographs or documentaries. The assigned tasks allowed us to focus on one type of documentation only and to use it to the maximum extent. The fact that particular members could appear in different social roles to the respondents (a student, an ethnologist, a foreigner, a Prague inhabitant, a girl, a man) was not less significant. This was very important for making contacts. Findings acquired from the different positions were continuously confronted by the whole group in their common debates.

Another advantage was that many simultaneous expressions could be observed from different posts. So, it was possible to capture e.g. the reactions of people at the same time in different places of the running event and to compare them. These findings turned out to be important, e.g. when assessing the local inhabitants’ attitudes to a particular action.

The observation of the image of the Ride of the Kings continuously created by different mass media (radio, television, press, and Internet websites) was another useful part of this field research. Particular reports – texts were collected that differed in their reporting about the perception of this traditional phenomenon in modern society – beginning with the romantizing approach of its enthusiastic fans up to a rejecting standpoint which was ironical about the occurrence of the tradition at present, pointing out the absurdness of this situation.

Object Constructing

The inscription of the observed phenomenon on the UNESCO List became a significant reality that brought up a number of basic research questions. Above all, we were interested in the local community’s reason for submitting the proposal to inscribe the Ride of the Kings on that List. This evoked another logical question about the impact of this on sharing the Ride with the local community.

Because the king’s ride has become part of a three-day Vlíčov festival⁸ which is organized every last weekend in May, it was primarily necessary to get the range of observations straight. The group of researchers agreed to comprehend the Ride of the Kings as a three-day event beginning with the regional round of the contest of *Slovácko Verbuňk* dancers from the region of Uherský

Brod on Friday evening.⁹ Saturday evening at the local Sports and Culture Club is devoted to the modern custom of passing the king's reign on; on Sunday morning, the king's ride starts outside the house of the king after the king and his entourage have taken part in a festive church service and received the Mayor's permission for the procession. The entire festival is officially closed with King's Circlet on Sunday afternoon. The Circlet is a performance of the king's entourage at the local



*The women's clothes worn by the king are taken very seriously.
Photo Daniela Stavělová 2015.*

amphitheatre in front of a large audience. In addition to the above crucial acts, the group of researchers also carefully observed other parts of the three-day festival including e.g. a demonstration of making roses to decorate horses and traditional crocheting, a fair with traditional products and fairground amusements, a performance of guest ensembles and music bands – Singing for the King, a procession in folk costumes with participating villages, free entertainment with cimbalom music bands, dance parties, exhibitions and film performances. The observation covered what the village lived on for three days, in which way it participated in particular events, what was organized with regard to local inhabitants and what there was to attract visitors.

The fact that this was a three-day festival gave rise to other questions:

- we were interested to know in what sense one can speak about a living tradition;
- whether this is a revitalization, revival or reconstruction of a traditional phenomenon;
- whether the contemporary appearance of the Vličnov Ride of the Kings can be characterized using the concepts *participatory* and *presentational*;¹⁰
- what kinds of transformational processes can be noticed within the contemporary appearance of the custom.

However, one of the major research objectives was to answer the following questions: in which way is the fact that the Ride was inscribed on the UNESCO List reflected in the continuing existence of the Ride of the Kings and how does this fact relate to the distribution of competences and authority to decide about the next appearance of the traditional expression. These basic questions were, of course, replenished by other ones immediately resulting from the fieldwork. The continuous construction of hypotheses based on fieldwork data, and the corresponding ability to adapt or change these data was one of the basic features of this collective research – experiment. However, the question to what extent one can speak about a living tradition here, which is also the subject-matter of considerations when evaluating the nominations to the UNESCO List, became a central theme that accompanied the field research from the very beginning. It will probably never be easy to answer this question – a number of opposing factors and changing facts play their role here. All the researchers in the group agreed that

the questions to what extent the actors organize the event for themselves and why, and when they rather present themselves, their village or tradition, became the most burning and exciting ones in this research – experiment. However, we approached these questions while speaking different languages, being of different age and gender and dealing with different disciplines.

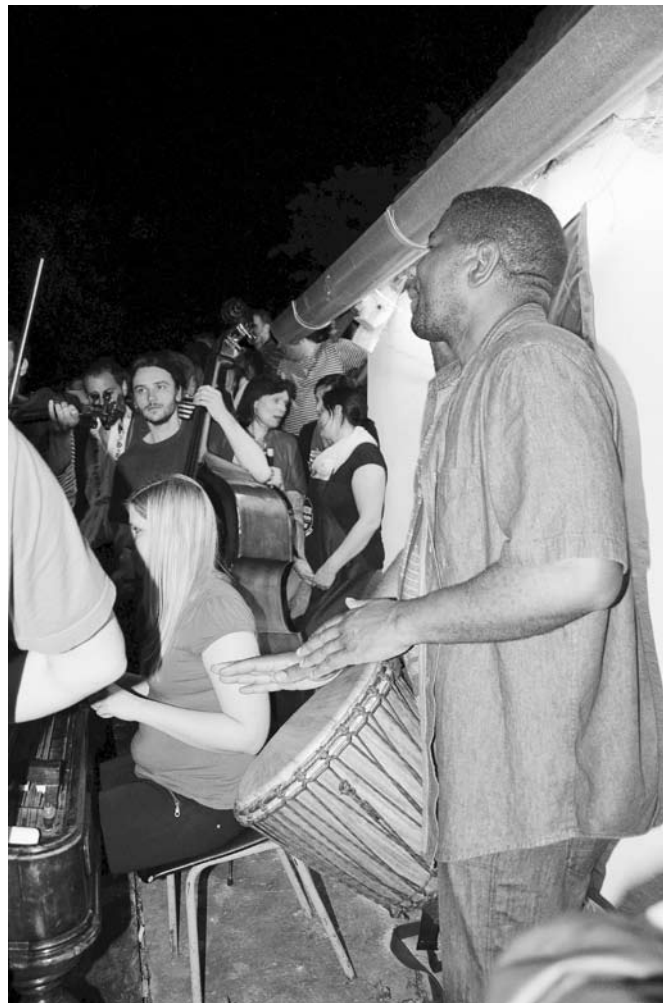
The differentiation between the concepts *participatory* (accentuating the action) and *presentational* (accentuating the demonstration outwardly) became an important support when constructing the object of the study. These concepts have been used by ethnochoreology (Dunin 1989; Kaeppler 1989, 1993; Nahachewsky 1995) to date, especially in connection with dance; however, they allow other cultural expression to be viewed in that way as well. The above two categories show the profile of an expression from the point of view of different motives which play a leading role in its demonstration. The first category features spontaneity and does not require preliminary long-term preparation; its focal point lies in the actor himself – the process is important, not its result. It occurs wherever a certain group of people meets in any informal social environment (in a private house, on the pavement etc.). Contrary to this, the other category of expression requires a special location that creates a physical and cultural distance between the demonstrator and the onlooker (e.g. stage)

From this point of view, the typology “participatory – presentational” corresponds to the identity of the recipient of the communicated message. In this sense, one can also see the wider compound of the custom and its viability within a given community. The major subject of interest is to search for a certain proportion between both concepts as well as between the festival and the custom tradition. We are interested in how the main actors of the three-day king’s ride identify with this and how they adapt their behaviour to the different positions as recipients of the expression.

The Unity of Place and Time (Methods)

The restricted and particular nature of this international research required the application of such methods that would enable us to get a sufficient quantity of data within the limited time and spatial plan, so that new questions could continuously be formulated and re-evaluated and other hypotheses created. It was not a matter of the

length of our observations of the phenomenon, but what could currently be noticed, e.g. also from the perspective of different generations. The observation of the course of the event without any external interventions and the interviews conducted mostly by the younger group of Czech researchers became the basic tool. The focus was on observing the people and interviews conducted with them about what they do and how they think and speak – all this was to show how they understand their world. In



Supervision at the highest level – a UNESCO commissary playing his own instrument with a Moravian cimbalom band. Vičnov 2014. Photo Daniela Stavělová 2014.

this respect, the observation is not a research technique but a way of being in the world that is a subject matter of research (Atkinson – Hammersley 1994; Delamont 2004; Silverman 2006).

Interviews conducted together by all the research participants with local authorities (Chairman of the Sports and Culture Club, Mayor of the village) in the king's house as well as in some riders' families were outlined as semi-constructed ones. The questions were selected and discussed together and in advance, although it was not easy to adhere to the plan on the spot and the researchers' reactions became more and more spontaneous. The responsiveness of those asked and their willingness to engage in informal contact, of course, encouraged more improvisation and new questions.

Non-structured interviews that mainly the younger generation of researchers conducted with attendants at the Ride and its major actors, *legrúts*, to whom most attention was given, became a significant component. The further existence of the current Ride of the Kings festivity depends crucially on their willingness to take part in the ride as well as on their commitment to this issue. It could happen that one day most of the possible (suitable as to their age) candidates decide they are not willing to prepare the event and that they have different, more important interests. Such an if/then (used as a means in alternative history) became a tool of consideration regarding how to get impulses for further questions. The "participatory-presentational" typology became a starting point for the research into the importance of the current festivity for them, which place the participation in the ride occupies in their life and to what extent they perceive the ride as an opportunity to strengthen the community consciousness. The young participants in the research were able to easily find their own methods of communication towards people of a similar age. They were guests to private moments of their meetings and preparations, undisclosed to the public, and they established informal contacts with them. An impersonal and standardized interview was excluded here while the interviewers' passion (providing that it is only the interviewer's passion that can awaken the respondent's passion) and empathy aimed at genuine comprehension of the event and its actors became an important investment. As emphasized by Kaufmann (2010: 62–63), empathy is to make an insight into the respondent's world possible, even though such an insight is not a final goal because it is just a means to capture the social mechanisms or

to create new concepts. According to him, empathy and sympathy should be tightly linked and a researcher must be nice, positive and open to everything his counterpart says. He should not limit himself to asking questions but he also should laugh, flatter and briefly express his opinion or disagreement. Such interviews thus feature the abolition of hierarchy as a respondent is not uncertainly asked about his opinion, but he becomes a key figure due to his valuable knowledge the interviewer does not have. Both contrast roles reach a balance and what the respondent does is that he tries to express his opinion even better to strengthen his role in the interaction. It is nevertheless important for the respondent to understand that the interviewer is really interested in him, and that he tries to penetrate into the depth of his world, to understand his system of thought and to deal with the respondent's own categories as the respondent does himself. During such an understanding interview, the questions are compiled a little like a scientific object: "*it is necessary to pay attention to the coherence, to strengthen the salient, to watch the marginal, to exclude the superfluous*" (Kaufmann 2010: 53–54).

The younger members of the research group succeeded in implementing the above steps almost in full; they were also successful in trivializing the exceptionality where, as Paul Rabinow mentions (1988), a researcher lets his respondent get out of his usual frame, encouraging him to reflect on himself and the corresponding object. For this reason, the experimental nature of the situation is escalated and even the researcher starts perceiving the situation to be non-problematic, open and easy. In this practice, the understanding interview, which creates a completely unique frame, becomes as banal as possible in the end. Even the above procedure does not exclude deformations of reality and untruthfulness of life stories which the researcher always has to be careful of as with a real situation.

The observation and the continuous monitoring of the course of the entire three-day event became a crucial domain mainly for foreign participants in the research. Due to language limitations, their focus on visual perception of actors and onlookers' behaviour and reactions as well as on the total image of the current event was even more intensive. They tried to recognize the elements which were in accordance with the concept "participatory" and those termed as "presentational", and to find out which ways or what kind of behaviour of all

components involved emphasized one side or the other of the typological axis. They paid attention to how these categories are fulfilled by organizers of particular cultural events, actors of the Ride, local authorities towards local and non-local people; in which way the general public is involved in the festivity, what can be perceived as a certain kind of supervision over the tradition, to what extent the needs of a human are reflected in this realm and when this concerns the needs of a group, what can be considered a pressure from the outside which strengthens the tradition, and which kind of impetuses to preserve it comes from the local inhabitants, etc.

From the Field to the Text

The 2012 collective field research was pilot research which became a starting point for hypotheses and other theoretical work. It was not expected to give rise to a series of studies, based on the collected data, which would allow any other comparison with or confirmation of the hitherto hypotheses. This “work in progress” resulted in a research report that was based on the procession of semi-structured and non-structured interviews (Dotlačilová – Slavíková – Syslová – Zilvarová 2013), on the fieldwork diary (Andersen – Hansen 2013), on the content analysis of source material (Gremlicová – Zilvarová 2013) as well as on the following problematization of the theme, giving rise to other questions that contribute to the creation of new knowledge during the research (Giurchescu 2013; Felföldi 2013).

The latter two contributions (Giurchescu 2013; Felföldi 2013) try to interconnect the theory and the field, i.e. the *grounded theory*, whereby the general theory is not formed by a systematic accumulation but, on the contrary, by a thorough elaboration of the smallest things possible.¹¹ Mutual influence between the ritual and the festivity (an attractive show or festival) is monitored. In line with Anka Giurchescu’s statement (2013: 43), at the official level, the festivity is primarily a political, societal and ethic discourse about local identity, social hierarchy and structure, about traditional and new values. When accentuating the uninterrupted development of the local tradition, the ritual provided an appropriate reason or motivation for the existence of the festivity; and vice versa, the festivity contributed, directly or indirectly, to the promotion and preservation of the ritual event. Furthermore, the author states that symbiosis and interaction between the cultural traditions (the Ride of the Kings) and the arbitrarily added

festivity (festival) have ambivalent consequences for each of them. The recent development of the Vličnov Ride of the Kings’ folklore festival as an international tourist cultural commodity contributed to a great degree to enhancing the symbolic and material values of the Ride of the Kings’ ritualistic form in the collective consciousness of the local people. On the other hand, the Ride of the Kings as a traditional event supports and legitimates the existence of the festivity. From this we may surmise that the local organizers are intentionally trying to increase the aesthetic and spectacle components of the tradition and to make its messages (local identity, uniqueness) explicit (Giurchescu 2013: 45).

Three Years Later

The international pilot research carried out by the specialized section of the ICTM Study Group on Ethnochoreology mainly from the perspective of an outsider was to bring up researchers’ questions and to formulate hypotheses which should be improved by the follow-up long-term survey. However, the question is what the current research can deliver as its contribution to extend or improve the knowledge about the Ride of the Kings both at the level of a historical study and within its social dimension. However, the focus of the follow-up field survey, which runs annually in a small domestic group, is on receiving the data which allow us to explain the meaning of this traditional phenomenon within contemporary society and which could help to comprehend the hidden mechanisms that fill the expression with a content with which the current actors are able to identify. These mechanisms can often lie at the level of the unconscious, but the existing cultural pattern and the compliance therewith by all the engaged actors can help to start them up.

Another important question is what kinds of external and internal influences - and to what extent - have an effect on preservation of this traditional cultural pattern on the one hand, and on maintaining the awareness of a kind of knowledge transforming the pattern into a functional tool on the other. This is also linked to the increase in the value of innovations and their contribution to filling the pattern with a new content. For this reason, the observation of transformations is one of the most important issues of the ongoing field research. Within the pilot research, László Felföldi pointed out the options in the approach that can uncover the motivation and dynamics of the changes made by the attendants at the

event (2013: 47). The changes show how the traditional expression is manipulated in order to encourage the experience of exceptionality and uniqueness connected with the awareness of local affiliation. That is why a number of elements of the traditional custom have a discourse nature today. For instance, the king's ritual dressing is negotiated repeatedly and the original intimate family ritual has changed more and more into a public matter. The reason for this is the respected interest of the general public whose attendance is becoming a necessary part of the festivity – for this reason, the organizers pay great attention to the appearance and aggrandisement of the village, which is to become a friendly and hospitable place during the festivity.

The activity of local authorities who are intentionally instrumental in the course of collective emotions within particular situations (when the king passes on his reign, Sunday holy mass for the king and riders and maidens of the king's year of birth – *legrůti* and *družice*, reception of the group by the Mayor, etc.) is an inseparable factor. In public speeches, the importance of the affiliation to a community in possession of a unique culture heritage is emphasized; it is also necessary to accentuate this affiliation by wearing the local folk costume. This symbol is made visible at all levels of the festivity; its aesthetical impressiveness is thoughtfully applied at different stages of social experiences. The immersion in local uniqueness and possession of important cultural heritage obviously heads towards a strengthened bond to the place, its history and exceptionality. This awareness has an undoubted and retrospective effect to motivate future generations of boys and their families to get actively involved in the course of the festivity and to ensure its future existence, to which

the village undertook itself upon the inscription on the UNESCO List.

The issue of possession has a wider dimension, as Felföldi deduces from the pilot research (2013: 49–50): *"We may think, obviously, that the 'natural owners' of the Ride of the King are the local communities who practice it regularly for their own purposes. That is right. But, it is also implicit that the above listed decision makers develop their own sense of ownership and seek to control the future of the ritual. They may have their own developmental ideas about it. It may happen that researchers, governmental agents (national or local), media managers, tourist agencies involved in the Ride of the Kings as participants of the whole event, seek more control in the formation of the ritual. So, the decision-making potential of the local community might be violated."* The analysis of this perspective – the reconciliation of the inner and outer efforts – became one of the crucial points of the continuous research. In this respect the Ride of the Kings festivity can be considered an institutionalized event for which the supervision and decision-making is negotiated between the Sports and Culture Club in Vlčnov, the Ride of the Kings Society (in terms of documentation), the National Institute of Folk Culture in Strážnice (which played an important role in the nomination of the Ride for the UNESCO List) and the local municipality (Mayor of the village).

It will be necessary to search for answers to the questions brought up especially at the social level where contemplations about strengthening the integrity and forming the local identity and awareness of a functioning community begin. The traditional custom could be instrumental in the existence of these processes in a completely different way than its original mission was.

