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EVOLUTIONARY PATHS OF CZECH PROSAIC FOLKLORISTICS FROM THE FORMATION AS A SCIENTIFIC DISCIPLINE UNTIL THE YEAR 2000

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The goal of the contribution is to submit an overview of Czech prosaic folkloristics until the year 2000. Despite the necessary selective approach we will try to cover and – on a time-line – observe the features and circumstances that had a stimulating effect on the development within the discipline during the above-mentioned period. It is possible to define two evolutionary stages in Czech prosaic folkloristics:

I. the pre-scientific stage, whereby the records of folk literature made in that stage in different kinds of literary texts served the future researchers as a source of materials;

II. the scientific stage, which includes certain successive development processes: a) the beginning of the interest in folk literature at the outset of the Czech national movement, namely in accordance with the ideas of European Romanticism; b) the beginnings of the formation as a scientific discipline and the deliberate affiliation with European culture (Slavic and non-Slavic); the methodological regard to linguistics and especially to literary scholarship; c) the constitution of folkloristics as a scientific discipline, the gradual formation of its theoretical and methodological basis and the related escape from the interpretative procedures of literary scholarship.

The Scientific Period until 1945

In accordance with the Central-European development in research, the folk literature became a specific object of scientific research in the Czech lands beginning with the second half of the 19th century; the research included both the philological branch (and especially the dialectological specialization within it) and the history of literature. The research centre started to be established in Jan Gebauer's philological section (1838–1907) at Charles University in Prague in 1880. Gebauer also encouraged Jiří Polívka's interests (comp. below) and the traces of his school can be found in the works by František Bartoš, a Moravian collector and dialectologist (emphasis on dialectological precision), in Václav Tille's activity (recording in the

ethnographic area of Wallachia, comparative contexts) and – much later – in Frank Wollman's collections (demand for an authentic record, respect for the narrator) etc.

Only in the second half of the 19th century, Jan Gebauer and his students – Jiří Polívka, Jan Máchal and Václav Tille – revised the Romantic concept of the 19th-century researchers in the spirit of positivistic text criticism, and integrated Czech folklore into the genetic context of world folk literature. At the time of the national movement, folk culture was promoted to serve as an ideal and aesthetical example for the entire national culture. The romantic and patriotic turn to folk culture focused on the terms “the folk” and “the nation” whereby it was the research into *folklore* that was given the key place. The connection between Romanticism and role of folklore in the Slavic environment and Czech lands of that time became part of the works by William A. Wilson (1973) and Kurt Hartwig (1999). Dagmar Klímová (1980)¹ dealt with the period of National Revival and its assessment mainly in the second half of the 20th century. The author pays attention to the entire folk prose in the Czech lands in the social context of that time. She studied in detail not only Czech, but also German materials. She highlighted the fact that – besides the works by Václav Tille – German printed materials were not assessed adequately and that the image of folk literature is deformed to a certain extent by the ethical and aesthetical censorship in older printed editions. Some materials were not collected, some genres were omitted, the emphasis was put on Slavicness, and even motives from folklore of other Slavic nations were taken over. The genres of Czech folklore in the 19th century was a theme dealt with by Libuše Benešová (1988). She points out that the aim was to present the Czech nation and its culture in a favourable light, and to use the folk literature for the emancipation of Czech language and literature.

J. Polívka and V. Tille, comparatists from the late 19th century and authors of monumental lists of Slovak and Czech fairy tales, combined the literary-historical and the ethnological procedure and based on this they showed

that Czech fairy tales relate not only to the lore of southern and eastern Slavs and through them with Asia, but also to materials from German and Roman areas, and that many of them come from book sources. The catalogues they compiled have remained an indispensable aid for research in the realm of Slavic folk fairy tales.

Jiří Polívka (1858–1933), J. Gebauer's student, studied Slavic philology, but his interests were much wider: linguistics, dialectology, comparative literary science, mainly folk prose and especially fairy tales. He became famous world-wide for his works about Slavic fairy tales. On his first journey to Russia, where he studied rich sources, he made the acquaintance of Russian researchers A. N. Pypin, A. N. Veselovskij and N. S. Tichonravov, who were considered to be the world leading personalities in the branch. In Russia, he also entered into numerous personal contacts that helped him to publish abroad. He applied the comparative approach in many monographs about fairy tales and relating materials. His introduction to *Pohádkoslovné studie* [Studies about Fairy tales] (1904) continued his contribution *O srovnávacím studiu tradic lidových* [About Comparative Study of Folk Traditions] (1898). He interpreted folklore as a complex phenomenon. He did not understand it as a group of "spoiled motives of literary origin" but he identified age-old relics of ancient, Egyptian and Babylonian lore as well as later folk and literary creations in it. He explained that even though the narrators take over certain printed materials, they change and convert them through their creative force. In folk fairy tales he saw an expression of individual creativity and cultural activity. He published some of his studies in their new form in *Lidové povídky slovanské I–II* [Slavic Folk Stories] (1929–1939). Polívka's participation in the publication of collections, in which his comments often became material monographs, was important². It was Johannes Bolte who appreciated Polívka's comments, and for this reason he chose Polívka as a co-author of *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- und Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm I–V* (Bolte 1913–1932). Polívka's monumental work is the *Súpis slovenských rozprávok I–V* [The Inventory of Slovak Fairy tales] (1923–1931), in which the researcher treated narratives from printed works as well as from available manuscripts. Polívka was not only a great personality in the branch of Slavic studies, but also an all-round researcher dealing with folk

prose. With his importance and international acceptance he is at the pinnacle of Czech literary folkloristics.

Václav Tille (pseudonym Václav Říha, 1867–1937), the second major founder of Czech studies about fairy tales, was professor of comparative history of literature at Charles University; from the end of the 19th century he was one of the most distinctive representatives of Czech culture and science. His interests included the research activities of a scientist, being a critic, editor and translator as well as knowledge about folklore prose, especially fairy tales; legends were at the margins of his interest. He was interested in folk prose already during his studies. On J. Gebauer's initiative, who sent him to the ethnographic area of Wallachia in 1888, Tille recorded folk narratives in that region (Tille 1902). He was the first one in the Czech environment to record exactly what he could hear from the narrators. He supplemented the materials with comparative comments; he characterized the narrators and the origin of their narratives. He emphasized that it is not only the theme but also the narrator, their style, the individual interpretation of material and the most important biographic data that must be important for the collector. In his works, Tille observed what is really of folk origin in the Czech collections of fairy tales, and what is given by the narrator's combination of talent and artistic interest, or by collectors' scientific theories. In his study of fairy tales he made it his goal to draw together fairy-tale materials continuously and to investigate them thoroughly, to discover the relationships of older collectors to their materials and literary models. He tried to determine the value of Czech collections with fairy tales and he published his findings in the book *České pohádky do r. 1848* [Czech Fairy tales by 1848] (Tille 1909). It is the first work of this kind in Slavic literature that showed the place of Czech collections in literary development in the 19th century. The work was completed and revised by Gudrun Langer in her dissertation thesis *Das Märchen in der tschechischen Literatur von 1790 bis 1860* (Langer 1979). In 1921, Tille's work *Verzeichnis der böhmischen Märchen I.* was published in Helsinki, which is an example of the first material classification of Czech fairy tales. Tille's work culminated with the basic work *Soupis českých pohádek I, II/1, II/2* [The Inventory of Czech Fairy Tales] (1929, 1934, 1937), which is a counterpart to the above inventory of Slovak fairy tales by J. Polívka. The author tried to classify Czech materials,

albeit through subjectively created entries arranged in alphabetical order. He drew on book collections and records in magazines and books of folk readings. Despite several imperfections, this work has not been surpassed yet. Tille's critical approach was connected with a critical publication of important Czech collections with fairy tales and legends. He again published (with exact bibliographic data and references to variants) for example Czech and Slovak collections by Božena Němcová and Czech fairy tales, myths and legends by Karel Jaromír Erben (two most important representatives of the pre-scientific period in Czech prosaic folkloristics). The study into fairy tales by Němcová resulted in a voluminous monograph about her literary work and life (Tille 1911). His expert work with fairy tales encouraged him (under the pseudonym Václav Říha) to publish his own fairy-tale books, in which motives from national fairy tales predominate.

Very precise records from the regions of Kladsko, Podkrkonoší and Hlučínsko represent an invaluable source for later folkloristic research. The records were made by Josef Štefan Kubín (1864–1965), a student of Polívka's. The records are arranged according to locations and local narrators, and they became a starting point for the subsequent work of the researcher Jaromír Jech (see below).

The activity of **Jiří Horák** (1884–1975), Polívka's and Tille's younger colleague, is connected to their works and life. Horák gave lectures on comparative Slavic history at the universities in Prague and Brno. He elaborated the theory and methodology of the comparative investigation into inter-Slavic relations. He understood ethnography as a complex discipline within its historical development and international context. His book *Úkoly a cíle národopisu československého* [Tasks and Targets of Czechoslovak Ethnography] (1925) is of a programmatic nature. Horák developed contacts with researchers abroad, where he often published.³ His most voluminous work is the synthesis *Národopis československý. Přehledný nástin* [The Czechoslovak Ethnography. A Well-Arranged Outline] (Horák 1933). As to folk prose, he mainly dealt with fairy tales, which he published (he accompanied the editions with folkloristic studies and comments) and wrote. His books *Český Honza* [Czech Honza] (1940) and *České pohádky* [Czech Fairy Tales] (1944) were published several times and in several languages. Horák was also instrumental in publishing different Slavic

fairy tales accompanied by studies and comments. He devoted a large portion of his studies to content analysis of folk songs, on which he was a great expert.

Frank Wollman (1888–1969), a leading Slavist and literary scientist, was among the researchers who studied under J. Polívka's, V. Tille's and J. Máchal's leadership. He was also renowned as an important folklorist. He studied in Prague, where he was awarded his habilitation degree in the comparative history of Slavic literatures. He gave lectures on this discipline at the university in Bratislava, and between 1928 and 1959 (with an interruption during World War II) in Brno. He integrated verbal folklore as an item of equal value into his studies about comparative Slavic literatures and university lectures, especially with regard to its place and tasks in national literature (1956) and national culture (1928). His interest in the contemporary situation in folk narration resulted in a unique event for which he ensured scholarships for his students and sent them to different places in Moravia and Silesia. The students – as well-trained people – were supposed to collect folklore, especially fairy tales, and record it as to its form, content and language. He put stress on details about the narrators – not only on their curriculum vitae, but also on their hobbies and reading. He organized a similar event in Slovakia. The materials gained through the Brno event have never been published as a whole; rich collections from Slovakia were published in the book *Slovenské ľudové rozprávky* [Slovak Folk Fairy tales] (I, 2002; II, 2001; III, 2004). It was not possible to publish the Brno material during the Nazi occupation, and after Wollman's retirement the collection got lost. The materials were discovered only recently, in the estate of Slavomír Wollman, Wollman's son.

Piotr Bogatyriev⁴ (1893–1971), a Russian Slavist, literary scientist, ethnographer and folklorist, occupies an important place in the history of Czech and Slovak literary folkloristics. His most significant works are associated with Czechoslovakia due to his functional-structuralistic studies in the field of ethnography and folkloristics with special regard to comparative issues of Slavic cultures. In the beginning, he collaborated with the linguist Roman Jakobson, and he was one of the co-founders of the Prague Linguistic Circle. Together with Jacobson, he published the article *Die Folklore als eine besondere Form des Schaffens* (1929), which was issued in the

Netherlands and reproduced several times afterwards. This essay is extraordinarily important for the shaping of theoretical and methodological starting points of the then folkloristics, because it brings a new view into the interpretations of folklore (which was based on the concept of “naïve realism” from the second half of the 19th century, according to which folklore is a result of individual creativity as a literary work is): the genesis of folklore expressions is a result of a collective process; it is the place and function in society’s life and culture that decide about its viability, and its realization is dependent on the narrator and his/her audience. Bogatyriev points out that the existence of a work of folklore begins as soon as it is accepted by the community, and only what the community appropriates exists. The functional and structural interpretation is inspired by the linguistic concept of the relation between “language” (*langue*) and “speaking” (*parole*), in which the properties of the category “speaking” are typical for folklore. In 1971, the book *Souvislosti tvorby* [The Contexts of Creation] was published in Czech. The book offered an anthology of Bogatyriev’s essential works regarding folklore as a special kind of creation. The studies pay attention to the relation between folkloristics and literary science, the relation between printed literature, reading and narrated fairy tales, the relation between folklore and high art, etc. During the war, Bogatyriev returned to the Soviet Union; however, he came back to Czechoslovakia several times after 1945.

During World War II, when the Czech universities were closed and the scientific work was hindered, folklore became a means to keep the national culture. It was mostly books for children that were published, especially various adaptations of fairy tales by K. J. Erben and B. Němcová, or fairy tales written by J. Horák and V. Říha (pseudonym of V. Tille). The works by **Bedřich Václavek** (1897–1943), devoted to folk literature and Czech literature from the 16th century (Václavek 1940, 1941), fulfilled the same function. In 1940, Václavek went underground, he was arrested and he died in the Auschwitz concentration camp; for this reason, most of his works were published after his death. In the realm of folkloristics, Václavek dealt not only with prosaic folkloristics, but mainly with folk songs and those that became popular (Václavek 1938). His works, which were approached in a very modern way for that time, represent an important methodological platform even today.

Folkloristics from 1945 until late 1980s

After the end of World War II, research and collectors’ work was possible again. The ones who dealt with literary folkloristics before the war returned to Czechoslovakia; on the other hand, the number of young researchers trained in literary science, dialectology and ethnography increased. Study programmes in the disciplines of ethnography and folkloristics (O. Sirovátka gave lectures in folkloristics as an independent discipline from 1954) were opened at universities in Prague and Brno. In 1954, the Section of Ethnography and the Section of Folk Song of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences (CSAS) merged together, which gave rise to the Institute of Ethnography and Folkloristics of the CSAS with its seat in Prague and a branch in Brno. The Silesian Study Institute in Opava (1948) became an important research centre for the region of Silesia. Both the existing journals *Český lid* [The Czech People], *Národopisný věstník československý* [The Czechoslovak Ethnographical Journal] and *Radostná země* [The Joyful Country], and the newly founded *Československá etnografie* [Czechoslovak Ethnography] (the journal *Slovenský národopis* [Slovak Ethnography] in Slovakia) focused on the development of folkloristics. Before the war, literary folkloristic research was built on personalities who dealt with different disciplines, whereby folkloristic studies were just a part of their work.

Beginning with the coup d’état and arrival of communist totalitarianism in February 1948, new tasks started to be formulated, which reflected the changed political situation. At the time of the “construction of a socialist republic”, ethnography and folkloristics were not allowed to be idealistic sciences; they were to serve the “broad strata of the nation”. This meant a new period for folkloristics. Positivist, comparative and structuralist research was declared to be a Western superseded idealistic science and had to be replaced by Marxist understanding, whose task was to fight against Polívka’s and Tille’s “obsolete” theories. After the establishment of the new academic institution, a unified scientific-research plan was created in which all the research fellows took part to a different extent. The targets as well as the whole of the programme were worked out by Jaroslav Kramář. He postulated that it was necessary to deal with genres that depict the “progressive” traditions of the people: with personal experience narratives of working people (workers and miners), folk humour as an expression of folk optimism,

new folklore production of working people, etc. A guideline from the 1953 conference in Liblice became crucial for folklorists. Their task was to master the methodology of Marxism-Leninism, which they should continue to follow, to embrace the experience of Soviet science, and to critically evaluate the hitherto applied theories and methods of “bourgeois” folkloristics. The major task included the study of material that reflected the process of the construction of the socialist society of Czechs and Slovaks. Even leaving aside the Marxist concept of the tasks, important for folkloristics was the fact that theoretical, methodological and terminological issues began to be dealt with in connection with research themes for the first time in the Czech environment. It was Jaromír Jech who developed these issues in detail. The term *folklore*, which was adopted under the influence of Soviet science (Jech 1956a) by us, was defined, and the term *folkloristics* began to be used for the study of folklore. For other researchers who dealt with disciplinary terminology – Milan Leščák and Oldřich Sirovátka – the content aspect of both terms was a common part of their professional concepts. In their book *Folklór a folkloristika* [Folklore and Folkloristics] (1982) they specified folkloristics as an independent scientific discipline stabilized through its specific theoretical and methodological bases. The solution of typicality, variability and stability of particular categories in folk prose (Jech 1966, 1967) was another research problem. The forms of folklore existence became an international theme from the 1970s – i.e. whether folklore lives just in oral traditions, or whether it can have a written form. In the Czech lands, attention was paid earlier to that issue, as the written expression was peculiar even to common people in the Czech environment from the early 19th century. The first task that Czech folkloristics had to comply with under new political conditions was research into **coalminers’ folklore**.⁵ Although the research themes were defined in a political way, new methodological procedures were applied for the work. Attention was paid not only to folklore texts, but also to the environment in which they live, to narrators, opportunities to narrate, compositions of audience, as well as the importance and functions of the narratives.

From the early 1950s, difficulties relating to the organization, content and methods of **field research** were thought through. The field research first focused on the places from which no material or just material

fragments were collected. Everything that was possible to collect about the situation in the realm of narration was recorded. The entire prosaic tradition of a region or a particular village was observed. Other research was supposed to ascertain the condition of certain genres. It monitored particular age groups – from the youngest to the oldest. It focused on different types of narrators (narrators of fairy tales, demonological legends, personal experience narratives, jokes), or on individual narrators. Attention was paid not only to excellent narrators, but also to average ones, as their repertoire also bears witness to the range of materials from a given place. Long-term or short-term research was conducted. The long-term research (for example Dagmar Klímová in the ethnographic area of Horňácko) monitored the development and transformation in the repertoire and function of narration, and the variation processes. The repeated field research in locations where recordings were conducted before World War II was of the same importance.⁶ Attention was paid to ethnic groups too (Slovaks in the Karviná area and in the borderland, and Bulgarians in the borderland and in Brno). After 1990, the research focused on folklore of the German minority living in Brno. There began to be favourable conditions for research into Czech minorities living abroad.⁷

From the late 1950s, most research included the use of available recording devices; however, to get them was very complicated and expensive in a totalitarian country. The entire narrators’ repertoire was recorded and the data were examined in their most complete possible form, including the capture of the narrator’s situation – this influenced the narrator’s expression (style, content and focus of the narration). The complex “narrator – audience – narrated materials” was investigated as a unity in mutual multilateral relations. Sirovátka (1976a) calls this methodological orientation the “biology” or “ecology” of folklore. In the Czech context, this requirement was best met by Antonín Satke in his monograph about Josef Smolka, a narrator from Hlučín (1958b).

Folklore concerning outlaws became another important research programme in the monitored period. This folklore was interpreted as a significant tradition of working people, as rebelliousness was understood as a form of social protest. After the initial ideological interpretation was suppressed, the phenomenon of rebelliousness was researched from many viewpoints. In the 1970s when

international cooperation was reduced to the countries of the socialist block, rebelliousness started to be researched in the whole of the Carpathian Arc in cooperation with the International Committee for the Study of Carpathian and Balkan Folk Culture (the Czech researchers Bohuslav Beneš, Dagmar Klímová, Oldřich Sirovátka and Marta Šrámková dealt with the theme within the Commission). Their task was to determine the nation-specific features and their mutual relations. Czech folkloristics formulated the key issues concerning the content and methods of processing (Šrámková – Sirovátka 1981). The above issues were accepted by the participants as principles of a synthetical work.⁸ In Czech and Slovak contexts, in certain periods and under certain political conditions, the phenomenon of rebelliousness was idealized by the motto “he robbed from the rich and gave to the poor”; however, the folk tradition shows a different image of a rebel as well. It was – among other things – the monothematic issue of the journal *Slovenský národopis* [Slovak Ethnography] (1988) that was devoted to the theme of rebelliousness in the culture and historical consciousness of Czechs and Slovaks.

Within the study of “progressive traditions”, attention was paid to “anti-feudal” **legends**. J. Kramařík (1972) dealt with the series about Kozina and Lomikar from the Chodsko region. He showed how the originally strictly local folk tradition spread by means of literature (mainly thanks to the works by Alois Jirásek). The Chodsko tradition (western Bohemia), based on the opposing “lord and serf”, shows common features with German, Austrian and Central-European traditions; other Czech traditions do not reflect an opposite like this. The legends about a bad lord, who is punished either during his life, or after his death, were widespread throughout the Czech lands. Joseph II was the only ruler who was positively reflected in folk tradition (Klímová 1990; Satke 1990). Vladimír Karbusický (1966, 1980, and 1995) dealt with the assessment and inclusion of Czech historical legends into the European context from the 1960s. All aspects of the legends about wars with Turks became a theme for Dagmar Klímová (1966, 1972). The theme of Czech legends is summarized in the compendium *Lidová kultura* [Folk Culture] (see *Československá vlastivěda* [Czechoslovakia in All Its Aspects] 1968: 269–277).

Besides social themes, the research focused on general theoretical problems relating to legends in

general. The entire thematic range and geographical spread were studied, and attention was paid to different issues concerning style, historicity, and function. Oldřich Sirovátka (1971) pondered how the folk tradition depicts historical events, and confronted the Czech situation with the knowledge of foreign researchers. Libuše Volbrachťová (1994) also paid attention to the time horizon in legends; Marta Šrámková (1975b) dealt with the role of legends and their place in folk narration. Bohuslav Šalanda dealt with the reflection of social consciousness in legends, the character of heroes and stereotypes (Šalanda 1992, 1996). From the second half of the 20th century, a lot of studies dealt with repertoire, spread and functions of legends in different regions. The rich regional material made it possible to analyse the general features of a legend. The works by O. Sirovátka (1962–1963) and M. Šrámková (2000) offered summarizing overviews about the repertoire, function and life of legends in the regions.

While studying **fairy tales**, Czech researchers could build on previous works. Folklore played an important role from the period of the National Revival (Erben, Němcová). However, J. Polívka and V. Tille revised the romantic approach in the spirit of critical realism, and integrated the Czech material into the evolutionary context of world folk literature. After 1945, all Czech folklorists and literary scientists dealt with the fairy tale to a different extent; each of them observed common themes from their own point of view. As to the literary-scientific works, let me point out the well-arranged book by Helena Šmahelová (1989) and the anthology of essays published by Jan Červenka (1960). He studied the relation of Czech fairy tales to German, Slovak, Polish and Slavic fairy tales. Karel Horálek wrote a lot of essays which dealt with the comparative aspects, not only the European and inter-Slavic ones (1964, 1966, 1976a), but also with the ancient ones, e.g. Egyptian or Oriental (1968b). He demonstrated Czech researchers' opinions on the fairy tale in his essay *České pohádky z hlediska srovnávacího* [Czech Fairy Tales from the Comparative Viewpoint] (Horálek 1967). Karel Dvořák, who studied exempla and their social function, proved that the Czech material includes both all fairy-tale types widespread in western Europe, as well as other types which are unknown elsewhere in Europe. The researcher used the knowledge of the historical repertoire of exempla in Czech sources (Dvořák 1978, 2016) for his book *Nejstarší české*

pohádky [The Oldest Czech Fairy Tales] (Dvořák 1976, 2001), which was also published in German and French (Dvořák 1982a, 1982b). O. Sirovátka (1992–1993) dealt with the relation between the Czech and the Slovak tradition. In several editions, he offered Czech fairy tales as well as those of other European nations to the public. He published the volume *Tschechische Volksmärchen* in the German edition *Die Märchen der Weltliteratur* (Sirovátka 1969b). Jaromír Jech was one of the most distinctive experts in Czech fairy tales. His theoretical knowledge was complemented by an extraordinary sense of the text aspect and language means in folklore poetics. He demonstrates that in his critical publication of collections by J. Š. Kubín and in the field research in the Kladsko region (Jech 1959a). The second publication of his book *Tschechische Volksmärchen* (1984) is the most significant contribution by Jaromír Jech. He completed the edition with his own collections, a large afterword and thorough comparative comments and a bibliography. Alongside the edition by O. Sirovátka (1969b) he made the Czech fairy tale and the research into it available to the European professional public. Antonín Satke paid attention to Silesian fairy tales. His thorough research showed that all kinds of fairy tales occurred in Silesia even after 1945 and it was not possible to capture the repertoire of local narrators in other locations in the Czech lands (their fairy tales were more ancient and showed a more comprehensive form than those that we know from the collectors in the 19th century). In 1958, Satke published a monograph about the excellent narrator Josef Smolka, after which he described different styles of particular narrators thoroughly (1980, 1984). He also dealt with the disintegration of fairy tales and its reasons, and he noticed the acoustic aspect of narrations, and the end of fairy tales (1960). Dagmar Klímová dealt with the fairy tales in the ethnographic area of Hornácko from the 1950s. She was attentive to the methods of recording, the narrators, the situations during narration, and the process of extinction of fairy tales. She researched into scary fairy tales as an ethnographical phenomenon.

All the researchers who dealt with fairy tales stated that the fairy tale as a genre retreated from the active narrator's repertoire; its themes and style changed, its plots became simple and realistic and humorous narratives were preferred. They also found out that the fairy tale moved solely to the children's environment,

where it became popular due to mass media and printed literature. O. Sirovátka paid thorough attention to the relation between the fairy tale and the legend in children's literature in his book *Česká pohádka a pověst v lidové tradici a dětské literatuře* [Czech Fairy Tale and Legend in Folk Tradition and Children's Literature] (1998).

The demonological/numinous legends drew only little attention in the Czech context. The reasons were ideological – according to the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, they represented “a dying-off tradition of old ideas”. The first works dealing with this theme occurred in the late 1960s. Dagmar Klímová (1968) addressed the theme in the most thorough way. She dealt, among other things, with text criticism and compared the Czech material with German, Austrian and Slavic works. The demonological legend was the most widespread type of narrative in the second half of the 20th century, and for this reason it gradually drew the attention of many researchers (Heroldová 1970; Beneš 1972; Šalanda 1989; Šlosar – Taraba 1991). Here, we would like to mention for example the narrative about a phantom called *pérák* (the Spring Man, a person wearing high boots on springs and moving large distances), which was well-known in inter-war Czechoslovakia locally. The narrative spread throughout the Czech lands intensively during World War II. The character might have scared the Nazis and helped Czech people (M. J. Pulec 1965).⁹

From the 1950s, a lot of works occurred which focused on the **spread, place and function of folk literature in regions**. They observed the repertoire of one or more villages; from the 1980s the folk literature was studied by regions as well. The overall image of folk literature in Moravia was submitted by Šrámková (2000).

The study of particular genres, their analysis, treatment and assessment necessitated the collecting of materials, their thorough documentation, and especially their arrangement and classification in different **catalogues**. This was pointed out by the 1962 conference in Antwerp and the International Society for Folk Narrative Research (ISFNR), which was founded at the conference and whose members also included Czech researchers. In the Czech lands, the works on catalogues began as early as in the 1950s, in dependence on genres. Moreover, methodological principles were formulated, which respected the specific properties of each sort of genre and which were based on Czech and foreign experience.

In the 1970s, the successfully developing work on catalogues had to be stopped due to the change in the academic institution's management.

Comparative and inter-ethnic research was an important feature of Czech folkloristics. The works by J. Polívka, V. Tille, J. Horák, F. Wollman and others allowed Czech folkloristics to cross the narrow national border and become acknowledged internationally. We can hardly understand today that the above method was criticized and forbidden in certain periods (especially after the war and between 1970 and 1990). The comparative direction was renewed in the 1960s. The focus was on the study of historical legends and fairy tales. Phenomena from one genre or more genres were compared, transformations in a certain type of fairy tale, treatment of the same material in legends and ballads. The comparison showed a complex character. It concerned the analysis of synopsis, texture, style and lifetime of a genre or the complete Czech verbal art and its relations to the culture of other Slavic nations, or to German culture (Sirovátka 1969a; Klímová 1988; Jech 1993). Czech folk literature and its international relations were treated and evaluated by O. Sirovátka in his book (1967). The comparative research was to observe how the phenomena of verbal folklore behave within the system of other folk culture's phenomena and what their relation to artificial literature is. National and the ethnic specificities were among the major interests of comparative folkloristics. For example, K. Horálek dealt with folklore mutuality among Slavs, and – from the broader perspective – he also studied the relationship between folklore comparatistics and contactology – disciplines that complement each other while dealing with the ties between particular traditions (Horálek 1983). The application of comparative methods alongside the historical-comparative and inter-ethnic attitude significantly profiled both the field research and the theoretical level of Czech folkloristics, and reached an important position in the European context. The promising development of Czech literary folkloristics was interrupted again in the 1970s. The contacts with western science were broken and the researchers were forced to cooperate only with Slavic countries within the "Socialist block". For this reason, they deepened their cooperation with Slovak and Polish researchers. Works within the working plan of the Carpathian Commission (see rebelliousness) continued, Czech-Slovak relations in

folklore were studied (Sirovátka 1992–1993), and Czech-Polish relations could not be omitted by the researchers while investigating coalminers' folklore in the Ostrava area (Satke 1979; Sokolová 1967). In the 1980s, within a task concerning inter-ethnic connections of Czech folk culture, greater attention was paid to Silesia, a specific region where Czech, Polish, Slovak and even German cultures were in touch (Satke 1979; Kadłubiec 1995). The above theme occupied an important place in synoptic works by A. Satke (1994) and M. Šrámková (1997) about folklore in Silesia. The comparative approach was also applied when the similarities and dissimilarities of folklore were analysed based on two types of inter-ethnic contacts – Czech-Polish and the Czech-Austrian ones (Šrámková 1994a; Šrámková – Šrámek 2000).