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NOTES:

1. Comp. to a briefer Czech version of the article (Stavělová 2012: 3–14).
2. The Whitsun King's ceremony in Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia took place traditionally on Whit Monday. It was initiated by the young generation, aged between 13 and 20 years. The Whitsun tradition is now generally known as the Ride of the Kings; previously it was also known as "the Chase of the King". The main participants in the King's procession on horseback are the King and his aides, standard-bearers, heralds and collectors. The King may not speak nor even smile. For this reason he holds a rose between his lips throughout the ceremony. The Ride of the Kings

takes place seriously and ceremoniously. The King is also helped by the ceremonial traditional costume: the King and his aides are dressed in women's costumes, the rest of the participants in the Ride of the Kings wear ceremonial men's clothes. The King has one hand on his hip and rides a white horse, the aides carry swords, and the standard-bearer carries a standard. The procession rides right through the village and the heralds call out short addresses at individual houses which contain both positive and negative comments about members of the village community and also general opinions. These days they often also make rhyming

- statements about outsiders watching the ceremony. For this “town crying” they are given presents which are taken by the collectors.
3. V. Frolec (1982: 261) considered the folk custom tradition to be a part of the custom situation that also covers the folk ceremonial culture. This includes folk custom, habit and tradition on the one hand, and the traditional ritual on the other. According to him, the custom situation is a starting point that distinguishes the phenomenon from traditional entertainment, feasts or festivities which can be defined as contemporary social and cultural expression of local nature closely related to traditional forms or featuring traditional elements.
 4. This comparison is offered by R. Jeřábek (1971: 113, 123) in his analysis of the report of the so-called chase after Kuruc in Bojkovice in the 19th century.
 5. The proposal for the nomination to inscribe the Ride of the Kings on the UNESCO Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity was made on the basis of a survey into its contemporary existence in the villages of Skoronice, Hluk, Vlčnov and Kunovice.
 6. For the last time, it was the 24th Symposium of the ICTM Study Group on Ethnochoreology in Cluj, Romania, in 2006 that dealt with the issues of field research, namely within one of two principal themes of the symposium: From Field to Text (Dunin – Giurchescu – Könczei 2012).
 7. The documentary depicting the interconnection and compactness of the Căluș door-to-door procession (Ronström 2005) is one of the outcomes from a similarly outlined research that was implemented in 1993 in the Pentecost period in South Romania. The visual study bears witness to the period transformations in the meaning of the custom and its close connection with the social reality.
 8. The traditional event was extended to a festival in 1964. In the words of J. Pavelčík, the Chairman of the Sports and Culture Club, the main reason was to ensure a more varied programme for the visitors coming from distant locations and to offer them something more than just the king's ride which would not be worth a long journey.
- The term “The Ride of the Kings” refers to the presence of the royal entourage around the village, and the three-day festivity/festival of which the Ride is a part (including the preparations for it).
9. Verbuňk, the men's folk dance from the ethnographic area of Slovácko in the South-East of the Czech Republic was inscribed on the UNESCO List in 2005. The modern contest of verbuňk dancers is annually crowned by its finale at the International Folklore Festival in Strážnice.
 10. Within the ethnochoreological category, the concepts “participatory” and “presentational” were accepted even sooner than they became a subject matter of an independent theoretical study. Nobody before Andriy Nahachewsky (1995) had focused on a thorough analysis of them; he explained their importance on an example of distinguishing different ways of performing the kolomyjka dance in the Ukraine diaspora in Canada.
 11. This paradox was emphasized by Clifford Geertz (2000) who stated that even at the most reduced level we hope to find what escapes us at the level of the whole, and we try to discover general truths by investigating particular cases thoroughly. According to him, the purpose is to deduce big conclusions from small facts. In the case of the mentioned research, one can speak rather about an analytical induction due to the considerable direction towards the formulation of a theory, using a low number of key variables and negative case (Kaufmann 2010: 103). Currently, this procedure can bring up noticeable impulses to create basic hypotheses; however, it would be wrong to pass this first level of problematisation as sufficient for climbing up to theoretical peaks. However, the field research serves as a starting point for the theory that evolves in uninterrupted contact with data. At the next stage, it will be necessary to get rid of the simplifying induction and to connect it with well-established theoretical attitudes checked by the field. It will be necessary “to mix the concepts arising from the contact with facts and more distant concepts which move in the opposite direction towards the field” (Kaufmann 2010: 107).

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Abstract

The Ride of the Kings in Vlčnov from the Perspective of Contemporary Research

The contribution introduces the theme of research into a traditional Pentecost custom – the Ride of the Kings – in one of the ethnographic areas in the Czech Republic. The text is based on the contributions that became outcomes of international field research in a Czech location. This research was carried out thanks to the initiative of the ICTM Study Group on Ethnochoreology. The Group has dealt systematically with fieldwork through the ICTM Sub-Study Group of Field Research Theory and Method, a narrower-aimed study sub-group. The research focused on the traditional custom of the Ride of the Kings in the village of Vlčnov, which was chosen with special respect to the background provided by the inscription of the Ride on the UNESCO Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity. The fact is undoubtedly reflected in how the outside world perceives the Ride and how the Ride is shared by the local community. It provides a space for research on viability and the process of transformations in this traditional expression in contemporary society.

Key words: Ride of the Kings; field research; methodology; festival; traditional custom; Vlčnov.

THE RIDE OF THE KINGS FESTIVAL DURING THE 2015 YEAR: Vičnov 24 January and 29– 31 May 2015.
Photo Daniela Stavělová



1) Folk costume ball in January at which the new king is introduced for the first time.



3) The generation continuity is expressed through the follow-up dance of the entourage members with their parents.



4) Waltz danced by the new king with his mother is a crucial moment.



2) The king is surrounded by the eighteen-year-old members of his entourage who will accompany him during the entire ride of the kings.



5) All visitors to the ball dance common ballroom dances late into the night.



6) Saturday at the last weekend in May is dominated by the preparations which reach their peak in the decorated house of the king's family.



7) The little king does not think about the significance of the event and he continues to carry out his common activities.



8) While the king's reign is passed on in the evening, the little king is ceremonially dressed by his mother in the women's folk costume; he takes this ceremony very seriously.



9) After that, the old king hands over the royal headdress as a symbol of reign.



10) The new king makes a commitment to take care of folk songs and dances, then he is given a rose that he holds between his lips and that obliges him to be silent during the entire ride.



11) The entourage members carry the king away in a festive procession across the hall. This is a moment which all participants perceive with high emotions.



12) The Sunday morning begins with the holy mass for the king and his entourage. After the mass, the whole group with the king and his family poses for a photo.



15) After his return from church, the king wears women's clothing – now in the yard of his house in front of guests and mass media. The originally intimate moment is disturbed by photo hunters.



13) The king and his entourage are received by the Mayor at the village hall; outside the village hall the king's mother and maidens are given flowers. Then the Mayor permits the ride.



16) In the end, a group of relatives manages to be photographed with the dressed king in the house passage.



14) Those who decorate the horses work very hard near the king's house.



17) Other inpatient visitors keen on taking further photos wait outside the king's house.



18) The king is expected by his aides here.



21) Legrúts, riding their horses behind the king and aides, draw attention of all onlookers by their short chants – town crying.



19) Legrúti are ready to set off down the streets.



22) In the afternoon, a folk costume procession with all folklore ensembles goes around the village. Children of the youngest age group are inseparable part of the procession.



20) The Ride of the Kings as a procession along the marked path is opened – the procession is led by the king on a white horse that is led by the king's father; the king is accompanied by his two aides.



23) The procession is closed by the ride of the kings with legrúts of the following year on a wagon – as a promise of the continuing festivity.

FOLK ART AND CRAFT AS CULTURAL HERITAGE. ETHNOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE AND PRACTICE ON AN EXAMPLE OF SLOVAKIA

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The safeguarding of cultural heritage is a topical theme worldwide. The original concept which related mainly to the protection of cultural monuments, towns and landscape of national importance was gradually extended by new categories. Conventions from 1954, 1972, 2001, 2003 and 2005 adopted by UNESCO, an organization for which the safeguarding of the world's cultural heritage is one of its priority activities, demonstrates the abovementioned fact. As resulting from the last Conventions, especially the one from 2003, cultural heritage does not include tangible forms only, such as artefacts, buildings, landscapes, but also verbal and intangible forms. These also incorporate "tangible" tools, objects, artefacts and cultural areas, but only those that show their relationship to practices, imaginations, knowledge and skills that communities, groups or sometimes even individuals consider to be a part of their cultural heritage (Schreiber 2014: 389). If understood in the above way tangible heritage is naturally connected with the intangible. The formulation of intangible cultural heritage allows different elements of traditional folk culture, including folklore to be safeguarded.

Moreover, the 2003 Convention offers an innovative perspective on the cultural heritage concept as it protects cultural heritage elements through the context in which they exist, and emphasizes the process of the construction of identification. "That kind of intangible cultural heritage is passed down from generation to generation; it is completed by communities and groups living in the relation to the surrounding nature, environment and its history. It also strengthens the feelings of identity and continuousness through which it participates in the increasing appreciation of cultural diversity and human creativity." (Schreiber 2014: 391)¹

The 2003 document should also be legal protection for creators, bearers of and researchers into contemporary folk culture. The legal protection, however, has become a matter of discussion between lawyers and ethnologists in which two different worlds bump against each other – a paradigm of legal security and a paradigm

of ethnological doubts. When analysing legislative regulations, ethnologists pointed out some problematic wording of certain paragraphs. These concern, for instance, confusion between cultural heritage and cultural ownership as well as contexts in which they are used (Luther 2013: 16–19; Schreiber 2014: 404).

In Slovakia as well as in other countries, more participants are entering the process of assessing the phenomena of traditional folk culture and defining their price as a cultural heritage worth protecting. The Ministry of Culture with its cultural policy is a nation-wide participant. Based on governmental conception, a Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Slovakia was created in Slovakia. The implementation of the List is the responsibility of the Centre for Traditional Folk Culture at the Slovakian Folk Art Collective (SLUK) through its commission of experts and in cooperation with the Ministry. To a certain extent, other state-funded institutions – museums, civic centres, the Centre for Folk Arts and Crafts /ÚĽUV/ – take an indirect part in determining what should be pointed out, highlighted and supported within the spectrum of folklore elements and artefacts. At regional and local levels, different local associations, civic initiatives, clubs and societies take part in events related to cultural heritage. Schools aimed at regional education occupy a significant place as well. The role of activity leaders – instructors at folk craft courses, leaders of folklore ensembles – is important, too. Everything that has been mentioned above is interlaced with assessing the votes of experts – curators of monuments, museum workers, ethnologists, cultural anthropologists, choreographers, musicians, architects, and designers. A plethora of participants, of course, means a number of votes and different views on what we can consider to be traditional folk culture. Should it be held for a historically closed chapter only, a "storage chest" for valuable phenomena which have to be protected, maintained and passed down from generation to generation; or should it be understood as a viable and unlocked entity maintained through memory and recollections but re-created intentionally through

reconstructions, stylizations, selection of fragments with the intention to represent a location, a region, the nation?

In the following text I would like to pay attention to question marks pertaining to the interpretation of the terms “folk culture” and “traditional folk culture” in relation to “cultural heritage” as these questions have been asked and answered by ethnographers, folklorists, ethnologists and cultural anthropologists in different periods, and the content of these terms has changed within everyday life in Slovakia. My focus will be on the tangible forms of graphic, manufacture and handicraft tradition, on consumers and creators of this who to this day are defined as “folk craftsmen”. They are awarded titles such as “Folk Art Producer” or “Master of Folk Art Production”.

In the narrower sense and from the historical perspective, traditional folk production and folk crafts and their representatives – producers and artisans – can be perceived as being closely connected with traditionalist rural society – a society with a non-bourgeois style of life; a society that remained longer in agrarian, less developed and poorer areas of Southern and Central-Eastern Europe, to which Slovakia belonged even in the 19th and the first half of the 20th century. At that time, folk art and craft was

a product of the peasant and shepherd culture. Its time of origin is associated with the feudal pre-industrial period, while its culmination and flourishing is concurrent with the period after the abolition of serfdom in the 19th century and its gradual fading away during the 20th century.

Some of its elements are said to have been perceived as a part of evolving ideas about national cultural heritage as early as at the time of the growth of national and revivalist tendencies in the 19th century when patriotically oriented intelligentsia, artists and ethnographers showed a stronger interest in folk culture and especially some selected visual elements. These were then presented as an external expression of patriotism, a symbolic expression of Slovakian or Slavic identity. In the Czech lands and Slovakia, the elements mentioned above were promoted by a movement “Svéráz – Svojráz” (*≈Peculiarity*) which strove for a nation-representing expression based on folk dress decorative patterns applied to “national-style clothing”.²

How shall we characterize the nature of folk culture expressed by art and handicraft traditions, by the position of its creators and consumers at a time when folk culture was flourishing in Slovakia and admired by contemporary



Čičmany. A reconstructed timbered house of Ondrej Gregor. Today, there is a shop with folk-art products in the house. Its owner, Juraj Kudjak, uses the space beside the shop to organize events associated with folklore traditions. The picture captures a visit of children from the Elementary School in Žilina for whom the organizers prepared a show of traditional products and explain them the shepherd's flute play. Photo Oľga Danglová 2013. Photo Archive of the Institute of Ethnology SAS.

fine artists, photographers and architects? The nature which Karol Plicka wrote about in the 1920s and 1930s, saying that it was his life happiness which he could experience and capture at the eleventh hour, when its style reached its peak (Hrabušický 2014: 18). Let us at least sketch its main features framed by the then context of the environment and the way of life. Folk culture featured the fact that the cycle of rural life and work ran on the same spot. People were closely bound to their residence, nearby area, and surrounding nature and its resources. They tried to be self-sufficient and covered everything they needed for living, smooth running of farmsteads, clothing and habitation from their own resources. For this reason, they had to be skilful and proficient in a number of handwork and production activities which were passed down from fathers to sons, from mothers to daughters, maintained and improved through being passed down from generation to generation. All of these activities were both continuous and taken for granted. "Lace netting has been known here since time immemorial", answered a village lace-maker to the historian and ethnographer Andrej Kmet' in the late-19th century, when he asked about the origin of lace in the ethnographic area of Hont. The same tradition applied maybe even more to the handicraft families of dyers, ceramic makers, stonemasons, etc. as the craftsmen needed workshops with corresponding equipment, tools and machines for their production. And all this used to be inherited.

The village makers' production was personalized, intended for a close circle of family and friends and for a certain location and narrower territory. The consumers were not anonymous. This was true in the case of specialized producers and craftsmen as well. Even though their sales area was larger – they sold at fairs or upon order, they also adapted the range of their products to particular requirements of potential customers from a certain village and region, whose taste they knew well.

The folk culture in Slovakia featured strong regionalism at that time. This was demonstrated by the admirably high number of regional and local differences in shapes and decorations. Firstly, this richness was supported by the fact that the producers were tied to their locations and regions and they tried to provide for the local taste. Secondly, the local producers and talented amateurs succeeded in modifying, enriching and pushing forward what had already been deep-rooted. Doing this, they could contribute to the

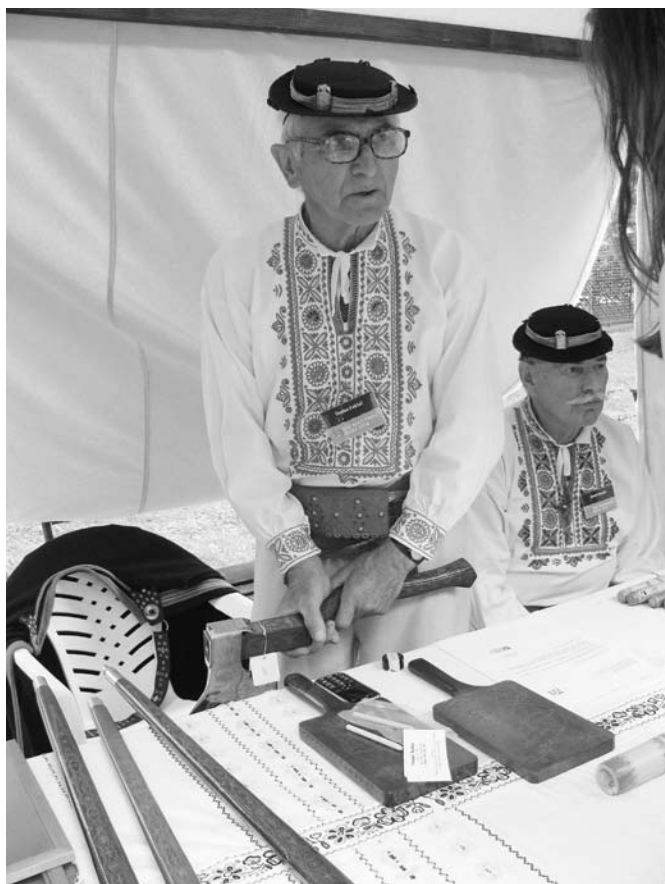
formation of tangible peculiarities and specific material features of the location where they lived. However, they were allowed to cross the taste border only slowly. More radical changes were unacceptable for a traditional rural community tending towards uniformity.

The 20th century, especially the second half, brought about radical changes in Slovakian countryside, the home environment of traditional folk culture. These were caused by the influence of ever stronger urbanization and migration to the towns and industrial centres and especially by socialist modernization boosted through the collectivization of farming. Self-sufficiency stopped being a driving force for the peasant economy, which resulted in the gradual decline and even disappearance of the home and handicraft production for their own needs. There was no longer any reason to make some products – as late as in the 1980s, women from Liptovské Sliače told me: "Water in wooden buckets has a better taste than that in metal ones. But who would use and make wooden buckets or go to work in folk costume. "The Trade Act, devastating for craft workshops and any small form of work for earnings, meant a harsh intrusion on the continuous development of a considerable part of home production and handicrafts.



A guest-house in Dolné Košariská. The exterior is decorated with a folk-style ornament in blue and white which is typical for the Myjava area. Photo Oľga Danglová 2011.

In this situation, ethnography in Slovakia as well as ethnography in other countries of the former socialist block believed rescue research focussing on the disappearing phenomena of traditional peasant and shepherd (folk) culture to be one of its priorities. In some relict regions and locations, this culture still drew attention due to its distinctive and peculiar visual style expressed through an unusual scope of regional and local forms which materialized and were made visible in habitation, clothing, visual art and ceremonies. It is necessary to add that these phenomena were mostly not documented by



A stall of Jozef Svoreň and Štefan Fekiač from Detva with their own wooden products and musical instruments at the event "The Days of the Masters" organized by the ÚĽUV in Bratislava annually. Photo Oľga Danglová 2014. Photo Archive of the Institute of Ethnology SAS.

ethnography. For this reason, they drew the attention of ethnographers, allured by the possibility of detailed and minutious description of external objects they offered the opportunity to reconstruct them and to depict comparatively the spatial diversity (Danglová 2005: 331; Kiliánová 2002: 47). The methodology of ethnographic research preferred to see the world of objects and its creation through the descriptions of produced woodcuts, ceramics, textile products and paintings. Used materials, techniques, shape as well as meaning of symbols encoded in the objects were analysed. Less attention was paid to the involvement of tangible artefacts in social processes. As stated by Clifford Geertz, in focussing only on the empirically concentrated hermeneutic approach to objectives and things it often happens that the cultural analysis remained separated from the informal logic of real life (Geertz 2000: 28). From the 1950s to the 1980s, the most traditionally oriented ethnographers in Slovakia evaluated the object matter of their research as a "survival" of traditional folk culture. This approach aroused a later critique on the part of younger ethnologists, who stated that they had preferred research into relicts or facts they created by themselves to research into living culture. In this sense, they participated in the development of a myth about what the model of traditional folk culture looked like. Despite this, a lot of high-quality publications and contributions were written which described different types of production and graphic procedures and which are a valuable source of information about traditions in production and visual art.

In the second half of the 20th century, the then cultural policy through the state-funded institutions – Detva and Kroj cooperatives and the Centre for Folk Art Production (ÚĽUV) mainly – stepped up the effort to rescue traditional hand-made production and handicrafts. In the first stage, the ÚĽUV focused on research into disappearing technologies and patterns and on their classification and documentation; simultaneously it worked on a system for their protection. This was associated with another activity of the institution – intensive cooperation with producers who still lived and worked in the original setting of their production. This brought about the revitalization of several types of production which had nearly disappeared and the safeguarding of the original regional profile and local variety in in-situ production. Regarding the producing practice, at that time the ÚĽUV aimed at the production of replicas of traditional objects, or decorative things made using

traditional techniques, i.e. on the production of artefacts purged from magic, symbolic, and ceremonial meanings and the utility value they had in the rural environment. Besides the line of production mentioned above, the ÚĽUV – in cooperation with designers – developed another one simultaneously. As the title indicates, the “folk art production” was formed in cooperation with designers who were supposed to find their inspiration for designs and products of applied art in the traditional field of visual art production. At that time, interesting cooperation evolved between producers in the field, designers and ethnographers. With the aim of becoming familiar with the finesses of techniques and the creative imagination of the folk producers, both ethnographers and designers conducted inspired dialogues with them. In debates between ethnographers and designers, which concerned values and searched for corresponding development of visual art linked to folk art heritage, the ethnographers often adopted fine artists’ aesthetical parameters which were topical at that time and proceeded based on post-functionalism and minimalism (Foster 2013: 303–309; Schneider 2008: 171–194).

The ideological starting-point consisted in the return to nature with regard to shapes, materials and colours, and to the natural character they found in older layers of traditional techniques in folk production and visual art. In accordance with the post-functionalistic aesthetics, they appreciated the harmony of materials, technique, simple undecorated or lightly decorated forms with purpose. Ornamentation, colourfulness, and excessive embellishment were rejected. It is a paradox that it was rich decorations and profusion in colours that largely represented the real world of objects in the Slovakian countryside in the first half of the 20th century with overlaps into the 1960s and 1970s. They could be seen in over-decorated folk garments or in bizarre decorative interior accessories, such as clocks and chandeliers carved with coping saws, or hand-knotted carpets made of *chemlon* (a kind of polyamide thread) and picturing still lives with flowers, or tapestries depicting picturesque landscapes with deer, which reflected aesthetical standards of the Art Nouveau embellishment converted into provincial aesthetics as a delayed echo (Danglová 1982: 577–580).

The ÚĽUV set up institutional parameters in relation to the heritage of traditional folk production in two lines – it tried to capture the disappearing forms which were still

viable in the field, and started the effort for their “second existence” in an aesthetically refined form of the artistic attitude created by designers and ethnographers working for the ÚĽUV. This moved both lines into the wider public and urban area. In the period of socialism, that kind of attitude suited the political ideology according to which the language of folksiness should be expressed in the traditions of folk art and craft production accessible not only to a narrow circle of people from a single location or region, but also to other working classes (Kovačevićová 1960: 189–222). Everything mentioned above indirectly supported the natural tendency to remove the mosaic



The woodcarver Jozef Malček when making souvenirs – miniatures of traditional grave crosses from Detva. Photo Olga Danglová 2014. Photo Archive of the Institute of Ethnology SAS.

of inherited regional diversities distinguished by the development of a specific kind of production activity. Side by side with the continuing production, originally limited to a close and narrower group of customers from a village or region, the target group enlarged to include anonymous consumers not only well-known ones. It was also mass culture with its boundlessness that supported the mixing of regional languages, because anybody can be its potential recipient. In the course of further development, even the ÚĽUV supported some types of production in places where they never had occurred in its effort to safeguard some disappearing types of production and traditional techniques. And even the producers themselves participated in the trend mentioned above. If a particular form or technique from any region appealed to an informed producer, educated through technical literature and information received from mass media, he reached out for them and developed them in his own fashion. Or he took over a particular local technique or decoration from the original producer and involved them in his repertoire – like an Easter egg painter from Považská Bystrica who received the knowledge about a specific type of egg decoration with batik in Domaniže in Eastern Slovakia from a woman who decorated them (Chlupová 2012: 12–13).

Contrary to this, the contemporary trend is to return to the regions. UNESCO also incorporated support for the heritage of local authentic handicrafts and folk art into its programme. UNESCO involved this support, for example, in the Creative Cities Network Initiative,³ whose principle is to develop a worldwide network of sites emphasizing the tradition of local handicraft and folk art production in their cultural life.

Even in the contemporary Slovakian rural area, regional and local cultural heritage is a sustaining source of identity because it differentiates one location, an area of a social group, from another one (Bitušiková 2013: 25). It is based on traditions expressed through the “typical” cultural inventory – a peculiarity of material signs, productions and skills of which the local inhabitants are proud, with which they identify themselves and through which they demonstrate the prestige of their settlement. Many activities that adhere to the principle of safeguarding the local cultural heritage and passing-on education and skills originate in civic associations, educational and museum institutions, and public and private partnerships

which continue the projects of cooperation formed within the Rural Development Programme. The projects help to open courses and training sessions, to found clubs, to award quality marks to regional products which are “unique and typical for a particular region [...] which due to their production technique and provision of services save the environment and in the end everybody who lives and create new unique values in individual Slovakian regions”.⁴ The initiatives in awarding the Certificates started in the ethnographic areas of Gemer – Malohont, Hont, Podpoľanie, Ponitrie and Záhorie.

At present, the ÚĽUV as a central organisation supporting and developing the handicraft and production traditions in the whole of Slovakia is beginning to concentrate more on what is going on in the regions. It is founding Regional Centres for Handicraft – the Regional Centre in Banská Bystrica was opened in 2005, the one in Košice in 2013. The narrower territorial range of the centre provides better information about the local situation and a better contact with the producers, even among them. Through courses at the regional branches of the School for Folk Crafts, the ÚĽUV offers a deeper look at the real form of the production practice. After its foundation in 1999 and initial limitation to Bratislava only, the School for Folk Crafts at the ÚĽUV extended its successful activity to regional centres.

Identification with the traditions of local culture, its specific material and visual expressions and signs is a dynamic process within which what is considered to be cultural heritage is continuously updated, adapted and re-interpreted. Some expressions and elements disappear, some survive and some are renewed in new contexts and meanings. People can appreciate their own cultural heritage through the foundation of a local museum or a memory room. They can perceive the heritage as a suitable means to build up social solidarity and integrity or they can understand it as a source for economic prosperity in connection with the development of tourism.

The care of and the attitudes to the local inventory of cultural heritage differ across Slovakia - from the lax and uninterested to the intensive, featuring active approaches to the development of own community and region. The cause of such differentiation lies, to a certain extent, in whether these are regions and locations with rich traditions of which the local people are aware, or whether these regions and locations offer less noticeable elements of

cultural heritage where fast urbanization contributed to the decline of the visible traditional phenomena of material culture. However, even in the latter case the relation of local inhabitants to the region can be strong enough, mainly in the mental sphere. The active regions include for example the ethnographic areas of Podpoľanie, Horehronie, Liptov and the villages of Čičmany and Hrušov whose traditional culture or some of its elements and visual signs are highlighted and known to the wider public. They are even identified and pushed into wider

cultural circulation as nation-representing symbols. This often happens with the support of renowned experts, fine artists and photographers who enter the events relating to the regional cultural heritage to form and promote it.

As an example we can mention the village of Čičmany. The local ornaments were inscribed on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Slovakia in 2013. The ornaments were discovered by architect Dušan Jurkovič (1868–1947), who was a protagonist of the architectural part of the exposition and a designer



The shop with folk-art products in Detva. The owner supplies the shop mostly with products from local producers. Photo Oľga Danglová 2014. Photo Archive of the Institute of Ethnology SAS.

of the replica of the local farmstead with a one-storey house at the *Czechoslovak Ethnographic Exhibition in Prague in 1895*. After Čičmany burnt down in 1921, he joined in the renovation of the village with respect to the original architectural and decorative character of the local buildings. It was especially thanks to him that Čičmany has been the focus of wider public awareness as a viable museum of vernacular architecture, habitation, dress and corresponding specific decorative style. The village attracted photographers – Pavel Sochán, Karol Plicka, fine artists – Martin Benka, Janko Alexy, Miloš A. Bazovský, Matilda Čechová, ethnologists, folklorists



Andrea Filová, a painter of decorated eggs from Hradište pod Vrátnom. "The Days of the ULUV Masters", Bratislava. Photo Oľga Danglová 2014. Photo Archive of the Institute of Ethnology SAV.

and museologists. Between the wars, it became a much-sought-for attraction for domestic and foreign tourists. Long-term publicity of the village and growing interest of tourists strengthened the local people's opinion about the exceptionality of the local cultural heritage incarnated in the expressions of architectural and dress culture. Currently, Mr and Mrs Kudjak and the village mayor are important events organisers in events touching the traditional culture in Čičmany.⁵ The village mayor incorporates the elements of local traditions into numerous cultural events in the village. They are expected to resonate as a strong identification symbol and help to implement the development intentions of the village.⁶

In addition to the local level mentioned above, there are also several wider levels of cultural circulation which the heritage of the local ornament has reached to date. Alongside embroidery motifs from the whole of Slovakia, the local ornament can be found on products – souvenirs made by the Slovakia Gift Company, which applies copied embroidery patterns onto badges, T-shirts, glasses, mirrors and postcards. The ornament from Čičmany also became an inspiration for the Alpine Pro a.s. Company when it designed the collection of clothes for the Slovakian Olympic athletes. The intention was to involve something that is typically Slovakian in the clothes of the sportsmen and women representing the country. Adaptations of the Čičmany ornaments were used as a stage element in the RTVS programme "I like Slovakia".

We can summarize that the Čičmany ornament as an expression of cultural heritage was able to win recognition over a long historical perspective. It is safeguarded and esteemed as a product of hand-made creativity associated with tradition and ingenuity of individuals. To date, it has remained an important part of the local architectural, dress and decorative culture. It penetrated into the surroundings and became an integral part of it. However, its meaning has modified naturally in the stream of time and cultural changes. It crossed the limits of the local context and entered the wider coordinates of cultural circulation. It became a representative cultural specificity appreciated by experts and the general public, a cultural element transformed into the sphere of a nation-representing feature. One can ask the question what its contemporary appearance would be if Dušan Jurkovič, Karol Plicka and many others up to contemporary organisers did not put their forming features into it?

Another contrasting example of a highlighted ornament as a representative element of local cultural heritage shows the village of Dobrá Niva which was awarded the national title “The Village of the Year” in 2009. When applying for a Rural Revitalization Programme⁷ subsidy for the village square revitalization – the Programme is aimed at village self-governments and micro-regional associations of villages – the applicants decided to freshen up the appearance of the square in the village centre with a decorative pavement with in-laid concrete cubes in two colours. The traditional local textile ornament became a model for this. The revitalization, led by the idea to complete the appearance of the square with folk cultural elements, also included a solitaire of the original stone gate-jamb embedded in a bricked back wall; they also added a fountain (Košťalová 2013: 59). The traditional elements taken out of their context and translocated to a new place plus the fountain created a strange heterogeneous conglomerate which, however, is not an exception within the contemporary trend of paving village squares with interlocking pavement and enlivening them with bizarre objects (Vražda – Mikušovič 2015).

However, the “classical” approach to dealing with the repertoire of the local cultural heritage has survived as well. This covers producers and craftsmen who are continual bearers of old techniques and patterns. These are, for example, wood carvers of shepherd tools, and producers of shepherd pipes, traditional leather pockets and belts and bronze buckles in Detva and its environs. Although the minority of them acquire their skills and dexterity through transmission from generation to generation, as this was the case in the past, they still feel the need to continue the production in the spirit of local traditions which were a natural part of the shepherd life in the Podpoľaný area in the past. Even though they involve innovations in their production – as former workers of machinery plants they improve the mechanization of their production a bit – they still do it within the development of old time-proved techniques and patterns. Many of today’s producers are self-taught persons whose internal stimulation makes them improve themselves and overcome limits. Contrary to this, some others are trained graduates from art schools and they base their career as craftsmen on a professional basis. Other ones discover a creative potential in themselves after retiring. It seems more reasonable for them to take

a chisel or a brush than to waste their time by watching TV. “In a handicraft, one can do something exceptional, through which he is interesting, not something that everybody knows. This is the basic precondition so that the craft can provide a living for him”, says Milan Árendáš, a ceramic maker. His perceptive remark terms the effort of some contemporary creative producers to be original, and not to disappear. The more successful succeed in doing this. They know the traditional canon, they know how to innovate it, to find an original way to connect the old with the new.

What is today’s attitude of ethnologists to folk traditions that change in time and enter different levels of cultural circulations – from the regional to the national and global ones? As substantiated by a large discussion in *Kultura ludowa (Folk Culture)*, a new Polish publication from 2014, the approaches are very different. They depend on the distinguishing views of what particular authors hold for folk culture. The more radical ones say that folk culture is dead and just a myth is alive (Stomma 2002: 180; Sulima 2002: 101–102); other ones are sure that today only a “plebeian culture with folk elements exists [...] which sustains the post- industrial era” (Burszta 2008: 11), or they consider folk culture to be “a beautiful stage called folklorism by anthropologists” (Pełczyński 2009: 241). Contrary to this, some others declare that folk culture “is going on, even though it is no longer as visible as it was in the past: it oscillates between authenticity and artificiality, between folklore and folklorism, it enters the relation to popular culture” (Berendt 2014: 95).

Of course, the ethnological view of folk culture as an expression of cultural heritage is important. The task of ethnologists should be to understand the importance and the value of contemporary objects of cultural heritage which represent local tradition for individuals – its heirs as creators and consumers – as well as for a wider group of people in a particular setting of a location or region; to understand with which values and notions about the past or topicality the people associate them; why several objects or fragments of traditions get to higher levels and become national and world cultural heritage, while others do not. And there is another question mark here. Should ethnologists keep their position as impartial observers and interpreters of what is going on in the face of a location, or should they – with their opinion and evaluating attitudes – actively enter the practice of

the contemporary and often problematic dealings with cultural heritage and tradition. In the opinion of some of them such interventions are inappropriate. When an ethnologist gives instructions and recommendations on how to take care of a tradition – in accordance with the canon, for example what to wear, which stage property to choose, he / she creates a model that abrades the authentic reality violently (Berendt 2014: 94). On the

other hand, why should an ethnologist as an expert resign and not take a stand on e.g. whether an object should be involved in the ÚĽUV production, or which element from a spectrum on offer should be inscribed on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Slovakia? I believe both positions are legitimate – the emic approach of the observer as well as the etic approach of the assessor.

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NOTES:

1. The aim of this declaration is to honour extraordinary works of oral and intangible heritage of humanity which will be chosen among cultural spaces or forms of folk and traditional cultural expressions and declared master works of oral and intangible cultural heritage (Hamar 2007: 50).
2. In the 1860s, Štefan Horník's tailor's workshop specialized in the making and promotion of "national clothing" for customers among Slovakian patriots. At the turn of the 19th and 20th century, the famous ethnographer, photographer and publicist Pavol Socháň was an enthusiastic promoter of the "Slovakian shirt" among the members of the Slovak and Czech intelligentsia (Danglová 2009: 331). See also Štěpánová 2007.
3. See <<http://www.unesco.org/new/en/culture/themes/creativity/creative-cities-network/who-are-the-members/>>.
4. Comp. <<http://www.regionálneprodukty.sk/>>.
5. It is to the merit of the couple that the vanishing village has come alive since the first decade of the 21st century and that Čičmany with its specific cultural qualities also became attractive for tourists and visitors. The souvenir shop with which the married couple deals and where they can be seen wearing local folk costumes is not a shop closed inside. It is naturally connected with the exterior where it offers an opportunity to sit outdoors with refreshments. During the tourist season, it is possible to see live folklore performances of smaller

- music and dance ensembles and to meet craftsmen who sell, make and demonstrate their products here. Events organized by the Kudjaks lend a new dimension to the area around the shop. The place as a new venue is becoming more and more popular through references to the past and traditions. Tourism plays a significant role in this. Many events take into consideration that the consumers of offered traditions will be folklore fans and tourists in one.
6. She supports the activity of the local singing group Lastovienka, is interested in the activity of the local embroiderers and courses of frilling without which the local folk costume could not be maintained, and in the local production of drapery slippers. In her interest in the development of the village, she tries to cooperate with the representatives of local institutions or institutions with wider territorial competences, such as the Žilina Region, the Žilina Cultural Centre, Považské Museum in Žilina. She is aware of the importance of folklore elements for local development.
 7. The Rural Development Programme contains an important requirement for the supported projects to comply with functional and aesthetical criteria and to reflect individual skilfulness, the taste of inhabitants and to struggle to harmonize the coexistence of man and nature, "the old with the new" and the use of local elements (Košťalová 2013: 65).

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Summary

The study follows the transformations in ethnologists' understanding of cultural heritage in relation to folk culture. The text also refers to how their work changed in practical everyday life in Slovakia. The focus is on examples from the realm of tangible culture, traditions in handicrafts and visual art, their consumers and creators who have been termed "folk creators" to date. The contribution briefly describes the major features of the traditions at the time of their flourishing (from the 19th century until the first half of the 20th century) and their gradual decline and transformation (from the second half of the 20th century until now). The text calls attention to how the group and the particularity of consumers has changed and the regional differences in manufacture traditions have been removed; on the other hand, it highlights the ever stronger current efforts to revitalize the traditions in the name of the safeguarding of cultural heritage. The author also pays attention to the role the institutions, namely the state-funded Centre for Folk Arts and Crafts, play in the adjustment of parameters in relation to the use of folk production heritage. On empiric examples from the present, the text describes the differences in approaches and ways of treating the local inventory of local manufacture and visual traditions. The contribution closes with an article devoted to the discourse about the task of ethnology.

Key words: Cultural heritage; manufacture; craft and art traditions; the Centre for Folk Arts and Crafts.

ETHNOLOGICAL MUSEUMS IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC: DOCUMENTATION, PRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATION OF TRADITIONAL FOLK CULTURE

A strict official formulation of the so-called Museum Act No. 122/2000 Coll. clearly defines the basic legal relationship between the museum and its founder. In the Czech Republic, it is the state, a region or a community that act as these founders, whereby they are administrators of corresponding museum collections listed in the Central Register of Collections (CES). In 1990, the Association of Bohemian and Moravia-Silesian Museums and Galleries [Asociace českých a moravsko-slezských muzeí a galerií] (since 2000, it has been titled the Association of Museums and Galleries of the Czech Republic – AMG [Asociace muzeí a galerií České republiky]) was founded as an umbrella professional body. It acts as a non-governmental non-profit association – a voluntary professional union of museum institutions and persons active in the field. Nowadays, it associates 284 regular members, which is about 55% of all museum institutions in the Czech Republic (85% of them rank among the biggest ones in the Czech Republic) and 95 honorary and individual members.¹

In most Czech museums, especially in the regional ones, but also in the two biggest ones in Prague and Brno, ethnological collections constitute the basis of their funds. These funds also belong to the oldest ones. The reason for this consists in the last stage of the Czech national emancipation movement of the 19th century, which nationalistically interpreted itself against the other regional ethnic groups by means of Czech folk culture viewed as a basis for the existence of a nation. Therefore, it was mainly folk costume as well as so-called folk art that constituted the basis for the first collections because

they transmitted clearly recognisable signals of ethnic differences. This process ran both in the museums located in the Czech-speaking areas and in the German-speaking ones (Lozoviuk 2008). However, the numerical superiority of the Czech-speaking population soon resulted in a certain dominance of Czech museology, especially at the national level. Ethnological and collecting activities of the 1880s and 1890s resulted then in a plethora of exhibitions (especially those of embroideries) whose layout predominantly included wall and table showcases, which were filled up (and from the point of view of today's installations even *cluttered*) with objects. The situation is more than cogently captured by the description of a permanent exhibition of three-dimensional ethnological exhibits collected by Josefa Náprstková and presented in the U Halánků house in Betlémské Square in Prague (Langhammerová 1995: 19).