From the 1950s, Czech folklorists turned their attention to one of the most widespread prosaic genres – **personal experience narrative / memorate**. This type of narrative is not new, of course, as they occurred in late-medieval literary monuments, and were part of municipal, local and family chronicles and newspapers. Most documents in the Czech context can be found in dialectological sources. It was J. Š. Kubín who appreciated the importance of memorates in the realm of Czech folkloristics and who integrated many of them into his collections. J. Polívka and B. Václavek paid attention to the memorates in connection with the study of "ongoing production" as early as in the 1920s and 1930s. In the second half of the 20th century, J. Jech (1956b), D. Palátová (1958) and O. Sirovátka (1959) entered the debate about the place of memorates in folklore, their functions and themes. A feature of memorates is that individual, personal and family life dominate the themes distinctly with most narrators. The thematic field is grouped into larger spheres: childhood, youth, love, matrimony, working environment, journey and strange world, tragic events, as well as sensations and original figures. Funny stories and jokes were popular too. After World War II, the memorates that related to the events associated with great social changes and reflected the essential moments of the Czechoslovak history, especially the formation of the republic, began to be investigated. The narratives very richly depicted World War II too (Šrámková 1975a; Heroldová 1977); memories of the war were a motivation source for active narration even many years later (Uherek 1993) and they even became part of children's narratives (Hrničko 1979a;

Šrámková 1980, 1988b). A. Satke (1975, 1976, 1977, and 1991) focused on the memorates from the coalminers' and workers' environments. As mentioned above, from the early 1950s, the folkloristic research was marked by ideological deformation, which was the cause of a large constriction in themes (Šrámková 2003). It was no longer possible to treat and publish many collected materials truthfully. This concerned e.g. the period of World War I (experiences from fights and imprisonment), whereby legionaries' memories represented a significant forbidden sphere of themes. As regards narratives reflecting life in the inter-war republic, workers' memories were preferred, whereby other social strata were excluded from the research.

From 1950, Czech folkloristics has been dealing with the relation between **folklore and contemporaneity**¹⁰. From the 1950s, all narratives that emerged spontaneously or upon an order at that time were understood as *contemporary folklore*. Several researchers considered the functional viewpoint to be a criterion for contemporaneity, whereas according to some others contemporaneity covered only new folklore expressions. J. Jech (1972) later responded to the term. He highlighted that material collected during a certain time period does not necessarily give evidence about the real life of folklore. A lot of folklorists participated in the research into contemporaneity. O. Sirovátka (1974b) tried to explain the condition and development tendencies in contemporary folklore, its transformations, causes and functions in the cultural life of people. A. Satke dealt with the theme in the realm of coalminers' and workers' narratives in Silesia. M. Šrámková (1975c) captured the changes, conditions and functions of narratives in the village (1976b). She submitted an overall image on the then situation in folk narrations in Moravia in her publication *Lidová kultura na Moravě* [Folk Culture in Moravia] (Šrámková 2000).

In the 1970s, in connection with different forms of the lifetime of folk literature, the issues of **folklorism** were addressed for the first time – i.e. the second existence of folklore when particular kinds of folklore become a subject-matter of conscious cultural care and promotion. Fairy tales and legends are often re-written and published in books and magazines, broadcasted on the radio, and adapted for television and theatre performances. These are new forms of existence, often taken out of their natural relations, which entered the contemporary cultural life. Folklorism is not a phenomenon from recent

times; its expressions can be traced deep into history. It became evident strongly in the period of Romanticism. In the Czech context, the theme was addressed by O. Sirovátka, who studied, among other things, the place of literary tradition in popular literature (1976b) and the role of folklorism in the development of literary genres (1980, 1998). Studying folklorism, B. Beneš applied semiotic, functional and structural points of view. He also classified literary folklorism in terms of history and functions (1977, 1981). The theme of literary folklorism, especially of particular personalities working in that field, is also reflected in the dictionary *Od folkloru k folklorismu. Slovník folklorního hnutí na Moravě a ve Slezsku* [From Folklore to Folklorism. A Dictionary of Folklore Movement in Moravia and Silesia] (Pavlicová – Uhlíková 1997).

As mentioned above, the development of the discipline was interrupted again in the 1970s. Folkloristics, which was conceived universally and which developed successfully both in the material and documentation realms, and in the field of methodological and theoretical study, and participated in the wide domestic and international collaboration, had to terminate many unfinished themes and interrupt its contacts with western science. Those who remained at the academy of science after the reorganization had to switch to other tasks. The principal research was directed at the **life of the working class** (Klímová 1976; Satke 1976, 1977, 1991), and attention was paid to the **southern-Moravian borderland**, where Czechs from different regions and large groups of re-immigrants from abroad came after the forced expulsion of German inhabitants (Beneš 1984a, Šrámková 1986a). Other themes studied during the aforementioned period included narratives by **school youth** (Šrámková 1980, 1981b, 1988).

Folkloristics in the 1990s

The 1990s saw a significant transformation in verbal folklore's repertoire and function and Czech folkloristics' theoretical and methodological foundations under new social conditions. The extension of the discipline to attitudes, themes and experience from the western-European space was a typical feature. The adoption of the term and theme **oral history** is one of the examples. However, this was not understood homogenously in the Czech context. Czech researchers applied the method of oral history even before, e.g. when they studied workers'

folklore (memories, autobiographies, photos had been collected from the 1950s). Due to one-sided political interpretation, materials like these could not be utilized like they were in works by western researchers, who started similar research later. The oral history method was applied during the study of excellent narrators. Currently, the method is used not only by folklorists, but also by sociologists, psychologists and historians, who – each of them from their own point of view – can find information about the attitudes of people and their everyday lives in the collected materials (completed by questionnaires, targeted interviews, written autobiographies, correspondence and photos).

The research into **folklore in town**, which ran from the 1980s, required a modified methodological approach. The method of direct field work had to be connected with sociological methods: with surveys and questionnaires aimed at different strata of inhabitants, with excerpts from archives, club chronicles, etc. The folkloristic work in town is specific due to the character of the social and settlement situation; for this reason, the researchers had to apply the method of communication in small groups, familiarize themselves with the leisure time theory, etc. In Brno, B. Beneš (1988) and M. Šrámková (1993, 1995) dealt with the research and study. Beneš integrated the terms from semiotics, sociology and communication theory into his works, trying to define what town folklore is. Šrámková dealt, among other things, with transformations in the opportunities to narrate and in the narrated repertoire in Brno (Šrámková 1990b, 1995), and with the Czech-German relations in this town before 1945 (Šrámková 1992a).

Summarizing Works¹¹

Czech prosaic folkloristics is reflected in a lot of summarizing works aimed either at themes, or at regions. Besides the already mentioned book *Lidová kultura* [Folk Culture](*Československá vlastivěda* [Czechoslovakia in All Its Aspects] 1968), which in the corresponding chapter submitted basic information about particular prosaic genres in the republic-wide context, folk literature in Moravia was treated in a similar way (Šrámková 2000). A large team of authors lead by Stanislav Brouček and Richard Jeřábek prepared the encyclopaedia *Lidová kultura. Národopisná encyklopedie Čech, Moravy a Slezska* [Folk Culture. Ethnographic Encyclopaedia of Bohemia, Moravia and

Silesia] (published only in 2007). The encyclopaedia contained personal entries (researchers) and entries concerning particular sorts and genres of folklore. O. Sirovátka wrote a contribution for the *Slovník literárních směrů a skupin* [A Dictionary of Literary Directions and Groups] in its second edition (see Vlašín 1983). Several Czech research fellows collaborated as authors on the encyclopaedic publication *Enzyklopädie des Märchens. Handwörterbuch zur historischen und vergleichenden Erzählforschung* (Berlin – New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1980–2015), established by the German researcher Kurt Rank.¹² The entries were prepared by K. Horálek, J. Jech, D. Klímová,¹³ Jan Luffer, A. Satke and M. Šrámková. The 1992 book by M. Leščák and O. Sirovátka *Folklór a folkloristika* [Folklore and Folkloristics] deals with the systematics, typology and theoretical interpretation of verbal (prosaic) folklore. The development of Czech prosaic folkloristics between 1945 and 2000 was thoroughly assessed by M. Šrámková (2008).

Conclusion

The essay's objective was to offer the basic and crucial features of an overall image of evolutionary processes, groups of themes and theoretical-methodological principles of Czech prosaic folkloristics from its establishment as a scientific discipline until the end of the 20th century. At the turn of the 19th century, national attributes became a permanent feature of this discipline. As a consequence of this stage, even the first scientific interest in folk literature showed a complex view that resulted in the initial shaping of folkloristics as a scientific discipline within other disciplines – linguistics and especially literary science. Czech folkloristics was not a fully independent discipline even later, as it mainly evolved as part of ethnography. A gradual elaboration of the autonomous theoretical-methodological principles of the discipline was a crucial milestone. The principles were based on the integration of new work procedures applied on analysis, interpretation, and classification as well as catalogization of materials, for example. The permanent application of systematism and structuring of folklore phenomena as well as the regard to their social and communication function and spread was of deciding importance. Comparative and inter-ethnic aspects became a permanent part of the folkloristic work, which also included sociological and psychological approaches.

Czech researchers participated in international research projects as early as at the outset of the 20th century. The interest of folkloristics moved to the town environment, the interest in new genres and new ways of communication increased (and continues to develop).

Despite several phasing-out periods, Czech prosaic folkloristics represents a social science open to new development tendencies to the application and elaboration of which it contributes permanently and with initiative.

The treatise was written within the National Institute of Folk Culture research activity in 2017.

NOTES:

1. A section from D. Klímová's study was published in the book *Česká lidová pohádka v 19. století* [The Czech Folk Fairy-Tale] (Klímová – Otčenášek 2012).
2. Comp. Kubín, Josef Štefan: *Povídky kladské I–II* [Fairy Tales from the Kladsko Area] (1909–1914); *Lidové povídky z českého Podkrkonoší. I. Podhoří západní* [Folk Stories from the Czech Podkrkonoší Area. I. Western Foothills] (1922, with a commentary by J. Polívka in a special volume from 1923), *II. Úkrají východní* [Eastern Regions] (1926) (the mentioned books were published thanks to J. Jech in three independent volumes under the common title *Folkloristické dílo J. Š. Kubína* [J. Š. Kubín's Folkloristic Output]. More detailed bibliography data see Kubín 1958, 1964 and 1971); *Povídky lidu opavského a hanáckého* [Stories of the People in the Opava Area and Haná Region] (1926, from F. Stavař's and J. Tvrď's collections).
3. He wrote in German e.g. about the important of Grimm's fairy tales in the Slavic environment (Horák 1963). See also Horák Jiří. *Tschechische Volksmärchen*. Prag: Artia Verlag, 1971, 1974; Horak, Jiri: *Contes de Boheme*. Paris: Grund, 1989, 1971, 1974; Horak, Jiri and Jane Carruth. *Folk and Faire Tales from Bohemia*. London–New York–Sydney–Toronto, 1973.
4. His full name was Piotr Grigorievich Bogatyriev.
5. The coalminers' folklore was researched by Jech (1959b), and Spilka (1959) in the Kladno area, by Sirovátka (Fojtík – Sirovátka 1961) in the Rosice-Oslavany region, by Šajtar (1951), Sokolová (1962, 1967, 2006), Satke (1957, 1975, 1976) in the Ostrava-Karviná region.
6. For example. J. Jech followed J. Š. Kubín in Kladsko and Podkrkonoší, B. Beneš, O. Sirovátka, M. Šrámková returned to Wallachia.
7. Between 1990 and 1993, song and verbal folklore was studied in Austrian Rabensburg (Šrámková 1992c, Šrámková – Toncrová 1991). Within the projects Czech in Vienna and Czechs in Bosnia and Hercegovina, folklore materials, narrated autobiographies and

documents were researched into and collected (Pospíšilová 2001). The book published by Czech dialectologists following their research into the language of Viennese Czechs contains a lot of folklore texts (Balhar – Kloferová – Vojtová 1999).

8. Ondráš, a native from Silesia, and Slovak Jánošík were the leading characters of Czech rebel folklore. In his two books about Ondráš (1958, 1959) Alois Sivek treated not only folklore themes, but also historical source and art literature. O. Sirovátka (1974) paid attention to legends about Jánošík in their Czech versions, to their spread in Moravia and Silesia, and the peculiarities of Moravian-Silesian documents. Bohuslav Beneš (1992) and M. Šrámková (1992b) dealt with the "rebels" whose social character was not unambiguously positive.
9. Although we are exceeding the time frame of this study, let us add that it is mainly Petr Janeček who deals with the character of Spring Man within the study of new legends and rumours. He documented its British origin in the character of Spring-Heeled Jack, as well as the international connection with German and Russian material (Janeček 2007, 2009).
10. When researchers speak about "contemporaneity", they usually understand it as a shorter period which is topical just now. Its lower limit is defined by an important event which changes the condition and development of society. It was the year 1945 for most folklorists; today it is the year 1990 which is a similar turning point.
11. The information oversteps the year 2000 exceptionally, with which this essay is limited in its title.
12. From 1980 until the end of the project in 2015, the Göttingen Academy of Sciences and Humanities (Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen) was the seat of the project.
13. For political reasons, her entries were published under the name of her husband J. Klíma.

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Summary

Two stages can be defined in the development of Czech prosaic folkloristics: the pre-scientific (it created the material basis of the discipline) and the scientific one (formation of the discipline, bounds to the social environment of European Romanticism, formation of theory and methodology). The study follows the discipline's development and the principal representatives of the scientific stage until the turn of the millennium. In the second half of the 19th century, the revision of the Romantic conception caused the Czech folklore to have been integrated in the world context. The works by Jiří Polívka and Václav Tille were of essential importance – they showed wide knowledge of material, systematic nature, and broad cultural interpretation. Jiří Horák elaborated a comparative approach and laid the foundations of discipline's theory. Frank Wollman interconnected folklore with the development of Slavic literatures. Piotr Bogatyriov's works brought structuralism and functional conceptions into the discipline. After 1945, folkloristics as a scientific discipline spread to the Czech university environment and in 1954 the Institute of Ethnography and Folkloristics was founded. After the arrival of Communism the discipline and its task were required to correspond to the then ideology (coal-miners' and outlaws' folklore). Field research developed, and general properties of legends and folk ballads, function of folklore in regions, inter-ethnic aspects, types of fairy-tales disappearing, and development of artificial fairy-tales were studied. Attention was paid to memorates, contemporary folklore and folklorism. Works by Jaromír Jech, Oldřich Sirovátka, Antonín Satek, etc. were of significant importance. Czech oral folkloristics is a permanently developing discipline.

Key words: Folklore; function of folklore; ideology; narration; fairy-tale; memorate; inter-ethnic aspect.

CZECH ETHNOCHOREOLOGY IN THE CONTEXT OF TIME AND SOCIETY

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The history of Czech ethnochoreology follows the general development of the interest in traditional folk culture and formation of ethnochoreology in the European geographical space. At present, ethnochoreology is perceived as part of ethnology; however, it overlaps beyond this discipline, especially towards the art-historical study of dance and music (Pavlicová 2001: 85–86; Stavělová 2001: 81–84).

The beginnings of ethnology's current dance specialization may be part of the abovementioned interest in traditional folk culture in the late 19th century. It was quite late, if we take into account the research into other fields of folk culture – the study of folk clothing or folk songs was much more advanced and drew attention from several experts and amateurs at that time. However, this disproportion was balanced by an important moment – the general interest in dance, which can be traced even in earlier historical periods and which was mainly aimed at the dance of higher social classes (even though the social differentiation of dance falls within the 16th – 17th centuries) (Stavělová 2008: 81–82). The dance itself was often understood as an amusing matter. For this reason, history also shows moralistic and warning religious texts which advised against dance. Motives about punished dancers can also be found in literary folklore (Pavlicová 2012: 14–15). The oldest sources also document descriptions of dances which were part of dance expressions of the then society, and many of them influenced the folk dance repertoire with a certain time delay (Pavlicová 2012: 11–16).

The work *Jak se kdy v Čechách tancovalo* [How People Used to Dance in Bohemia] (1895) by the historian of culture Čeněk Zíbrt remains a hitherto unequalled Czech synthesis about the history of dance. The work was published again in 1960 as a commented edition. Its editor, the ethnochoreologist Hannah Laudová, assessed the importance of Zíbrt's work in the context of Czech and European science of his time, and provided the work with comparing comments, indexes and a bibliography which deals with the study and articles written by Zíbrt on the theme of dance and the study of folk culture in generally.

The cultural-historical content of Zíbrt's work is determined by its subtitle – *Dějiny tance v Čechách, na Moravě, ve Slezsku a na Slovensku od nejstarší doby až do konce 19. století se zvláštním zřetelem k dějinám tance vůbec* [The History of Dance in Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia and Slovakia from the Oldest Times to the End of the 19th Century with Special Respect to the History of Dance in General]. Zíbrt's work was written at the time of increased activity of Czech intellectuals and artists who took part in a very significant event, which was essential not only for ethnography as an emerging new scientific discipline, but also to strengthen the Czech nation's identity. In 1895, the *Czechoslavic Ethnographic Exhibition* took place in Prague. Besides culture and art, this exhibition highlighted the potential of traditional folk culture of rural classes from Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia in the then Austro-Hungarian state union. Zíbrt's work about dance did not get stuck in the description of the Czech countryside's dance culture. The author chose a broader frame of European culture history, and in this context the abovementioned work remains an important milestone for Czech ethnochoreology. This is also indicated by the editor Hannah Laudová in the *Předmluva k druhému vydání* [Preface to the Second Edition]: “*The working method used in Zíbrt's history of dance also definitively enforced another necessary principle: Čeněk Zíbrt, although not specialized in the branch of dance, demonstrated that he is able to distinguish the material, because he proceeded from the knowledge of the world historical form of dance. One of the principal tasks for future historians in this field is to master these forms more thoroughly, especially in relation to the folk dance, regardless of whether they will study dance in general, or just folk dance.*” (Laudová 1960: 10)

Čeněk Zíbrt (1864–1932) was not only an important ethnographer and historian of culture, he also was an editor of the first journal of ethnography, *Český lid* [The Czech Folk] (founded in 1891), where other authors also published their texts about dance and presented information of a diverse nature: both brief mentions from chronicles and old prints, and first collections from the field, which were collected in the atmosphere

of the general endeavour to capture the traditional folk culture of rural residents (Laudová 1991). Karel Václav Adámek (1868–1944), Josef Vycpálek (1868–1944), Augustin Hajný (1867–1926), etc. can be mentioned as the first dance contributors to Czech Folk. Some of them published their works in print later, e.g. Čeněk Holas (1855–1939) and Josef Vycpálek, whose collections are hugely valuable materials to get acquainted with folk dances from Bohemia.

Other people interested in folk dance within the then ethnography somewhat narrowed down Zíbrt's broad scope of interest in cultural history, which was so typical for his monograph, as they focused on field recordings of only traditional rural dances. Even Zíbrt himself as the journal's editor did not really favour recording folk dance art in the spectrum of the then surviving material: "*Zíbrt's Czech Folk found Shrovetide dance parties in Prague and other towns and their 'outlandish dances' repugnant, especially the 'crude and inane seaman's dances' and 'wild Beseda dances'.*" (Laudová 1991: 183)

The trends of the developing dance folkloristics¹ were directed at the description of mainly archaic dance expressions, and therefore, they led to the search for the oldest eyewitnesses in the countryside, who were able to communicate the dances that they danced when they were young. The strengthening of Romanticizing principles during the documentation of field material was interrelated with the disappearing elements of traditional folk culture, and this is a phenomenon accompanying the developing interest in folk culture in general (Pavlicová – Uhlíková: 2011). This attitude also applied to the knowledge about folk dance, although it cannot be denied that Čeněk Zíbrt paid attention to public educational activity and that in the journal he provided a space for information about *ethnographic festivals* that in many places in the Czech lands safeguarded and renewed the disappearing traditional folk culture (Laudová 1991: 183). The abovementioned Zíbrt's monograph on dance can be considered to be the principal (despite the fact that it was published almost one and a quarter centuries ago) and crucial point of the cultural-historical interest in the dance theme in Czech history.

The period of greater attention paid to the folk dance, which preceded the above point, does not reach far back to the past. It relates to the philosophy of Romanticism, which searched for a social ideal in the life of rural

residents, first in their language and literature, and later in other cultural expressions (Křížová – Pavlicová – Válka 2015: 167–171). The syncretism of folk culture and the interconnection of literary, music and motion forms also created a transition to the learning about the dance itself.

If we stay in the Czech environment, we can point out several representatives who are among the first wave of those interested in folk dance already in the first half of the 19th century. In Bohemia, Karel Jaromír Erben (1811–1870), a folk song and narrative collector, who did not record dances, but emphasized the necessity of studying them (Pavlicová 1992: 22–27), was one such. In Moravia, one of the representatives was František Sušil (1804–1868), a folk song collector and Erben's contemporary, who also emphasized the necessity of recording the folk dance, albeit only after he became acquainted with songs. This is proven by hand-written materials which survived in his estate (Laudová 1968). These materials show the complexity of dance recordings, which was the essential problem for most collectors at that time. They captured the dance form in words, through circumlocution, and adaptation of particular figures and sequences, which could be documented on various examples (Pavlicová 2004; Stavělová 2004). In the 19th century, we can find mention of folk dance in works by many authors who observed or studied the rural environment. Many of them were writers, e.g. Jan Neruda (1834–1891) and Božena Němcová (1820–1862); others were song collectors, or topographers, in whose works we discover information which is often very valuable about many expressions of rural residents. However, most similar pieces of knowledge were unsystematic. Sometimes the name of a dance was captured, its description was added very seldom and moreover often not in a comprehensible form. Many reports about folk dances provided only general information in connection with different customs and ceremonies held. For this reason, a critical evaluation of the sources still remains a primary task for today's researchers, as D. Stavělová points out: "*We take into consideration mainly the author, the circumstances in which he wrote, and which relation these data have to other written sources by the same author. Furthermore, his personal opinions, social affiliation, and level of education.*" (Stavělová 1993: 321)

The delay in the outset of professional interest in the folk dance as compared to other specializations in the

study of the countryside culture and the later production of folk dance collections were caused by several moments. If we consider in which time and context the interest in traditional folk culture spread around Europe, the first cause suggests itself. The group of educated people, who saw the foundations of national peculiarity and an ideal of a pure human being in a rural culture, grew from romantic opinions, which were developed both in the scientific and in the artistic spheres. However, most people did not leave their position as armchair scholars in relation to the folk environment, and when particular prominent people began to show their interest in rural culture in the field, their position was not easy. For example, the already mentioned František Sušil was a priest and teacher, who brought many friends and students of his to folk culture (Pavlicová 2016: 8–9). However, the respect that rural residents showed at personal meetings to the admirers of their everyday culture was too great to remove the barriers promptly.² One can deduce that the possibilities of learning about folk dance, represented e.g. at dance parties in pubs, were not ideal in such cases.

A certain disproportion in the knowledge about folk dance as compared to other expressions of folk culture began to be balanced alongside patriotism in the 1880s and 1890s, when the preparation for the *Czechoslovak Ethnographic Exhibition* reached its peak. This event is considered to be the beginning of the development of ethnography as a scientific discipline and the establishment of the first methodological research principles. The foundation of the abovementioned Czech Folk journal encouraged this process.³

This period saw a higher number of important people who were instrumental in spreading knowledge about the folk dance. In Bohemia, these were the abovementioned Josef Vycpálek, Čeněk Holas, K. V. Adámek, and in Moravia especially Lucie Bakešová (1853–1935), Františka Xavera Běhálková (1853–1907), Martin Zeman (1854–1919) and Leoš Janáček (1854–1928) (Pavlicová 1993). Each of them contributed with his/her portion to the newly developing dance specialization of folkloristics, but it was important that the abovementioned researchers encountered folk dances directly in the field. Their activity was based on the possibilities allowed by their profession and finances. For example, Josef Vycpálek collected folk dances for patriotic reasons from the 1880s and the territory of his collections mostly depended on his

work as a teacher and the assistance of his students.⁴ In contrast to this, Lucie Bakešová mingled with patriotic circles related to the Museum Club in Olomouc and to the preparations of the *life festival* at the Exhibition, where the Moravian section was under Leoš Janáček's auspices. Martin Zeman based his knowledge about folk dances on the native ethnographic region of Horňácko, where he acted as an organ player after he had finished his studies (Pavlicová 1993: 4–5). The *Czechoslovak Ethnographic Exhibition*, the preparation for it and the aftermath of it, encouraged a lot of further regional collectors, who recorded folk dances (Zídková 2003).

In addition to the ever romanticizing interest in folk culture in the late 19th century, which was echoed mainly in towns and intellectual circles, also quite opposing opinions appeared as a counterbalance:

“Unfortunately, the old good habits of our ancestors are also disappearing hastily. No trace of bagpipes and cimbalom, you can only rarely see a national dance danced together with a song; polkas, waltzes and mazurkas have started to dominate. Young people do not pay attention to national songs; they prefer songs with seedy content, brought by recruits or temporary workers from the world. One of many reasons for this decline is that people cultivated gregarious work, especially during the harvest: in these moments, the fields sounded with lively singing, the sun rise was welcome, the beginning of harvest was praised, and the harvest festivals were celebrated. Thank God one can find solace in folk costumes that have survived unchanged in their form and will be hopefully safeguarded for future times.” (School Chronicle from Korytná, 1895–1917)

Similar statements cannot be considered to be the only objective ones, but it is undeniable that in its relation to traditional folk culture, the developing ethnographic science largely overlooked the society-wide development which also involved the cultural one. Although the system of traditional folk culture as a whole still continued in the countryside, many particular elements already changed their form. And it was the transformation of musical culture and associated dance culture that was very quick at the turn of the 20th century. The traditional music, which was based on string instruments, bagpipes and a small cimbalom, changed under the influence of spreading brass music. The changes occurred in song repertoire, too; the memory tradition no longer depended only on

passing things down from generation to generation in the family and locality, but more and more on the influence of school and available press (Pavlicová 2007: 41–53).

If we highlight the collectors' difficulties in the field as the first reason for the late start of the interest in research into folk dances, the other important obstacle is immediately interrelated with the first reason. We believe it is the recording of dance moves. The theme of how to record a dance had accompanied the history of dance in Europe for several centuries. It was crucial for the work of dance masters at noble courts, or for dance performances. The dance history includes several recording systems, which have left a more or less successful mark on dance recording (Gremlicová 2004). On the other hand, with the early 19th-century interest in rural dance there was no notable possibility available of how to record the dance. The first collectors described dances with words, which only indicated the dance characteristics, without any ties to musical or sung accompaniment. These descriptions could only be transferred with difficulty to real moves in the subsequent generations. In the 1870s, the written description of moves was significantly formalized in the Czech conditions thanks to Miroslav Tyrš, founder of the Sokol gymnastics organization (1862). His terminology for particular body moves allowed the recording of dance moves to be more accurate. For example, the abovementioned collector Čeněk Holas, a physical education teacher, used Tyrš's terminology as a basis for his collection *České národní písně a tance* [Czech National Songs and Dances] (1908–1910). Not everybody mastered this system; in any case, the word description gradually improved, remaining the main recording "language" for folk dance (Stavělová 2011: 118–123).

Besides the reports about folk dance, which began to be made accessible to the public in published collections, the outset of the 20th century showed another relation to folk dance. The abovementioned *Czechoslavic Ethnographic Exhibition* in Prague was the most distinctive incentive to collect folk artefacts and folklore expressions, which led to the development of scientific work, to the production of books, to the creation of museum collections, etc. The countryside was nowhere near an archaic area isolated from the modern technical world and development of mass culture. Hand in hand with this change, activities occurred which tried to maintain, revive or even reconstruct the disappearing culture or at least some

of its expressions. The Czech geographical space was invaded, as were other European countries, by an ever stronger wave of *revival* or *folklore movement*. After all, it was already the *Czechoslavic Ethnographic Exhibition* that encompassed this aspect (Čumpelíková 1970).

The presentation of folklore expressions out of their original environment has its genesis in Serfs' folk dances being performed at noble courts on the occasion of monarchs' visits, etc. (Laudová 1958). The second half of the 19th century set a new cultural-political charge relating to the national movement on these performances, and in the end the entertaining and societal component was adjoined. This was an essential impetus for the folk dance as well as folk song and music. Although many expressions disappeared from everyday life, they were not forgotten and were often given new roles, which can be classified as the safeguarding of cultural heritage pursuant to contemporary terminology. However, many collectors, who followed romantic ideas in their thinking, were only able with difficulty to distinguish the real role of dances in the life of an investigated respondent or community, when researching into dances which were not danced every day. The subjective evaluation of the particular situation often led to the creation of unreal images about the life of dance in the tradition.⁵

A field researcher, who at the outset of the 20th century tried to capture the disappearing expressions of folk culture as thoroughly as possible, often accentuated the "authentic" proofs. A citation from the monograph *Moravské Slovensko* [Moravian Slovakia] (1918–1922) is an example; the chapter *Umění hudební* [Musical Art], which dealt with dances from this region, was written by Josef Černík: "*As obvious from the previous descriptions, no original 'Slovak' dance features 'polka' or 'waltz' steps. If these steps occur in Slovak dances, we can almost always have reasonable doubts about their domestic origin [...] What is sung, played and danced in different places, in different regions, and thus in Slovakia! It is, however, only original dances that have some weight and a certain ethnographic-musical importance.*" (Niederle 1922: 655) Similar contemplations led to the separation between items which are worth recording in the field, and those which are not. To a different extent, a selection like this appeared at all times of the interest in folk culture. It was often conditioned by aestheticizing views, based on the abovementioned romanticizing trends among intellectual classes.