The second half of the 19th century gave rise to the overwhelming majority of Czech, Moravian and Silesian museums where the section usually titled *Antiquities* exhibited objects of an ethnological nature (e.g. farm tools and utensils, folk costume, folk ceramics, folk furniture). The Silesian Museum in Opava with history going back to 1814 is regarded as the oldest public museum in the Czech Republic. The Moravian Museum in Brno founded in 1817 is the second oldest and – after the National Museum in Prague (1818) – the second largest museum institution in the Czech Republic. Small municipal and village museums were framed according to a typical formula: a club of enthusiasts – collections – museum. The Regional Museum in Olomouc, founded in 1883 as a museum of the Patriotic Museum Society, can serve as an example. In a similar way, the Municipal Museum in Čáslav, one of the oldest municipal museums in Bohemia, was established in 1884 based on the collection of the Včela Čáslavská society (1864).

Large exhibitions at the end of the 19th century, influenced by international exhibition movement and a search for new patterns in design and art (which also resulted in Art Nouveau), were an important impulse for collecting and presenting the artifacts of traditional folk culture in the regions. The *General Land Centennial Exhibition* in Prague is the first to be mentioned in 1891. One of its most successful stands in the form of a timbered cottage with partially furnished interior and figurines dressed in folk costumes represented a different arrangement than the hitherto used installations in showcases. The important *Czechoslavic Ethnographic Exhibition* (Prague 1895), which met with an enthusiastic response within the Czech society, made very good use of installations staged like in the “real” settings of folk architecture. The views of stylized interiors “livened-up” by figurines dressed in folk costumes accompanied the museum installations in the following decades whereby their content related more to national history and geography. The emphasis put on decorative and aesthetical objects used to be connected with “professional” staff in museum positions, usually covered by local amateur enthusiasts. The museologist Josef Beneš mentions that “as late as until Second World War, voluntary staff used to work at regional museums, who – full of enthusiasm – collected admirable funds at the time when they took over gifts from conscious citizens who were interested in safeguarding the material cultural memory for coming generations. It was usually beautiful things providing an aesthetical experience that were taken to the museums” (Beneš 2003: 67). At the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, such enthusiastic collecting activities relating to Czech and German nationalism resulted in a numerical rarity, even at the European level – in the Czech lands, an unusually dense network of 150 museums including an unprecedented quantity of regional museums developed (Doušek – Holubová 2014: 202).

Thanks to the industrialization of the countryside, which commenced in the 19th century, the realm of traditional folk culture experienced significant crucial moments caused by the change of traditional social and economic relations, which was confirmed by the great social changes in the mid-20th century. *“Political and administrative changes in the country, especially after 1939, influenced museums in their presentation and collection activities.”* (Frýda 2003: 91). A reversal in the content of museum exhibitions came after the Second World War. The nationalization of museums in 1948 became the primary precondition for the penetration of Communist ideology and political influence. The management of museums was carried out by the state administration and the focus was on the content of exhibitions that had to be adapted or newly established in the sense of the prevailing dogmatic Marxist-Leninist state ideology. *“The nationalization was a basic precondition to use museums for the aims of socialistic cultural politics.”* (Suk 1975: 67) The 1950s were typical for the schematic struggle to make the cultural heritage available to as many social groups as possible and to assert the political values of that time against the survival of the so-called bourgeois ideology, which led to suppression of whole themes in ethnological and museum practice as well as to a skewed lens in the presentation of some of these themes (e.g. folk customs, rituals and folk art; the topic of folk religiosity was totally tabooed). Simultaneously, it soon became apparent that it was necessary to professionalize museum work. At a national conference of ethnologists – museum workers, Vladimír Scheufler pointed out the bad condition of collections in most museums, seeing the principal reason in the lack of qualified workers (Scheufler 1954: 407). Departure from the reception of historical themes, which had prevailed until that time, came at the turn of the 1950s and 1960s as the focus was on study and documentation of the present. The theme

was understood as an *“urgent problem of the work of ethnological museums”* (Suk 1975: 69). This change included not only agricultural countryside, which experienced crucial changes in land ownership, but also the culture of urban agglomerations and border areas of the country resettled with new inhabitants after the transfer of the majority of the Czech German-speaking population. Ethnological museology faced a difficult task – to capture both the declining and the newly constituting phenomena in the exhibitions and collections which were traditionally considered to be the ethnological ones. It was the Ethnographic Institute of the Moravian Museum that charged itself with the corresponding task and became a coordinator and guarantor of the task *Ethnographic research and documentation of a revolutionary change in agriculture*. Its theoretical part – field research accompanied by collection of material documents – resulted in the exhibition titled *Chronicle of the Socialistic Village. Twenty-Five Years of*

Life and Work of the Suburban Village of Šlapanice (1973, author L. Kunz), which took the then unknown path of presenting the culture of everyday life. At the same time, the Prague Ethnographic Museum (a part of the National Museum) presented the exhibition *Old Working-Class Prague* (1977, author A. Plessingerová) which was based on then intensively developed ethnology of working classes, i.e. a research focus that met with contemporary international response as well (Robek a kol. 1981; Woitsch 2013).

In the 1960s and 1970s, three large ethnological exhibitions were built: *The Folk in Five Generations*, a pioneering and for many people model example of an installation at the Ethnographic Institute of the Moravian Museum in 1961; an ethnological display at the National Museum in Prague in 1964 and a display titled *Slovácko* at the Slovácko Museum in Uherské Hradiště. The model of national, regional and municipal institutions owned and founded by the state administration survived until the end of 1989.



Kinský Summer Folly in Prague, seat of the contemporary Ethnographic Department of the National Museum, 2015.

As a consequence of transformed public administration, newly established administrative regions and changed social climate after the fall of the Communist regime, the transformation of museum networks could be started. 17 % of museums changed their founders, and 40 % of all collection funds changed their owners.² Restitutions of the titles to property played an important role in the foundation of new museums, which gave rise especially to small town and municipal museums (e.g. the Municipal Museum in Břeclav) and initiatives of individual persons setting up private museums (e.g. the Museum of Gastronomy in Prague, the Museum of Crafts in Letohrad).

National Museum, Prague

The Ethnographic Department of the Historical Museum of the National Museum is one of the most important Czech institutions dealing with documentation, presentation and interpretation of traditional folk culture of the Czech lands in the European context. Its collections rank among

the most voluminous ones in Central and Eastern Europe.³ The originally independent Czechoslovak Ethnographic Museum was founded in 1896 as one of the major results of the aforementioned *Czechoslovak Ethnographic Exhibition* organized in Prague in 1895. The Czechoslovak Ethnographic Museum, first administered in close cooperation with the professional association the Czechoslovak Ethnographic Society was one of a few institutional platforms at which ethnological research could be developed until the formation of independent university departments of ethnology in the mid-20th century (besides the afore-mentioned Society and several museum institutions). Its first seat was at Silva Tarouccy Palace in Na Příkopě Street, Prague; in 1902, thanks to the initiative of the Capital City of Prague, it moved to the former Kinský Summer Folly, a unique Empire-style building in Kinský Garden where it still has its seat. In 1903, the first exhibition that continued the concept of the *Czechoslovak Ethnographic Exhibition* to

a large extent, was opened to the public. This first display was accompanied by a specialized exhibition dedicated to folk agriculture and folk crafts, placed in the neighbouring building, called the Švycárna. Financial problems caused by the First World War put an end to the independence of this founding domestic museum institution. In 1918, the funds dedicated to agriculture and crafts were translocated to the newly founded Museum of Agriculture in Prague. In 1922, the main portion of the collections became a part of the biggest and most important Czech museum institution, i.e. The National Museum, as its Ethnographical Department. Although the fusion with the National Museum brought the end of independence as well as the necessity to coordinate the research activities with other historical and fine arts departments, which were converted into the Historical Museum later on; it meant that the collections could be extended significantly, especially with historically valuable funds. This concerned ethnological collections from the *General Land Centennial Exhibition* held in 1891, partially opened to the public under the title *Czech Farmhouse* in the main building of the National Museum, and valuable funds collected by Josefa Náprstková for the Náprstek Czech Industrial Museum since the 1870s.

Throughout the 20th century, the National Museum's Ethnographical Department was one of the most important domestic centres for ethnological research which was connected with leading personalities of domestic ethnology, such as Lubor Niederle, Adolf Černý, Jiří Polívka, Augustin Žalud, Václav Fabian, Drahomíra Stránská, Jan Květ, Stanislav F. Svoboda, Helena Johnová, Alena Plessingerová, Violeta Kopřivová, Marek Turnský and Jiřina Langhammerová. Its building in the Kinsky Folly became a place where, during the 20th century, five permanent exhibitions of traditional folk culture of the Czech lands were presented one after



Interactive programmes for children at the permanent ethnological exhibition at the National Museum in Prague, 2012..

another. These permanent exhibitions always reacted to presentation trends of their times – beginning with a holistic attempt to understand the object of ethnological study as a unit of national culture, through the concentration on traditional folk culture of the rural population, folk culture understood in a Marxist materialistic and historical way back to the holistic view on traditional folk culture (the latest permanent exhibition was opened in 2005). Besides its acquisition and exhibition activities, the Museum also organized folklore concerts and related social events in the 1960s and 1970s, which were less common at museums at that time. The exhibition activities of the Ethnographical Department were partially disrupted in 1986 when the exhibition rooms in the Kinský Folly were closed. Thanks to Jiřina Langhammerová, the then chief of the Department, it was possible to reconstruct the Museum and open it ceremonially to the public in 2005.⁴

The collection funds of the Department were formed in accordance with the period concept of the professional ethnological activity that focused, in the words of the British cultural historian Peter Burke, especially on “*the traditional triplet of themes – food, clothing and habitation*” (Burke 2008: 12); in particular on *ceramics – folk costume and textile – furniture and fixtures and fittings in households*. The museum’s research workers concentrated on the primary rather aesthetically aimed interest in “folk art”, not very exactly defined from today’s point of view, through an extensive conception of funds covering all the major range of traditional folk culture in the Czech lands. The original focus on folk culture of the Czech lands was completed by a plethora of collection-aimed excursions to the neighbouring areas of Europe. The corresponding material was acquired through a lot of fieldwork and collecting trips. In the geographical and cultural respects, it was especially Central and Eastern Europe (mainly Slovakia) and

Slavonic countries, including the Balkans (Bulgaria and other South-East European countries) that were the centre of attention; this focus was historically connected with Pan-Slavism that was popular in the Czech lands from the 19th century. From the mid-20th century, the culture of extra-European countries became the centre of attention of another important part of the National Museum, in what is now known as the Náprstek Museum of Asian, African and American Cultures.⁵

Nowadays, the collections which consist of 140 000 items⁶ are formally divided into the following five units – *Folk Costume and Textile* (the largest fund which has about 80 000 objects), *Farming and Subsistence*, *Folk Tools and Furniture*, *Folk Art and Customs and Traditions*. These large units, which document especially traditional folk culture of the countryside, have been selectively completed with the documentation of the industrial working-classes’ way of life (rather with

a presentation effect) since the 1970s. In the new millennium, the documentation of contemporary collectively-shared expressions of material culture of other social groups was added (e.g. culture of children, do-it-yourself production from the time of the Communist regime), culture of Czech minorities abroad (mainly in Banat, Romania) and significant subcultures (especially the Czechoslovak Tramping movement). The three-dimensional ethnographic collections at the Museum are rounded off by a large archive including pictures, photographs and written documents, an ethnological library with more than 10 000 volumes and regular exhibition, presentation, publication and popularization activities.⁷

Moravian Museum, Brno

The Ethnographic Institute of the Moravian Museum in Brno is the second biggest museum institution in the Czech Republic to systematically deal with the



The Folk in Five Generations – an exhibition by Ludvík Kunz, arch. arrangement Bohumil Fuchs; presentation of folk clothing. Brno 1961.

study of folk culture in Moravia within the European context, including the study of minorities with accentuated material culture. It was founded in 1896 as the Ethnographic Department and is one of the oldest departments of the Moravian Museum. The first focus was on documenting agricultural production and later on, in the sense of the period tendencies, the collection was aimed at folk textile and traditional visual arts including furniture; other themes were quite disregarded. In 1904, 1912 and 1919, the fund was extended thanks to significant acquisitions from the collectors František Kretz and Josef Klvaňa (folk ceramics, embroideries, and textile). After 1920, a collection of agricultural machines and tools from the unimplemented Museum of Agriculture was added.

The research activities started developing in the 1960s, when the collection

was grounded on a sound research basis with an emphasis put on the completion of unbalanced collections. The department and the permanent exhibition were placed in an urban Baroque palace, the former Palace of Noble Ladies. In collaboration with Bohumil Fuchs, the last great functionalistic architect, a generously designed department was built in 1961 including – in addition to exhibition rooms and depositories – a museum shop and a café, which meant an above-standard at that time. The new seat of the museum became an integral part of Brno's cultural life because the exhibitions and concerts in the chapel as well as the legendary literary café became part of the history of the city. In 1961, the first independent ethnological exhibition of the Ethnographic Institute of the Moravian Museum was opened in the Palace of Noble Ladies in Koblížná

Street. The exhibition was titled *The Folk in Five Generations* (author Ludvík Kunz, architectural design Bohuslav Fuchs) and brought a significant step forward in the field of traditional culture presentation. From its creation until 1999, it underwent only partial repairs of a more or less cosmetic nature. The original exhibition was to introduce the traditional folk culture of rural inhabitants of Moravia with an emphasis put on the 19th century whereby the concept – a pioneering one for its time – as well as the way of presentation were a product of the then knowledge in the field, the political situation and the technical possibilities of that time. This fact resulted in the absence (= impossibility to present) of some aspects of the life of both the individual person and the whole community (e.g. co-existence of ethnic and religious minorities, different forms of expressions of religious life). As a consequence of an insensitive change in the layout in the 1970s, the exhibition area was reduced from the original two storeys to one storey only. As a consequence of new delimitation trends, exotic extra-European items were removed and translocated to the National Museum – Náprstek Museum in Prague and to the archive of the Anthropos Institute of the Moravian Museum in Brno in 1978. The history of collections and collecting activities in Moravia was disrupted in a considerable way.

The present activities of the Ethnographic Institute of the Moravian Museum are aimed at creating an objective image of the culture of the village and small town life in Moravia – an image that is not preoccupied with the history but maps the processes running up to the present (e.g. traditional culture as a source of inspiration for design⁸). The activity of the Institute includes three crucial realms. The first one concerns museum work itself: based on the knowledge of the collections, the conception of the collection activities is aimed at completing the gaps and creating new units (documents of urban



František Pospíšil while shooting a film with the men's dance *Poklad*, Lastovo Island (1924). Photo Archive of the Ethnographic Institute of the Moravian Museum.

culture – clothing, works by photographic studios, everyday life in the 1960s and 1970s, contemporary customs and rituals). The second one is focused on the work with the public which is addressed especially by the authors' exhibitions from their own collections, workshops etc. The third circle includes research activities. The museum researchers regularly publish at home and abroad, they take part in international conferences, they are members of specialized commissions, academical and editorial boards, they work as consultants, reviewers and external examiners in the case of research projects. The Institute also cooperates with scientific and educational institutions both at home and abroad. In 2011, it started professional collaboration with the Institute of European Ethnology of the Faculty of Arts of Masaryk University, and the Institute of Ethnology of the Academy of Science of the Czech Republic to take part in a common European project called *Partnership and Networks*; as an educational institution it takes part in the education of university students. It also devotes itself to activities which are not very traditional in the Czech Republic, i.e. cooperation with travel agencies to improve knowledge of local identity. These activities resulted in one of the author's exhibitions *Neighbours on the Plate* (2011, H. Dvořáková) concerning diet on the Moravian and the Austrian sides of the border. The cooperation has continued until now.⁹ Because of Moravia's lively relationship to traditional culture, the Ethnographic Institute has become a natural centre for professional and amateur researchers (local craftsmen and producers, NGOs, local government bodies). These activities are rising in connection with stronger local consciousness.

The Ethnographic Institute of the Moravian Museum holds about 120 000 items. The collection is registered in CES. A library with 20 000 volumes, an archive with written documents and a rich photo studio are a part of the Institute. The

Institute publishes the reviewed journal *Folia Ethnographica* inscribed on the CEPUS list. The Institute workers make catalogues from particular collections – these catalogues have become popular with experts as well as amateurs, including antique dealers.¹⁰

Visitors to Moravia should find a reference to the past overhanging to the future in the new permanent exhibition titled *Traditional Culture in Moravia in the Mirror of Time – Pictures from Life in the Moravian Countryside*. This new exhibition will be based on the latest knowledge in the discipline and will take into consideration all the aspects of life in the Moravian countryside including a small town, document the co-existence of the majority with the traditional (Germans, Moravian Croats, Roma) or new (Arabs, Vietnamese) ethnic groups,

and with the religious minorities (Jews, Muslims), and assess the overlapping of traditional cultures into the human life in the third millennium. The concept of the new ethnological exhibition titled *Rural Stories* is grounded on the culturally sensitive approach to the theme. It is based on the specific expressions of traditional folk culture in Moravia with a focus on the everyday and festive life of rural community, penetration of elements of urban culture and presentation of minorities since the end of the 18th century until today.

Other Ethnological Museums in the Czech Republic

The central registry of museum collections in the Czech Republic includes altogether 84 ethnological sub-collections placed in different Czech museums.¹¹



Interior of the „village room“. The first and temporary spatial installation of the collections from the Ethnographic Museum of the Pilsen Area in „Gerlachovský“ House (Mansfeldova Street, today Dřevěná Street No. 344), documenting the everyday life of the Pilsen area rural population. The exhibition was opened in mid-1915.



Permanent exhibition *Slovácko* in the year 2014. *Slovácko Museum in Uherské Hradiště*.



Wooden Town. Open-Air Museum in Rožnov pod Radhoštěm.

A high quantity of ethnological artifacts, however, can be found in lots of other sub-collections, especially the historical, archaeological and art-historical ones. The ***Ethnographic Department of the West Bohemian Museum in Pilsen*** ranks among the most important museum institutions with large ethnological collections including 78 000 collection items. The museum administers a permanent exhibition focused not only on traditional folk culture in the region of Pilsen, but also on urban culture, which has been treated in an innovative way since the very beginning of the museum. The ***Wallachian Open-Air Museum in Rožnov pod Radhoštěm*** (about 67 000 ethnographic items)¹² and the afore-mentioned ***Slovácko Museum in Uherské Hradiště*** (about 40 000 ethnographic items) are other museums with large ethnological collections. Ethnological work, including intensive documentation, exhibitions, presentation and popularization activities, is also undertaken in many other smaller museums. Detailed information about their work in English (as well as the information about other important ethnological institutions in the Czech Republic) was published in the overview *Ethnographic Yearbook 2000* (Válka 2000). The Internet page *esbirky.cz* publishes selected examples from rich domestic ethnological collections in English language.¹³

Since 2002, events at museums and galleries including displays and exhibitions have been assessed by *Gloria musealis* (www.gloriamusealis.cz), a competition announced by the Ministry of Culture and the Association of Museums and Galleries in the Czech Republic. The 13th year (events implemented in 2014) assessed 87 projects; the *Slovácko Museum in Uherské Hradiště* was awarded the second place in the category of exhibitions for the modern design of its permanent exhibition *Slovácko* which introduces the expressions of traditional culture in South-East Moravia (www.

slovackemuzeum.cz); the Hlučínsko Region Museum in Hlučín received a special prize for its exhibition *Who Are People in the Hlučínsko Region* (www.muzeum.hlucin.cz) which describes complicated life stories of the inhabitants of this region. Both award-winning exhibitions represent two approaches how to understand an ethnological theme. While the museum in Uherské Hradiště, based on its voluminous collections, has been dealing systematically with the presentation of the traditional culture expressions aimed at the past, Hlučín submits a wider cultural-historical approach to the theme of a multi-ethnic region.

In the second decade of the 21st century, Czech ethnological museums are still an important and fully integral part of domestic ethnological, folkloristical and anthropological academic discourse. In addition to research institutes of the Czech Academy of Sciences, institutes and departments at universities as well as other research and professional institutions they cooperate closely with, the museums take part not only in safeguarding ethnological artifacts and making them accessible to the public, but also in the active documentation, analysis and interpretation thereof. While working with those artifacts, they, of course, reflect the current changes and trends of contemporary ethnology, especially the shift from national ethnology to comparative European ethnology, the related anthropologization of the discipline and not least even the influence of the modern concept of intangible cultural heritage that has fundamentally changed the approach of contemporary society to ethnological data.

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Notes:

1. The information about Czech museums is available at Museums.cz (<<http://www.cz-museums.cz/>>), where 413 museums in the Czech Republic are registered.
2. The situation is thoroughly described and compared with foreign countries in the contribution by Dagmar Fialová: Systems of Museum Institution Registration as a Possibility to Solve the Standards of Public Services of Museums in the Czech Republic. In: *Sborník z mezinárodní konference Muzeum a změna*. Praha: Asociace muzeí a galerií České republiky (2003): 33–37.
3. More information about the activities of this institution see at <<http://www.nm.cz/Hlavni-strana/Visit-Us/Ethnographical-Museum-Museum.html>>.
4. More information about the new ethnological exposition at the National Museum is available at <<http://www.nm.cz/Historical-Museum/Long-term-Exhibitions-HM/Czech-Folk-Culture.html>>.
5. Information about Náprstek Museum is available at <<http://www.nm.cz/Naprstek-Museum/>>.
6. In the Czech museum evidence system, the number of collection items does not correspond to the actual number of artifacts, which is usually two or more times higher. Several artifacts can be – for various reasons – numbered under a single number.
7. Other information including contacts can be retrieved from <<http://www.nm.cz/Departments/Historical-Museum/>>.
8. Exhibition *The Future of Tradition* (23. 6. – 31. 12. 2015) introduces works of designers from Tomas Bata University in Zlín – see <www.mzm.cz/vystavy>.
9. See <www.mzm.cz> about actual information about exhibitions and other activities.
10. See Pechová, Jarmila (ed.): *Lidová kultura v muzeu. Sbírky Etnografického ústavu Moravského zemského muzea v Brně* [Folk Culture in the Museum. Collections of the Ethnographic Institute of the Moravian Museum in Brno] (2013, Czech-English text). The latest catalogues of particular collections: Večerková, Eva: *O čem vyprávějí rukopisné knihy z etnografických sbírek Moravského zemského muzea* [What Do the Manuscripts From Ethnographic Collections of the Moravian Museums Talk About?] (2014). Pechová, Jarmila: *Perníkářské formy ve sbírkách Etnografického ústavu MZM* [Gingerbread Moulds in Collections of the Ethnographic

Institute of the Moravian Museum] (2014). Kalinová, Alena: *Lidové podmalby na skle. Sbírka Moravského zemského muzea* [Folk Reverse Glass Paintings. A Collection of the Moravian Museum] (2013). Večerková, Eva: *Malované vejce. O kraslicích v českých zemích* [The Decorated Egg. About Decorated Eggs in the Czech Lands] (2013).

11. Central Registry of Collections. Available at: <<http://ces.mkcr.cz/en/intro.php>>.
12. A part of its collections (approx. 15 000 collection items) is available on-line through the on-line portal *VadeMeCum* available at: <<http://mail.vmp.cz/vademecum/index.jsp>>.
13. eSbírky, a section of *Ethnological and Ethnographical Collections*. The section is divided geographically according to the world continents. Available at: <<http://en.esbirkycz/search/type/17103#googtrans%28en%29>>.

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THE FUTURE OF THE TRADITION

The exhibition called The Future of the Tradition prepared by the Ethnographic Institute/Moravian Museum and Tomáš Baťa University in Zlín presents works by students from the workshop of Fashion Design focussing on the phenomenon of traditional costumes both at the level of reconstitutions of folk costumes and that of modern design inspired by the traditional culture. Traditional ornaments, materials and techniques are not only something static or mothballed, but



The exhibition "The Future of the Tradition" – Moravian Museum in Brno.

they act as a springboard for launching the authors into current creative work. Austere objects – jewels or clothes – are influenced by the culture of the Moravian rural area transposed into modern art language. The exhibition presents the starting point – i.e. folk costumes including rich headdress – and on the second level jewels and fashion creation inspired by folk pottery, moulds for blueprint, embroidery or symbols of young men leaving for military service. The reference to our traditions is one of the ways in which to remain unique and specific in the time of globalization. Moravian Museum, Palace of Noble Ladies, Koblížná 1, Brno, 23 June – 31 December 2015.

(Editorial staff)

A HISTORY OF OPEN-AIR MUSEUMS IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC

The beginnings of open-air museums in the Czech Republic were lengthy, tentative and disorganized. The open-air museum in Stockholm, built in the place of the former island fortress called Skansen, is said to be a source of information. However, foreign open-air museums were quite an incomprehensible example for the Czech museum management. When Alois Jaroněk, a designer from Valašské Meziříčí, travelled to Scandinavia to learn about the local art and crafts (his journey from 5th to 27th August 1909 was supported by the Regional Trade Council), he visited the National Exhibition in the Danish town of Aarhus and found out about the intention of Petr Holm, a producer of ship compasses, to translocate a large half-timbered town hall from 1570 to the town park as the Municipal Council wished to demolish the old town hall and to buy a new brick one. A. Jaroněk remembered the deteriorating historical town hall in Rožnov pod Radhoštěm. (Holm translocated the town hall six years later and he not only preserved the rare building but also

built several old-fashioned houses with operating workshops around the town hall). On his next journey, A. Jaroněk visited museums in Stockholm. The greatest surprise for him was the open-air museum that Artur Hazelius had been building for eleven years on the Skansen Island. He opened it to the public in 1891. Jaroněk was fascinated and from that moment he dreamed about a similar museum in the Czech lands, namely in the ethnographic area of Wallachia. He did not know that many other open-air museums existed or had been established in Scandinavia and Northern Germany at that time. The Anders Sandvig museum in Lillehammer, opened to the public in 1904, was probably the most valuable among them. Nowadays, the open-air museum in Lillehammer displays the buildings from one region with its historical, function and urban connections and 20th-century habitation in the countryside and small towns.

On his journey back home, Alois Jaroněk stopped in Oslo (former Kristiania) to visit the Bygdøy Peninsula where King Oscar II. had five of the best embellished buildings in his country transferred (including a column church from Gol from 1170) and where he established one of the oldest open-air museums ever. During Jaroněk's visit, some other buildings were placed on the neighbouring plot and were opened to the public in 1902. Alois Jaroněk wrote a rapturous letter to his brother – the painter Bohumír Jaroněk: *"I expected a lot and I was surprised; the old Norwegians knew how to carve wood well! They carved entire houses, plates, bowls, chests, beds, chairs, tables..., simply everything that was made of wood."* On his journey back home he noted: *"Shall we build a Czechoslovak 'skansen' one day? Hopefully we will. They are preparing one in Brno. Let's build it in our minds and let's compare it with the Swedish Skansen. I think we would win the competition. The Swedish buildings are small; you can touch the roof with your hand. The old*

town hall in Rožnov is about one-hundred times larger than the Swedish buildings. The gamekeeper's lodge in Karlovice would look like a timbered palace among the Swedish buildings. 23 hectares of Stockholm Skansen would not be large enough for 148 Czech constructions. The Norwegian vernacular buildings do not have the beautiful and rich inventions of the stylish tectonics we can see in our vernacular constructions."

Before these contemplations of the Jaroněk Brothers, the information about the Swedish Skansen arrived in Slovakia where they founded the *Muzeální slovenská spoločnosť* (Slovakian Museum Society) in 1893. However, the idea to build a museum with translocated buildings in the town of Martin was never implemented. It was commonly known at that time that vernacular buildings were presented at exhibitions worldwide; in 1851, models of buildings from British colonies were exhibited in London; from 1864 to 1884, the Portuguese architect Alfredo d'Andrade (1839–1915) designed and re-made a part of a medieval town in Torino. This included copied houses from the Aosta Valley which were to be used as teaching aids for students of architecture. At present, they are a part of the local open-air museum. In 1873, nine rural houses translocated from the countries of the Austrian-Hungarian Monarchy were shown at an exhibition in Vienna; in 1878, interiors with figurines wearing folk costumes and people from different countries who demonstrated various crafts were exhibited in Paris (in the creative presence of Hazelius). Similar exhibitions presented folk culture (even from colonies) in Amsterdam in 1883 and in Budapest in 1885 (12 houses from Hungarian provinces). In 1891, a peasant's cottage from Polabí was built at the Jubilejní výstava (Anniversary Exhibition) in Prague – in 1990, this farmstead was used for the presentation of ethnological collections in Přerov nad Labem and became a basis for the follow-up open-air museum. In 1894,

six farmsteads, a windmill and a church were translocated to the *Exhibition of Galician Country* held in Stryjsky Park in Ukrainian (Polish at that time) Lvov.

One year later, there were similar struggles concerning the birth of Czech museums. In 1895, at the *Národopisná výstava československá (Czechoslovak Ethnographic Exhibition)*, held in the Prague park of Stromovka, ninety buildings from the Czech lands (Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia) and one from current Slovakia were presented with the cooperation of architects and ethnographers and under the leadership of František Adolf Šubert, Director of the National Theatre (who learned about the theme in Skansen in Stockholm). The buildings were exhibited including the furnished interiors, and enlivened with people wearing folk costumes and demonstrating crafts or performing folk songs and dances.

At the turn of the 19th and 20th century, interest in folk culture came to the

limelight of public life and got a political implied sense as a movement of non-German ethnic groups in the Austrian-Hungarian Monarchy. At that time, intellectuals developed cultural activities in rural regions as well. The exhibition encouraged the development of the older museums and the formation of new ones as well as the ideas about the foundation of open-air museums. From that time until the 1970s, the idea about a Bohemian open-air museum with rural buildings in the Šárka Valley at the north-western outskirts of Prague was living.

The establishment of the Wallachian museum in the town of Rožnov pod Radhoštěm was the only implemented heritage of the *Národopisná výstava československá (Czechoslovak Ethnographic Exhibition)*. The Jaroněk brothers and their sister Julia moved to Rožnov pod Radhoštěm in 1909 and opened art studios with a mission to cultivate the dwellings of local burghers according to Scandinavian models. The ever stronger efforts of the

Municipal Council to demolish the old town hall made the brothers organize its rescue and translocate it to the town park. There were trickles nearby which had been used for canvas bleaching before. Two other buildings were added to the town hall later. Despite the efforts of the Jaroněk brothers and the members of the local Museum Association, no urbanistic conception of the museum was made. Thanks to the initiative of Bohumír Jaroněk, the museum was founded in 1925, accompanied by a ceremony lasting for several days at which old customs, including wedding ones, were demonstrated. However, the museum only owned the built-up area under the buildings.

Since the very beginning of the interest to preserve historical buildings in Central Europe (contrary to Northern and Southern Europe), heritage institutes and museums differed in their attitude to the use of the buildings. The heritage institutes try to preserve the buildings as solitaires or groups in their original site, despite the setting and function, and mostly in the condition they showed when being documented. The museums, on the other hand, try to translocate the buildings as a largest possible collection with the aim of presenting them to the public in the widest connections. The research into the building genesis of individual constructions is identical for both conceptions but the presentation to the public requires their micro-setting to be revitalized – i.e. the integration of solitaires from different places into one settlement reconstructed in a scientific way. This is – and was in the past – a reason for disputes, because some open-air museums were founded by offices for the preservation of historical monuments and some by museums. Many founders also had different opinions about the term *open-air museum*.

The history of the Wallachian Open-Air Museum is an example of a chaotic search. Its construction was supposed to be controlled by the Heritage Institute in Brno in the 1950s and the architect Jaroslav Fiala was to elaborate a draft



The design of the Wallachian Open-Air Museum in Rožnov pod Radhoštěm by Bohumír Jaroněk. The Department of Documentation of the Wallachian Open-Air Museum in Rožnov p. R.

for the extension of the museum in a new area called Na Stráni. Based on the then principle of the preservation of historical monuments, which ordered that only those buildings should be translocated to the open-air museum which could not be preserved at the original site, Fiala sketched a layout for four buildings that were to be built on the slope between two marking-off lines with green vegetation. The Wallachian museum became a section of the Regional Museum in Gottwaldov, which organized a national conference about the preservation of rural architecture in 1958. However, the experts were interested in particular buildings only, not in farmsteads and larger urbanistic units. In 1960, in the course of the re-organization of regions, the Rožnov museum fell under the supervision of the Northern-Moravian Regional Centre for State Preservation of Historical Monuments and Nature. The Centre delegated its competences to the Department of Education and Culture of the District National Committee in Vsetín. Based on Fiala's sketch, houses from Velké Karlovice – Miloňov, a cottage from Leskovec, a house with cowshed and a barn from Lužná and a two-storey granary from Seninka were built. A systematic conception of the museum was formed only under the director Jan R. Bečák (1965–1972) and its particular outcomes were implemented under the leadership of the director Jaroslav Štika after 1972. At that time, the museum was subordinated to the Department of Culture of the Regional National Committee in Ostrava. The heritage institute worked only as a consultant.

Many museums in Bohemia underwent a different development. For example, Milada Nováková, an employee at the national heritage institute, intended to build an open-air museum on a small area (4 hectares) in the town of Kouřim, Central Bohemia. The museum was supposed to include buildings from all regions in Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia. According to the study elaborated by the academic architect Petr Fuchs, a house

from Sudetenland shared a yard with a house from the ethnographic area of Haná. The museum was to keep solitaires only as if these were different objects on a shelf in a repository, not a settlement which could allow the visitors to learn about the details of buildings and their functions in the former way of life, as is common in Scandinavian open-air museums, for example. The Sudeten house was translocated from Jílové near Děčín and it stands close to the village mayor's house from Bradlecká Lhota near Jičín. Nowadays, it is very difficult to find a purpose for the presentation of this museum to visitors and the merit of its further construction.

On 7th July 1972, the *Association of European Open-Air Museums* was founded (after five conferences with the participation of the representatives from a few Western-European museums, held in 1957 and annually from 1966 to 1970). Czech museums were represented by Ludvík Kunz, Director of the Moravian Museum in Brno (participation in the conferences in 1967 and 1968) with the idea of building an open-air museum close to the Veveří Castle; and Helena Johnová, Director of the Ethnographic Department of the National Museum in Prague (participation in the conference in 1968), who was ready to support the old intention to build a Czech-wide open-air museum at any time. Among the members of the Association, Jaroslav Štika, Director of the Wallachian Open-Air Museum, was a representative of the existing Czech open-air museum (he was a committee member in 1982, and a vice-chairman between 1986 and 1990). The author of this article became a member of the Association in 1982, and Jan Souček, who built the Museum of Rural Architecture of South-Eastern Moravia in the town of Strážnice in Southern Moravia, became a member in 1984. The contradictions in attitudes of Czech heritage institutes and Czech museums, which showed themselves in the practice of district and regional inspections, were the reason to

create a handbook with principles termed *Národopisná muzea v přírodě – teoretická a metodická východiska k realizaci* (*Ethnographic Open-Air Museums – theoretical and methodological starting points for implementation*). This handbook put the then *Act on Museums and Galleries* into concrete terms and supplemented it. Only when we saw the open-air museums abroad could we compare how their practice was far from the bureaucratic management to which many of our colleagues adapted themselves preventively. The Czech post-war legislation dealing with museums has been formed since the late 1950s and it has not respected the specific features of the open-air museums and their mission so far. For example, the contemporary building legislation is commonly used for the translocation of museum buildings and the construction of their copies. This legislation, however, was made to prevent the use of building elements which are typical for the collection objects at open-air museums. This problem was solved by the principles mentioned above in the past but the state legislation was not able to learn about them, to respect and to resolve them.

Jiří Langer
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OPEN-AIR MUSEUMS IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC

Most Czech open-air museums, except for the Wallachian Open-Air Museum in Rožnov pod Radhoštěm founded in 1925, developed in the 1960s and 1970s. In contrast to the neighbouring countries (e.g. Slovakia), no nation-wide open-air museum was established in the Czech Republic – most museums were founded as regional (rescue) open-air museums. This was possible due to the variety of particular ethnographic areas and their traditional vernacular architecture. The museums exhibit mostly buildings from the 18th and the first half of the 19th centuries; the dendrochronological method dated several buildings back to the 16th and 17th centuries.

The open-air museums developed in all regions in the Czech Republic except for the South-Bohemian Region, where the intention was to present traditional

vernacular architecture in the form of village reserves and conservation areas (these included mainly farmsteads in the style of so-called rural Baroque from the 2nd and 3rd quarters of the 19th century as constructions built by excellent builders – bricklayers, stuccoers and carpenters). Buildings were transferred to most of the Czech open-air museums (whereby different methods were applied). Some open-air museums use the buildings for demonstrations “in situ” (Ethnographic Museum of the Slaný Area in Třebíz, Collection of Vernacular Architecture in Rymice), or the existing rural buildings were combined with buildings translocated from other locations in a given region (Museum of Vernacular Architecture in Zubrnice).

The Czech museums are administered by the Ministry of Culture (through the National Heritage Institute – regional offices) or by particular regions. In the latter case the open-air museums are branches of regional museums of local history and geography (except for the

Ethnographic Museum of the Slaný Area in Třebíz which is administered by the municipality of Slaný).