As mentioned above, in principle there was no other possibility of documenting the dance tradition, than by word description. The development of technologies opened up new horizons. In this connection, we must draw attention to completely unique (even at international level) film shots by František Pospíšil (1885–1958), who at the beginning of the 1920s started an ambitious project with international overlap – the visual recording of *sword dances*. He shot men's dances with a requisite which gave name to them, in the Bohemian location of Kaplice, in the Moravian location of Strání, and in Čičmany and Podzámoček in Slovakia. His film shots concern similar dances from England, the Basque county, and Croatia, and they are a hugely valuable contribution to the history of the world ethnochoreology (Pavlicová 2008).

The film theoretically extended the possibilities of recording the dance move and mitigated the impact of the absence of a generally usable graphic record. However, the situation remained virtually unchanged. Although several film sequences which captured folk dances were recorded before World War II, these were part of longer documentaries rather than a main subject-matter of the film recording.⁶ Yet several noteworthy works came into being. One of them was the film *Mizející svět* [A Disappearing World] (1932), recorded by Vladimír Úlehla (1888–1947). The film was a concrete outcome from an interdisciplinary scientific project called Velká, which was to be devoted to research into the ethnographic area of Horňácko in south-eastern Moravia (Pavlicová 2016: 15–16). Even though the final feature film and its overall impression differed from the originally intended documentary, it is a unique film document from the inter-war period, which captured traditional folk culture in the Moravian countryside, including dances.

Another important Czech person – Karel Plicka (1894–1987) – excelled in this direction within international conditions. His crucial mapping of folk culture concerns mainly Slovakia, where he worked for Matica Slovenská after the formation of the Czechoslovak Republic. Between 1923 and 1939 he systematically collected folk songs, took photos and filmed in the Slovak countryside (Slivka 1982: 23). His film recordings from Slovak regions from the 1920s and 1930s are an important visual collection to familiarize people with traditional folk culture of this geographic space. His best-known feature-length film is called *Zem spieva* [The Land Is Singing] (1933). The film

accompanied by František Škvor's classical music⁷ was awarded a prize at the Film Festival in Venice (Slivka 1982: 175–230). Similarly, Karel Plicka tried to capture the folk culture in Bohemia and Moravia after he had left Slovakia in 1939. The film *Věčná píseň* [The Everlasting Song] (1941) accompanied by a poetic text, which the poet František Halas wrote, captures, among other things, the *sedlácká* dance from Velká nad Veličkou, the *danaj* dance from Strážnice, and the men's dance called *verbuřk* from the ethnographic area of Podluží (Holý 1969). However, the countryside in the Czech lands differed from that in pre-war rural Slovakia and Karel Plicka stopped documenting the folk culture (except for a return to Slovakia after the war to take photos there).

In the first half of the 1940s, the Prague *Slovácký krůžek* [≈ *The Folk Circle*] initiated two staged documentaries from the ethnographic area of Horňácko – *Horňácká svatba* [The Horňácko Wedding] (1945), and *Hody v Hrubé Vrbce* [The Kermesse in Hrubá Vrbka] (1946), where also clips with dances can be seen (Krist 1970: 67). But in general, a film recording was still unattainable for fieldwork. No wonder that this issue became one of the central motives discussed by the institutionalising dance folkloristics after 1945. The field, however, changed much quicker than the possibility of applying new technical means in research developed; film documentation was costly and its provision complicated in terms of organization (Kosíková 1999: 6). For this reason the archives of folk recordings from the turn of the 1940s and 1950s, i.e. from the time when it was still possible to record some traditional dance expressions of the oldest eyewitnesses, especially in Moravia and Silesia, is not very large.

From the late 19th century, the dance repertoire of the Moravian and Silesian countryside changed as well, but – despite the massive attack of modern dances – its local forms often contained dances from the older dance layer, which were safeguarded or renewed in parallel with the developing folklore movement in many locations. New ballroom dances, such as polka and waltz, reached a distinct position in the dance repertoire; however, over time these dances gained the role of folk dance at common dance occasions. This related mainly to the development of brass music bands which began to force out the older music groups playing different instruments, and the related older traditional folk dances (in accordance with the classification: especially rotating

and figurative dances, or in particular dances with a free and a fixed internal bound) (Jeřábek – Brouček 2007: 1063). In Bohemia, brass music came to the fore under the influence of military music even earlier (already in the first half of the 19th century), which the dance repertoire reflected by a retreat from older dance forms.

The development of the folklore movement in Moravia and Silesia not only supported the renewal of the often latent repertoire with older dances, but it also brought reconstructions of already extinct dances. Within spontaneous social ties, often both lines were interconnected in a natural way. In fact, besides the presentation of folklore on stages, the folklore movement included many local activities with ties to a particular community and its everyday life. If we can observe these trends to a larger or lesser extent throughout the first half of the 20th century, in its second half we can clearly see that their ratio changed and – in relation to folk dance – especially the *second existence of folk dances* and staged production grew. The development of city folk ensembles and stage work with folklore material was given an impetus after World War II, and especially after the year 1948 owing to the cultural ideology of the then Soviet Union.

The representatives of dance folkloristics faced a difficult task in this period: traditional folk dances in the field could be captured (apart from a few exceptions) mainly among the oldest generation, that is why the research was often a rather rescue research. Taking into account the indicated later beginning of dance investigation, there were many “white areas” that – in terms of folk dance – had not been researched until that time at all. The researchers in actual fact created a foundation which could provide them with a basis for a wider theoretical work. If we add the necessity of improving the dance recording, the then researchers really faced great challenges. Their number was not high. In the early and mid-1950s, allocated posts were established at the Academy of Sciences in Prague, Brno and Opava, where lifelong trajectories of three female researchers – Hannah Laudová (1921–2005), Zdenka Jelínková (1920–2005) and Hana Podešvová (1927–1989) were moulded. The expert work in the realm of dance folkloristics completed the care for the folklore movement, which was ensured by district and regional centres for public education with state headquarters in Prague. Even the network of these centres had a shortage of personnel, and their activities focused on practical and

organizational aspects of the folklore movement. The cooperation with researchers was beneficial for them and it must be noted that both sides used it fully – lectures and courses alongside the possibility of publishing university textbooks about dance and textbooks for the wider public were an important pillar in the development of dance folkloristics. This interrelation could be observed in the character of the folklore movement of that time, and in staged presentation of folk ensembles. More emphasis was placed on collections, contemporaries, and realia, and to adapt folklore within the already known tradition.

In cooperation with experts, the members of folk ensembles were engaged in fieldwork, where they gained new impetuses for their activity. In certain aspects the professional sphere became very strongly interconnected with the sphere of “revival”. Alongside the public education, the organized forms of which had a strong basis in the Czech environment already from the formation of the first Czechoslovak state in 1918, the Czech culture integrated not only the knowledge about folk dance art, but also its subsequent development.

It can be said that alongside the process of the “second existence of folk dance”, another important milestone which was significant for Czech ethnochoreology was outlined after World War II. The first milestone can be related to the end of the 19th century, when the first formed wave of folk dance collectors occurred, who often helped maintain or extend the natural existence of folk dance in its original environment. Although the first activities of the folklore movement developed in parallel (e.g. “folk circles” and city clubs dealing with presentation of folklore), the bond to the local community remains fundamentally significant despite the external safeguarding of the folk tradition.

After World War II, hand in hand with vigorous changes in society and a distinctive transformation in rural lifestyle, the activities of the folklore movement became stronger. The number of city folk ensembles increased, and new staging principles of music and folklore presentation appeared. In connection with the emergence of new ideology, the content of presented production had to be changed, which in the folklore movement is manifested e.g. through censorship or self-censorship of sources (especially those with religious and spiritual themes), or though the “new production”. This is a period, when the folklore movement was exploited for political purposes (Pavlicová – Uhlíková 2008).

After the problematic years at the turn of the 1940s and 1950s, the folklore movement succeeded in extricating itself from its ideological burden, and the interest in music and dance sources of traditional folk culture became stronger again. Although professional research work, including fieldwork, was not interrupted even in the period of the “burden of folklore”, the re-appraisal of staged dances towards the higher support of rural groups and the oldest contemporaries again elevated the societal position of qualified researchers in dance folkloristics (Pavlicová – Uhlíková 1997: 6–8).

Besides acquisitions through collections, the dance folklorists resolved theoretical problems, which concerned the abovementioned recording of dance moves, which was a pre-condition for a move analysis and subsequent dance and musical comparison. Dance folkloristics also strongly reflected the “ecological method” which studied not only a dance expression but also its context, bearers, dance occasions, etc. The methodological procedures of how to record the dance were resolved by groups of experts from the beginning of the 1950s, and the collaboration between dance folklorists and physical education workers was symptomatic, due to the recording of moves (Stavělová 2011: 120–123).

The development of ethnochoreology in the Czech lands in the second half of the 20th century was based on the form of older dance folkloristics – attention was paid mainly to the rural dance and its disappearing archaic forms. The struggle to formalize the dance recordings began to correspond to the theoretical aspect of dance structure, and an international platform was established to resolve these questions. It was especially Hannah Laudová and Eva Kröschlová who became involved in expert discussions at the International Folk Music Council (IFMC) in the 1960s. Overlaps occurred which gradually began to extend Czech dance folkloristics towards ethnochoreology (Kröschlová 2004).

The 1960s brought a new research concept in the international environment. The essential transformation in the rural field, which was the basic territory for ethnological research for more than one century, and the related flourishing of revival and staged presentation of folklore, led to the postulation of folklorism as an important theme of ethnology. Czech folkloristics replied to this research direction as a legitimate part of ethnological research with a certain time delay in the 1970s and 1980s. It was clear

that the research subject could no longer be defined only by constraints of traditional folklore.

The year 1989, which brought a new political arrangement and liberation of social conditions to the then Czechoslovakia, enabled Czech dance folklorists to synthesize the results of past generations of researchers and to extend and unify their discipline under the name “ethnochoreology”. Activities which were not only brought up but also implemented in particular workplaces of the discipline, mainly at the Academy of Sciences in Prague and Brno, and partially at universities, continued. Over time, the academic sphere lost the supporting network of methodological workplaces which worked with folk ensembles, but it got a new platform in the modern-day National Institute of Folk Culture in Strážnice (Krist – Pavlicová 2015). In 1991, a concept of the audio-visual encyclopaedia *Lidové tance z Čech, Moravy a Slezska* [Folk Dances from Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia] was prepared, in the implementation of which research fellows from this Institute (with the support of the Ministry of Culture) and external researchers took part. These were mainly Jan Miroslav Krist (1932–2007), Karel Pavlišťík, Zdenka Jelínková and Hannah Laudová. From 1994 to 1997 ten volumes of the encyclopaedia were published, presenting the most distinct ethnographical areas of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia and their folk culture. From 2000 to 2003, a dance series devoted to the men’s dance *verbuřník* was published (Matuszková 2011: 159–168).⁸

Synthesizing texts about folk dance were published as well. Already in 1968, a text about folk dance in Bohemia and Moravia written by Hannah Laudová, Zdenka Jelínková and Hana Podešvová (*Československá vlastivěda* [Czechoslovakia in All Its Aspects] 1968) was published within the series Czechoslovakia in All Its Aspects in the volume *Lidová kultura* [Folk Culture]. Subsequent synthesis came only after the year 1990. Jitka Matuzsková published a chapter about folk dance in a team monograph devoted to folk culture in Moravia (Matuszková 2000). Daniela Stavělová summarized the theme “folk dance” in the team monograph *Lidová kultura* [Folk Culture], which was published in the series *Velké dějiny zemí Koruny české* [The Great History of the Lands of the Bohemian Crown] (Stavělová 2014). The large *Národopisná encyklopedie Čech, Moravy a Slezska* [Ethnographic Encyclopaedia of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia] (Brouček – Jeřábek 2007) contains a lot of entries concerning folk dance, written by

different authors. The dictionary *Od folkloru k folklorismu* [From Folklore to Folklorism] is an important supplement for the study of ethnochoreology. The publication focuses on people, institutions, festivals and groups which belong to the history of the folklore movement in Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia (Pavlicová – Uhlíková 1997; Vondrušková 2000). We should not leave out compendia from other disciplines, e.g. *Slovník české hudební kultury* [Dictionary of Czech Music Culture], which was compiled in the field of musicology (Fukač – Vysloužil 1997). The book entries concerning dance and its diverse aspects naturally continue the relation of dance folkloristics to musical folkloristics, which incited the dance specialization of today's ethnology from its beginnings (Stavělová 2016: 507–509).

Besides this selection of publications, which are completed by different dance anthologies and regional collections of folk dances, and the re-editions of them (Stavělová 2011), we have to mention the full involvement of Czech ethnochoreology in international research and organizational structures, as another important moment of Czech ethnochoreology in the past quarter of a century. It is not only institutional and personal contacts, but also wide ethnological and anthropological prospects which opened up in front of the “domestic” discipline that are benefits arising from these activities. The participation in the activities of ICTM (International Council for Traditional Music),⁹ SIEF (International Society for Ethnology and Folklore), CIOFF (International Council of Organizations of Folklore Festivals and Folk Arts), and in UNESCO programmes focused on intangible cultural heritage are not only a link to the international environment, but they also enable the Czech ethnochoreology to present its history and results in the realm of research.

It can be said that from the Czech environment has originated modern ethnochoreology that is overarching the study of dance in the wide historical, social and artistic context. It is no longer just an investigation of a particular dance and its possible variants. Attention is also paid to the bearer, the dance function (whether it is folk dance

or not), issues of creative invention, and the mechanism of oral tradition. The dance is not studied only in its natural environment, and in the sphere of everyday life or folklorism, but also on stage, and in terms of artistic arrangement and inspiration in high art. The transfer of folk dance forms from the stage to natural dance life (“the third existence of folk dance”) and the research into dance art are becoming important issues. The subject-matter of ethnochoreology is not bound only to the relation to the folk dance, but mainly to the recognition of the place of the dance in the life of contemporary people. The dances of popular culture are becoming subjects of study, and the related dance occasions and bearers are being investigated. This is completed by research which studies the dance in the light of the development of personal, local, regional or national identity. The issues relating to dance recordings and possibilities of studying dance structure still remain significant.

In the contemporary Czech space, the dance as part of people's lives is viewed from different research directions – ethnology, anthropology, sociology, musicology and dance science, pedagogics, etc. They have a crossover with each other e.g. in the cognition of the sense of dance in the contemporary society, in capturing contexts of its existence, in the explanation of the role of folk dance in cultural heritage, and in the contribution of cultural policy for the further development of the dance. New ethnochoreological themes emerge alongside the development of society and its culture. The views to the past are rather connected with the cultural-historical approach, whereas the views to the future relate rather to the social approach. This can submit a plastic image about the dance only through its interrelation with old and newer research, which is based on the cognition of cultural bases. The interconnection with the artistic dance stage, especially with inspirations based on folk traditions, offers Czech ethnochoreology a unique possibility of how to study the phenomenon of dance that is one of the oldest expressions of people's souls and emotions in human existence.

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NOTES:

1. We understand dance folkloristics as a specialization aimed at the study of traditional folk dance and its different connections.
2. See e.g. the memory of František Sušil, which was published in his biography: "The girls, having sighted a priest, fell silent as if by magic. Sušil encouraged them to continue singing, saying that he loves listening to beautiful singing, and asked who of them would know most songs. It was quite a long time before he got to know that it was the smith's daughter who could sing the most songs in the village, so we followed them to the smith." (Procházka 1871: 432)
3. In Czech ethnography, other periodicals were also issued, such as *Časopis Vlasteneckého spolku muzejního v Olomouci* [Journal of Patriotic Museum Club in Olomouc] or later *Národopisný věstník československý* [Czechoslovak Ethnographic Journal]. *Český lid* [The Czech Folk] was connected with the activities around the *Czechoslovak Ethnographic Exhibition*, and in addition to publishing professional articles, it had a wide network of regional contributors.
4. Josef Vycpálek wrote about the beginnings of his career as a collector: "A pure accident is often an origin and beginning of many good things, and this was the case. Around the eightieth year in the last century [NB: the 19th century], when the Tyl amateur association from Rychnov, director of which I was, decided to organize a ball in folk costumes. When the girls had them nearly prepared, an idea occurred that the ball would have gained in glamour if the rural costumes had been enriched by rural dances. But where to find them? Nobody knew them, although many older dancers, who knew old dances, still lived round Rychnov; but nobody knew about them." (Vycpálek 1921: 8)
5. The girls' dance of khorovod type, called Královničky [Little Queens], recorded and prepared by Lucie Bakešová, was one of the distinct

SOURCES:

Školní kronika Korytná. *SOka Uherské Hradiště* [online] [accessed September 1, 2017]. Available from: <<https://gjalik.muni.cz/vyhledavani.html#a=1&f=korytn%C3%A>>

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Moravian dances that became popular through the *Czechoslovak Ethnographic Exhibition* in 1895. The ethnochoreologist Barbora Čumpelíková remarked on it: "There is not sufficient proof for Bakešová's assertion that the dance was presented as she recorded it based on the contemporaries' statements, but there is not proof against this assertion. Nevertheless, since the time when the dance was performed for the first time in 1887, eight years passed until the Exhibition. During this period, the dance was performed many times, so it underwent an eight-year-long process of crystallization. The effect was supported by the dance and dramatic education of the interpreters [...]. Through an elaborated conception and perfect mastering of natural dance art, the dance changed its content, so it became a compact choreographic work." (Čumpelíková 1970: 187)

6. The oldest film documentaries include e.g. *Slovácké tance a obyčeje* [Slovak Dances and Customs] (1922) and a recording from the Ethnographic Festival of Moravia in Brno from 1925.
7. "The work is a creative summarization of silent film achievements and it anticipates the benefit of sound film." (Slivka 1982: 188)
8. The men's dance *verbuňk* was inscribed on the UNESCO Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity in 2005. The National Institute of Folk Culture in Strážnice is in charge of the inscription's guarantee, which contains the research activity as well as measures to safeguard and maintain this cultural expression.
9. The ICTM society is a continuator of the IFMC society (International Folk Music Council), in which Czech folklorists worked from the 1960s.

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Summary

The history of Czech ethnochoreology follows the general development of the interest in traditional folk culture and formation of ethnochoreology in the European geographical space. At present, ethnochoreology is perceived as part of ethnology; however, it overlaps beyond this discipline, especially towards the art-historical study of dance and music. The beginnings of ethnology's current dance specialization may be part of the abovementioned interest in traditional folk culture in the late 19th century. The work *Jak se kdy v Čechách tancovalo* [How People Used to Dance in Bohemia] (1895) with the sub-title *Dějiny tance v Čechách, na Moravě, ve Slezsku a na Slovensku od nejstarší doby až do konce 19. století se zvláštním zřetelem k dějinám tance vůbec* [The History of Dance in Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia and Slovakia from the Oldest Times to the End of the 19th Century with Special Respect to the History of Dance in General] by the historian of culture Čeněk Zíbrt remains a hitherto unequalled Czech synthesis about the history of dance. The work was published again in 1960 as a commented edition. From the late 19th century, dances began to be collected in particular regions and the first collections with folk dances were published. The always stronger wave of the interest in folk dance was intensified by the disappearing dance tradition in the countryside. The intellectuals' efforts did not focus only on recording the dance, but also on maintaining them. The folklore movement, which built its social position between the two world wars, became stronger in the second half of the 20th century. At that time, the institutionalized aspect of ethnochoreology developed in the Czech lands, and both levels, the practical and the theoretical one, complemented each other. Czech ethnochoreology became involved in international professional structures and the subject-matter of its interest began to spread beyond the borders of traditional folk culture. It focuses not only on folk dance, but on dance as a phenomenon that is one of the oldest expressions of people's souls and emotions in human existence.

Key words: Czech ethnochoreology; folk dance; folklore movement; folk culture.

RESEARCH INTO FOLK DRESS IN THE CZECH LANDS: FROM TOPOGRAPHY TO EUROPEAN ETHNOLOGY

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The interest in the knowledge of the rural inhabitants' dress has evolved gradually in the Czech lands.¹ The first written mentions come from the late 18th century and they were written in connection with the efforts to capture the specifics of particular groups of inhabitants, whereby the dress was considered to be one of the determining signs of the "tribal" identity besides the dialect and the way of livelihood. The territory in which the determined groups of inhabitants lived (the inhabitants of the region of Haná, the Moravian Wallachians, the inhabitants of Moravian Slovakia (the Slovácko region),² the inhabitants of the region of Moravian Horácko, etc.) was identified with the main ethnographic area of Moravia at the beginning of the 20th century. The situation was different in Bohemia, where the inhabitants were perceived as a culturally compact unit, which was internally differentiated by the use of the Czech and the German languages at most. It was mainly the authors of albums with folk costumes and later writers and romantic painters who paid attention to folk dress.

Josef Mánes (1820–1871), who completed a lot of high-quality studies of folk dress from Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia and Slovakia, was a key person in this respect. He used particular garments to capture figures in his pictures, which depicted scenes from mythology of the then constituting Czech nation. Czech intellectual elites soon accepted the idea that the rural inhabitants' dress was a relic of dress of their Slavic ancestors, and for this reason it is a "national costume" representing the language ethnicity of the Czech population. The hypothesis, first rather felt than based on arguments, was supported by the research of many regional researchers beginning from Jan Koula, through Čeněk Zíbrt and Renáta Tyršová to Lubor Niederle, a European archaeologist. They all shared the opinion that in the entire territory of Bohemia, Moravia and Slovakia people wore a uniform type of dress after the arrival of the Slavs, which survived long into the Middle Ages in the countryside. In Bohemia, the dress was gradually forced out from the 15th century due to the influence of western-European patterns of clothing, and it survived only in the territory of today's Slovakia and in the adjacent part of south-eastern and eastern Moravia. This

idea predominated through the first half of the 20th century and the researchers coped with it with difficulty even after a few decades. The application of contemporary scientific theories (the theory of cultural circles, the theory of degraded cultural values) or of functional structuralism's methods was very restricted and it limited itself mostly to significant researchers.

The increased interest in folk culture crowned by the organization of the *Czechoslavic Ethnographic Exhibition* in Prague in 1895 motivated some intensive field research into folk dress. In addition to collections and many important pieces of knowledge, the research also uncovered the information that the people in Bohemia had worn regular town clothing for many decades with some exceptions, and the situation is the same in Moravia except for its south-eastern part near the border to Slovakia. From its beginning, the research into folk dress had a significantly historical character led by the efforts to describe the mostly already disappeared reality. The researchers relied on the search for and research into antiquarian garments, the recollections of living contemporaries and the description of festive and ceremonial folk costumes. The research into a relatively living field was carried out mostly only in Slovakia and it mostly focused on the documentation of garments and accessories archaic in their construction. The research into the relation of folk dress to the social and cultural environment of the traditional village was, with some exceptions, completely sidelined.

The following text focuses on the analysis of particular research directions in the field of the interest in folk dress in the Czech lands, their significant representatives and important works, the ideas of which influenced the discipline on a long-term basis.

Folk dress in works by statistics and topographers

The first reports about folk dress are mentioned mainly in topographic works published from the late 18th to the mid-19th century. The quotations of the corresponding parts of those mostly antiquarian works are available thanks to the large edition of the ethnologist Richard Jeřábek (1997).

At the beginning of the imaginary row of authors stands **Jan Nepomuk Alois Hanke of Hankenštejn** (1751–1806), a librarian and teacher, who offers a clearly-arranged study of the characteristics of inhabitants living in Moravia and the Bohemian part of Silesia, their occupation, customs and dress (Hanke z Hankenštejna 1786). He explained the considerable language and cultural diversity through close connections of inhabitants with ancient tribes mentioned in the territory of Moravia. He considered the inhabitants of the regions of Haná and Moravian Slovakia, among whom he counted Moravian Wallachians, inhabitants of the Luhačovické Zálesí area and so called Moravian Slovaks, to be descendants of the oldest tribes living in the best parts of the country. He divided the German population into those living in Silesia, those living in the Kravařsko area (*Kuhländchen*), Austrians, and Germans living in the region of Horácko, whereby he believed the first ones to be a relic of the tribe of Quadi and the last ones to be a relic of the Marcomanni. The enumeration of typical properties of particular tribes also included a brief description of clothing. However, the context shows that the author considered the clothing to be a characterizing sign more than a relic and product of tribal diversity. Hanke's text is supplemented with thirteen Sebastian Mansfeld's engravings, depicting several inhabitants of Moravia. For the first time, we encounter the response to the *theory of tribes*, which was published by the German geographer Carl Ritter (1779–1859) three decades later.

The response to Hanke's opinions can be found in the work by **František Josef Schwoy** (1742–1806), an archivist, topographer and author of the first topography of Moravia (Schwoy 1786). In accordance with the period perception, it includes not only chapters about topography and history, but also the essay "The Character of a Nation", at the beginning of which the author mentions that in the case of Moravia there can be no proof of a *spirit of nation*. The population is highly fragmented in its language and it speaks German in a large part of the territory in addition to Slavic dialects. He considers this situation to be a consequence of the settlement of different historical tribes which laid foundation to the contemporary inhabitants and their distinct differences in terms of appearance and nature, which were also formed by the nature of the landscape and the way of earning livelihood. For the first time, we encounter a vision of steadfast but lazy and coarse people

from the ethnographic area of Haná, strapping Moravian Wallachians who are courageous and even daring in the mountains, and about Moravian Slovaks, whose diligence is – similar to that of Moravian Germans – limited by good soil and ease of livelihood.

The important Austrian statistician **Joseph Rohrer** (1769–1828) wrote about individual groups of Moravian inhabitants and their clothing in a similar spirit, but more thoroughly. In his work describing Slavic inhabitants in the Austrian monarchy he thoroughly describes the winter and summer clothing of people from Haná, Moravian Slovakia and Wallachia (Rohrer 1804a). In a separate work devoted to the description of German inhabitants in the Austrian monarchy he also describes the clothing of the Moravian Germans (Rohrer 1804b).

Collected topographic works with historical and ethnographic excursions found a vigorous response among the readers, encouraging some of them to attempt to describe the life and clothing of particular groups of inhabitants in a more detailed way. Although the total framework of the articles does not depart from the concept and describing nature of topographic works, these are very valuable sources. They were published in newly founded periodicals, for example *Moravia* (1815–1848) or the calendar *Mährischer Wanderer* (1811–1859). Its founder and editor Karel Josef Jurende (1780–1842) published many contributions focused on northern Moravia, Wallachia, the region of Hřebečsko and the Jihlava area (Jurende 1811, 1813, 1815a, 1815b). His contemporary and teacher **Josef Antonín Zeman** (1780–1825) published in the calendar several articles describing the life and dress of inhabitants in the ethnographic area of Podluží around his native town of Lednice (Zeman 1809, 1812).

The teacher **Alois Maňák** (1804–1843) treated and published his observation of Wallachian inhabitants from the environs of his native town Valašské Meziříčí (Maniak 1826). In his other work (Maniak 1839), he applied Ritter's *theory of tribes*, known even before in Moravia, in probably the most complete way. The enumeration of the groups usually mentioned – Croatians, Moravian Wallachians and people from the regions of Slovácko (Moravian Slovakia) and Haná – includes the group of Lachians for the first time. For the first time, the typical garments and their decorative elements are related to the tribal allegiance of inhabitants, whereby Maňák considers the

clothing of Wallachians to be the most well-preserved and he finds direct ties to the south-Slavic environment in it. For the time of strengthening political-linguistic patriotism it is symptomatic that German-speaking inhabitants of Moravia were not mentioned at all in the article.

Works by **Albin Heinrich** (1785–1864), a polyhistorian and custodian of the Francis Museum in Brno, are a certain crowning of the topographic and statistic works and the older political-provincial concept of patriotism. In his works he summarized the then knowledge which he completed with his own reflections and considerations, and he incorporated the prepared texts into a large work by Řehoř Volný (1793–1871), which deals with the topographic overview of Moravia (Heinrich 1835–1842). Heinrich wrote the introductory chapter about language, customs, nature and clothing of Moravian inhabitants for particular volumes of the topography, each of which focused on one administrative region of Moravia. Besides the texts about Wallachians, which he took over from Alois Maňák, and Germans in the Jihlava area, written by Josef Jurende, other texts are probably written by him. For the first time we can read about the clothing of inhabitants in the Znojmo area and in the environs of Brno; the largest essay deals with the clothing of Croats living in the region of Podluží around Mikulov and Břeclav. The text was published earlier in the topographic edition from 1840–1846 which spoke about the individual lands of the Austrian monarchy and for which Heinrich wrote volumes devoted to the Brno and the Těšín regions (Heinrich 1840, 1843). **Franz Carl Weidmann** (1788–1867), a Viennese journalist and traveller, wrote about the Opava region (Weidmann 1840). The spectacular edition also includes a large pictorial supplement depicting monuments, natural sceneries, vedute of towns, and local inhabitants in their typical dress. The lithographs, although not very good, are based on aquarelles by Austrian painter Jakob Alt (1789–1872).