The open-air museums in the Czech lands (Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia) also demonstrate diverse specializations within their exhibitions; some of them have not changed their specialization since their foundation. Most museums were built as regionally oriented and presenting farmsteads, i.e. habitation, farm, technical and sometimes sacral buildings (including small constructions of this type), and several types of public buildings (pubs, village halls, etc.). The specialized open-air museums include the Open-Air Museum Vysočina in Hlinsko in Bohemia focused on rural technical buildings with water-drive, and the Museum of Rural Architecture of South-East Moravia in Strážnice exhibiting mainly rural earth architecture.

Interiors at most open-air museums are installed to demonstrate different periods and social situations of their owners; they also reflect home-made production often carried out in the rooms. The interiors in traditional rural buildings are used for specialized or permanent exhibitions in many museums. Several buildings are used as repositories or hinterland for cultural and social events (performances of folklore ensembles and demonstration of traditional customs, traditional production and folk handicrafts and old types of farming). The open-air museums are currently a place for research activities; in addition to their collection-creating activity they are also aimed at the documentation of traditional cultural expressions.

Most open-air museums in the Czech Republic try to design their building pattern as a settlement or urban picture of particular regions which are represented at the given open-air museum. At present, groups of buildings or an collection of several farmsteads can be considered to be an open-air museum (of vernacular architecture). Our contribution about the open-air museums in the Czech Republic



The Museum of Rural Buildings of the Central Vltava Region in Vysoký Chlumec. A polygonal timbered barn from Podolí near Vojkov at the foreground. Photo Roman Abušínov 2012.

does not include archaeological parks and open-air museums of Celtic culture which have been founded recently. We will not deal with quite a high number of solitaire buildings or individual rural farmsteads which are used to exhibit tangible folk culture, to present traditional styles of habitation and for cultural activities. Many such buildings are private (some of their owners are members of the Czech Association of Open-Air Museums) or owned by villages and smaller towns.

In Central Bohemia, four open-air museums exist now. **The Ethnographic Museum of the Elbe Region in Přerov nad Labem** presents mainly traditional rural architecture and habitation in the region of Central Polabí. The museum is located in the middle of the township of Přerov nad Labem and especially the translocated rural buildings in the lower part of the museum (direction of the Elbe) demonstrate the social differentiation in Polabí villages in the 19th and early 20th centuries. This was reflected in the use and installation of particular rooms in three-section larder-style houses. The rural buildings display timber, stones and burnt bricks as the building material used. In 2016, another farmstead including a smithy should be finished. **The Museum of Rural Buildings of the Central Vltava Region in Vysoký Chlumec** near Sedlčany was established in 1998; it is the youngest open-air museum in the Czech Republic. The museum preserves seventeen larger and smaller translocated buildings (including a replica of a bricked smithy from the mid-19th century, which was finished in 2015) from areas situated in the Central Vltava Region (especially from the Sedlčany area), the Votice and the Benešov areas. The museum consists of three large farmsteads and a small area with rural technical buildings with water drive (saw mill and water mill with overshot water wheels). This open-air museum was built with the intention of applying the contemporary and latest trends for the construction of open-air museums; among other things, an



*Christmas Eve captured at a Christmas exhibition ("Old-Bohemian cottage").
The Ethnographic Museum of the Elbe Region in Přerov nad Labem.*



Cottages translocated from the village of Chvalovice (the late 18th century) and the settlement of Draho (1755). The Ethnographic Museum of the Elbe Region in Přerov nad Labem.

open-hearth kitchen was successfully transferred in a block weighing 32 tonnes. It is necessary to mention that the buildings which have been transferred to the museum in Vysoký Chlumec are not listed. There is neither an operational building nor a building service court in the precinct of this open-air museum. **The Ethnographic Museum of the Slaný Area in Třebíz** presents rural bricked architecture from a wider region of the Slaný area where as early as in the late Middle Ages stones were used to build rural buildings. The majority of this museum comprises the village green from Třebíč with the *in situ* housing – there are houses of poor residents as well as large farmsteads there, including the largest farmstead of the Cílek family with maintained late-Gothic fragments, and a house which is a memorial of the writer Václav Beneš Třebízský. Two transferred buildings are outside the visitors' route due to the restitution claims after 1989. This museum has not had a research fellow for quite a long period of time (only the operation of the institution is secured

now) and the research activity including exhibitions is ensured by external co-operation. The conception and building intention of the **Museum of Folk Buildings in Kouřim** is questionable – according to the original conception from the 1970s, solitaire buildings from the whole of the Czech Republic were to be transferred here, despite their economic, social and ownership ties (the museum was planned as a museum of folk building techniques). In the first stage, several buildings documenting folk architecture in the villages in the Želivka river flood area (construction of a dam) were transferred to the museum. The translocation (or rescue) of several valuable buildings which would have ceased to exist for sure was one of the less positive features the implementation of the original conception of the open-air museum in Kouřim showed (e.g. the still existing timbered polygonal barn from Durdice near Votice dated back to 1648, which is the oldest one in the Czech Republic, or the timbered smithy from Starý Bydžov from the 18th century). About five years ago, the management of

the Regional Museum in Kolín (including its branch – the Museum of Folk Buildings – in Kouřim) began to implement a new conception which corresponds to the contemporary requirements to a certain extent – to group different buildings from one region in one farmstead, to try to build a village green and to present buildings only from the regions which have been represented by particular buildings in the museum so far.

Mostly timbered habitation and farm buildings from south-eastern Bohemia and from the Pošumaví area are transferred to the **Exhibition of Vernacular Architecture in Chanovice** in Western Bohemia. The not very rugged land allows the buildings to be rescued which cannot be preserved in their original location. Several farm buildings, valuable as to their development could be rescued in this way – e.g. timbered larders (some of them dendro-chronologically dated back to the 16th century) and silos with timbered cylindrical vault. The precinct of the museum in Chanovice also includes a stony several-storey manor silo used as a repository.

The Collection of Vernacular Architecture in Zubrnice represents Northern Bohemia and especially the Bohemian Central Uplands. As already mentioned, the open-air museum uses the existing large bricked farmsteads (the German ethnic group dominated in this area until 1945) and farm and rural technical buildings (silos, barns, fruit drying kilns) were translocated from the Uplands area. The collection of buildings in Zubrnice also exhibits a village school and a shop. The church of St. Mary Magdalene is a venue of season exhibitions. The visitors' route in Zubrnice includes the valley of the Luční brook with a lot of former mills. The museum in Zubrnice is seasonally extended by the operation on a former local railway and the railway museum in the village.

The Open-Air Museum Vysočina in Veselý Kopec near Hlinsko is the largest open-air museum in Bohemia. It



The Exhibition of Vernacular Architecture in Chanovice.

also includes a group of predominantly artisans' houses in a district of Hlinsko called Betlém. These buildings come mostly from the 18th and 19th centuries (some of these buildings are used for exhibitions). The major exhibition part of the museum in the location Veselý Kopec includes translocated folk buildings from the Bohemian-Moravian Highlands. According to the original plan of the museum founder Luděk Štěpán, rural technical buildings with water-drive were transferred to this part of the museum – a mill, a sawmill and a house for making damson-cheese. A trip hammer is exhibited in the village of Svobodné Hamry. The open-air museum in Veselý Kopec presents a number of buildings with artisans' workshops, dwellings of small peasants and socially weak inhabitants of villages and settlements in the region.

The oldest and largest open-air museum in the Czech Republic – **The Wallachian Open-Air Museum in Rožnov pod Radhoštěm** – is situated in Moravia. It includes three exhibition areas: the Timbered Town founded in 1925, the Wallachian Village (an area on the slope) and the Mill Valley, which exhibits technical buildings with water-drive. The Wallachian Open-Air Museum presents the oldest timbered buildings which once stood in the Rožnov square, a number of traditional Wallachian farmsteads including farm and sacral buildings. The Museum is a seat of the Association of Open-Air Museums and the Methodological Centre for Open-Air Museums in the Czech Republic.

The Museum of Rural Architecture in South-East Moravia in Strážnice is another important museum in Moravia. It is administered by the National Institute of Folk Culture, an institution well-known as an organizer of the oldest and biggest international folklore festival in the Czech Republic. The museum includes farmsteads and other rural buildings from the ethnographic area of Slovácko, areas with technical buildings, meadow farming (especially



The Collection of Vernacular Architecture in Zubrnice, village green No. 61 – the first house opened to the public.



Open-Air Museum Vysočina, Betlém – a historical village reservation in Hlinsko.



*The homestead from Vyškovec (the habitate room) , the ethnographic area of Moravian Kopanice.
Photo T. Hájek 2005. The Museum of Rural Architecture in South-East Moravia in Strážnice.*



The Collection of Folk Buildings in Rymice – the wind mill from Hejnice.

barns from the village of Javorník) and viniculture buildings which are typical for settlements and landscape of this part of Moravia. The museum also presents old building techniques and original materials used in folk architecture in the regions in southern and south-eastern Moravia, for example different types of earth constructions.

Vernacular architecture in Haná, an important ethnographic area in Central Moravia, is introduced within the **Collection of Folk Buildings in Rymice**. With several buildings in situ (in addition to a translocated wind mill), the collection exhibits typical buildings from this region and the way of life of local residents. A preserved Renaissance stronghold with many specialized exhibitions is part of the historical development in the village and the visitors' route at the Rymice museum. The image of the architecture in the same ethnographic area is replenished by the **Haná Village Museum in Příkazy**, which presents the development of the regional form of Haná folk houses. The local vernacular architecture (the application of earth and unburnt bricks) is documented by several farmsteads with preserved large barns, which are accessible to the public.

The open-air museums of vernacular architecture in the Czech Republic represent significant cultural heritage and their areas are very interesting for the public. The next development of the existing museums and the foundation of new ones in the Czech lands will be dependent on financial possibilities and the situation in the field mainly – in many regions, a few valuable rural buildings have survived in situ which comply with the conditions for translocation (a considerable number of folk buildings are maintained and protected by their owners on the spot).

*Lubomír Procházka
Mining Museum Příbram – The Open-
-Air Museum in Vysoký Chlumec
(Museum of Rural Buildings
of the Central Vltava Region)*

TRADITIONAL FOLK DRESS IN MORAVIA – IDENTIFICATION, ANALYSIS, CONSERVATION AND SUSTAINABLE CONDITION OF MATERIALS COLLECTED BETWEEN 1850 AND 1950

In 2010, the National Institute of Folk Culture and Masaryk University, a consortium of investigators, successfully defended the project *Traditional Folk Dress in Moravia* (NAKI DF11P01OVV017) within a public contest for applied research of the National Cultural Identity (NAKI) which was announced by the Ministry of Culture.

The aim of the project was a thorough stocktaking of textile material located in Moravia (one of three Czech lands) and stored in domestic and several foreign museums. First of all, it was necessary to work out a unified way of describing the garments at the verbal, drawing and construction levels, possible ways of identifying them which are to accentuate relative ties across ethnographic areas, and the relationship between the folk and the stylish clothing. The other research line paid attention to documentation, description and identification of textile materials of an ethnographic nature. The third line included conservation and storage of material collected in repositories.

The research was undertaken between 2011 and 2015 and a lot of scientists and research institutions took part in its particular stages. The team of investigators led by Jiří Přihoda from Masaryk University in Brno devoted itself to the conservation of textile objects and their storage in repositories. The team led by Petra Mertová from the Technical Museum in Brno focused on research into textiles used for making folk garments, their production, dyeing, description and identification. The team led by Martin Šimša, coordinator of the project, from the National Institute of Folk Culture in Strážnice dealt with identification, analysis and comparative studies of the

garments, made ethnographic maps depicting the spread of the garments and collected iconographic documents about the historical look of the folk dress. A number of external co-operators from central and regional museums as well as Alena Křížová from the Institute of European Ethnology, the Faculty of Arts, Masaryk University in Brno, got involved in the project. Alena Křížová provided the team with valuable consultancies and became a co-author of several important outcomes.

The formation of a unified and complete system of descriptions of particular types of men's and women's garments we often encounter in Moravian museum collections was a key precondition to get a number of planned outcomes of the project. Taking into account the previous good experience, analyses of cuts were used for this activity. Based on this, major and minor identification elements were defined for individual garments (trousers, a vest, a jacket, a coat, a shirt, a skirt, an apron etc.). For example, trousers feature the length, the place of seams on the legs, and the form of yoke on the back panels as major identification elements, and the number of slits at the waist, the form of pockets and the way of fastening the trousers at the waist as minor identification elements. Women's skirts feature fewer identification signs and most of them are major, e.g. whether the skirt is open or closed at the front, the way of laying cut panels and their number, and the treatment of the skirt surface.

The analysis of the preserved garments in museum collections allowed us to get variants of particular elements which were classified and indexed. Replenished with drawing documentation, they became the basis for the unified and mutually comparable manner of description. Based on collected knowledge and gained experience, the *Metodika dokumentace součástí mužského kalhotového, kabátového a košilového oděvu* [The Methodology of the Documentation for Parts of Men's,

Trousers, Coat and Shirt Clothing] was made and similar documentation is being prepared for women's clothing. In addition to well-elaborated variants of particular identification elements, the methodology contains historical certificates documenting the development of particular groups of garments and the typical examples which we can encounter in collections.

The collected information about particular types of men's and women's garments, their occurrence in collections, localization and spatial relationship are clearly presented through the *Mapová aplikace lidový oděv* (MALO – Folk Dress Map Application) on the website <lidovyodev.cz> [folk dress]. The investigators' findings are submitted on *special maps with scientific content* which capture women's skirts, aprons, shirts, waistcoats and jackets, and men's trousers, shirts, vests, jackets, coats and aprons. The maps can be studied independently or combined with each other. The information about the existence of a collection object is expressed by a corresponding symbol with localization. Other findings stored in a voluminous database of information from which the maps are generated can be studied on the enclosed card with the description, drawing and cut documentation; some selected exemplars also include a colour gouache.

The planned outcomes from the project included the publications *Lidový oděv na Moravě a ve Slezsku I., Ikonografické prameny do roku 1850* [Folk Dress in Moravia and Silesia I., Iconographic Sources until 1850] and *Lidový oděv na Moravě a ve Slezsku II., Ikonografické prameny z let 1850–1900* [Folk Dress in Moravia and Silesia II., Iconographic Sources from 1850 until 1900]. The authors Alena Křížová and Martin Šimša prepared a representative book for publication which presents well-known as well as completely unknown pictures depicting the historical form of folk clothing. The introductory study mentions

the hitherto research and painters and graphic designers who produced these works. The subsequent catalogue comprises pictures accompanied with critical comments and references to the scientific literature. Foreign researchers will certainly appreciate that all texts have been translated into English. The published book is the first omnibus publication of iconographic sources for the study of folk costumes in Moravia and Silesia, which is essential for the study of folk costumes in the Czech lands and abroad where the sources from our territory have not been available to date.

The thorough knowledge about the collections stored in Moravian museums enabled the preparation of a large representative exhibition called *Lidový oděv na Moravě [Folk Dress in Moravia]*. This exhibition is installed in the chateau in Strážnice, the seat of the National Institute of Folk Culture. Five dozen life-sized dummies present a unique variety of garments from the region which combines influences of several noticeable lines of clothing penetrating from Western and Eastern Europe, the Carpathians and Pannonia. The visitor can see ceremonial attires of brides and bridegrooms, festive attires worn for village dance parties, and workday clothing the rural people wore when travelling to distant fairs in towns. Typical canvas work garments are also there. The exhibition is accompanied by a catalogue with the same title which introduces clothes in which the dummies are dressed, as well as individual garments often hidden under a layer of over-clothes.

Like the research into clothing, research into fabrics focused on the unified description, identification and documentation within the project. These principles are summarized in the *Metodika nedestruktivního průzkumu historických tkanin etnografického charakteru z období 1850 až 1950, jejich dokumentace a identifikace [The Methodology of Non-Destructive Research into Historical*

Fabrics of Ethnographic Nature between 1850 and 1950, their Documentation and Identification]. The Methodology has been written as a norm which provides clear and instructive instructions for the description, and lists of corresponding kinds of fabrics. The function of methodology was verified during the description and identification of collection objects stored in provincial and regional museums. The gained information extended by photo-documentation became a basis to create a database with fabrics on the website <atlastextilu.cz> [*atlas of textile*].

In addition to the outcomes mentioned above, a group of investigators led by Petra Mertová wrote a book *Výšivka, krajka a aplikace na tradičním oděvu [Embroidery, Lace and Appliqué on Traditional Dress]* in 2013. With texts and photographs, the publication tries to describe the richness and variety of Moravian textile tradition. The texts follow especially the technical aspect of embroiderers' techniques; they also summarize the hitherto knowledge about the development of the mentioned techniques and mention parallels with and differences from the Central European tradition. Because the book intended to give an overview of decorative techniques and to help identify them in museums, the particular examples are accompanied by photographs and the selected examples of stitches and lace-making techniques are illustrated by drawings. Each technique is described in an independent chapter, but the embroidery and the lace were often an inseparable couple, as the enclosed photos suggest.

Petra Mertová devoted another publication introducing the results of research into historical fabrics to the *Textilní tvorba brněnských firem [Textile Works of Firms in Brno]* in 2015. The publication summarizes knowledge acquired during the analysis and description of textiles stored in sample books. The photographic enclosure with comments provides an overview of plants and firms

with examples of their production. The book is completed with a vocabulary list of period woollen fabrics.

The solution of the research project brought about a lot of important knowledge that extends the material and methodological basis of the scientific disciplines of ethnology and cultural history in a significant manner and brings these nearer to the standards common in other European countries. A thorough constructional analysis of garments the investigators implemented with particular collection material contributed significantly to the extension of professional knowledge, the discovery of non-regional ties and – indirectly- to the change of the view of folk dress the origin and specific appearance of which now seems to be a peculiar product of the development of historical clothing. Results with a similar structure were reached during research into textiles used for making folk garments, their conservation and storage. The gained results are summarized and published in scientific studies and books as well as the outcomes of the applied research. The certified methodology which submits the gained knowledge in the form of instructions and procedures which can be used by other scientific institutions as well is an especially important result.

Martin Šimša

(National Institute of Folk Culture)

APPLIED RESEARCH INTO BUILDING TECHNIQUES OF TRADITIONAL EARTH HOUSES

The theme of earth buildings has become a matter of interest for experts from several scientific disciplines (especially ethnologists and architects) in Moravia in recent years. A systematic description of building techniques which used earth as their dominating material

related to the cultural and historical framework has not been undertaken in the Czech Republic yet. The published data were mostly part of a bigger complex.

Earth and timber were among the most widespread building materials not only in what we call the Czech Republic today. The availability of earth and its properties allowed its wide use in vernacular architecture as the main as well as the supplementary building material.

The rate of preserved authenticity of the original materials in buildings collected by open-air museums as documents of traditional building culture is a problem hitherto not solved. It is this authenticity that determines the use of original material and technologies to construct the selected buildings (copies) in a new place. Replicas of the original earth building were often built from different and modern materials at the open-air museums.

In 2015, a five-year research project focused on applied research into earth architecture is coming to its end. The project studied the theme from the multi-disciplinary point of view and was dealt with by the National Institute of Folk Culture in Strážnice and the Institute of Geological Sciences, Faculty of Science, Masaryk University in Brno. The project implemented within the Programme of applied research and development of national and cultural identity is termed "The Techniques of Traditional Earth Architecture in Moravia and their Relationship with the Mid-Danube Area". The funds are ensured by the Ministry of Culture.

From the methodological point of view, the project combines research procedures used by ethnology and relative disciplines replenished with the result of building material analysis. The basic research is based on the comparison of building expressions found currently in the field with older archival, literary and iconographic sources and archaeological documents. Attention is paid to philological material and the social and professional context

is taken into consideration as well. The experimental part of the applied research which is aimed at practical mastering of archaic building techniques runs at the Museum of Rural Architecture of South-Eastern Moravia, which is a part of the National Institute of Folk Culture.

The research, among other things, will contribute to the explanation of the relationship of building techniques used and their genesis. The goal-directed experimental works verify the functionality of traditional procedures under new conditions, which is a necessary precondition for these procedures to be introduced into practice. This is determined by the thorough technical mastering of particular techniques. Research focused in the above mentioned way is difficult because it investigates an already extinct building tradition.



The Exhibition „Earth Architecture in Moravia“. View of the exhibition. Photo David Rájecký 2014. Photoarchiv NÚLK.

The project also includes analyses of samples from places where suitable raw material for the construction of earth buildings is supposed to have been extracted, and the analyses of samples of materials that will be used for the construction of experimental buildings in the premises of the already mentioned Museum of Rural Architecture of South-Eastern Moravia. The implementation of the research also includes new methods that have not been applied in ethnology so far. One of them is the destructive method, i.e. disassembly of buildings falling into disrepair. This method requires exact documentation and an analysis of the applied building technique. This method helped to discover a building technique in Moravia for which even broad comparative research could not find any corresponding analogies.

The application of the achieved results and the combination of the methodology of humanities and natural sciences help to preserve the values of this important part of national cultural heritage for further generations. The achieved results (the published ones as well as the ones achieved through a building experiment) contribute to the presentation of particular regions and the identification of national culture in the European context. The urgency of such a research project lies in the revitalization of archaic building expressions whose last documents would otherwise cease to exist in the not very distant future.

The experiment grounded on a scientific basis is an important means for the future, not only in connection with the research into traditional earth architecture. This method could enable examination of the original methods of building in practice. It is a complex procedure which requires critical evaluation and theoretical elaboration. However, scientific foundations for the experimental verification of disappeared techniques are still missing in ethnology.

Martin Novotný

(National Institute of Folk Culture)

GEOGRAPHIC INFORMATION SYSTEM OF TRADITIONAL FOLK CULTURE (1750–1900) – AN EFFECTIVE WAY TO MAKE THE RESULTS OF ETHNOLOGICAL RESEARCH ACCESSIBLE

The need to identify and comprehend the principles of special representation of the expression of traditional folk culture is among the research issues which have drawn attention of several generations of Czech ethnologists. For this reason, ethnocartography is one of the standard methods aimed at knowledge about the territorial distribution of partial elements and their larger sets on one or more time levels. It also helps to explain the genesis, differentiation and geographical transformation, or constancy of cultural elements. As early as in the 1930s, Czech ethnologist Drahomíra Stránská (1899–1964) in her book *Příručka vlastivědného pracovníka (A Handbook of a Local History and Geography Worker)* made regional experts create maps with points marking the existence of particular expressions and mark off the districts with their occurrence.

The possibility to use the ethnocartographic method for scientific purposes, however, was always limited by the static character of the displayed data with no option to adapt them to the user's requirements. Alongside the development of IT technologies, these natural imperfections can be eliminated partially – for example through the Geographic Information System – GIS. This can be used to capture, store, manage, analyse and present geographical data including map outcomes. It was natural sciences that started using the advantages of geographic information systems more intensively in the 1980s. Many disciplines can benefit from the GIS data – be it the application sphere (flood management, modelling of avalanche and landslide danger) or the state and municipality administration (e.g. routes for networks

and utilities, more effective work of rescue services, traffic and navigation systems).

In the field of social sciences, it was archaeologists and curators of monuments who started using the system. Other scientific disciplines (including ethnology and anthropology) were only slowly searching for ways to integrate GIS. However, thanks to interdisciplinary cooperation and some projects of applied research, GIS has recently become a helpful research tool at selected Czech ethnological institutions. GIS offers several levels of exploitation.

The *Geographic Information System of Traditional Folk Culture (1750–1900)* (briefly Gistralik) is an example of the advanced level in the use of GIS technology in Czech ethnology. It has been created since 2014 as a part of a project focused on applied research into National and Cultural Identity at Masaryk University institutions (The Institute of European Ethnology, the Faculty of Arts and the Institute of Computer Technology). Gistralik is an on-line accessible geographic information portal (<http://gistralik.muni.cz/>) thematically aimed at traditional folk culture. It intersects maps with information from folk culture which are defined by places (the historical province of Moravia) and by time (years 1750–1900). So Gistralik is not an ethnological atlas transferred into its electronical form with static spatial visualisation of documented phenomena. It represents a sophisticated GIS in the form of a spatially displayed database comprising data about documented expressions of tangible and intangible folk culture and the rate of their procession hitherto. So it works not only with information as such but also with reference to its origin and it offers users the possibility to exploit the source according to their individual needs. The core idea of Gistralik consists in the concentration of knowledge from diverse source documents (metadata) and with a different rate of accessibility into one user-friendly information “point”. The target group of users is varied – the

system is supposed to be actively used by the professional public (ethnologists and relative social sciences) as well as students and amateur public in individual regions. The Geographic Information System of Traditional Folk Culture is not limited as to the volume of data and it shows constant growth potential which is and will be dependent on the quantity and quality of the processed data entered into the system. Since 2015, the system has been working in Czech; the English version is expected to be in operation from 2016.

The construction of a functioning database with standardized items and its combination with maps is a necessary prerequisite for Gistralik to function as an effective means for the presentation of information and an analytic tool. For this reason, the choice of suitable types of resources providing information is an important aspect. The resources are chosen to ensure proportionality in territorial coverage and in profile of the information content. Therefore, two basic types of resources are defined for the project: a) published; b) non-published.

The published resources include texts and pictures and a combination thereof, accessible to the public either in printed publications with a press run of more than one, or electronically. This type of resource is expected to be more accessible in public libraries and collections or in digitized form (books, chapter in book, article in magazine, edition, printed map, historical print, Internet source, CD ROM, DVD, iconographic document made with different techniques and available to the public in printed or electronical form).

The non-published resources are described as a text and a picture or a combination thereof, or a three-dimensional object administered by a public-law or a private institution or an individual (manuscript, iconographic source, three-dimensional object).

Each source document is identified formally [“passportization”] (author, name, publisher, year, place and year

of publication and number of pages; for non-published sources: name and seat of institution, identifiers for registration of institution). This stage is followed by content analysis, time classification and a definition of territorial affiliation of the processed information.

The content is encoded using a standardised system of key words/entries. For this purpose the Gistralik Index has been produced. This thesaurus was made solely for Gistralik and it corresponds to its peculiar functions, content and time limits (so it does not include the phenomena which emerged after 1900). With its structure, the Index does not reflect the systematic of the branch in its entire width and depth, but it is a data file made intentionally for the needs of GIS creators and users.

The Index consists of two stages. The first category is represented by so-called systematic entries (28 entries in total) – they cover the entire field of traditional culture and their content remains on the level of a quite high universality: *civil engineering – agriculture – textile and clothes – art culture – diet – exploitation and production – service and public occupation – trade – weight and measurement – transport – law – fine literature – music – dance – theatre – children’s folklore – ritual, habit, custom – devoutness – witchcraft – knowledge – formal social relationships – informal social relationships – relational structure – faith healing and hygiene – ethnic relationships – language – event – other*. The systematic entries assign each documented phenomenon (record) to the basic “information network”; each taken-over record gets one systematic entry at least, to which one or more analytic entries can be linked – as to the nature of the information.

The second category includes so-called analytic entries which are divided into two classes. These represent chosen terms from the field of tangible and intangible culture. The use of those terms extends and particularizes the placing of a documented element in the information

network. In the corresponding categories, the particular analytical entries are in alphabetical order; the analytical entries of the second class develop the chosen terms of the entries from the first class. The Index contains 543 analytical entries of the first class and 690 analytical entries of the second class; altogether 1 233 analytical entries.

1st class analytical entry

men’s clothes

2nd class analytical entry

shirt

trousers

waistcoat

jacket

coat/overall/over-garment

fur coat

headgear

footwear

accessories (handkerchief, scarf, gloves, belt, stick, bag, purse, pipe, personal haberdashery)

ornament (needlework, lace, ribbon, flower, jewellery/clip/button)

1st class analytical entry

wedding

2nd class analytical entry

best man

bridesmaid

wedding cake

bachelor’s party

bride

marriage

dowry

engagement

bridegroom

Each record has to be provided with at least one entry; the quantity of entries attached later is not limited. While the entries identify the basic information framework, annotations are to inform about the content of a record more thoroughly. They do not double the role

of the Index, but they shall rather develop and specify the information contained in a record (a more thorough description of the source and its content, authorship and circumstances of origin; in the case of a foreign term or text, the translation can be added). In the case of a large source, e.g. names of chapters and sub-chapters are mentioned.

The identification of the content level of a record (“*passportization*”) is followed by its time classification. According to the nature of the record, the information can either relate to one year only, to a range of particular years or to one or more decades. If the basic information is not specified exactly (“*once*”, “*years ago*”) the records are linked to the entire interval (between the years 1750–1900).

The processed information has to be bound to a particular territory so that spatial depiction of records defined as to their content and time can be applied. Gistralik defines a community to be the smallest territorial unit. The definition of communities is based on the range of cadastral communities as of cadastral maps from the first half of the 19th century. A set of basic statistical and demographical data from the second half of the 19th century is worked out for each community (the year 1880 is a reference year). This statistical component is replenished by individual records from source documents. Their quantity is not limited and their composition is unique for each location.

Higher territorial administrative units are represented by domains (as of the 1750s), parishes (their borders are defined as of the 1860s) and court districts (related to the 1860s). These types of territorial units and their areas were formed by the then administration with the purpose of making the territorial organization of society simpler and more transparent. Although these spatial units entered into the life of local communities as an external element, their overlay with traditional culture was taken into account when being chosen for Gistralik.

Work with Gistralik offers two options – using the map display or the database. The first option allows us to choose between individual types of territorial units (community, domain, parish, court district) and simultaneously to work with the time limit while using the time axis. The higher territorial units include hidden information with a list of affiliated cadastral communities. Each community and each court district features a sum of basic statistical data (e.g. altitude, population, division of the community as to confession and language, number of houses in the location in the case of communities; population, ethnic and religion composition and number of houses in 1869, 1873 and 1880 in the case of court districts). If a particular type of territorial unit is chosen, information about the quantity of relevant records is displayed which can be displaced in a separate window.

The other option is to work with Gistralik using the database. From the database, smaller files with records can be filtered – according to their affiliation to a territorial unit, time affiliation, by means of key words or through a full-text search. The individual entered criteria can be combined through advanced searching. The database also has a function “display on the map”.

The relevance of Gistralik is determined not only by the space and time, but also by the quantity and quality of the collected and identified data. The standardized system of procession should guarantee the biggest possible exploitation of a source and the suitable structure of the source portfolio is important for the system functionality as well. We have just a limited number of results from ethnographic research available which would correspond to the time coverage and cover the whole of Moravia evenly.

For this reason, relevant information can be acquired in some archival materials of statistical and registration character. In the past, these came into being mostly

at the suggestion of state administration and the information of ethnological nature is secondary yet irreplaceable in many respects due to the time of its origin. For this reason, summary overviews on individual communities (Stabile Cadastre Records on Evaluations) from the 1840s were chosen as a model source for Gistralik. The advantage lies in the fact that those overviews have survived for nearly all communities in Moravia and their content is compiled according to a unified methodology. These archival materials contain information about farming, and the paragraphs in handwritten overviews reveal phenomena of a social character and partial information about trade relations, supplementary handicrafts, building materials, etc.

The second survey into archival materials for Gistralik dealt with school chronicles. In the first stage, six districts were chosen and the oldest surviving school chronicles were treated. Czech ethnologists, however, tried to make good use of the testimony provided by this type of sources already in the past, but Moravian school chronicles with a similar quantity and territorial coverage were excerpted only for Gistralik.

Therefore, the spectrum of source documents exploited for the needs of Gistralik includes a collection with a variety of types of structure in which the archival materials are combined with the collections of memory institutions and the printed production. The excerpts also stimulate further efforts to learn to which extent the territorial and content issue of traditional culture is reflected by ethnology, history, regional research etc. In this way, we can identify an imaginary terra incognita within the documentation of cultural heritage.

Despite some mentioned limits of the Geographic Information System of Traditional Folk Culture (1750–1900), with its more than fifty thousand records the System can be even now considered to be an important research infrastructure based on the uniqueness this research

tool in the Czech Republic and Europe (in relation to information of ethnological nature), its interdisciplinary use and the combination of scientific knowledge from the realms of ethnology and cultural heritage, geography and IT technologies. The Gistralik construction and operation in its Czech (and in the future also English) version makes – through a large database – the results of the years of research and documentation activities of many generations of researchers accessible for those interested from the Czech Republic and abroad.

For scientists and other researchers from the realm of cultural heritage, Gistralik offers accessibility of a large volume of professionally identified data which the users can exploit using different stages of basic preconditions, which enables us to generate diverse circles of information as to their content and form. Due to the university setting in which this research infrastructure comes into being, Gistralik is supposed to act as an educational tool for secondary-school and university students who can use it as a common database in accordance with defined spatial, time and theme criteria, or as a starting point to generate a more advanced analysis about the spatial and time overlap of tangible and intangible folk culture, which they can use for their own education, current student tasks and projects as well as graduation theses (bachelor's and master's theses, doctoral dissertations).

Gistralik shows the potential to operate thanks to a wide spectrum and a variety of sources as an important scientific virtual information and analytical platform which offers a more advanced generation of data models thanks to the set up applications. It allows a unique knowledge portfolio to be built up for further research intentions. Its open character offers the results of ethnological research in a user-friendly form to other disciplines as well, through which it becomes an inspiration and an accelerator of interdisciplinary research.

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MARTIN ŠIMŠA: KNIHY KREJČOVSKÝCH STŘIHŮ V ČESKÝCH ZEMÍCH V 16. AŽ 18. STOLETÍ [TAILOR'S PATTERN BOOKS IN THE CZECH LANDS IN THE 16TH – 18TH CENTURIES]. Strážnice: Národní ústav lidové kultury, 2013, 303 pp.

Researchers dealing with the study of an older period in the development of folk dress either have to rely on iconographic sources which interpret the appearance of folk clothing indicatively only and often give a distorted picture thereof, or on written records which are not always reliable. The only source which can capture the exact form of particular garments are patterns. While no patterns for folk garments existed in the past, patterns in guild tailors' books are a significant help, as those garments related to the town clothing. The book from České Budějovice brought to attention of the professional press by Jitka Stašová was the only one which was well-known in the Czech lands. The situation changed with the formation of the Ministry of Interior's database called Archival Funds and Collections in the Czech Republic. The database comprises eleven exemplars of guild tailors' books, nine of which come from Bohemia and two from Silesia. Thanks to Martin Šimša this is the first time when these are presented to the public accompanied by Czech-English expert comments.

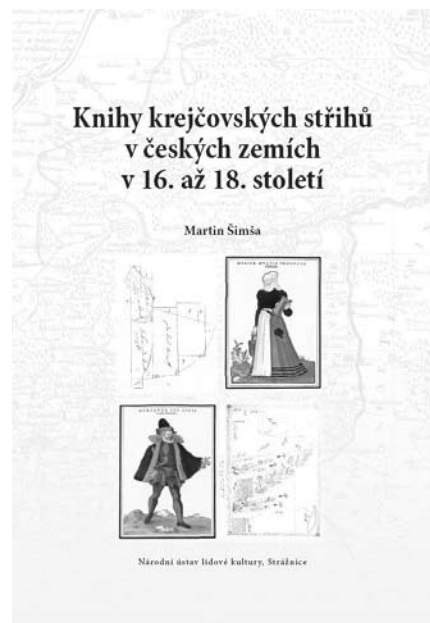
As the author points out in the introduction, each of the books is published to its maximum extent including the title on the cover or the title sheet. Each section begins with the brief characteristics of a given book and data about its fate and scribes, the language in which the record was written and the units of measurement. The section is replenished with information about the storage and condition of the book. The published patterns are accompanied by period notes explaining the pattern or a recommended kind of textile and its consumption. The German-written captions are translated into Czech at the end of the publication. Each catalogue record is provided with an author's comment which describes the depicted pattern in detail and explains the corresponding garment, its spread and time classification. The reader can enjoy the pleasant opportunity to consult the register of the presented types of clothing and the notes explaining the fabric names.

In the introductory study, the author points out the hitherto study of tailors'

pattern books in the Central European context, the circumstances of their development and the method of tailors' works. He also classifies the kinds of published patterns. The civil garments include mainly men's and women's cloaks. While a "men's skirt", "hazuka", "wagoner's smock-rock" often had different and ambiguous explanations in professional literature, it is possible to get a clear idea of it thanks to the patterns. The same applies to women's skirts which were the basic type of women's clothing in the 16th and 17th centuries; the presented patterns show sleeved and non-sleeved skirts. The 18th-century patterns include diverse fashionable types of men's and women's dress well-known from works about the history of clothing. Garments for horse riders including horse blankets, wagon curtains and a tent sketch make up a special group.

From the scientific point of view, the group of Hungarian and Haiduck coats is important mainly for the study of Moravian folk costumes. Surprisingly, these can be found in the books from Bohemia. For the comparison with folk clothing, the pattern for a cloak from the book by Jan Josef Mazaný from Tábor from 1792 called "Haiduck's coat – Baladrana" (Cat. NO. 168) as well as another pattern called "Haiduck's coat – camisole" (Kat. No. 169) are interesting. The patterns are very similar to the patterns for Eastern-Moravian *župice*, *šuba* and Southern-Moravian *mentyk* including their embellishment with buttons and decorative cords. The identical affinity can be recognized on the pattern for the women's Hungarian fur coat in the book from České Budějovice (Cat. No. 144). The pattern for a women's skirt with bodice, called "for a common woman for field work" (Kat. No. 143) is noteworthy as well.

In addition to these direct documents about the influence of some urban garments on folk variants, the tailors' pattern books offer another message: they explain the time limits of some types of garments, e.g. loose cloaks which



occurred before close-fitting sleeved coats. This is important for the evaluation of the garments the names of which were transferred from one type of garment to another, as in the case of *šuba*. However, it is necessary to admit that the rare value of these sources is violated by the fact that some of the books were re-written and for this reason, they bear various dates of origin.