Beginnings of the interest in the documentation of folk dress in Bohemia

In contrast to Moravia, where the language and dress diversity of the population encouraged the researchers to think of “national tribes”, the population in Bohemia gave an impression of considerable compactness and the only, albeit substantial, difference was related to language differences between Czechs and Germans. The interest in folk dress was shown mainly by

nationally-conscious authors of belles-letters, who – in the spirit of rural realism – incorporate in their texts large passages describing facts about rural life, which lent credence to the description of the environment. **Božena Němcová** (1820–1862) was undoubtedly a writer whose perception of the Bohemian countryside and its culture influenced several generations of nationally-conscious intellectuals. Detailed descriptions of folk dress relate mainly to the initial period of her production, when she searched for her own style, replacing the literary form with descriptiveness. In the journal *Květy* she published a series of articles between 1845 and 1846, in which she presented cultural facts from the Domažlice area and we can find a description of men’s and women’s dress there (Němcová 1951). The folk dress from the Domažlice and the Pilsen areas drew attention of Karel Jaromír Erben (1811–1870), a poet and historian, who published a description of this dress in the journal *Květy* (Erben 1867). The rather short text with exact facts and details submits information about particular parts of folk dress, their local names, how they are layered and worn, as well as about materials used. It also includes the description of women’s hairstyles and combination of garments in the festive and the ceremonial variation of folk costumes.

The effort for detailed knowledge of historical facts mentioned in his historical novels led even the writer **Alois Jirásek** (1851–1930) to the study of folk dress. When collecting data for his novel *Psohlavci* [The Dogheads], he visited the region of Chodsko in 1882 to receive information about local life, habitations and dress. His thorough description of the Chodsko folk costume was never published separately, but it was later included in the essay “Volkstrachten“, which is part of the last great Austrian topography *Die österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild* (Jirásek 1894). In the first passage, Jirásek continues the work by Čeněk Zíbrt and mainly Zikmund Winter, accepting their historical attitude towards the “national costume“, which he perceives as an ensemble of garments from different periods, during which higher social classes were influenced by Italian, Spanish and French fashionable elements, which later penetrated the folk environment. Even this essay was published several years later as part of Jirásek’s collected works; however, it did not meet with a great response among the professional public (Jirásek 1896).

The writer **Tereza Nováková** (1853–1912) probably went furthest in the interest in folk clothing and

embroidery, as her large work about folk costumes in the Litomyšl area has the character of a really professionally approached study (Nováková 1891). The work includes the demarcation of the researched territory, the description of old and new forms of garments, and the immediate relation to surrounding regions. Furthermore, the work is under the strong influence of contemporary researchers' focus on embroidery as a distinct expression of "national spirit" and its aesthetical qualities. Nováková tries to capture the character of embroidery in the Litomyšl area, which distinguishes it from the surrounding Bohemian and Moravian regions. The use of embroidery on clothing and its aesthetical impression is a determining moment for her in her more or less emotional comparison with other Bohemian and Moravian regions (Chodsko, Haná). For her quite short but groundbreaking work in the period context Tereza Nováková won recognition and credit as an expert on Bohemian folk costumes.

The beginnings of professional interest in the documentation of folk dress in Moravia

The dialectologist and ethnographer **František Bartoš** (1837–1906) used in his works the methodology which is usually applied in chapters speaking about the character of a nation and its tribes in topographic works (Bartoš 1883, 1885). He conditions the emergence of regional variations of folk dress by the existence of national spirit, which forms the characteristic signs of a tribe and creates a group-shared identity. The innovations in clothing, brought by individuals, are accepted and involved into the clothing complex only if they harmonize with the generally shared spirit, otherwise they disappear (Bartoš 1881: 736).

František Bartoš's explanations are a certain crowning of the Moravian research tradition, which is based on the mythological-romantic idea about the *spirit of nation*, which – in the form of ideas about *tribal psychology* – became entwined with Ritter's *theory of tribes*. These ideas helped to explain differences in the nature of people, their dialect, character and clothing at a philosophical level, but such bases were completely insufficient for the coming generation of critically thinking positivistic researchers. Bartoš's works were subject to criticism with reference to their methodological obsolescence (Brouček 1979: 41) and the professional public completely rejected the entire movement.

In 1883, the *Patriotic Museum Association in Olomouc* was founded, which played a significant role in the

development of interest in folk culture. The museum was founded by the eminent archaeologist and anthropologist Jindřich Wankel (1821–1897), the writer and national historian and geographer Jan Havelka (1839–1886) and the Silesian historian Vincenc Prasek (1843–1912); František Bartoš maintained close relations to them. The Association was not only the founder of the museum, but also the publisher of the *Journal of the Patriotic Museum Association in Olomouc*. In addition to archaeological articles and articles relating to national history and geography, the Journal published works about folk dress and especially embroideries. The collecting activity was organized mainly by **Vlasta Havelková** (1858–1939), Jan Havelka's wife, who became an erudite specialist in folk embroidery and later the first female custodian at the Ethnographic Museum in Prague. For the associational museum she gathered a large collection of Moravian embroideries, which became a basis for exhibitions in Olomouc and Vienna as well as a model for similar collections in Bohemia. Among other things, Havelková tried to analyse and explain the origin of the ornament in Moravian embroideries (Havelková 1886, 1895). She based her work on the opinions of the German anthropologist and archaeologist Johannes Ranke (1836–1916), who deduced the process of ornament creation from technological positions at the production of prehistoric artefacts. Based on ornaments on Hallstatt jewels from archaeological findings of her father Jindřich Wankel in the Byčí Skála cave near Blansko, she tried to reconstruct prehistoric cults of the sun, moon, fire, and flash and their survival in ornaments on Moravian embroideries. Admiration for the aesthetic aspects of embroideries, the vision of their prehistoric origin and the efforts to analyse them in a "scientific" way led to the fact that the theme became a quite strong stream in the developing Czech ethnography for several decades. Besides Vlasta Havelková, Renáta Tyršová and other people also became involved in it.

The geologist, teacher and ethnographer **Josef Klvaňa** (1857–1919) is an important person in the research into folk dress in Moravia. His initial academic interest in the research into minerals changed after he met František Bartoš, who won him over to the study of folk dress. When in 1884 Klvaňa began to work as a biology teacher at the grammar school in Uherské Hradiště, he organized among his students an event focused on the documentation of folk dress in their home villages. In this

way, he got an ensemble of several dozens of reports and children's sketches, which captured, albeit only fragments, the appearance of folk dress in particular locations in southern, eastern and central Moravia for the very first time. Klvaňa confronted the obtained materials with the situation in the field in 1885 and 1886, when he was accompanied by the art teacher Josef Šíma, who documented the clothing of selected students and their families in drawings (Klvaňa 1914). Klvaňa began to treat the collected material quickly and already in 1886 he published the first of a series of articles about folk dress in the ethnographic area of Slovácko in the journal *Světýzor*. The articles were accompanied by Šíma's illustrations.

His systematic fieldwork and cooperation with the correspondents among teachers at local schools allowed Klvaňa to significantly extend the existing documentation in the 1890s, so he could radically revise, complete and extend the original text. This was published under the title "Kroj lidu slovenského na Moravě [Folk Costumes of the Slovak People in Moravia]" in instalments in the *Francis Museum Journal* and then in the *Journal of the Moravian Museum* between 1897 and 1910.

The precise and positivist-tuned work with field materials was considerably appreciated by the professional public and Klvaňa was considered to be the greatest expert in Moravian folk costumes. He became involved in the preparation for the *Czechoslovak Ethnographic Exhibition* in Prague in 1895, for which he guaranteed the selection of Moravian folk costumes and treated the text about folk costumes in Moravia and Silesia (Klvaňa 1895b). He also published his essay "Die Tracht der mährischen Slaven" in the last voluminous topography *Die österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild* (Klvaňa 1897). His work reached its peak with a complete treatment of his hitherto texts under the title "Lidové kroje na Moravském Slovensku [Folk Costumes in Moravian Slovakia]" in the monograph about this region (Klvaňa 1918).

The detailed knowledge about the field in only one region led Klvaňa to leaving the study theories of tribal-psychological approach, and as an educated teacher, he developed his own strictly structured method. He divided the folk costume into men's, women's and children's garments; he also distinguished between the festive and the workday folk costumes, and he studied typical accessories to the ceremonial dress. He thoroughly described particular garments and tried to define them

unambiguously based on the construction of their cuts, and to term them correspondingly and clearly, for which he used dialect names. He classified local variations of folk costumes based on identical composition and types of garments, and as a consequence of this he laid foundations for the division into geographically defined folk-costume districts. He related the emergence of these districts to the existence of economic and administrative units, such as noble domains and church parishes, within which the people implemented the biggest portion of their mutual interactions and from which their group identity gradually grew. He understood the folk costume as an aesthetical and functional unit dependent on a particular place and time, which can change over the long-term due to the disappearance or acceptance of new garments, which can spread not only through them being taken over from a different social environment, but also through migration from neighbouring folk-costume districts. He based his conclusions on the study of pictures with folk dress, based on which he published an analysis of Wilhelm Horn's album with Moravian folk costumes from 1837 (Klvaňa 1910) and Josef Mánes's folk-costume studies (Klvaňa 1911).

Inspired by Jan Koula's work, he published several comparative studies in the 1890s, in which he described and localized the occurrence of archaic types of garments, which were identified by Koula – women's undergarments (Klvaňa 1899) and women's ceremonial headdress (Klvaňa 1895a).

The Russian linguist and folklorist **Piotr G. Bogatyriov** (1893–1971), who worked in Prague, used the materials collected by Klvaňa to practically demonstrate the application of functional-structural methodology on the theme of folk dress. The study was preceded by the short article "Kroj jako znak (Funkční a strukturální pojetí v národopisu)" [The Folk Costume as a Sign. (The Functional and Structural Conception in Ethnography)], in which Bogatyriov presents the substance and the basic methods of the work (Bogatyriov 1936) to introduce the theme based on concrete materials in the next year. For this reason, the study "The Functions of Folk Costumes in Moravian Slovakia" does not deal with the description of folk costume in the form of an enumeration of garments, but it presents mainly the identification of functions – *the practical, the aesthetical and the often related erotic, and the magical function, the function of defining the age of*

costume wearers, the sexual-social function, the function of festiveness, the professional function, the function of estates, and the class, the regional, the national and the confessional functions – which the folk dress acquires in social and cultural interactions (Bogatyriov 1937; published also in French, Russian and English – see Bogatyriov 1971). He used the composition of particular clothing ensembles of workday, festive and ceremonial folk costumes to define the accumulation of these functions and their interconnections. On particular examples he also defines the transformations and shifts in these functions, including the disappearance of certain functional aspects and the formation of new ones with respect to the social stratification of the ethnographic field. To a certain extent, he denies the fixed ideas about the existence of folk dress as a cultural hangover, because in his opinion all the aspects of its use fulfil the requirements of its authentic wearers and creators.

The General Land Centennial Exhibition in Prague (1891) and the Czechoslovak Ethnographic Exhibition in Prague (1895)

The collectors' and researchers' interest in folk art and folk costumes was significantly accelerated by two important exhibitions which were held in Prague at the end of the 19th century. The first one was the General Land Centennial Exhibition (also called the Jubilee Exhibition) in Prague in 1891, which presented the development of Czech society, science and industry between 1791 and 1891. An exhibition section was called "Czech Cottage" and it displayed the Czech countryside and its culture. This aroused great interest among the visitors, and as a direct response to this section František Adolf Šubert, Director of the National Theatre in Prague, formulated a request to organize a separate ethnographic exhibition which would deal solely with the countryside and its culture.

After several years of preparations and deferrals the *Czechoslovak Ethnographic Exhibition* took place in Prague in 1895. In contrast to the "Czech Cottage", which was organized by a small group of Prague intellectuals (for example Renáta Tyršová, Jan Koula, Zikmund Winter and Bohumil Matějka), several dozen people from different disciplines joined the preparations for the Czechoslovak Ethnographic Exhibition, among them young and well-educated experts, such as Čeněk Zíbrt and Lubor Niederle, who determined the direction of the emerging

ethnography in the subsequent years. The Exhibition was supported by many well-known people in the countryside (Josef Klvaňa, Tereza Nováková, Vlasta Havelková etc.). The preparations lasted for three years and the Prague Exhibition was preceded by 170 regional and expatriate exhibitions, and dozens of volunteers, such as teachers, priests and rural intelligentsia, were active in the field. The organization of regional exhibitions awakened an intensive collectors' activity and the acquired exhibits often became a basis for newly founded city and regional museums,³ and the organizers of collections became their first curators and often even authors of treatises about local folk culture, especially folk costumes and embroideries.

The presentation of folk costumes was an integral part of the Exhibition from its very beginning.⁴ The exhibits were installed on dummies, which sculptors made according to particular wearers who represented distinct anthropological types.⁵ The development of garments was not taken into consideration at the exhibition, and only richly embroidered pieces of clothing were exhibited, which were to document folk art. Further groups of folk costumes were integrated in small regional exhibitions which accompanied the main one. In addition to Czech and Moravian regions, also Slavic inhabitants from Upper Hungary (today's Slovakia) and Lower Austria were presented.

The exhibition areas were captured in the representative publication *Národopisná výstava československá v Praze roku 1895* [Czechoslovak Ethnographic Exhibition in Prague in 1895], which also included descriptions of folk costumes and photos of selected exhibition areas (Klusáček – Kovář – Niederle 1895: 151–206). The writer Tereza Nováková described Bohemian folk costumes based on her older works, the erudite researcher Josef Klvaňa described Moravian and Silesian folk costumes, and the painter Pavel Socháň described Slovak folk costumes. The published text was the first summarizing treatise about folk costumes in Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia and Slovakia.

In connection with the preparation for the *Czechoslovak Ethnographic Exhibition*, Niederle and Zíbrt began to publish the journal *Český lid* [The Czech Folk] from 1891. It was first approached in the spirit of a wide cultural-historical discourse which included textual contributions from history, archaeology, ethnography, anthropology and national history and geography. After a quarrel on conviction and

after Niederle left the position as editor, the journal's focus gradually narrowed down to regional and ethnographical themes. Niederle moved his interest to the editorial board of the *Věstník Národopisného muzea československého* [Journal of the Czechoslovak Ethnographic Museum], whose merger with the *Národopisný sborník československý* [Czechoslovak Ethnographic Almanac] in 1906 gave rise to the *Národopisný věstník československý* [Czechoslovak Ethnographic Journal], the second-important ethnographic journal in the Czech lands. Under the leadership of the editor Jiří Polívka (1858–1933), a literary scientist and an internationally respected folklorist, the Journal gradually developed into an internationally recognized expert journal.

Beginnings of the scientific research into folk dress

The General Land Centennial Exhibition in Prague in 1891 included, among other things, a pavilion with a “Retrospective Exhibition” where Czech antiques from prehistory to the Empire style were exhibited, including guns, armours and folk culture artefacts. It might have been on this occasion when the idea emerged to organize an ambitious project “The History of Folk Costumes in the Czech Lands.” The first part deals with the period from the oldest times to the Hussite wars (Zíbrt 1891), and the second part with the period from the early 15th century until the Battle of White Mountain (Winter 1893–1894). The intended final third volume concerning the period from the Battle of White Mountain (1620) until “modern times” has unfortunately not been written.

The cultural historian and ethnographer **Čeněk Zíbrt** (1864–1932) graduated from the Faculty of Arts of Charles University in Prague; in 1891 he was awarded a senior lecturer degree and in 1901 an extraordinary professorship at the Department of Cultural History. In confrontation with the Vienna school of culture circles, he advanced cultural-historical methods of researching into cultural phenomena, which – in his opinion – do not spread from a place of their assumed origin, but – on the contrary – they can occur in different places at the same time. Within a particular historical horizon, it is possible to study not only the genesis of cultural phenomena, but also cultural transmissions and their common existence in the process of historical development. Whether the phenomena were domestic or taken-over, Zíbrt always considered them to be a firm part of the researched culture.

In terms of methodology, he based his crucial work, which deals with the history of clothing in the Czech lands, on contemporary western-European academic works, especially on the monumental *Trachtenkunde* (1889) by the historian of clothing August von Heyden (1827–1897). However, he surpassed his model in the scope of sources which he gathered for the only one cultural area – the Czech lands. He created a large and critically approached base of sources, which included historical accounts, literature, and iconographic documents, and evidences the character of the clothing culture in the observed historical era as completely as possible. Modelling himself on the example of the Bohemist Jan Gebauer (1838–1907), he frequently used linguistic palaeontology, meaning observation of terms and their semantic transformations in the time and place of their use; using them he tried to interpret historical sources. Zíbrt presupposes for the oldest period – similar to the archaeologist Erazim Vocel (1803–1871) – lingering of the old Slavic dress which gradually became the subject of the impact of clothing customs among western neighbours, mainly Germans (Vocel 1844). In Zíbrt's opinion, hangovers of that clothing survived for the longest in the countryside, where the church reformer Jan Hus criticized its discarding in the early 15th century.

The writer and historian **Zikmund Winter** (1846–1912) approaches the relation between the historical and the folk dress with considerably higher respect to the domestic research tradition than the strictly academic Zíbrt. He also works with many historical sources, whose interpretation he supports with the work *Trachtenkunde*, as does Zíbrt. From this work, he draws information about the process and circumstances of crucial turnarounds in the development of clothing, such as division of the undivided medieval attire into the bottom part – *skirt* – and the upper part – *bodice*, or division of long trousers into short trousers – *poctivice*, which are completed by sewn legwarmers – *stockings* – below the knees. However, he too often derives their concrete appearance from the form of folk dress at the end of the 19th century.

Winter – similar to Koula and Zíbrt – presupposes that the clothing culture in the Czech lands was based on the old Slavic dress, which was contaminated by foreign impacts at least from the 14th century, and under this influence it began to transform. In addition to a simple taking-over of already finished models of clothing, Winter

also presupposes a separate development of garments and the emergence of a purely *Czech folk costume*, the development of which culminated in the 16th century, when it became a representative dress worn by lower aristocracy, burghers and wealthy rural people. The golden era ends with the defeat of the Czech Estates Uprising in 1621, the emigration of intellectual non-Catholic elites, and the total economic decay caused by the Thirty Years' War. After this war, the *Czech folk costume* survived only in the countryside, where it became a basis for regional types of folk dress which evolved within the closed borders of particular feudal domains. Winter's work won considerable recognition and for many ethnographers it became a starting point to assess the historical development of folk dress in their region.

The work by the architect, designer and ethnographer **Jan Koula** (1855–1919) was crucial for the thematic formulation of the scientific study of folk dress in Bohemia and Moravia. Due to his technical education, he was able to perceive not only the aesthetical aspect of folk art expressions, but also their form, construction and used techniques. He published his observations and evaluations of the acquired pieces of knowledge in several articles concerning ornaments and embroidery on folk dress (Koula 1896, 1897). He understood folk dress not only as an unchangeable unit, but rather as a result of historical development, which the clothing of old Slavs was at the beginning of, and which over time absorbed elements of the period fashion that was subject to gradual rusticalization. This resulted in a complex with a distinctly added aesthetical value. Although Koula attached great importance to folk costume when projecting the qualities of the *national spirit*, he considered mainly the costume's oldest parts, bearing in mind the dress of Slavic ancestors, to be valuable. For this reason, the research's main task was the identification, localization, and safeguarding of those ancient garments, completely in the spirit of the preservation of traditionally understood antiquities, as defined by the founder of Czech archaeology Erazim Vocel (1845).

As resulting from Jan Koula's works he tried to classify the particular garments, except for the clearly modern-day pieces of clothing, and based on the concurrence with iconographic sources to place them in a corresponding historical era, or – based on the construction – to place them in a corresponding era in the development of

clothing. He proceeded from his conviction that the most natural and simple cuts, in terms of production, are older in their development, and in their principle most original elements of the folk clothing culture. He was guided by the work "Der Stil", quite popular among builders, written by the significant architect and theorist of art Gottfried Semper (1803–1879).

Koula presented his opinions on the development of folk dress in a series of lectures in Prague Rudolfinum in 1890, which awakened a vivid response and considerable interest, so the lectures were published in the first years of the journal *The Czech Folk* (Koula 1892). In the foreword, Čeněk Zíbrt, an editor of the Journal, expressed his real pleasure that they both came to a common conclusion regarding several archaic garments which maintained the presupposed appearance of the Slavic dress, even though using different methods.

Jan Koula's treatise includes several important hypotheses which in the long term influenced domestic research into folk dress. First, it was the identification of several garments as relics of archaic clothing culture. Secondly, it was the latently but more strongly present idea that in Bohemia, Moravia and Slovakia a unified Slavic dress was worn in the remote past, which disappeared under fashionable influences in Bohemia, but survived in eastern Moravia and Slovakia, allowing a study of its oldest documents. At an interval of fifty years, even in ethnography the concept of antiquities made its voice heard. Even though most of Koula's hypotheses no longer had consistent support in historical research, analysis of constructions, or consistent comparative study within a wider territory, his conclusions were accepted with enthusiasm and many famous authors included them in their works (Lubor Niederle, Karel Chotek, Marie Lábková, Renáta Tyršová, Josef Vydra); even the follow-up generations of researchers (Drahomíra Stránská and Alena Jeřábková) had to deal with them.

It was probably the archaeologist and anthropologist **Lubor Niederle** (1865–1944), author of a multi-volume work about the history and culture of Slavs – the volume *Život starých Slovanů* [The Life of Old Slavs] deals, among other things, with clothing – who took the greatest part in the spread of Jan Koula's opinions. Niederle, as a leading representative of the "university school" advanced theoretical approaches and historical methodology in the domestic science; this methodology is based on

the study of written sources, their critical investigation and the follow-up comparison with archaeological and iconographic sources. He deliberately disassociated himself from the contemporary explanations about folk dress, which – in his opinion – were too descriptive and oriented towards museology, and he based his research on a large comparative study (Niederle 1913). In the chapters devoted to particular garments he gathered a lot of philological, archaeological and historical materials, both written and pictorial, from all parts of the Slavic-speaking world. In his interpretation, however, he adhered to the only one source, which was the aforementioned work by Jan Koula (1892).

The integration of Koula's hypotheses in Niederle's work was unusually important for their subsequent existence. Although Niederle himself revised his opinions of the form of Slavic clothing and its relation to parts of folk costumes, being much more dispassionate in his follow-up works (Niederle 1953: 239, 245), the citations of his first hypotheses occurred with an unusual tenacity in ethnographic literature. It was the first Czech textbook *Nauka o kroji* [Folk Costume Science] about the history of fashion and clothing that might have had a certain share in it. The textbook was published several times, and in 1931 it was completed and extended by Josef Vydra (1937). **Renáta Tyršová** (1854–1937), author of the textbook, was one of the important people in the Sokol movement, but she was also an appreciated expert in visual and folk art, especially embroidery. The textbook deals with different aspects of the formation of clothing and its development from the ancient times to the first decades of the 20th century. Its first chapters draw largely on the already mentioned work *Trachtenkunde* (Heyden 1889), from which they take the opinions that clothing originated in body decorations, tattoos, coating with earth colour etc. The chapter “Šat starých Slovanů” [The Attire of Old Slavs] presents Jan Koula's hypotheses in their entirety under the auspices of Lubor Niederle (Tyršová 1913).

The theme “Československé lidové kroje” [Czechoslovak Folk Costumes] is elaborated as a separate chapter in the textbook. The chapter draws on the author's previous work with this theme (Tyršová 1909). In the foreword to the chapter, Tyršová explains her concept of folk dress, in which she continues in Zíbrt's and Winter's opinions. The form of folk costume, as captured by the research at the end of the 19th century, is, in her opinion, a result of

a complex process, during which many garments which had their origin in stylish city clothing began to be used in the folk environment. For this reason, Tyršová perceives the folk costume as an open and evolutionally created structure, the resulting appearance of which was formed by rural and urban environments, which actively adopted external impulses. She does not reject elements already taken over from city fashion, as these were transformed through creativity. This is peculiar to the folk environment and reflects the “national spirit”. An important role in this process was played by natural centres of rural life, from where the novelties spread through diffusion to peripheries, where they survived for the longest. In her opinion, this is the way in which the old Slavic folk costume was gradually completely forced out of the territory of Bohemia, western Moravia and Silesia, where it was replaced by a dress based on Rococo and Empire models. The older form of the dress survived only in south-eastern Moravia, and western and northern Slovakia, while its southern regions were influenced by Hungarian folk costumes. The borderline between the western and the eastern type of folk costume in Czechoslovakia is the Morava River. The text supplemented by a summarizing explanation and literature was written up in a separate publication several years later (Tyršová 1916).

Research into folk dress between world wars

The interwar period was an era in Czech ethnography when the formation of the new state and the targeted support of science allowed the implementation of many older projects. One of them was to publish an ethnographic encyclopaedia, which had not been possible until that time due to insufficient, slow and fragmented surveying of the field. The project “Programme of the Ethnographic Inventory”, whose main principles were published by Karel Chotek (1881–1967) in the Czechoslovak Ethnographical Society in 1914, remedied the situation. The Inventory was supposed to be a systematic treatment, a scientific description of Bohemian, Moravian and Silesian territory, in the form of monographs about particular ethnographical areas. The concept began to be fulfilled with the edition *Národopis lidu československého* [The Ethnography of the Czechoslovak People], the first volume of which – *Moravské Slovensko* [Moravian Slovakia] – was edited by Lubor Niederle in cooperation

with Jan Húsek and Josef Klvaňa, author of the section dealing with folk dress (Klvaňa 1918). The success of the publication played an important promotional role for the publication of further volumes. For this reason, the Czechoslavic Ethnographical Society created a stable group of collaborators whose task was to carry out particular parts of the Inventory under the leadership of educated ethnographers. Even though several further volumes were started, only three of them were published, despite considerable effort: *České Kladsko* [Region of Czech Kladsko] (Kubín 1926), *Moravské Horácko* [Region of Moravian Horácko] (Svoboda 1930) and *Píseňsko* [The Pilsen Area] (Lábek 1934, 1938). The format as a ethnographic region's monograph was, however, so stimulating that it became an inspiration for other authors (e.g. Václavík 1925, 1930). Although the ethnographic inventory remained only in a fragment, it contributed to the creative cooperation among researchers from different generations and of different specializations. On the one hand, these were well-educated academic researchers who in their work accepted the newest trends in the development of European ethnology and anthropology, and on the other hand there were people from museums and regions who knew their field in details.

Among the group of people associated with both ethnography and museum work were, for example, the siblings **Ladislav Lábek** (1882–1970) and **Marie Lábková** (1892–1965) from Pilsen, who had dealt with museum work in the Pilsen area for forty years. While Lábek was inspired by Zíbrt's concept of cultural history and surveyed the history of Pilsen, his sister focused on the documentation of folk dress in the environs of Pilsen. Over years, she gathered a large ethnographical collection in the museum, and she published her knowledge in several articles (Lábková 1918, 1920, 1929). Her works focused on a detailed albeit rather external description of particular types of men's and women's garments, footwear and accessories, including jewels and ceremonial headdresses.

M. Lábková's study on the development of women's folk dress in western Bohemia, in which she tries to interpret regional field material, significantly overlaps with the contemporary museum production (Lábková 1927c). She bases her work on works by Tyršová, Koula, Niederle and mainly Winter, on whose general conclusions on

the development of clothing she tries to graft clothing materials from western Bohemia. She was the only one at that time who attempted to do something like that, and therefore it is no wonder that she won appreciation and recognition from those concerned.

The struggle for a unified exposition about the development of folk dress in ethnically (nationally) mixed territory, where Czechs and Germans had lived together for centuries, brought the author a lot of theoretical difficulties. To find the solution meant to create often hazardous constructions. The reason for this was that contemporaries considered the folk costume to be one of the elements identifying the Czech-language national culture and its development was interpreted in the Slavic context. However, in the region of Chotěšovsko an identical folk costume was worn both by Czechs and Germans – who did it belong to in this case? Lábková believes that it is the original Czech population who accepted the German language over time, but safeguarded their Czech folk costume.

The theme was approached from an absolutely different perspective by authors who documented folk dress in borderlands inhabited by German-speaking inhabitants. The teacher and ethnographer **Josef Hofmann** (1858–1934) from Karlovy Vary was largely active in this respect. His texts are precise and detailed, and his conclusions are based on historical documents and iconographic materials. Based on the research into them he came to the conclusion, which was radical for his time, that the German and the Czech folk costume had never existed, as both of them have their basis in Central-European clothing culture, which began to develop at the end of the High Middle Ages. In his works he described folk dress in western Bohemia (Hofmann 1908), folk dress of German inhabitants from the Chotěšov area (Hofmann 1923) and folk dress of western and southern Bohemia (Hofmann 1932).

The philologist **Josef Hanika** (1900–1963) was a representative of the younger generation of German ethnographers. At the beginning of his professional career he dealt mainly with Carpathian Germans and their culture, and later he published a summarizing work on folk dress of Sudeten areas in Bohemia and Moravia (Hanika 1937). He wrote a foreword to pictorial albums with drawings of folk costumes worn by German inhabitants of Bohemia (Mally 1943) and Moravia (Mally

1942). In many of his theoretical opinions he represented the attitudes of interwar German National Socialism.