The publication about tailors' pattern books is not the first work which makes a serious study basis for researchers and for which the National Institute of Folk Culture in Strážnice must be praised. The high scientific level of the reviewed publication must be emphasized. This is elaborated with even detective thoroughness and exactness which Martin Šimša showed in his previous publication activity.

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ALENA KALINOVÁ: LIDOVÉ PODMALBY NA SKLE. SBÍRKA MORAVSKÉHO ZEMSKÉHO MUZEA / HINTERGLASBILDER. SAMMLUNG DES MÄHRISCHEN LANDESMUSEUMS / REVERSE PAINTING ON GLASS. COLLECTION OF THE MORAVIAN MUSEUM. Brno: Moravské zemské muzeum, 2014, 311 pages.

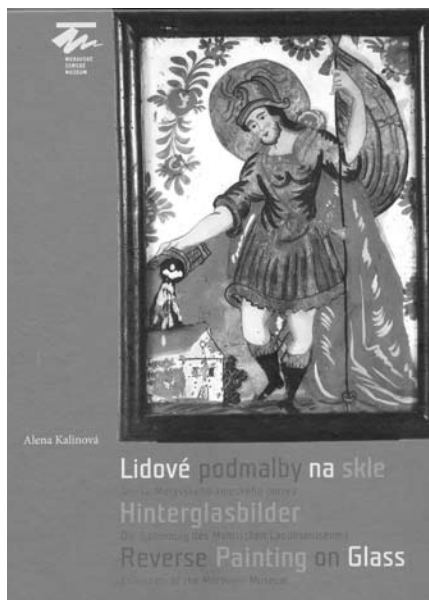
Collections in almost every regional museum include at least one reverse painting on glass, generally mostly defined, for example as "Czech lands or Moravia, 19th century". This fact results from the demands of the specialization which cannot be embraced by every historian, art historian or ethnographer. The reason is, among other things, that these artefacts could come from distant destinations and local people could bring them from pilgrimages to foreign countries. Moreover, there was no sufficient literature until recently that could allow an easier understanding of

the theme and help to define objects in collections. Two voluminous works publishing the collections stored at the National Museum and the Moravian Museum recently filled this gap. The first one, *Lidové podmalby na skle ze sbírek Národního muzea [Folk Reverse Painting on Glass from the Collections of the National Museum]*, was published by Luboš Kafka in 2013; one year later, Alena Kalinová published the book *Lidové podmalby na skle. Sbírka Moravského zemského muzea [Reverse Painting on Glass. The Collection of the Moravian Museum]*. Although the titles could indicate that these are exhibition catalogues, both books are independent monographs with a much bigger overlap and ambition. Thanks to the theoretical texts and a plethora of pictures being summarised, researchers, museum workers, collectors and all those interested finally have exhaustive information and comparative material available.

The Brno collection of folk reverse paintings on glass with 832 exemplars is the third largest collection of this type

in the Czech Republic, following the collection of the National Museum in Prague and that collected by Jindřich Jindřich in Domažlice. Its importance is supported by the graphic level of the artefacts. In Brno, there is the largest collection of Moravian paintings on glass, especially pictures from Southern and Central Moravia, which are among the most valuable and original examples of paintings on glass which became popular in Europe (compare e.g. representative pictures in bright colours depicting various figures within the scenes from the legend about St. Jenovefa). The erudition of Alena Kalinová, who cannot conceal her education in ethnology and art history and her long-term experience as a curator of the museum collection of folk visual art with many international contacts in corresponding foreign institutions, allowed these artefacts to be defined for the first time and for them to be classified within wider connections of European development.

The first part of the publication contains chapters devoted to more common aspects of the given theme. The author summarizes quite briefly the history of the research and the hitherto literature, she explains the phenomenon of popular paintings on glass in the Czech lands in relation to glass-producing centres and other determining factors, such as the abundance of raw materials. The section devoted to reverse paintings as an integral part of folk visual culture explains their magic and representative meaning within the rural community and their process of becoming popular. With this exact explanation, the author corrects the former romanticizing notions about the origin of "pictures on glass" as a category of autochthonous folk art. The next chapters pay attention to the production technique, its organization and the way of selling it as well as to the most common themes of pictures in the Catholic as well as the Protestant world. She replenishes the existing knowledge with the results of her own research (see



e.g. sub-chapter *Evangelické obrazy* [*Protestant Pictures*] in the chapter about the iconography of reverse paintings.

The core of the work, of course, is devoted to the collection of the Moravian Museum. After having summarized its history, Alena Kalinová analyses the collection, especially regional and workshop variants of folk paintings on glass in Southern and Central Moravia (e.g. *Nejstarší doklady moravské produkce podmaleb na skle* [*The Oldest Documents of Moravian Production of Reverse Paintings*], *Ždánická malba* [*Paintings from Ždánice*], *Moravské zrcadlové obrazy* [*Moravian Mirror Pictures*], *Jihomoravská malba druhé poloviny 19. století* [*The Southern-Moravian Painting of the Second Half of the 19th Century*], etc.). In principle, the author proceeds from the conception and classification of Moravian folk paintings on glass established by ethnographer and art historian Věra Hasalová in the 1960s. A. Kalinová works with Hasalová's periodization and terminology of the production (among other things, the hitherto used indication of the most significant painters according to a typical element in the face scheme – a painter with a bushy, waved, high-arched or bent eyebrow). She combines Věra Hasalová's knowledge and theses with her own research and hitherto not published materials from the estates of Karel Černohorský and Josef Vydra. The sub-chapter devoted to the painting on glass from Ždánice which submits a lot of new knowledge and offers new connections for the already known data is an example thereof.

Other sub-chapters are devoted to paintings in other parts of Moravia and imports from neighbouring and distant regions (Bohemian Silesia and Northern Moravia, the Orlické Mountains, the Kladsko area, Eastern Bohemia, the Czech-Moravian Highlands, Northern Bohemia, the borderland between Southern Bohemia and Austria, the Bohemian Forest and Bavaria, Western Bohemia, Slovakia) and she also shows

examples of reverse paintings from other Moravian or Bohemian museum institutions in them. Although the volume of these passages is limited by the presence of corresponding reverse paintings in the Brno collection, the author succeeded in indicating the basic features and development of the aforementioned regional variants of folk paintings on glass. The last sub-chapter deals with the theme of modern works, which are a specific phenomenon rather neglected by public collections.

The complete list of objects from the collection of the Ethnographic Institute of the Moravian Museum in Brno with colour photographs is the principal part of the publication. The procession of the collection in the form of a catalogue can be considered a praiseworthy act to be followed because the visual impression and the following comparison are irreplaceable. Because the author thoroughly describes all the essential features typical for individual spheres and authors, it is possible to analyse even other documents in a similar way and based on the same methodological procedure. Moreover, the particular chapters are supplemented by summaries in foreign languages and all the legends are printed in German and English versions as well. The publication complies with the wishes of foreign collectors and interested persons who lack information about the Moravian production of reverse paintings on glass and this makes the collection popular abroad.

A. Kalinová is one of the leading theorists in the branch of folk visual art; she is an expert in Moravian ceramics and paintings on glass. Despite its high specialism, the text is vivid and gripping and understandable not only for experts, but also for amateurs. No doubt that the publication will become a work unbeatable within the next decade, a model for students and researchers and a necessary handbook for museum workers.

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JARMILA PROCHÁZKOVÁ ET AL.: AS RECORDED BY THE PHONOGRAPH. SLOVAK AND MORAVIAN SONGS RECORDED BY HYNEK BÍM, LEOŠ JANÁČEK AND FRANTIŠKA KYSELKOVÁ IN 1909–1912. Brno: Etnologický ústav Akademie věd České republiky, v. v. i., Praha – pobočka Brno, 2012.

I first heard about the existence of the recordings with Moravian and Slovak songs on phonograph cylinders during my university studies, at an ethnomusicological course led by Dušan Holý. These recordings were made thanks to the activity of the Working Committee for Czech National Song in Moravia and Silesia in the early 20th century. At the course we spoke about ethnomusicological editions and Dušan Holý used a practical example: Jaromír Nečas, an editor of the Czech Radio in Brno, and Jiří Plocek, the then publisher of records with folk music, prepared a compact disc called *Nejstarší zvukové záznamy moravského a slovenského lidového zpěvu* [*The Oldest Sound Recordings of Moravian and Slovak Folk Singing*] (Brno: GNOSIS, 1998) and they consulted folklorist Dušan Holý about some issues connected with this publication. It must be added that the digitalization of older sound recordings was only at its start at Czech ethnomusicological institutions in 1997 and Nečas and Plocek's publication was a pioneer work which made good use of Nečas's editing experience and Plocek's sense to select valuable and interesting sound material. Due to the nature of this edition published by a private music publisher, the choice must have been representative. As mentioned in the introduction to the reviewed omnibus publication, the choice was limited by the number of cylinders transcribed to sound foils in the 1950s within research conducted by the Brno ethnomusicologist Olga Hrabalová, as well as

by the technical condition of particular recordings.

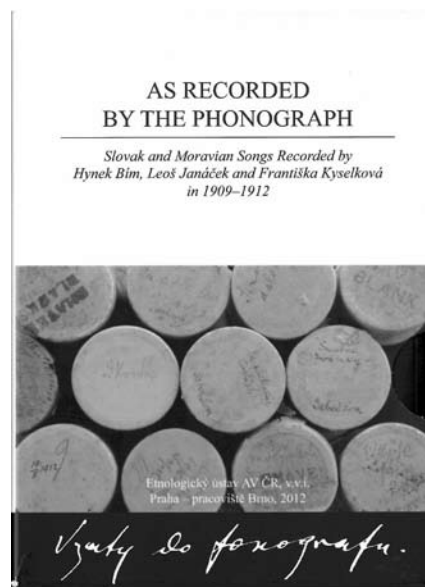
During the fourteen years which are between the publication of the abovementioned sound CD and the reviewed omnibus edition of the Institute of Ethnology of the Academy of Sciences, the Czech edition practice in ethno-musicology came a long way, supported, among other things, by the significant development of technical possibilities in the case of sound processing and musical notation. I think that the methods of work in this field of archive research were positively influenced by the close cooperation between the Institute of Ethnology CAS and the Austrian Phonogrammarchiv. I can remember one of the courses devoted to the digitalization of sound recordings when Franz Lechleitner, an employee of the Phonogrammarchiv, thoroughly described the process of recording and transcription of older archive recordings to the state-of-the-art sound media (phonograph cylinder – sound foils – recording tapes – recording cassettes – digital cassettes R-DAT – hard discs and disc fields, etc.). Lubomír Tyllner, the then Director of the Institute of Ethnology CAS, was overjoyed at this lecture because we saved a lot of work in our country when digitalizing our recordings from their original sound carriers. During the follow-up discussion, however, F. Lechleitner mentioned the advantages which allow a comparison of sound recordings from various copies on various sound carriers. In the framework of the reviewed project, this comparative method proved to be important for the comparison of the contemporary digitalized copies of original phonograph cylinders and the existing sound transcriptions to sound foils from the 1950s.

It is certainly good that the practical experience and good example from Vienna colleagues influenced a portion of sound editions at the Institute of Ethnology and left their marks on this

edition of recordings from phonograph cylinders: the employees from the Phonogrammarchiv re-recorded the original recordings and contributed to the texts in the omnibus edition. For anyone who would like to deal more thoroughly with the oldest sound recordings of folk music and their archiving, the chapter “We never collect “a song” but just a variant of it – contemplations about early recordings of folk music” written by Gerda Lechleitner, an employee of the Vienna Phonogrammarchiv, is certainly useful. This chapter can be considered to be a historicizing introduction to this theme which puts the recording activities of the Working Committee for Czech National Song in Moravia and Silesia into the European period context (the Committee was part of the large editorial project *Das Volkslied in Österreich*). However, I should not leave out the study by the ethnomusicologist Jarmila Procházková, devoted to the activities of the Working Committee and comprising the basic information and overview of historical reception. The first volume of the edition contains other studies and reports evaluating these sound recordings

according to different perspectives – historical, ethno-musicological and technical. It is necessary to mention here that the edition includes both the oldest sound recordings of profane and spiritual folk songs from Moravia and a plethora of recordings with Slovak folk singing. These recordings are unique; many of them captured the folk tradition of singing in the last stage of its existence. The spiritual songs from the Moravian village of Vnorovy are the only existing record of folk singing practice passed down by oral tradition. In accordance with particular recordings between 1909 and 1912, the authors divided the recordings into a number of sections which were analysed in three independent studies. Hana Urbancová made the ethno-musicological analysis of songs from the regions of the Strážovské Hills (recordings from 1909) and the Javorníky Mountains (1910). Alžbeta Lukáčová paid attention to the recordings with female singers from the Slovak village of Terchová and its environs (1910, 1912). Lucie Uhlíková devoted her analytical study to the recordings from the village of Vnorovy in South-Eastern Moravia (recordings from 1911). The second volume of the edition publishes transcriptions of spoken and sung texts. The third volume includes three compact discs with recordings (altogether 72 tracks) and one DVD with copies of manuscripts written by the collectors Hynek Bím, Leoš Janáček and Františka Kyselková, copies of song texts recorded by these collectors, and spelling transcriptions of texts from the village of Vnorovy. Moreover, the DVD contains sound recordings with a very bad signal which the authors did not include on the compact discs for quality reasons, as well as recordings of songs which can be found on the sound compact discs but which are made from a different copy so that it would be possible to compare songs archived on different sound carriers.

If the edition had the clear aim to completely process the sound documents



from phonograph cylinders stored at the collections of the Institute of Ethnology CAS, the group of authors under the leadership of Jarmila Procházková succeeded in doing this in the full sense of the word. The edition was published in Czech and English and can be held up as a model example for similar projects which will both make the recordings of folk songs stored (and forgotten) in sound archives accessible, and will also assess them.

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BIBLIOGRAPHIES ENCLOSED TO JOURNAL OF ETHNOGRAPHY

Národopisná revue (Journal of Ethnology) began as a free instalment of a professional journal that was published between 1964 and 1990 under the name Národopisné aktuality (Ethnographic News). After the fall of communism in November 1989, the Czech society as well as the science was modified significantly. The changes involved also this Journal: not only its name but also its content and format changed. With new graphic appearance and manifold content, the editors at that time tried to disseminate the contemporary ethnological investigation more distinctly and

so to extend the group of the reading public. Nevertheless, the journal made again a name for itself as a professional periodical focused on the ethnologic (and the resulting interdisciplinary) issues within social and historical contexts. Annually bibliographies of works published by important representatives of the Czech and the Slovak ethnology and folkloristics are enclosed to the Journal; bibliographies of Journal of Ethnology (1990–2000 a 2001–2010) and Ethnographic News (1964–1990) were published as an edition series.

Personal bibliographies of the following personalities of the Czech ethnology have been published so far: Antonín Václavík (specialization: folk graphic culture, customary and ceremonial culture etc.), Richard Jeřábek (folk graphic culture, ethnographic differentiation, history of the discipline etc.), Zdenka Jelínková (ethnochoreology, folklorism), Jaromír Gelnar (ethnomusicology), Oldřich Sirovátka (oral folklore, literary science), Václav Frolec (folk architecture, customary and ceremonial culture, folklore, Balkanistic studies etc.), Josef Jančář (village transformation, folklorism etc.), Jaromír Jech (oral folklore), Josef Tomeš (customary and ceremonial culture etc.), Miroslava Ludvíková (folk diet and dress), Jaroslav Kramářik (rural ethnography, architecture, oral folkloristics etc.), Josef Vařeka (folk architecture, ethnocartography, agriculture etc.), Draho-míra Stránská (material culture and

especially folk dress and furniture, customary tradition), Hannah Laudová (ethnochoreology), Jaroslav Markl (ethnomusicology), Karel Dvořák (oral folklore, literary science), Antonín Satke (oral folklore), Jiří Polívka (oral folklore, philology, literary science etc.), Dagmar Klímová (oral folklore, literary science etc.), Iva Heroldová (ethnic studies, social culture etc.), Vladimír Scheufler (traditional material and graphic culture, especially pottery), Vladimír Karbusický (ethnomusicology, musicology, sociology of music), Čeněk Zíbrt (cultural history, ethnography folkloristics), Jaroslav Štika (ethnographical differentiation, shepherd culture, folkloristics), Bohuslav Beneš (oral folklore, customary tradition, ethnic studies), Soňa Švecová (folk architecture, customary culture, social culture).

In addition to an overview of the works written by the researches, the bibliographies include also a list of contributions and works pertaining to their life and work as well as structured biographies of the particular personalities, thematic groups adapted to their specific specialization within ethnology, a name or location index and an editorial comment. Because of the historical development of the discipline, the biography, thematic groups and editorial comment in some cases are published in German language.

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EDITORIAL

The Journal of Ethnology is being issued for the second time in English now. The publisher and the editorial staff have selected a theme based on which they try to bring the Czech and the Slovak ethnology nearer to foreign readers for whom its results are less accessible due to the language barrier. For this issue, a theme topical even on the international stage has been chosen – cultural heritage and its consequences in cultural expressions and at the level of ethnic processes and social contexts. From the ethnological point of view, the cultural heritage is a concept which on the one hand helps to cover a wide spectrum of particular expressions of traditional folk culture and those which result from this culture, while on the other hand it directs to the expression of cultural identity in the philosophical view. Within the framework, ethnological research as well as international cultural and political streams move which draw on the research and influence many events and development in the societal cultural sphere. The choice of studies and reports published in this issue of the Journal of Ethnology is really a very small section within the theme mentioned above; however, it indicates the variety of efforts which can be seen in the Czech and the Slovak science at the theoretical level and within its practical implementations.

SUMMARY

The special issue of the Journal of Ethnology 5/2015 in English is devoted to cultural heritage in its widest understanding by the ethnological academic community and expert public. Andrej Sulitka and Zdeněk Uherek focus on national minorities and their organizations in Prague (*National Minority Organisations in Prague: structure, competence and social activities*). Jana Pospíšilová, Jana Poláková and Klára Brožovičová pay attention to national minorities in Brno with an emphasis put on the Roma community (*National Minorities in Brno. The Cultural Heritage of Roma in Excluded Locations*). Juraj Hamar and Ľubica Voľanská describe the UNESCO documents on intangible cultural heritage and their practical implementation (*Between Politics, Science and Bearers. Implementation of the UNESCO-Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*). Daniela Stavělová summarizes the phenomenon of the ride of the kings (one of the Czech Republic's inscriptions on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity) and its contemporary research in the Vlčnov location (*The Ride of the Kings in Vlčnov from the Perspective of Contemporary Research*). Oľga Danglová devotes herself to folk visual-art traditions in Slovakia from the perspective of cultural heritage (*Folk Art and Craft as Cultural Heritage. Ethnological Perspective and Practice on an Example from Slovakia*).

The news from the discipline present the themes associated with applied ethnology. They describe the museology in the Czech Republic (including open-air museums and the use of traditional techniques for their construction) and the projects which are solved in scientific institutions within applied ethnology. The conclusion of the issue introduces noticeable publication activities of Czech ethnologists.

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