Jan Rudolf Bečák (1915–1987), an agricultural technician and expert in folk culture in the ethnographic area of Haná, was an example of an untrained researcher whose work is worthy of considerable recognition. The group monograph on folk art in Haná, in which he participated as a co-author and editor (Bečák 1941), can be compared to monographs published by the Czechoslovak Ethnographical Society. The section on folk dress is divided into two chapters. The first one, which deals with the origin and development of the folk costume from Haná, was written by the regional historian Jan Kühndel. The second one, which analyses particular garments, ways and occasions of wearing the folk costumes, was written by Jan Zbořil and Jan Rudolf Bečák. The common denominator of both chapters is the conviction that only one regional type of folk costume existed in Haná in the past, and all the documents related solely to it and its development line. Unfortunately, the chapter on folk dress is not based on research in the field, where the folk costume had not been worn for more than sixty years, but on the works by previous researchers who gathered a large source base. Although the authors critically compare those findings with pictorial documents of the last form of Haná folk costumes in works by Josef Mánes, they did not use numerous museum collections substantiating diversity in local forms of Haná folk costumes. For this reason, the chapter presents only the variation of Haná folk costumes worn to the north of Olomouc to a wide extent, supplemented by several excursions to the Kroměříž and the Prostějov areas.

Josef František Svoboda (1874–1946) was an exceptional regional researcher and in his work we can find reflections on contemporary scientific theories and a consistent application of the methods of scientific work. This revenue officer worked in district towns in western Moravia and his lifelong interest was regional history and study in archives. He published his results in many articles. He initiated the foundation of several local journals on national history and geography. After his retirement he moved to Prague in 1925, where his son studied the history of art at Charles University. It might have been through him that Svoboda got acquainted with the artistic-historical theories of that time. Being cut off from his hitherto sources of archival research, he began to deal with new themes, especially folk art, and he

classified folk dress as being one of its expressions. He described his scientific opinions in a short but important text about the critical approach to the study of folk dress (Svoboda 1927). In contrast to the previous generation of researchers, he considered the folk costume to be a product of historical development, during which different and sometimes even quite inhomogeneous garments layered over each other. Taking into account this fact he recommended using the historical method for the study of folk dress, as this includes clearly defined research stages. First, it was the collection of sources, both the direct, historical parts of folk costumes, as well as the indirect ones, which he newly emphasized. In his opinion, the indirect sources contained written description, oral testimonies, archival materials as well as iconographic documents. The further necessary step included the criticism of sources, the identification of their authenticity and reliability. Only the materials prepared in the above-described way could be used for interpretation, comparative study, or indication of historical line.

He applied the chosen research methods when he collected materials for the monograph about the region of Moravian Horácko. Even though the monograph was expected to have several volumes, only one section of it was published in print – the one about folk visual art, which also contains an essay about folk dress (Svoboda 1930). In the theoretical introduction, which speaks about the origin and resource of folk art, Svoboda quite surprisingly presents his opinions on the reproduction movement in the theory of culture, which is rather unique in the Czech context.⁶ Svoboda, in accordance with Hans Naumann and Eduard Hoffmann-Krayer, authors of the *theory of degraded cultural values*, assumes that wide folk classes in fact did not create, but took over the products of individuals on a mass scale as well as individually. According to Svoboda, the archival reports show that the participation of rural people in creation was only passive in the past – the people just took over the creation and did not apply any influence on its performance (Jeřábek 1994: 8). To substantiate his theoretical assertions, Svoboda gathered such a large and critically assessed amount of archival and field material that he aroused admiration and respect among his contemporaries, notwithstanding their disagreement with his opinions on the origin of folk art.

The art historian and museologist **Stanislav František Svoboda** (1904–1984), Svoboda's son,

continued the application of the historical-critical method in ethnography. The series of his articles about iconographic documents of folk dress in the collections of the Czechoslovak Museum of Agriculture is not only an overview of important sources, but also a model, through which these can be treated in a modern and critical way (Svoboda 1939–1942). The expert assistance provided by Svoboda selflessly when organizing academic activities, was the reason why many of his colleagues, for example Drahomíra Stránská, mastered the historical-critical procedures (Johnová 1975). The methods can be traced in her work in the 1940s, i.e. at a time when she prepared materials for a large work about folk costumes in Czechoslovakia. It was thanks to her that these methods spread among the new generation of Czech ethnologists in the subsequent decades.

Drahomíra Stránská (1899–1964) was a significant ethnographer who is regarded as a founder in the branch of critical comparative study of the Czech and the Slovak folk dress. She studied Slavic and Romance languages and literature at Charles University and then she began to work at the National Museum in Prague. From 1951 she worked as senior lecturer at the Department of Ethnography and Folkloristics at Charles University. In her works she incorporated her detailed knowledge of field and museum materials in Central Europe and the Balkans, the large overview she had about contemporary professional literature, and mainly the application of a critical approach to sources in the spirit of historical science.

Her work was based on wide field research that she conducted in Slovakia from the beginning of her professional career at the end of the 1920s, as she considered Slovakia to be a viable field for authentic research. She focused her research not only on a mere description of the external appearance and composition of garments in folk dress, but also on its structure and especially construction, which in her understanding became the principal criterion for analysis of the researched material. She presented her approach in three large studies on women's hairstyles, headdresses and shawls in the Váh valley in Slovakia (Stránská 1927a, 1927b, 1929). Due to the suitable choice of theme she avoided controversies related to the generally accepted hypotheses put forward by Koula and Niederle about the ancientness of Slovak dress, and she was also able to present new research trends, such as the area research

with an emphasis on local occurrence, the cartographic expression of cultural phenomena's occurrence, and the determination of borderlines of their territorial spread.

Stránská published her opinions on the genesis of garments and the origin of folk costume in several works, which commenced with the chapter "Lidové kroje" [Folk Costumes] in the publication *Československá vlastivěda* [Czechoslovakia in All Its Aspects] (Stránská 1936). Her work was crowned by the large book *Lidové kroje v Československu* [Folk Costumes in Czechoslovakia], the first volume of which deals with Bohemia and contains a large introductory study outlining the relation between the folk dress and the historical dress (Stránská 1948). The volumes focussing on Moravia, Silesia, Slovakia and Carpathian Ruthenia have never been published and have survived just as manuscripts. Both works show a unified thought axis with which Stránská continues Winter's and Tyršová's historical concept of the folk costume: 1. the folk costume is not solitary, stable and unchangeable but it differs as to the place and time of its existence; 2. the folk costume's regional variation is defined by the composition of particular garments; 3. the garments originate in different historical periods and their identification is possible based on direct historical documents, frequency of their dissemination in the field, or direct observation of clothing transformation; 4. older forms of and transformations in the folk costume's regional variation can be deduced only based on a critical analysis of iconographic and written sources. We can understand the particular points also as basic directions of Stránská's research programme, which she tried to fulfil during the whole of her life. She gradually précised the basic hypotheses in detailed micro-probes aimed at particular types of garments (Stránská 1947, 1950) and she also focused on the garments worn as parts of the Wallachian folk costumes, which are important to define the regional type of clothing (Stránská 1948). She wrote a large comparative study about women's outer wear – skirts, sukmands and sarafans [*both ≈ pinafore dress*] in Central Europe and the Balkans (Stránská 1951b). She also described the development of folk dress in the wider territory of eastern Moravia and Silesia (Stránská 1947), the Ciescyn area (Stránská 2000) and the Slovak Tatra Mountains (Stránská 1951a).

Based on her own as well as foreign experience Drahomíra Stránská began to prepare the methodology for the *Historicko-národopisný atlas Československa*

[Historical-Ethnographic Atlas of Czechoslovakia] (Stránská 1956). She also compiled a series of questionnaires called *Návod ke studiu lidového oděvu a obydlí* [Instructions for the Study of Folk Dress and Dwelling], in which she asks about selected folk costume garments, among other things. Each question was extended by sub-questions aimed at the description of the construction of a garment, its name, producer, use, transformation over time, occasions it was worn, etc. The questionnaires' functionality was verified through a network of correspondents of the Czech Ethnological Society, who filled in several hundreds of questionnaires. The increasing number of collaborators uncovered the need to unify the professional and the local terminologies, which Stránská attempted to do with the example of men's coat-style clothing (Stránská 1963). The promising preparations were interrupted by the sudden death of Drahomíra Stránská in 1962, and after that nobody was found to continue in the work.

The interwar period also saw the beginnings of the professional career of the ethnographer and university teacher **Antonín Václavík** (1891–1959), founder of the Sub-Division of Ethnography and Folkloristics of Masaryk University in Brno. He touched the description of folk dress in his monographs on the village of Chorvátský Grob and the ethnographic area of Luhačovické Zálesí (Václavík 1925, 1930). In terms of theory, his work *Volkskunst und Gewebe / Textile Folk Art* is significant. In this publication he tried to explain the genesis of folk art (Václavík 1956). There Václavík elaborates his assumption that folk art is based on rational and irrational attempts to secure human existence through labour and superstitious rites. Among further works on this theme, the study about the genesis of ceremonial shawls must be mentioned (Václavík 1958).

Research into folk dress after World War II

The post-war development of Czech ethnography was significantly signed by the vigorous onset of the Marxist ethnography which evolved in the Soviet Union in the interwar period. The theory is based mainly on F. Engel's (1820–1885) work *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (1884), elaborated in the works by K. Marx, V. I. Lenin and J. V. Stalin. After the Communist putsch in 1948, the theory began to be enforced in Czech ethnography as the only advanced scientific direction. Ethnography was understood as

a historical science, whose principal branch was to study the “progressive” components of society, meaning the working classes. For this reason, the research preferred factory workers, coalminers, workers in agriculture, day labourers, and rural poor people. Otakar Nahodil (1923–1995), Jaroslav Kramářík (1923–1974) and Antonín Robek (1931–2008) were the leading representatives of Czech Marxist ethnography. The arrival of the new direction was turbulent at the turn of the 1940s and 1950s; it found expression in the public criticism of the research and methods of the scientific work of the previous generation of researchers, such as A. Václavík and D. Stránská, and in the concentrated pressure on personal self-criticism. In contrast to this, the extension of research themes by the study of the working classes' culture and city life, which began to be studied by the younger generation of research fellows, was an undeniable benefit. The scope of the research into folk dress was extended as well.

In 1952, the department of ethnography of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences was established in Prague; Jaroslav Kramářík became its first director. Extensive group research into the life of the working classes in the Kladno area under the leadership of the ethnographer **Olga Skalníková** (1922–2012) was one of the then research projects; it resulted in an extensive group monograph (Skalníková 1959). The book is interesting due to its combination of the traditionally designed research into an ethnographic area with the struggle to capture the local long tradition of coalmining. In the chapter about the clothing culture, Skalníková tries to capture the complex process of the development of the specifics of workers' clothing. She opens the theme with a description of circumstances under what the Central-Bohemian folk costumes stopped being worn. She describes the festive and the workday dress of grooms, maidservants and farmhands, who brought their clothing habits to their newly founded coalminer's families. She also mentions the function of coalminers' festive uniforms. The author continued the research in the 1970s and 1980s, when the project *Etnografie dělnictva* [Ethnography of the Working Classes] became one of the profile tasks of the Institute of Ethnography and Folkloristics of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences; it resulted in a large study about the development of coalminers' clothing (Skalníková 1986). However, at that time, it was the ethnographer Mirjam Moravcová (*1931), another research fellow in the

Academy of Sciences, who dealt with clothing in industrial regions to a much larger extent. In her works, she focused mainly on confrontation between urban clothing and its rural background, and the clothing of street vendors and workers, including the symbolic use of garments in proletarian rhetoric (Moravcová 1977, 1980, 1984, 1987). She also dealt with the social context of the development of historicizing national dress in the year 1848, which the Czech intelligentsia and bourgeoisie tried to express their emancipation struggles within the Austrian Monarchy through (Moravcová 1986). Research into the life of the working classes in industrial areas was also carried out in the Brno branch of the above academic institute, by **Karel Fojtík** (1918–1999). Extensive research was conducted in the Rosice-Oslavany coal district and its theme included, among other things, clothing worn by inhabitants of this industrial area. The research results are summarized in a monograph written by Karel Fojtík and the folklorist Oldřich Sirovátka (1961).

Besides the prominent research into the life of the working classes in industrial areas, it was possible to continue the work of the interwar generation of ethnographers even at that time. The already mentioned Drahomíra Stránská, who worked at the new Department of Ethnography and Folkloristics of Charles University, should be credited for transmission between generations. With her study concept for folk dress she inspired the younger generation of female research fellows who continued her work. The *Soupis oděvu v českých zemích* [Inventory of Clothing in the Czech Lands], for the implementation of which Stránská took great pains, played an important role in their involvement in the research into folk dress. The Inventory was inspired by the project *Atlas polskich strojów ludowych* [Atlas of Polish Folk Dress], which started in 1949. Stránská succeeded in involving the Inventory as one of the profile tasks of the newly established Institute of Ethnography and Folkloristics of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences. A “Working Group for the Research into Folk Dress” was founded in the Prague Institute in 1955, and in its Brno branch one year later. Many young graduates from the Prague and the Brno departments of ethnography became involved in the Group’s activity, whereby the particular themes of the Inventory⁷ often predestined their future professional focus. The studies written, such as “Lidový kroj na hostýnském Záhoří” [Folk Costume in the Region of Hostýnské Záhoří],

demonstrate with their structure and volume a great shift in the documentation of folk dress (Kunz 1956). In addition to the historical introduction, supplemented by iconographic documents and description of garments, the study included sketches of patterns which became a stable supplement to new studies.

The Inventory’s activity did not focus only on the documentation of folk dress, but also on the documentation of clothing materials and traditional techniques. To a certain extent, the intention corresponded with the struggle, supported by the state, to safeguard traditional handicrafts, their techniques and producers who worked under the patronage of the Centre for Folk Art Production at that time. The ethnographer **Jitka Staňková** (*1924) was one of the research fellows who dealt with the theme in terms of practical documentation and theoretical superstructure over time. The long-time employee of the Institute of Ethnography and Folkloristics of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences specialized in the research into textiles for production of folk dress, production procedures and textile techniques. Her master’s thesis focussing on the technique for making woven fabrics and knits in the ethnographic area of Horehroní foreshadows the future research procedure, using which Jitka Staňková tries to capture the tradition and to describe the ways it is updated today (Staňková 1949). From Slovakia, where she used to return during the whole of her life, she moved her interest to Moravia and Bohemia, where she dealt with manual weaving of patterned fabrics (Staňková 1953, 1959). Besides the production technique, the author describes and classifies production tools, construing a direct link between their functions; through this she develops the hitherto trends in the research into traditional production techniques and puts them into a wider context. Her interest focusses on weaving trade and especially on the production of patterned fabrics (Staňková 1959, 1961, 1975a, 1976, 1079). She used to find these patterns in mediaeval illuminated manuscripts and in archaeological materials (Staňková 1964, 1967b, 1975b). She also dealt with the research into indigo-dyed printed fabrics, lace making and embroidery (Staňková 1967a). Besides her professional work, she dealt with the popularization of textile techniques. Her work was crowned with the monograph about Czech folk fabrics (Staňková 1989). It provides an overview of particular sorts of fabrics and

weaves with an emphasis on typology, and includes a large chapter about weavers' tools.

The Balkanist **Hana Hynková** (1921–2004), a long-time employee of the Institute of Ethnography and Folkloristics of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, reflected on textile themes as considerably personal ones, related to her native region in the Orlické Mountains. Besides folk dress (Hynková 1956), she soon began to focus on research into the local weaving trade and its production (Hynková 1959). She summarized many further studies in the book about folk fabrics in the region of the Orlické Mountains (Hynková 2002); there she also gives information about the social situation of weavers and their life. She also worked out the text for the chapter “*Oblečení*” [Clothing] in the volume *Lidová kultura* [Folk Culture] in *Československá vlastivěda* [Czechoslovakia in All Its Aspects] in 1969 (Hynková 1968).

Dagmar Stránská's professional contribution was not limited only to the academic environment, but it left its mark among museologists. In Bohemia, **Jiřina Langhammerová** (*1939), a long-time curator of the clothing collection at the National Museum in Prague, has to be mentioned. She studied ethnography, folkloristics and Czech history at the Faculty of Arts of Charles University. During her studies, she worked in the Centre for Folk Art Production, where she dealt with the documentation of folk dress and the reconstruction of folk costumes. In 1968, she began to work at the National Museum; first as a curator of textile collections, and later as chief of the Department of Ethnography. She focused on the professional evaluation of collections, exhibition activity and methodological support of clothing collections' curators. In the journal *Umění a řemesla* [Art and Handicrafts] she published articles on folk fur coats, eastern-Slavic women's dress and Bohemian lace; for the presentation of the latest she organised several exhibitions (Langhammerová 1979, 1985, 1992). She produced a confrontational exhibition dealing with folk textile and modern-day clothing together with Helena Šenfěldová, and she prepared an exhibition displaying folk costumes from southern and south-western Bohemia (Langhammerová 1985, 1986). Her activity in the field of exhibitions was crowned by the permanent exhibition *Česká lidová kultura* [Czech Folk Culture], which was opened in the Kinsky Summer Palace in Prague in 2005 and which also displays folk costumes from Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia.

Langhammerová's museum practice became a basis for her texts dealing with the systems of garment classification. The first essay with this theme was written as the introduction for the brochure *Stříhy lidového oděvu v českých zemích* [Cuts of Folk Dress in the Czech Lands] (Vlková 1987). The author used the gained experience when she created a concept for classification of garments and when she suggested the suitable disciplinary terminology in the book *Lidový oděv v českých zemích* [Folk Dress in the Czech Lands], published as the third volume of the *Etnografický slovník* [Dictionary of Ethnography] (Langhammerová 1990). The first chapters contain information about materials, decoration, cuts and sorts of folk costumes, followed by dictionary entries. The particular groups of garments are termed using the contemporary terminology for clothing (*kalhoty/trousers*, *vesta/vest*, *kabátek/jacket*, *kabát/coat*, *košile/shirt* etc.), thereby the research fellow significantly oversteps the regionalism of previous authors, who often used local and garbled foreign terms. Langhammerová with her selection of particular clothing variations continues the publications by Drahomíra Stránská which were based on clothing collections of the National Museum in Prague, giving the impression that there were no other ones in Bohemia and Moravia. Moreover, the description of clothing variations is rather simple and except for a characteristic of clothing silhouettes and the emphasis on distinct details in cut, there is no information about historical classification, or about the relationship to other variations inside the group. The main benefit of the dictionary can be seen in the well-arranged division into particular entries supplemented by drawings.

J. Langhammerová attempted to approach the theme of folk dress in a newer way in her publication about Czech folk costumes (1994). In addition to the historical and regional contexts she also focused on the ecology of folk costume and its tie to the natural environment, inhabitants' occupation, social stratification and ceremonies. The publication was – after a long time – the first summarizing work surveying the regional form of folk dress in Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia, so its publishing awakened many expectations. These were met only partially, mainly due to many inaccuracies, incorrectly cited sources and methodological errors, which were pointed out by Richard Jeřábek (1996). The author returned to the theme again in the publication *Lidové kroje z České republiky* [Folk

Costumes from the Czech Republic], which was published within the edition *Dějiny odívání* [A History of Clothing] (Langhammerová 2001).

Miroslava Ludvíková (1923–2005) occupied a similar position of a professional authority among Moravian museologists. She studied Czech, French and Russian at Masaryk University in Brno, and ethnography in the distance education system at Charles University in Prague. For many years, she was employed at the Ethnographic Department of the Moravian Museum in Brno, where she controlled and extended one of the largest and oldest clothing collections in the Czech Republic. With unusual erudition she interconnected detailed field and archival research with the ability to recognize particular stages of development and progressing transformations in folk dress. In her professional activity she first focused on the thorough documentation of folk costumes in the Brno area. She defined the territory through exact demarcation of its borderlines in relation to the neighbouring regions, not based on the generally perceived and accepted belonging together of the inhabitants in a territory. Over less than ten years she published many material studies in which she explained the little-known folk dress in the Brno area and surrounding regions, including the information about how it is present in museum collections (Ludvíková 1955, 1957, 1959, 1962, 1964, 1966). The historical-ethnographical synthesis on the Brno countryside's folk costume was a certain peak of that research stage (Ludvíková 1967). The large study was apparently inspired by Dagmar Stránská's historical method of work; for this reason, it wasn't preceded by a limiting theoretical framework, but by careful and extensive archival work with estate files and written sources which are confronted with collections and iconographic materials. Most materials had not been known until that time and they were described and published for the first time. After a certain time, she wrote a comparative study focused on the spread of a men's coat – *halena*, and a simple uneven fur coat called an *ocáskový* fur coat; the study was accompanied by a map of the occurrence of these garments in the field (Ludvíková 1970–1971).

M. Ludvíková's work was given a renewed impetus when in 1982 the Moravian Museum in Brno purchased a collection of gouaches from 1814, which depicted Moravian and Silesian folk costumes. The large set, parts of which are also owned by the Adalbert Stifter

Association and the Sudeten-German Archives in Munich, contains 144 sheets which depict the folk dress in most of Moravia and Silesia. Some of them relate to regions which are iconographically well captured (the regions of Haná, Moravian Wallachia, and the Kravaňsko area (*Kuhländchen*), but in several cases these depictions are the only ones of the few sources we have about these regions (the regions of Záhoří, Moravian Horácko, Silesia). Over ten years, the author published many studies that were based on these materials (Ludvíková 1984; 1985; 1986; 1989; 1992b; 1993a), significantly overstepped the frameworks of the usual edition of pictorial documents and headed towards a thorough comparative analysis, which tried to capture the older layers of folk dress and its development. The depictions are subject to comparison with other iconographic materials, followed by a thorough analysis of particular garments, how they are layered and composed, and the used material. The results are confronted with the period literature, chronicles and expert studies on historical forms of clothing. In many cases, the author also addresses collection items stored in central and regional museums. The information obtained in the above way becomes a basis for the comparative study itself. The gained knowledge including a large edition of pictorial sources was included in the summarizing work *Moravské a slezské kroje, kvaše z roku 1814* [Moravian and Silesian Folk Costumes, Gouaches from the Year 1814] (Ludvíková 2000).

Alena Jeřábková (*1934) studied at Masaryk University in Brno where she attended a seminar on the history of art and a seminar on ethnography taught by Antonín Václavík; in later years, she delivered lectures on Czech and European folk dress there (the workplace changed its name several times). During her studies she became involved in the "Inventory of Clothing in the Czech Lands" organized by Drahomíra Stránská. Her engagement resulted, among other things, in the master's thesis about folk costumes in Moravian Wallachia, and in the proposal of terminology for men's headdress. In her follow-up works, A. Jeřábková elaborated Václavík's concept of lowland and mountainous types of clothing, which he related to the migration of Wallachian shepherds across the Carpathians (Václavík 1925: 88–90). Based on the analysis and localization of garments she tried to define the borderlines for both types of clothing regardless of the deep-rooted borderlines between the ethnographic

areas of Moravian Wallachia and Slovácko (Jeřábková 1968–1969). In the International Committee for the Study of Carpathian and Balkan Folk Culture (ICSCBFC) she formulated the hypothesis that the occurrence of specific garments (white woollen-cloth trousers called *nohavice*, men's coats of the *huňa* type, broad leather belts, leather sandals called *krpce*, etc.) relate, in the Czech territory, to the large Carpathian region and its specific culture, and she incorporated this hypothesis in the chapter “Oděv” [Clothing] in the summarizing monograph *Lidová kultura na Moravě* [Folk Culture in Moravia] (Jeřábková 2000). She also investigated the relationship between folk and historical clothing. Her studies, inspired by Drahomíra Stránská's works, use consistent historical methodology and they mostly focus on one particular garment. The occurrence of a particular garment is surveyed in the field, the hitherto opinions and terminologies are confronted, and only after that does the search for corresponding models in the neighbouring countries' folk dress, or in period clothing follow. This is the way in which the studies on women's underwear, bodices, coats, cloaks and shawls are worked on (Jeřábková 1998, 2001, 2002, 2009, 2011a).

The researcher long dealt with critical assessment of pictorial documents of folk dress, whereby she applied methodological procedures which she mastered through her studies in the seminar on the history of art. The first one of many publications is devoted to František Kalivoda;⁸ it is focused on a complex assessment of this artist's production and it applies the artistic-historical methods of work (Dostál – Jeřábková 1965). The principles of analysis of iconographic sources are summarized in a methodologically conceived study that she wrote together with her husband, the ethnologist Richard Jeřábek (Jeřábková – Jeřábek 1968). In a study on Moravian folk costumes in the graphic work by Vinzenz Georg Kininger⁹ they submitted completely new and very important documents on folk dress (Jeřábková – Jeřábek 1998). The researcher also dealt with the production of another painter – Mikoláš Aleš, particularly his drawings of the inhabitants from the region of Hanácké Slovácko (Jeřábková 1996). Her most recent large comparative study speaks about the way of depicting the Carpathian shepherds – Wallachians in iconographic sources (Jeřábková 2011b). All the above works were summarized in the publication *Lidová oděvní kultura. Příspěvky k ikonografii, typologii a metodologii*

[Folk Clothing Culture. Contributions to Iconography, Typology and Methodology] (Jeřábková 2014).

Current research into folk dress

The fall of the Communist regime in 1989 brought the end of favourizing the Marxist ethnography and the subsequent departure of its advocates from leading positions in the academic sphere. The liberalization allowed new research themes and proscribed scientific disciplines, e.g. anthropology, to develop in an unparalleled way. The focus on new trends also meant, in the academic sphere, a certain diversion from the traditional themes of European ethnology including research into folk dress. A similar trend can be traced in the university environment.

The Institute of Ethnology of Charles University began to present itself as a workplace focused on non-European ethnology. It was only Irena Štěpánová (*1948), a graduate of ethnography and sociology at Charles University in Prague, who focused on research into folk dress. She conceived the theme from a wide all-societal perspective aimed not only at the traditional form of folk costumes, but also at its secondary existence in bourgeois society. She thoroughly described the role of folk costumes in an attempt to create a costume for Czech national representation, and the use of folk costumes for making theatre costumes (Štěpánová 1978, 1984, and 1985). She conducted research into the regional form of folk dress in the regions of Litomyšlsko, Podblanicko, Benešovsko and Tábořsko (Štěpánová 1987, 1995). Among other things, she published the textbook *Lidový oděv v Čechách 19. století* [Folk Dress in Bohemia in the 19th Century], in which she provides an overview of the historical development and regional form of the folk dress (Štěpánová 1984), and the university textbook *Člověk a lidový oděv – lidový oděv v životě člověka* [Man and Folk Dress – Folk Dress in Human Life], which is rather anthropologically conceived and which tries to introduce the social context of folk costume wearing (Štěpánová 2005).

In contrast to their Prague colleagues, the Institute of European Ethnology of Masaryk University maintained a much higher level of continuity in the reflection on traditional ethnological themes, so when interest in studying them enjoyed a revival at the beginning of the 21st century, there was a basis to build on. Lectures on folk dress are given by Alena Křížová (*1956), a graduate of history of

art, ethnography and history at Masaryk University. Until the year 2000 she worked as a curator of the metals and jewels collection in the Moravian Gallery in Brno, therefore she is interested in the aesthetics of folk and popularized creation. Currently she deals with research into modern-day and folk jewels, and she has published several works on this theme (Křížová 2002, 2011b, 2015a). The author also pays attention to theoretical contemplations on the theme of folk dress and historical costumes, and to the analysis of particular garments, for example women's skirts (Křížová 2001, 2011a). She frequently deals with critical analyses of iconographic documents of folk dress in the artistic production by František Richter, Balthasar Hacquet and Caspar Luyken (Křížová 2013, 2015b). Together with Martin Šimša she continued the work of previous researchers, who dealt with research into iconographic documents of folk costumes, in a summarizing publication that made accessible all the hitherto well-known and many new pictorial documents of folk dress in Moravia in the form of a pictorial edition (Křížová – Šimša 2012, 2015).

The establishment of the publishing series "Etnologické studie" [Ethnological Studies] was very important for the development of the research activity of the new generation of ethnologists. Among other things, the group monographs *Archaické jevy tradiční kultury na Moravě, Ornament – oděv – šperk* [Archaic Elements of Traditional Culture in Moravia. Ornament – Clothing – Jewel] and *Ikografické prameny ke studiu tradiční kultury* [Iconography Sources for the Study of Traditional Culture], edited by Alena Křížová (Křížová et al. 2009, 2011a, 2011b), have been published within the series to date. The chapters were written by A. Křížová, A. Jeřábková, D. Drápala, P. Mertová, M. Šimša and others.

The renewed research interest in the comparative study of folk dress and its iconographic documents contributed to the emergence of projects targeted at the research into folk dress. One of them was the project implemented by the National Institute of Folk Culture and Masaryk University between 2011 and 2015 – *Tradiční lidový oděv na Moravě – identifikace, analýza, konzervace a trvale udržitelný stav sbírkového materiálu z let 1850–1950* [Traditional Folk Dress in Moravia – Identification, Analysis, Conservation and Sustainable Condition of Materials Collected between 1850 and 1950]. The project allowed the achievement of a lot of particular objectives, beginning with the stocktaking of clothing materials stored in the collections of Moravian

museums to the establishment of unified methods to document women's and men's garments (Šimša 2015a). A suitable way to present the acquired information on websites was discussed (Šimša 2014a). This resulted in software that enables ethnographic maps with the occurrence of folk dress to be created and presented (lidovyodev.cz/odevy2/). A specialised website (atlastextilu.cz) was created as well, which presents textiles used for making folk dress and whose author is the ethnologist **Petra Mertová** (*1976). Her publishing activity resulted in a publication about embroidery and lace on traditional clothing (Mertová 2013).

The ethnologist **Martin Šimša** (*1974), a graduate of history and ethnography from Masaryk University, was the author and leading investigator of the project. He focuses his research activity mainly on the relationship between folk and historical dress as one of the starting points. He devoted a separate treatise to the development of men's trouser clothing in its historical context (Šimša 2009, 2011b). In contrast to previous researchers, who based their comparative study on the outer similarity or terminological concurrence of names, Martin Šimša focuses on the constructional analysis of garments' patterns. Based on this, the main and the auxiliary construction signs are defined, which are the basis for the comparison with collected materials, or iconographic and literary documents. He verified the above method with woollen cloth trousers in the Western and Central Carpathians (Šimša 2011). This created a good basis to revise older opinions which are summarized in the article *Long Woollen Cloth Trousers – Medieval Heritage or Carpathian Attribution of Shepherd Culture?* (Šimša 2013a). The finding is that long woollen cloth trousers called *nohavice* from Wallachia, which were considered to be a relic of Slavic clothing and afterwards a contribution of Carpathian pastoral culture, are in fact a residuum of the development of European trouser clothing in the Late Middle Ages. The results of pattern construction's analyses of further garments in men's and women's folk costumes as well as the indication of their historical development are summarized in the introductory section of the catalogue published on the occasion of the exhibition *Lidový oděv na Moravě* [Folk Dress in Moravia] (Šimša 2014b).

The emphasis on the construction of garments' patterns led the author to focus on the hitherto less-known source, which are tailors' pattern books (Šimša

2015b). Within intensive archival research it was possible to find a large set of these books from the 16th to the 18th centuries and publish them as a book edition (Šimša 2013b). The discovery of unique patterns documenting the construction of historical clothing from our lands opens unusual opportunities and perspectives for future research into the historical form of folk dress.

Conclusion

The research into folk dress in the Czech Republic has come a long way over one hundred years of its existence, during which the researchers' attitudes to the theme has gradually changed – beginning with a mere acceptance of the fact that the clothing of certain groups of population is dissimilar, through contemplations about the survival of the ancient clothing of Slavic forefathers to overtaking of period clothing's models substantiated by period criticism. The struggle to resolve the question of where folk dress came from, what its development was and in which way its regional variations evolved, led to a distinct thematic preoccupation with the past. The folk dress in its ceremonial or festive forms is understood as a closed and aesthetically polished unit, and any change is perceived as a decline and dilution of original values. In these circumstances, the research focused on the contemporary existence of folk dress worn by rural communities and on discovering the cultural and social ties was very scanty, although all three items were still alive in the field. The possibilities offered by the research into contemporary clothing culture

in industrial areas were taken up only to a very limited extent in term of methodology. Specific research was replaced by academic contemplations of the creative role of rural producers and the importance of their role for the acceptance of innovations and their adoption to the needs of rural environment. The role of true creators – town and rural tailors, who made and defined the appearance of almost two thirds of garments in a folk costume ensemble as to their cut and embellishment, remained mostly completely ignored.

As can be seen from what is written above, the theme of folk dress is not completely exhausted even after one hundred years of research work, and more and more new questions make their voices heard. Recently we were able to witness an often precipitous revival of folk costumes in places where the folk costume stopped being used at local festivities a long time ago, but the modern-day community considers it to be such an important element of the local identity's representations that it decides to invest in its renewal. In some places, this is possible based on garments safeguarded in museum collections, and in other places it is necessary to address iconographic sources and thorough comparative study, so that the final dress in its construction, cut and textiles used corresponds to the period models. The role and importance that the newly made dress is given within the community is certainly worthy of our research. Likewise, it is necessary to research cultural models of modern-day clothing habits and their transformations.

The treatise was written within the National Institute of Folk Culture research activity in 2017.

NOTES:

1. The name "the Czech lands" is an auxiliary historical-geographical term which is used especially in the historical context to designate the territory of the contemporary Czech Republic. These are three former lands of the Bohemian Crown (the lands subordinate to the Bohemian King): Bohemia, Moravia and the Czech part of Silesia.
2. The term Moravian Slovakia emerged as a counterpart to the term Hungarian Slovakia (the territory of the contemporary Slovak Republic at the time when it was part of the historical territory of the Hungarian Kingdom). The hypothesis was based on an assumption, which has not been substantiated yet, that the population of this part of Moravia was of historically Slovak origin. The researchers based this hypothesis on the relative dialect and clothing of local inhabitants (Jeřábek 2000: 19). In the interwar period, the name "Slovácko" was adopted for the above-mentioned region, and the older term Moravian Slovakia was gradually pushed out. From the perspective of e.g. foreign researchers, the term Moravian

Slovakia is quite confusing, as it indicates not an ethnically Czech, but a Slovak origin. However, the population in this region cannot be understood as a Slovak minority in Moravia.

3. The preparation for the Czechoslovak Ethnographic Exhibition in Prague relates to the foundation of the *Ethnographical Society* in 1893. The Society associated the exhibition's supporters, intellectuals, and more and more often researchers in the discipline of ethnography. The first and principal task of the Society was to organize the Exhibition and after its end to make the ethnographic collections accessible for the public and to publish an ethnographic encyclopaedia. To implement these targets, the *Ethnographic Museum* was established, which was located in Silva-Taroucca Palace in Prague in Na Příkopech Street from 1895, and in Kinsky summer palace in Smíchov from 1902. In 1922, the museum administration was taken over by the state and the collections were integrated in the Prague National Museum.

4. The installation presented traditional "Moravian tribes" – Moravian Slovaks, Moravian Wallachians and people from the ethnographic area of Haná, and folk costumes worn by the inhabitants living in the Brno environs and in the Kravaře area. The Bohemian regions were represented by groups demonstrating a wedding from the south-Bohemian region of Blata, Cossack folk costumes from the Tábor environs, a gathering of flax spinners in the ethnographical area of Chodsko, courtship in the Pilsen area etc.
5. This concept awakened equivocal reactions; however, it fully corresponded to the then museological attitude.
6. This was advanced rather by historians of arts, for example Zdeněk Wirth and Václav Mencl in Czech research.
7. At the academic conference in Liblice in 1957, introductory papers on particular themes of the Inventory were read: *Účel archivu a soupisu lidového oděvu* [The Purpose of the Archives and Inventory of Folk Dress]; *Výzkum lidového oděvu v oblastech, kde svébytné kroje žijí nebo je lidé pamatují* [The Research into Folk Dress in Regions Where Peculiar Folk Costumes Are Living

or Remembered by People]; *Studium oděvu v krajích, kde není pamětníků krojů* [Research into Clothing in the Regions Where No Folk Costumes' Contemporaries Are Alive]; *Souvinnost oděvu s prostředím* [Relationship between Dress and Environment]; *Materiály, výrobci a výroba* [Materials, Producers and Production]; *Historické prameny a jejich použití* [Historical Resources and Their Use]; *Obrazová dokumentace* [Pictorial Documentation]; *Písemná dokumentace* [Written Documentation]; *Obsah jednotlivých sešitů soupisu* [Content of Inventory's Parts] (Stránská 1957).

8. František Kalivoda (1824–1859), a painter and graphic artist, a graduate from the Vienna Academy. He focused on depiction of Moravian folk costumes. His works became part of several albums which depicted folk costume in the Austrian Empire.
9. Vincenz Georg Kininger (1767–1851), a copper engraver, graphic artist and portrait painter. His works predominantly include landscape sceneries, potrayals, battle scenes, costumes and folk costumes. His works were included in several albums with folk costumes, which were published in Vienna and reprinted in Paris and London.

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Summary

The text presents the development of the research into folk dress worn by the inhabitants of the Czech lands, beginning with the works by topographers focussing on a thorough description of particular countries and provinces of the Austrian monarchy and their inhabitants, to the development of an academic platform. This was preceded by the *Czechoslavic Ethnographic Exhibition* in Prague (1895) and the associated efforts to present festive and ceremonial clothing worn by rural residents. For the Exhibition, exhibits were searched for in the field, which were described and photo-documented. Many articles were published in special journals; these were supposed to support the collection of materials for an ethnographic encyclopaedia. The publication of monographs on particular ethnographic regions in the post-war period was a certain intermediate stage – folk dress was described in separate chapters of these monographs. The afore-mentioned efforts was crowned by the first volume of the publication *Lidové kroje v Československu* [Folk Costumes in Czechoslovakia], issued by Drahomíra Stránská in 1949. In terms of methodology, the publication became an inspiration for a generation of female research fellows who based on its spirit their struggle to assess the historical development of folk dress in particular regions. Marxist ethnography brought up new research theme in the 1950s – the interest in the life of the working classes and inhabitants in industrial areas. Later-on, the research got rid of political indoctrination, and the new methodological basis made it possible to focus not only on the historical dimension, but also on the social and cultural role of clothing in the history of the 19th and 20th centuries.

Key words: History of science; folk dress history of clothing; topography; Czech ethnography.

ETHNIC STUDIES IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC

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This text aims to compare the concept of ethnic studies as implemented primarily in the Institute of Ethnology of the Czech Academy of Sciences of the 1990s and the early 21st century with the concept of ethnic studies in the USA. The study weighs up the same elements and differences, and in particular the differences of the resources on which both concepts are based and inspired. This comparison makes it possible to contextualize the concept of ethnic studies more precisely and to avoid confusion arising from the use of different designation of ethnic studies in the Czech Republic and the United States.

The text first briefly describes the context in which the departments of ethnic studies at American universities were founded and on which subjects they focused and then shifts to the topic of ethnic studies in the Czech Republic.

The US concept of ethnic studies

The concept of ethnic studies is usually associated with the study of ethnicity, minority issues, research into native inhabitants, identities and nationalism. Ethnic studies frequently also touch issues related to racial delineation, migration and migratory groups. Ethnic studies departments were frequently established in the United States from the 1960s to the 1980s in connection with the new turn of ethnography, the study of ethnicity, identities and ethno-emancipation movements. In the 1970s and 1980s, they frequently replaced older territorial studies departments or racial studies departments, or they separated from departments of sociology or anthropology in search of new methods for the study of minorities and ethnic groups and their new manifestations in western urbanized societies.

In the United States, the original goal of ethnic studies departments was to open academia up to the influences of ethnic cultures, greater cooperation with revitalization movements and the challenge of Eurocentric curricula. Initially, it was an initiative “from the bottom” (Hu-De Hart 1993) as a positive response to “ethnic revival” (Yang 2000), which arose from students as well as within non-academic milieus. Well-known ethnic studies departments were located, for instance, at San Francisco State University, the University of California at Berkeley,

the University of Arizona, and the University of St. Diego. After certain stagnation in the ethnic studies programmes in the 1980s, they gained in popularity in the 1990s. At the beginning of the 1990s, there were a total of 700 study programmes and ethnic studies departments in the United States (Hu-De Hart 1993: 50), and this figure grew in the 1990s to 800 (Yang 2000: 5).

The impact of the ethnic studies departments was predominantly considered in the field of education of people that strived to enrich Euro-American points of view on human society and social development by more diverse approaches stemming from African, Afro-American, Asian and other milieus (Sleeter 2011). Also, departments of ethnic studies have also paid attention to European immigration groups to the US, such as Jews, Italians, Greeks and others (Yang 2000: 4). In addition to the departments of ethnic studies, several specialized research centres were also set up where ethnic studies were taught in the USA at the end of the 20th century. An example is the Center of Studies of Ethnicity and Race in America, established in 1986 at Brown University and in 1987 at the University of Colorado at Boulder. Since 1972, supporters of this field have been organized by the National Association for Ethnic Studies, which “provides an interdisciplinary forum for scholars and activists concerned with the national and international dimension of race and ethnicity.”¹ The Association organizes an annual conference and publishes the academic peer-reviewed journal *Ethnic Studies Review*.

Although undergraduate, graduate, as well as post-graduate courses in ethnic studies are run at American universities, we can hardly speak of a fully independent discipline. Ethnic studies are rather described as “multidisciplinary, interdisciplinary and comparative study of ethnic groups and their interrelations” (Yang 2000: 7–8) including their histories, cultures, institutions and organizations. The focus we are describing involves the use of a wide range of methodological approaches, the domain of which are various academic disciplines from the field of humanities, social studies and science. Methods of social anthropology and folklore studies are often used here, and they are mixed with sociological methods, philosophical approaches and investigative

journalistic approaches. Methodological eclecticism, activism, and the spirit of criticism of colonialism and post-colonialism are typical for these departments. Developments of the discussion sometimes resemble that of action anthropology.

Ethnic studies in the Czech Republic

There is only one department of ethnic studies in the Czech Republic. It is located at the Institute of Ethnology of the Czech Academy of Sciences in Prague, and its history is shorter than that of the above-mentioned departments in the United States. The team and subsequently the Department of Ethnic Studies was established in the early 1990s in response to a newly formulated ethnicity research programme of the then Institute for Ethnography and Folkloristics, the predecessor of the present-day Institute of Ethnology of the Czech Academy of Sciences. Ethnicity, in its broad sense of meaning as a specific segment of human identity, studied in the context of human material and cultural being in its various forms, was conceptualized as a key concept of the institute at that time (Brouček et al. 1991). It was applied especially to the specificities of people in the local milieu, including their historical experience as well as their identification with their social environment. Following social demand, the department concentrated on the study of national and ethnic minorities in the Czech Republic and abroad, especially Czech compatriots, including their migrations. The study of other migration groups was also part of the agenda of the department. The research programme of the department comprised economic migration groups heading to and from the Czech Republic as well as transit migration and recognized refugees. The specific task of the department was urban anthropology and Romani studies, which were carried on especially in the Czech Republic and Slovakia.

Especially thanks to social demand, a lot of significant fieldwork efforts of the Department of Ethnic Studies was made in the 1990s on the topic of migrations from the former Soviet Union to the Czech Republic. The most extensive fields were undertaken among migrants of Czech origin assisted by the state and coming from Ukraine, Belorussia, and Kazakhstan. The combined research was done in Ukraine, Kazakhstan and the Czech Republic and rich data was obtained on the decision making processes before migration, and data about migration and adjustment in Czech towns and villages (Valášková – Uherek – Brouček

1997; Uherek et al. 2001). The monographs mentioned in references contain not only field data but also theoretical reflections on the observed processes.

The newly established Department of Ethnic Studies was built on the tradition of minority and migratory research that took place in the original Institute of Ethnography and Folkloristics of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences from the mid-1950s. At that time, the research was focused on Czechs relocating from abroad back to Czechoslovakia after World War II and on compatriots living abroad, especially in Poland, Romania, and the former Yugoslavia. The data that were then gathered by the leading personality of these enquiries, Iva Heroldová, are still excellent comparative material even now (Valášková – Uherek 2006). The programme was soon adopted by the Department of Ethnography and Folkloristics of the Faculty of Arts, Charles University (Prague), which had strong cooperation with the Institute at the Academy of Sciences and whose alumni also worked there. Students and teachers of the Faculty of Arts participated in the first research into such ethnic processes, namely in the Horšovský Týn area in Western Bohemia, from where the German-speaking inhabitants were evicted. This area was resettled by Czechs from various regions of Bohemia and Czechs from the Volhynia region in Ukraine (Kramářík 1952), whose ancestors migrated from the Czech lands to Ukraine in the second half of the 19th century. Kramářík's text shows that for the ethnologists of that time it was not essential that some of the groups came from abroad and some did not, but that they came to a new environment and they should accommodate to it. Kramářík and his colleagues studied changes in their behaviour, habits and customs, as well as their song repertoire, which they kept. They were also interested in if and how they got rid of so-called "throwbacks," especially religious ones. The differentiation between the backwardness to be eradicated and the habits and traditions to be cultivated appeared to be very substantial for researchers at that time (Nahodil – Scheufler 1954), and some of the academics specialized precisely in that problem. One who was well-known in the Czech environment at the time was Otakar Nahodil, an academic from the Faculty of Arts, Charles University, who also took part in the exploration of the newly-populated border region in its early stages. At that time he also wrote a book on the origins of superstition (Nahodil 1954).

The subsequently detailed elaboration of the Volyn Czechs' remigration by Iva Heroldová in the mid-1950s

(Heroldová 1957) opened two major questions for Czech ethnologists. The first question asked about the processes of adaptation to the new environment, the patterns of cultural change and the conditions under which these changes take place, including questions of reintegration into the Czech border region. The second was focused on the traditional life of resettlers, their customs, and habits, memories and re-construction of the life of the migrating group in the place of origin. These two core questions were later applied to the study of many other social groupings.

The study of the specific groups that are experiencing a new environment and adjust to it in contact situations with other groups of dwellers has begun to be called the study of ethnic processes. At the Institute of Ethnography and Folkloristics of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, a specialized department of ethnic processes was established and its subject of study gradually also included other migrant groups, Czechs living abroad and Roma in the Czech Lands and Slovakia. The same model was adopted by the Department of Ethnography and Folkloristics of the Faculty of Arts, Charles University in Prague and gradually also ethnographic centres in Moravia.

A distinguished personality in this direction of research in Moravia was Alexandra Navrátilová. Especially in the 1980s, Alexandra Navrátilová was involved in the topic of ethnic processes at the branch of the then Institute for Ethnography and Folklore Studies in Brno. The results of the field research in the South Moravian and North Moravian border regions have been published, for instance, in the collective monograph *Etnické procesy v nově osídlených oblastech na Moravě na příkladech vybraných obcí v Jihomoravském a Severomoravském kraji* [Ethnic processes in newly populated areas in Moravia on the example of selected municipalities in the South Moravian and North Moravian regions], which was published under her editorship (Navrátilová 1986).

At the Faculty of Arts, Charles University in Prague, Leoš Šatava devoted himself to small ethnic groups in Europe and compatriots. In the 1980s he attempted to interconnect sociological migration and assimilation theory with an empirical example of Czech migration to the USA (Šatava 1989).

As is apparent from the above mentioned, the Ethnic Studies Department of the Institute of Ethnology adopted the legacy of the study of ethnic processes of the 1950–1980s. Themes that had been frequently studied already in the second half of the 20th century were extended, and

new methodological apparatus adopted. For example, these were Fredrik Barth's theory of ethnic boundaries, the Chicago School, the Manchester School, Gellner's Theory of Nationalism, approaches of interpretive and symbolic anthropology and many other concepts. Similarly, some other Czech scholars followed this "tradition" and joined it with other schools and directions. An example might be Petr Lozoviuk, who was influenced by key personalities of German European Ethnology. His *Evropská etnologie ve středoevropské perspektivě* [European Ethnology in the Central European Perspective] is a publication with significant theoretical excursions and historical reflections. It combines the history of Czech ethnology with selected empirical data from field research (Lozoviuk 2005). Theoretical reflections on ethnicity and ethnic relations are also the subject of his publication *Ethnizität und Interethnik in der tschechischen Ethnologie* (Lozoviuk 2012). The above mentioned Leoš Šatava developed the theme in his works on *European minorities and linguistic revitalization of little nations without states* (Šatava 2001, 2015).

In first decades of the 21st century, with the development of social and cultural anthropology in the Czech Republic, the number of works which were carried out on minorities and migratory groups multiplied. The theme of minorities merging with the majority population or their revitalization has gradually become one of many issues that have been addressed on this topic. The range of methods and concepts used in the research has also expanded considerably. Methodologically connected to a certain extent is the group of researchers affiliated with the Faculty of Humanities of Charles University, concentrated around Mirjam Moravcová and her followers. Their series of edited volumes on "ethnic communities" are usually focused on one specific group (several were dedicated to the Roma, for example) or selected region (several publications focused, for example, on the Balkans). Contributions usually bring a rich empirical material, and the publication series as a whole is thematically broader than the initial concept of ethnic processes and focusses on various aspects of minority life (for instance Bittnerová – Moravcová 2006, 2008, 2012). Many departments study similar topics but do not call them ethnic processes. The Romani minority is studied at the Department of Anthropology of the University of West Bohemia, and compatriots are also explored there. For instance, Marek Jakoubek and Lenka Budilová wrote many works on both topics. The University of Pardubice develops both topics

too. Romani studies are also the topic of the Department of Central European Studies at the Faculty of Arts, Charles University, predominantly from the anthropological and linguistic point of view. However, only a few academics from that institution reflect some ties to the former enquiries of the Department of Ethnic Processes, the predecessor of the above-mentioned Ethnic Studies Department.

The research team of the Ethnic Studies Department at the Czech Academy of Sciences in the last few years has also broadened its activities. It primarily focussed on comparative studies of various social phenomena both in the local context of the Czech Republic and globally. Especially at the beginning of the 21st century, the team members still concentrated particularly on the topic of ethnic processes including those during which ethnically defined groups interact, establish cooperation, enter into conflicts or create boundaries. At the beginning of this period a long-term inquiry was launched on Roma migration from the Czech Republic to Western countries (Guy – Uherek – Weinerová 2004), and in the last ten years data were collected on various groups residing in the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Poland, Belarus, Ukraine, Russia, Bosnia and Hercegovina, France, Switzerland, Canada, Tasmania, Norway and New Zealand. Their research was supported by financial resources from the European Union as well as the local benefactors. The team participated in the 6th FP Centres of Excellence, Sustainable Development in the Diverse World and the 7th FP project COST Remaking Borders, International Visegrad Fund (project Social and Cultural Change in Contemporary Central Europe) and other projects.² During the last ten years, the Department also received support from the European Refugee Fund, administered by the Czech Ministry of Interior, focusing on the integration programme for recognized refugees, and support from the European Social Fund and the Hradec Králové County for the Survey of Needs of Socially Excluded Localities of the Hradec Králové Region. Projects of the department were also supported by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Open Society fund.

As is clear, research efforts of the Ethnic Studies team are apparently based on wide international cooperation. The consortium of the Sustainable Development FP6 project was composed of 32 European and overseas universities and non-university institutes and the cooperation resulted in international publication efforts (Uherek 2010a, 2011a). The COST FP7 project was

also focused on international cooperation and resulted in three working papers on migration issues published by Department members (Uherek 2009, 2010b, 2011b). The concept of ethnic studies has thus been linked to other themes and has been set in a wider context that goes further than the ethnic processes scheme.

Following some networking activities, Prague became a place of notable international meetings.³ These meetings were attended not only by foreign participants but visitors from the above mentioned Czech anthropological departments located in Prague or elsewhere. The conference Rethinking Anthropologies in Central Europe for Global Imagineries (May 2014) resulted in a collective monograph named Rethinking Ethnography in Central Europe (Cervinková – Buchowski – Uherek 2015), which was published by internationally recognized publisher Palgrave Macmillan and received positive reviews in prestigious world journals. Also, the best theoretical papers of the conference were published in the Cargo Journal for Social and Cultural Anthropology (monothematic issue 1 – 2, 2014 edited by Hana Červinková, Jessica C. Robbins-Ruszkowski, and Zdeněk Uherek). The Ethnic Studies Department was also the co-organizer of the international UNESCO – MOST conference supported by the International Visegrad fund in Bratislava entitled Cross-Border Migration and Its Implications for the Central European Area (November 2014) and the Summer School of Romani Studies Network NAIRS in 2017.

A notable activity of the Department is its co-operation with governmental institutions. It has achieved important scientific and organizational results through co-operation with the Senate of the Parliament of the Czech Republic and its Commission for Czechs Living Abroad. The conferences and discussions held almost every year gave rise to the following publications: Stanislav Brouček (ed.) *Češi: národ bez hranic* [Czechs: The Nation without Boundaries] (Brouček 2011), Stanislav Brouček and Tomáš Grulich (eds.) *Migrace a česká společnost* [Migration and Czech Society] (Brouček – Grulich 2012). Particularly in recent years, the discussion with governmental bodies was focused on new forms of migration from the Czech Republic after 1989 and on the new needs of present-day compatriots who usually go abroad for work. The first book on this topic was edited by Stanislav Brouček and Tomáš Grulich in 2014 (Brouček – Grulich 2014) and was followed by the joint project of the Department of Ethnic Studies and the Ministry of Interior of the Czech Republic, which

was financed by the Technological Agency of the Czech Republic. The project was crowned by a book entitled *Migrace z České republiky po roce 1989 v základních tematických okruzích* [Migration from the Czech Republic after 1989 in the basic thematic areas]. The head of the author's team was Stanislav Brouček, and the co-authors were a team from the Ethnic Studies Department (Veronika Beranská, Hana Červinková, Anežka Jiráková and Zdeněk Uherek) (Brouček 2016a). The book was published in cooperation with Strategies AV21.

A special place among research expatriates in the framework of ethnic studies projects is played by the ethnographical research of Czechs in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The over twelve years of research in Bosnian towns and villages about the history and present-day life of the Czech minority in extremely variable conditions was concluded in 2011 with the book *Czechs in Bosnia and Herzegovina: Anthropological Views on the Social Life of the Czech Minority Abroad* (Uherek 2011c). The book discusses the Czech minority that settled and lived in Bosnia and Herzegovina since the Czech lands and Bosnia, and Herzegovina were a part of the same state – the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The author describes the social life of the compatriots, focusing on the continuity as well as discontinuity of descendants of the Czech colonizers up to their post-war present. Particular attention is devoted to their experiences and identity changes during the war in the 1990s and after it.

Besides the above-mentioned international efforts, the team members conduct continuous research on national minorities in the Czech Republic. Especially active in this area is Andrej Sulitka. He undertook field research with Zdeněk Uherek on ethnic minorities in Prague during 2012–2014 and published several studies on the issue (Sulitka 2014a, 2014b). In 2013 and 2014 the research team, together with the House of National Minorities in Prague, organized two international conferences on minorities and their status. The conference proceedings of the 2014 meeting were published with the financial support of the Prague Municipality (Sulitka – Uherek 2015).

As mentioned above, a notable place in the research activities of the Department is dedicated to the Roma minority. Zdeněk Uherek participates in the B.A/M.A. programme on Romani Studies at the Faculty of Arts of Charles University. Jakub Grygar, the then team member, associated professor of the Faculty of Social Sciences, Charles University Prague, also studied the Roma culture,

focusing especially on social housing. The most cited text by Zdeněk Uherek on Roma migrations is published in the Czech Sociological Review (Uherek 2007). In 2010 Zdeněk Uherek contributed to a book on the quality of life of the Roma minority in the Czech Republic (Davidová 2010) which was elaborated at the South Bohemian University in České Budějovice, and in 2014 together with the leading figure of the Czech Romani studies Eva Davidová published a book *Romové v československé a české společnosti v letech 1945–2012* [The Roma in Czechoslovak and Czech Society in 1945–2012] (Davidová – Uherek 2014). Building on his ethnographic experience, Uherek wrote chapters that focused on Roma migrations to Slovakia, Canada and the UK.

The Department team members also continually study the Vietnamese minority (officially recognized as a minority by the Czech government since 2013). Significant results in this area were achieved by Stanislav Brouček (2013) and Jakub Grygar. In 2014 Grygar was awarded a grant by the Volkswagen foundation for his anthropological study of Prague fast food stalls run by the Vietnamese and the book by Stanislav Brouček called *The Visible and Invisible Vietnamese in the Czech Republic* (Brouček 2016) was supported by the Strategies AV21 project of the Czech Academy of Sciences.

The umbrella research theme of the Ethnic Studies Department up to now has been migration and mobilities.⁴ However, migration is a complex phenomenon, linked to the dynamics of the life of communities as a whole. It is logical, therefore, that through migrations, the whole range of elements of the life of migrant groups is reflected. Closely connected to migration study is, for instance, also research into microeconomies. The department members studied migration groups from Ukraine and their entrepreneurship from this point of view (Uherek – Beranská 2015). Changes in their attitudes to folk medicine and their healing practices have been studied by Veronika Beranská in the context of lifestyle changes (Beranská 2013, 2014) and the subject of folk healing was also dealt with Czech compatriots after the Chernobyl nuclear power plant exploded, when they experienced health problems related to environmental contamination (Beranská – Uherek 2016).

In recent years, an important part of the research into migration was carried out in cooperation with the Research Institute of Labour and Social Affairs. The research into third-country immigrants financed by the Technological

Agency of the Czech Republic was successfully completed with this institution in 2014. The key results of this research are certified methodologies on how to develop information systems on immigrant families from third countries. An academic journal article that summarizes the research team's results was published in 2014 (Uherek et al. 2014a). In 2016 a summarizing textbook was published about the European region and contemporary migration processes. It was intended for the general public and entitled *Migrace: historie a současnost* [Migration: History and Present] (Uherek et al. 2016).

Jakub Grygar published another notable text. His book, issued in the Czech prestigious Slon Publishing House, titled *Děvušky a cigarety. O hranicích, migraci a moci* [Devushki and cigarettes: on borders, migration and power], shows how many faces and meanings a border can have for local people (Grygar 2016).

An important area of the research related to ethnic studies is urban anthropology and methodology of research in an urbanized environment. In 2013–2014 the research team explored the behaviour of Prague citizens in public spaces and their opinions on life in the capital city of the Czech Republic. This research, which included year-long participant observation of selected city spaces and structured interviews, provided a good training opportunity for several students. The research report was finished in 2014 and attracted the attention not only of academics but also the Prague Municipality and its Office of Public Spaces (Uherek et al. 2014b). This theme proved valuable and deserved continued attention. Subsequently, in 2014 a summarizing text was published focused on urban anthropology and the Czech context (Uherek 2014a) and a theoretical overview of urban anthropology for the Czech audience (Uherek 2014b). At the same time, team member Hana Červinková has been conducting urban research in Poland, focusing on the neoliberal transformations of public spaces and cultural policies. In addition, she researched and published a historical analysis of UNESCO World Heritage Sites in Poland as important locations of changing urban heritage politics and transforming cultural landscapes (Červinková – Ilkosz 2012, 2013; Červinková 2013a, 2014b; Červinková – Golden 2014a, 2014b).

Apart from these long-term developed themes on which the Ethnic Studies team focusses, department members also explore other topics which provide valuable insights into current anthropological theoretical and methodological questions. Luděk Brož together with Daniel

Münster (Heidelberg University, Germany) finished their book on suicide, published by Ashgate (Brož – Münster 2015). The collection of papers, co-edited by a team member, is already attracting international attention. Hana Červinková has been active in researching and publishing in the area of anthropology and education (Červinková 2013b, 2014c), feminist and postcolonial anthropology (Červinková 2012a, 2012b) and ethnographic studies of disability (Červinková 2014c).

The Ethnic Studies Department has brought to the Czech Republic leading contemporary ethnologists and anthropologists, some of whom have presented public lectures as a part of the Gellner Seminar series. In 2015 an Ethnic Studies team co-organized the EASA meeting in Prague and a conference named Making Anthropology Matter. Selected conference papers were published in the *Český lid* journal, including those of Thomas Hylland Eriksen and Michal Buchowski.

Conclusion

The concept of ethnic studies in the Czech Republic did not originate from the revitalization movements, although it focused on minorities and migrant groups. From its beginnings, it followed academic rather than applied goals. After all, it was influenced by current theories of ethnicity and nationalism and contemporary conceptions of the adaptation, integration or assimilation of minorities and regularities that accompany them. In the study of ethnicity, ethnic identity and ethnic processes, a large amount of empirical material was collected about minorities and migrant groups, which is well compatible with other ethnological and anthropological works that explicitly do not build on the concept of the revitalization of minority ethnic cultures and languages. On the contrary, the ethnic studies concept includes the study of Czech ethnic minorities abroad and urban studies where urban society is frequently structured by other than ethnic patterns. The studied topics are compatible with study themes in anthropological departments in the Czech Republic and are widely shared with them.

In a worldwide context, it is obvious that during the first decade of the 21st century the concept of ethnicity is losing its attractiveness. This circumstance is not largely discussed in the Czech Lands, but individual specialists and entire departments are frequently expanding the spectrum of interests and frequently trying to grasp the studied minorities and migratory groups in a different way.

Ethnic studies in the Czech Republic have used the knowledge of various disciplines, but have always been firmly grounded in social anthropology. They were initially thematically focused on minorities and migrations and other topics in the 1990s frequently called ethnic relations. This theme gradually extended its spectrum to other fields, and the Department of Ethnic Studies at the Czech Academy of Sciences has a wider range of interests than contemporary ethnic studies courses in the United States or the United Kingdom, as reported by the latest survey publications (Elia 2016; Messer-Kruse 2017). At

present, it is possible to say that doing ethnic studies, as practised in the Czech Republic, coincides with doing ethnographies and social anthropology. The key actor in this text, the Department of Ethnic Studies, which is based in the Institute of Ethnology of the Czech Academy of Sciences and which only represent ethnic studies in the Czech Republic as an institution, is considered a part of the social anthropological community. Several of its members are founding members of the Czech Social Anthropological Association, and it is fully integrated into the European anthropological context.

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NOTES:

1. Available from: <<http://ethnicstudies.org/>>. Accessed September 30, 2017.
2. Among others: Technological Agency of the Czech Republic, project TD010220, Information System on Immigrant Families from the Third Countries; project TB030MZV002 Analysis of migration of Czech citizens since 1989; project of the Grant Agency of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic IAA700580801 Identity and Sociability of migrants from the former Soviet Union - subsequent enquiry with the emphasis on the second generation.
3. May 6 – 7, 2011; WG 3 and WG 4 meeting of the Cost EastBordNet (Praha, Musaion); May 25 – 26, 2012; international conference

- on Diversity and Local Contexts: Urban Space, Borders and Migration, a joint conference of the Institute of Ethnology of the CAS, Commission of Urban Anthropology of the IUAES and the MOST – UNESCO programme (Praha, Vila Lanna); May 26 – 27, 2014; international conference *Rethinking Anthropologies in Central Europe for Global Imagineries* was supported by the International Visegrad fund and co-organized by Central European University in Budapest, Matej Bel University in Banská Bystrica and Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań (Praha, Vila Lanna).
4. The team contributed in this field to the Research Strategy of the Czech Academy of Science AV 21 (coordinator Zdeněk Uhrek).

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Summary

The term ethnic studies is not frequently used in the academic community of the Czech Republic. It is predominantly connected to the name of the Ethnic Studies Department at the Institute of Ethnology of the Czech Academy of Sciences and with texts produced by Czech ethnologists dealing with migrations, minorities and adjustment processes to the new environment (in the Czech academic texts of the second half of the 20th century, occasionally called „etnické procesy“ [ethnic processes]). The author of this text scrutinizes the meaning of the concept of ethnic studies in the Czech context and poses the question what types of enquiries there have been so far. He compares the concept of ethnic studies in the Czech Republic and the USA, where ethnic studies departments originated in the 1960s and 1980s, and concludes that in the Czech Republic, in contrast to the United States, the theme of ethnic studies relates rather than the ethno-revivalist movements with social anthropological research into the dynamics of human relations and intercultural contacts, which were frequently called interethnic relations in the 1990s.

Key words: Ethnic studies; social anthropology; Czech Republic, United States.

ETHNOLOGY IN SLOVAKIA IN CRUCIAL HISTORICAL PERIODS (AFTER 1968 AND 1989): FROM A HISTORICAL TO A SOCIAL SCIENCES DISCIPLINE?

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The contribution focusses on two important political changes in Czechoslovakia in the second half of the 20th century.¹ It observes what happened in the Slovak ethnology² in the period of normalization between 1969 and 1989, and in the period of transformation after 1989. I will be interested in the following issues: did the focus of ethnology, i.e. the methodological approaches and the researched themes, change in that period? If yes, what did the change consist in? Separate attention will be paid to the issue contained in the subtitle – was it a transformation from a historical to a social sciences discipline?

For two reasons, I will base my reflections on the example of the activities developed by the Institute of Ethnography of the Slovak Academy of Sciences (IE SAS), which was succeeded by the current Institute of Ethnology of the SAS (IEt SAS). The IE SAS as a supreme Slovak scientific institute largely directed the ethnographic research in Slovakia.³ For this reason I can say that when observing the IE SAS projects and results, I usually describe the major trends in Slovak ethnography at least until 1989. The other reason is that it was the history of the Institute about which I have collected empirical data based on archival research, information resulting from interviews with former employees of the Institute as well as on secondary literature. I conducted the research in parallel with Juraj Zajonc within three VEGA projects between 2008 and 2016⁴; the research resulted in a common monograph (Kiliánová – Zajonc 2016).

Historical periods addressed in this contribution – that means the period of normalization from 1969⁵ and the transformation after 1989⁶ – have not been randomly selected. I relate them to the premise that a significant political change creates new social processes to which the actors in those processes reply and which they co-create. In this case, it is scientists that are understood as actors; their activity is manifested in the organization and direction of the scientific work. I will try to support the premise with empirical data on the following pages. I will observe the following issues in the contribution: What was the impact of political changes from 1969 and after 1989 on the institutional changes in the Slovak Academy

of Sciences, the adaptation of legislative regulations and the organization of scientific work? What was the scientific programme of ethnography/ethnology in the SAS in the two observed periods; that means under the conditions of two different political systems? What were the results of the scientific programme between 1969 and 1989 and after 1989?

Brief information about the Institute of Ethnography from its foundation until 1969

The Institute of Ethnography was founded in the spring of 1946 within the then Slovak Academy of Sciences and Arts (SASA). In February 1948, Czechoslovakia experienced a coup d'état and the power was taken over by the Communist Party which established the totalitarian regime. In summer 1951, in connection with the screenings of “political reliability” in the Academy, two research fellows at the Institute of Ethnography, Mária Kosová and Soňa Kovačevičová, were deprived of employment. The SASA administration dissolved the Institute of Ethnography as an independent institute and the remaining four research fellows and two visiting students were attached to the Institute of History of the SASA as a Section of Ethnography as of 1st September 1951.⁷ In November 1952, the employees of the Section succeeded in regaining an independent workplace under the name “Division of Ethnography of the SASA”, which went over to the newly established Slovak Academy of Science in 1953 and received the status of an institute again in 1955 (Zajonc 2016: 29–32). At the end of the 1960s, the IE SAS was a completely built-up scientific institution. It employed 22 research fellows as well as technical and auxiliary labours, visiting students and postgraduates,⁸ with a total of about 40 people. The institution had scientific archives available, and published the journals *Slovenský národopis* (*Slovak Ethnology*) from 1953, and *Národopisné informácie* (*Ethnological Information*)⁹ from 1969; it also built up a specialized library and was a seat of an expert committee for postgraduate research study, within which 25 Candidate of Science degrees were successfully defended between 1960 and 1969. The

Institute was a top scientific institution in Slovakia, which developed ethnographic research (Kiliánová 2016a: 87–88). The relation between the institutes of the Slovak Academy of Sciences and those of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences (CSAS) was not exactly formulated in the first acts, and for this reason it remained unclear in terms of the legislation. However, the management of the scientific research from one centre – the CSAS – was gradually asserted and codified in new acts in 1963.¹⁰ In connection with the preparation of the federative system in Czechoslovakia, draft laws concerning the establishment of the Czech Academy of Sciences, the Slovak Academy of Sciences and the federal Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences were submitted in 1968, i.e. the scientific institutions were supposed to copy the future state system of the republic. Nevertheless a direct intervention from the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party in autumn 1969 stopped the legislative process concerning new acts for the academies, and the institutions returned to the model with the CSAS and the subordinated SAS; this model was confirmed by the amendment to the 1970 Act (Hudek 2014b: 177–180). However, the SAS tried to gain a higher level of independence from the CSAS in the 1970s and 1980s. The changing power relations between the CSAS and the SAS were, of course, reflected in the work of the Institute of Ethnography of the SAS, as I will show below.

Beginning of the period of normalization in Slovakia and the impact on the IE SAS

The results of the Prague Spring liberalization processes started to be liquidated immediately after August 1968, but the inhabitants of Czechoslovakia could perceive the particular steps that the governing power did to “renew the order” especially from 1969.¹¹ The IE SAS did not experience the best start to the new political period. As early as on 11 June 1970, Karol Šiška, Chairman of the SAS, received a letter from the Minister of Building and Technology of the Slovak Socialist Republic saying that the CSAS commission and the Ministries of Education of the Czech and Slovak Socialist Republics had submitted a motion to dissolve the IE SAS. The Institute immediately heard about the uncomfortable news and began to act. A wave of letters from the Institute, as well as related scientific institutions, were sent to the Presidium of the SAS and to the Ministry of Building and Technology of the

SSR, containing arguments against the dissolution. The SAS Chairman sent a reply to the Minister quite quickly, within one week. In his letter, he expressed his determined protests against the dissolution of the IE SAS; he had objections to the fact that the CSAS did not discuss the motion with the SAS. The chairman also argued that the IE SAS was the biggest scientific institution in the discipline in Slovakia; it was also a training centre for research postgraduates, an administrator of state tasks in basic research and a coordinator of international cooperation.¹² The IE SAS commenced a new scientific task from 1969 – The Ethnographic Atlas of Slovakia – which was one of the most ambitious projects in social sciences and humanities in the second half of the 20th century. Minister Šebesta replied within three days: *“In response to your letter [...] I inform you that I fully accept your position that I requested to be able to put things in order. I asked the Minister – the Chairman of the Federative Committee for Technical and Investment Development and Transport – to exclude that theme from the report for the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic...”* In the subsequent part of the letter, the Minister recommended that the SAS Chairman discuss the issue directly with the CSAS, where the motion to dissolve the Czech Institute for Ethnography and Folkloristics of the CSAS came into being, which raised an analogy to dissolve the IE SAS as well. The Minister highlighted the fact that the CSAS should understand the “dissimilarity of the position of the Institute of Ethnography of the SAS” (Kiliánová 2016a: 85–87).

I mentioned the above episode for several reasons. The historical experience of scientists – the 1951 dissolution of the Institute and the 1970 attempt to dissolve it – had its consequences. Božena Filová,¹³ the long-time director, and her colleagues, responded to the threats to the institution by solidarity and work mobilisation. Božena Filová, as a member of the Communist Party, passed the compulsory political screenings in the Academy in spring 1970 and was confirmed in her function. The activity of the institution and its employees was checked by a political inspection with the result that no employee was dismissed, and membership of no Communist Party member at the IE SAS was revoked. It was not a matter of course within the SAS, quite the opposite. Only 35 directors from 59 directors in Academy institutions remained in their positions. Many institutes for social

sciences and humanities were so decimated in terms of their staff that new conglomerates from former institutions had to be formed (Kiliánová 2016a: 83ff.). The result of political screenings showed the good professional and political position of the IE SAS. At the same time, that historical event indicates how the SAS called for a status equal to that of the CSAS. After the federal system was adopted in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic on 1st January 1969, the scientific institutions in Slovakia wanted to gain the biggest possible ability to manage their own affairs and independence “from Prague”.

That period saw an unusually situation in the discipline of ethnography. The academic institute in Prague was much more afflicted by the political screening after 1969 and almost dissolved. Director Jaromír Jech and deputy-director Olga Skalníková were removed from their offices in 1972 (Petráňová 2012). In February 1972, Antonín Robek, a supporter of the process of normalization, took up office as Director of the Institute. His struggle was to “consolidate the Institute” (Olšáková 2016: 138). In contrast, the academic workplace in Bratislava passed the political screenings successfully. For political and expert reasons, the IE SAS became a coordinator of the major task of the Basic Research State Plan (BRSP) in ethnography for the period from 1971 to 1980, i.e. for two periods of planning, and B. Filová became its main coordinator (Kiliánová 2016a: 90ff.; Olšáková 2016: 136–139).¹⁴ The Slovak Institute took over a function usually carried out by workplaces of the CSAS in Prague.

The above example also illustrates the differences in how the process of normalization was run in social sciences and humanities in Slovakia and the Czech Socialist Republic. The historian Lýdia Kamencová showed that in Slovakia – except for small exceptions – the scientists from the branches of mentioned sciences did not have to go to “work with a shovel”, as was often the case in the Czech Socialist Republic. If they did not pass the political screenings, they were mostly hidden in alternative research institutions, such as libraries, archives, museums, or they were even allowed to continue working at their original workplaces. However, this situation brought follow-up consequences. The division into the group with scientists loyal to the regime and that with opponents was less clear in Slovakia, the borders were fluid, the dissident movement small and the formation of alternative science minimal (Kamencová 2002).

Transformation in a methodological and thematic direction in ethnography after 1969

It can be concluded that ethnography as a historic discipline culminated in Slovakia during the period of normalization and implemented its largest 20th-century projects, such as *Etnografický atlas Slovenska* [Ethnographic Atlas of Slovakia] (Filová and Kovačevićová 1990) and *Encyklopédia ľudovej kultúry Slovenska* [Encyclopaedia of Folk Culture in Slovakia] (Botík and Slavkovský 1995). However, it is also necessary to highlight the fact that those projects built on former large synthetic works, such as *Československá vlastivěda, Díl III. Lidová kultura* [Czechoslovakia in All Its Aspects. Part III. Folk Culture] (1968), *Die slowakische Volkskultur. Die materielle und geistige Kultur* [Slovak Folk Culture. The Tangible and Intangible Culture] (Horváthová and Urbancová 1972), *Slovensko 3, Ľud – II. časť* [Slovakia 3, The Folk – Part II] (1975), for which the research fellows from the IE SAS collected a large file of empirical data. The above-mentioned largest projects in Slovak ethnography took advantage of the fact that they were prepared during the liberalization of political relations in the mid- and late 1960s, in an atmosphere of more liberal scientific debate and more intensive international scientific contacts, and thanks to favourable financial support from the SAS Presidium. The project “Ethnographic Atlas of Slovakia” started in 1969. Its aim was to capture the phenomena of traditional culture and their transformations in space, time and function. The research was finished after five years, the project team prepared a manuscript in the 1980s and the Atlas was published in 1990. As early as in the early 1980s, the edition of *Encyklopédia ľudovej kultúry Slovenska* [Encyclopaedia of Folk Culture in Slovakia] (Botík and Slavkovský 1995) began to be prepared in Slovakia. The project started in 1986 and the work was published in two volumes in 1995 (Slavkovský 2006).

Large group projects to study traditional folk culture from the historical perspective were gradually quashed, but the research direction continued with the publishing of thematic monographs, for example, about folk arts (Kovačevićová 1974), folk clothing (Nosáľová 1982), folk ballads (Burlasová 1982, 1984) and many others.

The period of normalization also featured a more intensive struggle to change the discipline’s direction. The focus was on cultural transformations in the countryside from the 1970s, and in the town from the 1980s. The

IE SAS research fellows, even though they still worked on projects about the history of traditional folk culture, were supposed to switch to research into contemporary everyday culture, or – briefly – to “research into the present”, as evidenced by BRST research plans of 1971–1975 and 1976–1980, and the evaluation thereof, which was published by Božena Filová, a coordinator of the task. In her contribution, she dealt with the research concept throughout Czechoslovakia, the proposed themes for the follow-up period 1981–1985, and she emphasized the fact that the discipline’s preferences are moving towards “research into the present” (Filová 1979).

The IE SAS prepared itself systematically for the changed direction. In the late 1960s, the Institute sent its research fellow Adam Pranda on a study stay in the Soviet Union, where he was to focus on methodological issues connected with “research into the present”. After his return, Pranda published several contributions through which he informed about the findings of Soviet ethnographers, and he also developed the application of those findings in the conditions of ethnographic research in Slovakia (Pranda 1970, 1975).

However, the research direction aimed at the present was not a novelty in the scientific trend in Slovakia. Andrej Melicherčík tried to research into the current condition of folk culture applying the functional-structural method as early as in the 1940s (Melicherčík 1945). The method was worked out by Piotr G. Bogatyriev, a Russian ethnographer, folklorist and teatrologist, who worked in Czechoslovakia in the 1920s and 1930s, and Melicherčík attended his lectures at university. After the Communist regime took complete power in Czechoslovakia, the functional-structural method was criticized. Melicherčík disassociated himself from the method and worked on ethnography on the basis of historical and dialectical materialism (Melicherčík 1950; Skalník 2005: 57–58, 67–69; Kiliánová 2005a: 259–262). In the first half of the 1950s, the attempts to study the current condition of folk culture in the countryside occurred again. Beginning with the formation of the Institute, the then director of the IE SAS Ján Mjartan¹⁵ declared a scientific programme that was aimed at the collection and analysis of traditional folk culture’s phenomena on the one hand, and at transformations in the culture under the impact of industrialization, collectivization in agriculture and other processes of modernization on the other (Mjartan 1952, 1953). Several years later, Božena Filová (1960)

published a similar scientific programme. She proclaimed that the task of ethnography is not only to research into the traditional culture and life of people, but also into newly emerged cultural phenomena. As to Božena Filová, the “traditional ethnographic methodology” is sufficient to be applied to research into traditional folk culture; however, that methodology must be elaborated based on historical materialism. According to her announcement, the other task was to include “newly developed methods supported by Marxist beliefs”, but she did not specify which methods were supposed to be included (Filová 1960: 182–183). The research into new cultural phenomena and cultural changes got under way very slowly in the 1950s and early 1960s, as it was restricted by unclear methodological issues and research methods. The research into a collective farming village in the ethnographic area of Horehronie, which was planned for the early 1950s (Mjartan 1952, 1953), gradually changed into a normal piece of historical research into traditional folk culture, and captured the cultural changes to a minimum extent (*Horehronie I.* Podolák 1969; *Horehronie II.* Mjartan 1974; *Horehronie III.* Gašparíková 1988).

New contributions about what should become the major research object in ethnography, which methods the discipline should apply to research into contemporary transformations and to which extent it should do so, appeared again from the mid-1960s and shifted theoretical discussions within the discipline (Holý – Stuchlík 1964; Leščák 1966, 1969; Skalníková – Fojtík 1971 and others). Trying to strengthen the “research into the present”, for the second half of the 1970s the IE SAS prepared another collective project targeted at the collective farming village of Sebechleby. Adam Pranda, who was in charge of leading the research, dealt thoroughly with the methodological aspect of the project, and he stated that *“the ethnographic research into the culture of the contemporary village cannot be understood as a simple collection of data about social and cultural phenomena, but as a complex analysis of the process of changing those phenomena, as well as innovation, modernization and formation of peculiar features of the contemporary way of life and culture”* (Pranda 1979: 219, highlighted by the author of the text). In the author’s opinion, such an intention can be reached only if the project is interdisciplinary; meaning that it also contains sociological and demographical

questionnaire-based surveys. Pranda wanted the research into the contemporary village to combine qualitative (ethnographic) and quantitative (sociological, demographical) methods. The closing collectively-written monograph about the village of Sebechleby differed a lot from previous local publications (Pranda 1986). Its authors chose the cultural phenomena on which they could demonstrate the processes of changes in the 20th century. Interesting chapters were written, for example, about work in the agricultural cooperative and the impact of the new organization of work on the way of life of villagers (Ema Drábiková), about changes in ethical standards (Milan Leščák), about mutual help in building family houses and social relations in Sebechleby (Adam Pranda), about upbringing in families and transformations in inter-generational relations (Dušan Ratica, Peter Salner) and others.

From the early 1980s, the IE SAS continued the research into cultural changes, whereby the research fellows paid attention not only to the village, but also to the town (Salner 1982), which was a novelty within Slovak ethnography. In 1985, Milan Leščák, a coordinator of the project, summarized the results they reached up until that time. In his opinion, the researchers collected sufficient empirical information about transformations in cultural phenomena in the field of habitation, clothing, work and folklore. On the other hand, a deeper knowledge about current ceremonies and ways of celebrating, food and other aspects of the inhabitants' everyday culture was missing. Leščák also dealt with the condition of methodological approaches in the "research into the present" and stated that it would be necessary *"to move from classification and relationship analyses to a higher form of causal analyses as an essential prerequisite for the dialectical-historical interpretation of the development of folk culture within the system of national culture"* (Leščák 1985: 309, highlighted by G.K.).¹⁶ In connection with the development of the above task as well as other ones at the IE SAS, the research fellows also focused on debates about theoretical issues, such as the basic terms "collectiveness" (Krekovičová 1980), "tradition" (Horváthová 1982, Luther 1982, Pranda 1984) and "creativity" (Burlasová 1989).

The Institute after 1989

The essential political change in Czechoslovakia in November 1989 largely influenced the institutional,

economical and ideological conditions for scientific work. The revolutionary beginnings of changes within the Slovak Academy of Sciences were quick, as the immediately bottom-up mobilization of scientists created self-rule mechanisms and democratic principles for the operation of the entire institution at the turn of 1990. By the end of 1990, the SAS had recourse to an alternative financing method. The Scientific Grant Agency was established and the institutions had to compete for funding based on their projects. In the new political and economic situation, the Academy faced continuing redundancy – the number of employees was reduced from the original 6 000 people to 3 000 people in the mid-1990s – and a sharp decrease in funding from the state budget, which was reduced by 40 %. Throughout the 1990s, the Slovak Academy of Sciences also fought for its existence, as permanently repeated attacks required that the Academy be dissolved as "a relic of the totalitarian regime". Even though a new law on the Academy began to be prepared in 1992, the legislation process lasted for a very long time due to the struggles to dissolve the institution. The Parliament of the Slovak Republic adopted the new law on the SAS only in February 2002; i.e. twelve years after the political change. The Academy kept its position as an institution focused on basic and applied scientific research and it was allowed to continue the training of PhD. candidates (Kováč 2014; Hudek 2014c).

The SAS transformation was, of course, reflected in the IE SAS activity.¹⁷ At the end of the 1990s, only half of the employees compared to 1989 – i.e. approximately 20 people – worked at the Institute. The decrease in funding from the state budget by almost a half and the necessity to compete for external funding from inland and foreign scientific agencies or other donators imposed more and more new requirements on the reduced number of employees. Based on the amount of domestic and foreign projects gained, it can be concluded that the situation in the IET SAS was consolidated in the second half of the 1990s. The institution became more proactive and gradually joined important international research projects.¹⁸ The Institute attained very good results in repeated professional assessments within the Slovak Academy of Sciences from 1990, which increased the Institution's prestige and – in the upshot – the prestige of the entire discipline within the academic community.¹⁹

Ethnology in the period of transformation

The IE SAS scientists replied to the significant social changes quite quickly. They began to look back upon their activity and results as early as at the turn of 1989/1990. In January 1990, a survey was made in the Institute, which was instigated by the director Milan Leščák.²⁰ The employees' task was to answer several questions, some of which concerned their opinion on which philosophical and methodological foundations the Slovak ethnography should be based on, and which research methods should be applied (Leščák 1991a). In the debate about the future direction of ethnography, Milan Leščák said that it is necessary to study the knowledge about traditional folk culture in Slovakia within the international context and to deepen the comparative research into cultural phenomena on the one hand; while on the other hand the researchers should focus on the contemporary research to collect complex anthropological knowledge about humans and their cultural and social activities. Leščák also supported the change of the discipline name to "ethnology" (Leščák 1991b: 3–4), which was the reason for renaming the Institute in 1994. I can conclude that the subsequent development of ethnology within the academic institution really adhered to the indicated direction. In 1997, under the leadership of Rastislava Stoličná, a collective English-written monograph was published, which dealt with traditional folk culture in Slovakia within the European context (Stoličná 1997, Slovak version 2000). The authors of the monograph tried to meet the requirement for comparative research into cultural phenomena.²¹

On the occasion of the 55th anniversary of the Institute, an international conference was held in November 2001, at which the IEt SAS assessed their activity in four thematic segments: 1. Construction of the image of culture (Hlôšková 2005; Krekovičová 2005; Profantová 2005), 2. Rural setting as a microcosm? (Danglová 2005; Stoličná 2005) 3. The picture of the social structure (Beňušková – Ratica 2005; Falťanová 2005; Mann 2005), 4. Urban worlds in ethnological inquiry (Luther 2005; Popelková – Salner 2005). Gabriela Kiliánová²² in her introductory report summarized the situation in ethnological research in Slovakia and announced four thematic areas for IEt SAS future projects: I. Ethnological reflection on transformation processes in Slovak society after 1989 (1993), II. The role and contribution of the cultural heritage of Slovakia in the European context, III. Ethno-historical development of the Central European space, IV. History of scientific discipline.

(Kiliánová 2005b: 28–29) The author concluded that the research carried out by the Institute had been mostly focused on the territory of Slovakia or the Slovak minority abroad (*Atlas ľudovej kultúry Slovákov v Maďarsku* [Atlas of Folk Culture of Slovaks in Hungary] Divičanová 1996; *Atlas ľudovej kultúry Slovákov v Rumunsku* [Atlas of Folk Culture of Slovaks in Romania] Benža and Štefanko 1998), even though research works in non-European countries started as well, for example in Mexico (Podolinská – Kováč 2000). She analysed the possibilities of subsequent methodological orientation, and she proposed finding inspiration in "anthropology at home" (Jackson 1987). She inferred that researching "at home" does not have to mean an easier task than researching in a foreign country. In both cases, the researcher should proceed from the assumption that he/she does not know (or does not sufficiently know) the attitudes, opinions and experience of the members of the chosen community or another researched sample. The methodological apparatus of cultural and social anthropology can provide inspiration on how to research the impact of macro-social and global processes on a particular community or social group at the local level, which also is the research focus of ethnology (Kiliánová 2005b: 26–27). Five years later, on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the Institute, Monika Vrzgulová extended the research priorities by "ethnography in the period of socialism" (Kiliánová – Vrzgulová 2006: 286).

Beginning with the new millennium, the IEt SAS research fellows focused on the published scientific programme. They developed research into social transformation in Slovakia within rural and urban environments (Bitušíková – Luther 2010a, 2010b, 2013; Danglová 2006; Danglová – Zajonc 2007; Beňušková – Danglová 2007) and the international context (Pine – Podoba 2007). In their works, the authors promoted in detail the concept of social changes, post-socialist transformation, and global and local processes, whereby they found inspiration in the results of social and cultural anthropology and other social sciences. Special research concentrated on religious conversion²³ after 1989, especially in the case of the Roma (Podolinská – Hrustič 2010; 2011). The Institute continued the research into the relations between majority and minority inhabitants (Bitušíková – Luther 2009), the processes of ethnical and national identifications, which became more evident in the period of society transformation, and the ethnic and religious minorities that could not be studied before for political

reasons, for example Jews and Roma people (Kiliánová – Riečanská 2000; Mann 2000; Podolinská – Hrustič 2015; Salner 2000, 2013; Vrzgulová 2005). The above-described orientation evolved to the interdisciplinary study of collective identities (Kiliánová – Kowalská – Krekovičová 2009; Krivý – Danglová 2006). The research fellows tried to carry out some out-of-Slovak research, for example into work migration to Great Britain in cooperation with a British anthropologist (Búriková – Miller 2010). In the realm of traditional folk culture, several scientists published results of their long-term research, for example in the field of agrarian culture (Slavkovský 2011), folk diet (Stoličná 2004), folk textile (Danglová 2009; Zajonc 2012) and others. Last but not least, scientists paid attention to the research into the period of socialism on the example of selected cultural phenomena (Profantová 2012; Stoličná 2015).

Currently, ethnology is defined as a discipline between humanities and social sciences at the IET SAS. Ethnology considers its task to be basic research into humans, their social relations, and way of life, and cultural traditions from the historical and comparative perspectives. The human is researched as a member of a certain social group under the conditions of modern and post-modern society. On the other hand, the IET SAS research fellows, even though to a lesser extent, continue to study tangible and intangible cultural heritage, its place in Slovakia, Central Europe and the global perspective. The IET SAS also puts emphasis on applied projects which investigate the current replies of people to ongoing social processes, such as relationships between minorities and majorities, stereotypes, prejudices, increases in extremism and similar themes.²⁴

Conclusion

The research results brought empirical data that showed political interventions in scientists' work in the period of normalization 1969–1989. The repeated struggle was to dissolve the IE SAS and to subject all employees and all activities to the examination of political reliability. However, the scientific activities in Slovakia in the period of normalization, especially those in the IE SAS, had their specific features, as compared to partner institutions in the Czech lands. Despite the struggle to dissolve the IE SAS and despite the screenings of political reliability, the Bratislava Institute, including all its employees, remained a firm part of the Academy and

presented itself as a consolidated institution with large national projects. The position increased the Institute's prestige within the Slovak Academy of Sciences, and that of ethnography as a scientific discipline in Slovakia. The employees working at the Institute felt solidarity with each other and tried to maintain the quality of their scientific work. Simultaneously, it is necessary to keep in mind that we are dealing with the history of a scientific discipline in the period of the totalitarian regime, where free scientific activities were limited by political restrictions. As a result, the scientists were not allowed to study certain themes (for example religious phenomena, some minorities), to apply some methodological procedures, to freely enter into international collaboration especially that with countries of the then Western Europe, and so on.

After 1989 and following the economical and organizational transformation of the Institute, the employment relationships in a reduced group of scientists became consolidated quite quickly. The projects which were based on liberate and professional discussion at the institution were created according to a new system. The discipline was renamed ethnology. The Institute reached the level of the best-assessed institution within the Academy, which supported its position as well as the position of ethnology.

In the period after 1970, it is possible to observe an ever stronger tendency of the IE SAS to focus on the current situation in everyday culture and its transformations, which was reflected by scientific programmes, projects and results of ethnography/ethnology for the observed four decades. In Slovakia, the above change started at the level of professional debates in the 1960s²⁵ and asserted itself in the 1970s and 1980s; however, it became predominant only at the turn of millennium. The change became evident within the thematic and methodological orientations.

Currently, the Institute of Ethnology of the SAS espouses anthropological research into humans and their culture under the conditions of post-modern society on the one hand. On the other hand, it espouses research into the cultural heritage of Slovakia within a comparative perspective. The scientific programme of the Institute is not unequivocally assigned to the discourse of social sciences, but rather that between humanities and social sciences. In both directions, the IET SAS can build on the research results of previous generations of ethnologists in Slovakia.

NOTES:

1. The paper is an outcome of the project VEGA No. 2/0050/16 *The application of innovative approaches in ethnology/social anthropology in Slovakia*. I would like to thank two anonymous reviewers for their helpful comments on an earlier version of this paper.
2. In the contribution I will use the term "ethnology" as a standard current name of the discipline in Slovakia. Ethnology in Slovakia was mostly called "ethnography" until the early 1990s. At the present, "ethnography" is usually understood as an ethnological research method, i.e. a description of empirical data from the fieldwork. *Ethnography* in Slovakia in the 20th century was defined as a historical scientific discipline which researched the *folk* and its material, spiritual and social culture signed as *folk* culture. Folk culture was considered to be one of the bases of national culture.
3. It was the 1953 Act and following acts, effective until the amendment to the Act in 1990, i.e. after the Velvet Revolution in 1989, that imposed the methodological and thematic directing of the research within a particular discipline on the Slovak Academy of Sciences (Klačka 2014: 100–103; Hudek 2014 a: 128–131; Hudek 2014b: 177–180; Kováč 2014: 205).
4. VEGA No. 2-0041-08 *Ethnology in Slovakia in the 2nd Half of the 20th Century. The history of scientific thinking* (2008-2010). VEGA No. 2/0086/11 *The history of ethnology in Slovakia in the second half of the 20th century: continuities and discontinuities in scholarly enquiry* (2011-2013). VEGA No. 2/0126/14 *Continuity and discontinuity of the ethnological research regarding intangible cultural heritage* (2014–2016).
5. The Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia on the night of 20th – 21st August 1968 stopped the liberalization process in the country, called the Prague Spring. The invasion was followed by political changes whose aim was to re-introduce the authoritative communist regime of Soviet type in Czechoslovakia. The period between 1969 and 1989 is well known as "normalization". For more see Lipták 2000: 286–293.
6. After the fall of the communist regime in the CSSR, at the time of the "Velvet Revolution" in 1989, the period of transformation began. Its aim was to establish a pluralistic democratic system, to change over from a planned to a market economy and to carry out constitutional changes in the country. These changes led to the peaceful splitting of Czechoslovakia into two independent states as of 1st January 1993 (Lipták 2000: 293–305).
7. The document that ordered dissolution of the institution did not contain any rationale. However, the archival and other sources showed that the Institute was understood as "a workplace suffering from serious ideological shortcomings" and some of its research projects were considered to be "an expression of bourgeois nationalism" (Zajonc 2016: 30).
8. The post-graduate scientific degree was introduced based on the Soviet model in 1949 and successful graduates were awarded a Candidate of Sciences degree. Currently, the third stage of university education includes doctoral studies and the graduates are awarded a PhD. degree. The SAS institutes are entitled to train PhD. candidates as external educational institutions based on agreements with a chosen university. More see Marčeková 2014: 299–314.
9. The journal was given the new name *Etnologické rozpravy* (Ethnological Disputes) in 1994.
10. Act on the CSAS from 9.7. 1963, Act on SAS from 23. 9. 1963 (Hudek – Klačka 2014: 119-124).
11. In autumn 1968 the National Assembly of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic managed to adopt the Constitutional Act on the Czechoslovak Federation, one of the Prague Spring results. On 01 January 1969 the CSSR became a federation consisting of the Czech Socialist Republic (CSR) and the Slovak Socialist Republic (SSR). During the year 1969, the governmental power cancelled freedom of the press, started political screenings, and limited the citizens' right to demonstration and association, etc.; the citizens were not free to travel to non-communist countries and Yugoslavia (Lipták 2000: 290–291).
12. The International Committee for the Study of Carpathian and Balkan Folk Culture (ICSCBFC) started its activity in 1959. It worked until early 1990s. The Commission coordinated a significant part of the scientific cooperation among the former socialist countries. The seat of the Commission's Secretariat was in the IE SAS (Podoba 2006).
13. PhDr. Božena Filová, CSc. (born Barabášová), a corresponding member of the SAS, worked as IE SAS director from February 1958 until February 1989. For more see Riaditelia a predsedovia pracoviska [Directors and Chairmen of the Institution] 2016: 165.
14. Basic Research State Plans, which defined research administration in every scientific discipline, were enforced in Czechoslovakia after 1958 (Olšáková 2016: 125).
15. PhDr. Ján Mjartan, DrSc., Director of the IE between 1949 and 1951; Director of the Division of Ethnography between 1953 and 1954; Director of the IE SAS between 1955 and 1958. See more Riaditelia a predsedovia pracoviska [Directors and Chairmen of the Institution] 2016: 164.
16. See the definition of ethnography and folk culture in Slovakia, note 2.
17. The institution was given a new name on 1 January 1994 – the Institute of Ethnology (IEt SAS).
18. For an overview with projects see Kiliánová – Zajonc 2016: 174–202.
19. The results of the institution assessment for 1990–2011 in detail in Kiliánová 2016b: 113. In 2016, an international commission assessed the Institute of Ethnology as one of two best institutions within the SAS. The other best-assessed one was the Institute of Polymers of the SAS (Podolinská 2017).
20. Prof. PhDr. Milan Leščák, CSc., Director of the IE SAS between 1989 and 1992. For more see Riaditelia a predsedovia pracoviska [Directors and Chairmen of the Institution] 2016: 166.
21. The authors of the publication concentrated only on the traditional culture of Slovaks. They did not deal with the cultures of the minorities living in Slovakia.
22. She was the director of the Institute between 2000 and 2012. For more see Riaditelia a predsedovia pracoviska [Directors and Chairmen of the Institution] 2016: 168.
23. For political reasons, the scientists dealt with the research into religious expressions meagrely until 1989.
24. Comp. Podolinská, Tatiana 2016: "Questionnaire. Summary of the main activities of the Institute of Ethnology of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, period 2012–2015", pp. 68–72. *Ústav etnológie Slovenskej akadémie vied* [online] [accessed June 30, 2017]. Available on <http://www.uet.sav.sk/files/questionnaire_ie_

sas_2012-2015_0.pdf>. Mgr. Tatiana Podolinská, PhD., Director of the IET SAS since 2012. For more see Riaditelia a predsedovia pracoviska [Directors and Chairmen of the Institution] 2016: 168.

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Summary

The contribution deals with the history of ethnology in Slovakia at the time of Czechoslovak period of “normalization” (1969–1989) and after essential political changes in 1989. The author focusses on the history of ethnology within the Institute of Ethnography of the Slovak Academy of Sciences (later the Institute of Ethnology of the Slovak Academy of Sciences) as a leading workplace in ethnography / ethnology in the second half of the 20th and in the 21st centuries. The author relies on the premise that political changes created new social processes to which the actors in those processes replied and which they co-created. In this case, it is the Academy employees that are understood as actors. The author observes the following issues: What was the impact of political changes from 1969 and after 1989 on the institutional changes in the Slovak Academy of Sciences, the adaptation of legislative regulations and the organization of scientific work? What was the scientific orientation of ethnography/ethnology in the Academy in the two observed periods; that means under the conditions of two different political systems? What were the results of the scientific programme between 1969 and 1989 and after 1989? Was the discipline’s paradigm changed? Was the originally historical science converted to a social science?

Key words: Ethnography; ethnology; Slovakia; Czechoslovakia; history of science.

ETHNOLOGY AT MASARYK UNIVERSITY IN BRNO. THE 70th ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDATION OF THE SUB-DIVISION FOR ETHNOGRAPHY AND ETHNOLOGY

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Ethnology developed as a social-scientific discipline in connection with the formation of modern nations on an ethnic basis. The ideas of the Enlightenment, which spread from the French environment, brought about a change in the attitude to folk rural classes which were bearers of cultural expressions, in which national specific features were sought, as it was necessary to define the foundations of common identity (Thiessová 2007). In contrast to “land patriotism” based on emotional ties and affiliation to a certain historical land, the ethnicity and its criteria (common language, culture, mentality, etc.) became a new unifying element of the constructed national identity. “Unique” expressions, which were supposed to represent the national whole before the world-wide community, were chosen from the traditional culture of rural classes. It was ethnography, termed “národopis” [≈ literally nation writing, or nationography]¹ in historical Czech lands, which were part of the Austrian Monarchy (Austria-Hungarian Monarchy from 1867), that began to deal with the study of the above-mentioned expressions involved in the category of “traditional folk culture” in the Central-European cultural area. From the late 19th century, the discipline gradually broke away from the history of culture, literary science, musicology, Slavic studies and German studies; its discourse became more accurate (Kovář 1897; Chotek 1914). However, as an independent university discipline, it was established only after the formation of the independent Czechoslovak Republic – first at Comenius University in Bratislava, and in the 1930s at Charles University in Prague (Lozoviuk 2005; Janeček 2014).²

Masaryk University (MU) in Brno is one of the universities where the discipline was established, and it has been taught for more than seventy years. The ethnological (and originally ethnographic) workplace at Brno University and its pedagogical and scientific activities are dealt with by a lot of essays in journals (Václavík 1959; Jeřábek 1963; Válka 2002) as well as by a monograph published on the occasion of the seventieth

anniversary (Válka et al. 2016). In our text, we will try to put the Brno ethnological workplace at Brno University in a wider societal frame and to explain its participation in the discipline’s formation within the former Czechoslovakia, the current Czech Republic, from the perspective of European ethnology. We are presenting the development not only within the discipline itself, but also on the background of the general development of the Faculty of Arts and Masaryk University, as this was enabled by two publications published on the occasion of the ninetieth anniversary of both institutions (Fasora – Hanuš 2009, 2010). While collecting the factographic data, we were able to lean on several yearbooks of Brno University and partial texts written by teachers, as well as on anniversary articles and teachers’ personal bibliographies.³ The sources can be found in the Masaryk University Archive and they include study plans, minutes from scientific councils, and human resources agenda related to awarding senior lecturer degrees or professorships. We try to cover all the forms of activities at this workplace, i.e. basic pedagogical mission, related scientific-research and publication activities of the teachers as well as their organizational activities at home and abroad.

The historiographic research is not autotelic, as documented by recent works published in the Czech Republic (Jančář 2014; Woitsch – Jůnová Macková et al. 2016), in Slovakia (Kiliánová – Zajonc 2016), and in other European countries. In states which were part of the eastern (Communist) bloc, these publications are motivated by efforts to become equal with the socialist past, or they relate to the change in the discipline’s discourse after 1989, which was accompanied by the diversion from the historically-aimed research into traditional folk culture to the research into contemporary society and culture using anthropological interpretations. Discussions about the restructuralization and future direction are also running within social sciences themselves (Wallerstein et al. 1998).

Czechoslovak interwar ethnography and folkloristics and their teaching at university

Alongside the formation of Czechoslovakia as one of the successor states after the disintegration of Austria-Hungary, the foundation of new universities was quickly dealt with. In addition to the already existing Charles University in Prague, in 1919 a university in Brno, the second-largest town in the Czech lands, was founded;⁴ the university was named after the politician and first Czechoslovak President Tomáš G. Masaryk. Another university was established in Bratislava, the capital of Slovakia, and was called Comenius University. It was there that Karel Chotek was appointed to a professorship and became the first Czechoslovak professor of (general) ethnography. Slovakia was chosen for the university teaching of ethnography due to the active forms of folk culture which were living in this predominantly agrarian country and which – moreover – showed distinctive regional differences relating to the historical development of Slovakia and its natural conditions. In Bratislava, the first generation of Slovak and Czech ethnographers graduated from the discipline – e.g. Antonín Václavík, who later worked as professor at Brno University (Paríková 2011). However, Václavík had reservations of a methodological nature about Chotek's teaching: *"Students of our generation could hardly wait for a course at which ethnographic [the term "nationgraphic" is mentioned in the original] methods and theories or certain phenomena, such as particular customs, artistic expressions, shepherd culture, etc., in a systematic strictly historical overview would have been taught. The lectures, which in fact were more geographic than ethnographic, did not explain to them what belongs to folk phenomena and what not, and why; this education left the Bratislava students completely forlorn in terms of theory, and was the reason for which some of them (and these were very promising students) changed to other disciplines, where the methodological bases were clear. No wonder that many of them relied on the history of arts and functional structuralism."* (Václavík 1952: 141)

Even though ethnography is not mentioned among the disciplines taught upon the foundation of the Faculty of Arts of MU in Brno, this does not mean that this theme was not taught. Explanations focused on folkloristic themes were substituted by Slavic studies or literature science (Pavlicová 1993), or they were put into a wider context of relative disciplines – geography and anthropology. Bohuslav Horák

commonly included ethnographical material in his lectures in historical geography. The fact that the association of geography and ethnography was considered to be logical in the interwar period is documented by the common congresses of Slavic geographers and ethnographers; the first one took place in Prague in 1924 (Pospíšilová – Válka 2016). Ethnological, i.e. non-European themes also appeared in anthropologists' lectures at the Faculty of Sciences of MU, delivered by Professor Vojtěch Suk. The relation between anthropology and ethnography became the object of Suk's research concern and it was elaborated in a small publication published by the Czechoslovak Ethnographic Society in 1929 (Jeřábek 1993).

Lectures in ethnography began to be delivered at the Faculty of Arts of MU in Brno after Antonín Václavík (1891–1959) was awarded a senior lecturer degree in Czech and Slavic ethnography in 1933. As a private senior lecturer, he announced selective lectures which were focussed on the study of Slavic philology. Václavík extended his education and professional range of knowledge during his study trips to Poland and Germany. It was especially Polish ethnography that was a source of inspiration for him, as resulting from the profile of his study under the leadership of leading professors in Warsaw (Stanisław Poniatowski,⁵ Cesaria Anna Baudouin de Courtenay Ehrenkreutz Jędrzejewiczowa,⁶ Jan Stanisław Bystroń⁷) and in Krakow (Kazimierz Moszyński⁸). In autumn 1935, Václavík left for a study trip to Dresden, Leipzig and Berlin where he listened to the lectures given by Richard Beitzl,⁹ a representative of traditional German ethnography (Volkskunde). As Václavík wrote in his travel report, he also visited Hamburg to gain an even wider range of knowledge in ethnology; there he took part in the lectures given by Arthur Byhan,¹⁰ a specialist in the culture of nations living in the Caucasus Mountains, the Ural Mountains and the Baltics.¹¹

University training, study trips and his own ethnographic research formed Václavík's views on the mission of the discipline, its theory and methodology, and they reflected in his lectures and published works. Václavík tried to provide the discipline with a strong methodological basis which was lacking: *"Chaotic ideas about the subject-matter and goals of ethnography led to the fact that ethnography was affiliated as a pendant to different sciences based on the subjective meaning of particular people – sometimes even dilettantes in the branch. So*

we could see ethnography alongside geography, fully in concurrence with the organization of 'geographic-ethnographic' congresses, and using geographic methods which purely describe and do not explain. The additional knowledge about ethnography was seen in a detailed description of facts." (Václavík 1952: 142)

Václavík himself based his methods on fieldwork carried out in south-eastern Moravia and in Slovakia, where he worked in the interwar period as a state officer at the Ministry of Public Education. For his doctoral thesis, he submitted the local monograph *Podunajská dedina v Československu* [The Danube Village in Czechoslovakia, 1925]. It focused on Chorvátsky Grob, one of the villages settled by Croats who came to western Slovakia due to Turkish attacks on the Balkans. In addition to a detailed description of local culture, Václavík observed the theme of inter-ethnicity and thought of the participation of Croats in the formation of Slovak folk culture. The period reviews assessed the book as a work which Czechoslovak ethnography had lacked until that time (Chotek 1927). Václavík's regional monograph *Luhačovské Zálesí* [The Region of Luhačovské Zálesí, 1930] is even a larger work; the monograph focuses on Václavík's native region, an ethnographic area in eastern Moravia, the culture of which is of a transitional nature with features of Carpathian and Pannonian culture. This work, which is supported with rich facts and traditionally drafted-out, and which includes voluminous drawn and photo documents, focused on the expression of traditional folk culture – it did not take into account modernization processes in this region after World War I.

Furthermore, Václavík's interwar works dealt with "folk art" and responded to the assertions of historians of art, who underestimated its originality (researchers from the realm of history of art assessed folk art according to high-art criteria, and for this reason they often came to the conclusion that folk art means just rusticalized forms of high culture, or even "kitschy cultural expressions"). Václavík compiled his book *Slovenské palice* [Slovak Loaves, 1936] using functional analysis because the function – in his opinion – indicated the final form of an artefact and its decoration. The monograph *Tradície ľudovej drevorezby* [Traditions of Folk Woodcarving, 1936] focused on carved wooden artefacts and mangling "pistons" (a wooden board with a handle), which were used in the Slovak countryside as "gifts" with the promise

of marriage. The above-mentioned function gave rise to applied decorative motives and their symbolism. In fact, both books were polemics to the attitudes of the artistic-historian school and tried to highlight other sources of folk art's inspiration than the stylish art of the highest social classes. Non-aesthetical functions and compatibility with the structure of folk culture played the primary role there.

Before World War II, there were attempts at the Faculty of Arts of MU to appoint Václavík to an extraordinary professorship and to establish an ethnographic workplace (department). These plans could not be implemented for personal reasons first, and then due to the closure of Czech universities after the German occupation of Czechoslovakia and formation of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia (Protektorat Böhmen und Mähren) in 1939.

During World War II, Václavík published his programme paper *Podstata moravského národopisu* [The Essence of Moravian Národopis] (1944), where he presented his views on the mission of ethnography, and defined its subject-matter. In the text, he strictly separated "applied ethnography" and its use in political and social practice, from ethnography, which he defined as follows: "*Ethnography* [in the original, the term "národopis" is used] *is not only a kind of conjectural peculiar movement, but a very voluminous science which requires many years of tenacious study, knowledge from broad domestic and foreign fields and from world museums. It is a science about people and their culture, their mental grandiosity and spiritual powers, which define the destiny of a bigger unit, which we call the nation, more than social and economic conditions.*" (Václavík 1940: 3)

In this way, Václavík put the surging national movement, which misused the expressions of folk culture for political purposes, in its place. Václavík's opinions were not positively echoed even after the war, and he was inconsiderately criticized by the Marxist-oriented generation of Czech ethnographers whose ideal Soviet science was (Nahodil 1951: 52).

Foundation of the Sub-Division for Ethnography and Ethnology and Antonín Václavík's founding work

Antonín Václavík was granted an ordinary professorship in Czech and Slovak ethnography as of 1st October 1945 (Jordán 1969: 391). In addition to Prague and Bratislava, another university workplace of the discipline

was founded. This was included in Slavic philology and termed Sub-Division for Ethnography and Ethnology. The name, chosen by Václavík, refers to thinking in wider dimensions which exceed the teaching aimed at domestic folk culture in the direction of comparative studies and European ethnology. Václavík designed the teaching in line with the scientific study of Czech and Slovak folk culture in comparison with Slavic culture, which gained a noticeable ideological undertone after World War II, as shown by the anthology *Slovanství v českém národním životě* [Slaviness in Czech National Life], where Václavík published an essay (Václavík 1947). However, the dimension “ethnology” proved impossible for political reasons, because it was “advanced” Soviet ethnography that became a model for post-war Czechoslovak science.

The development of the Sub-Division for Ethnography and Ethnology and of other disciplines at Masaryk University as well as that of the entire society was interfered with by the political situation after February 1948¹² which in Czechoslovakia is associated with the pushing-through of the Communist Party's leading role and the affiliation to the Eastern (Soviet) bloc. Scholarly work of social disciplines had to be based on Marxist-Leninist philosophy and dialectic and historic materialism; moreover, “idealistic bourgeois” science was sharply criticized. The concept of teaching changed thoroughly: the study was divided into years with obligatory lectures. In addition to courses in ethnography, the students had to attend lectures on *Historical Materialism*, *General History*, *History of Primitive Communal System*, and *Classical Prehistory*. Lectures on ethnography focused on ethnographic methods, folk culture of Moravia and Silesia, folk art of Czechoslovakia and folk culture of western and southern Slavs.¹³ Together with Václavík, it was Ludvík Kunz, his student and one of the first graduates from ethnography in Brno, and Karel Fojtík, the first graduate assistant, who were charged with giving lectures.

The discipline's Marxist-Leninist orientation, which was articulated at the 1st National Conference of Czechoslovak ethnographers in 1949, was pursued by Prague left-wing students led by Otakar Nahodil (Petráňová 2017). The period press marked Václavík as the main representative of ahistorical bourgeois ethnography, and for this reason, his self-criticism, which was also published in a principal ethnography periodical, could be heard at the 2nd Conference of Ethnography in April 1952 (Václavík 1952).

The period evaluation of the above-mentioned facts by Inocenc Arnošt Bláha, a significant professor of sociology at Brno University, is interesting. In his memories, he marked such self-critics as a “betrayal of scholars”. He relates this “betrayal” to the tragic fate of Antonín Grund, a literary historian and professor at the Faculty of Arts of MU, writing: “*A scholar may change his opinions under the influence of new facts. But he may not change them under the pressure of a new political situation, and even reproach his former models and teachers.*” (Bláha 2003: 192) On the contrary, Richard Jeřábek, Václavík's student and assistant, mentions in a later analysis of Václavík's work, that this gives rise to the question “*whether the science and criticism, or rather the ideology and politics were in the limelight*” (Jeřábek 1991a: 216). As obvious, the above-mentioned self-criticism can be viewed from different angles, but for the discipline's history, Václavík's self-criticism brings up unusually interesting facts on the theory and methodology of Czechoslovak ethnography in the interwar period. His criticism of the then situation from the perspective of the discipline's discourse, and the motivation for a change, the goal of which is the concept of ethnography as a separate scientific discipline and not just an auxiliary science of sociology, geography and history, may be seen as a valuable finding.

The independence of the Sub-Division for Ethnography and Ethnology did not last long after February 1948. In connection with the reorganization of university teaching and the foundation of departments according to the Soviet model, the Sub-Division for Ethnography and Ethnology was integrated into the Department of History in 1951 and then into the Department of Prehistory and Národopis in 1954. The discipline was officially declared a historical science and it began to develop as ethnography in dichotomy with folkloristics. Richard Jeřábek, an educated ethnographer and historian of art, became the secretary of the new department; Oldřich Sirovátka, another one of Václavík's students with a specialization in literary folkloristics, appeared among the external lecturers. In 1959, the ethnomusicologist Dušan Holý, also a student of Václavík's, became an internal member of the pedagogical staff (Válka et al. 2016: 30–31).

The first Brno graduates finished the study of ethnography in 1949 when they defended their doctoral theses. The themes indicate that the theses were aimed at the traditional culture of Bohemian and Moravian

countryside and they had the form of local and regional monographs, or their focus was on a social phenomenon within annual or family cycles (Válka 2006). The names of the theses, which crowned the study, do not indicate a primary commitment, as this was urged by the Prague “Marxist” ethnographers and the heads of the Faculty of Arts and University after 1948. The name T. G. Masaryk, unacceptable for the Communist political representation, was deleted from the university name.¹⁴

In addition to teaching, the ethnographic department at Brno University carried on research work which was supposed to be crowned with published monographs according to plan. The first of them was the complete research into folk culture in eastern Moravia (the region of Wallachia), which started in 1953. The emphasis put on the engagé social research led to the observance of the “culture and way of life of the working classes in Moravia”. Under the leadership of Karel Fojtík, the research was implemented in western and southern Moravia and it was paralleled by the research conducted by the Prague Institute for Ethnography and Folkloristics of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences in Central Bohemia (the Kladno area).¹⁵ The research project “The Influence of Historical Colonisations on the Folk Culture in the Moravian-Silesian Borderland” became a new planned research project for 1955–1965. The major purpose of the research was the struggle to create a synthetic image about the culture and way of life in the Czech lands and in Slovakia and to capture the ethnicity of the Slavic folk culture.¹⁶

The department also planned to prepare Antonín Václavík’s omnibus devoted to the genesis of folk art. The fate of the omnibus was significant for the totalitarian period in the 1950s. After “ideological” editorial corrections, the work was published in 1959 under the name *Výroční obyčeje a lidové umění* [Annual Customs and Folk Art] (Jeřábek 1991b). In terms of methodology, Václavík proceeded from the following definition of the discipline: “Ethnography is a science about the folk, their life and their culture, which it not only faithfully and critically captures, but also interprets, both in all external and internal relations and in the development, to determine general development tendencies in the conclusion. The external relations mean ethnic and geographic relations, under international relations I understand all relations to the life and all ties between the form and the content

throughout the range of folk culture.” (Václavík 1959a: 25) Václavík tried to pass on the above-mentioned credo to his students. On the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the department’s foundation, he published an assessment report in the anthology of the Faculty of Arts, in which he summarized the development of the discipline, and commented on the results of successful pedagogical and research work (Václavík 1959b).

Efforts to establish a separate Department of Ethnography and Folkloristics, and its leadership by Richard Jeřábek

When Antonín Václavík suddenly died in 1959, the teaching assistant Richard Jeřábek became the new head of the ethnographical department. He was awarded a scientific degree of Candidate of Sciences (CSc.) in the same year. The extension of pedagogical staff gradually continued in the first half of the 1960s, when Václav Frolec, another student of Václavík’s who focused on tangible culture, was admitted to the department. The continuing stabilization of the department was dependent on the Candidate of Sciences (CSc.) degree being awarded to young teachers, which happened in 1963, when Václav Frolec defended a thesis about vernacular architecture in western Bulgaria, and Dušan Holý a thesis in the branch of ethnomusicology. In the same year, the teaching assistant Bohuslav Beneš, who focused on literary folkloristics and semi-folk literature, reinforced the pedagogical staff in the department of ethnography at the Faculty of Arts. Other lectures were given by experts from museums and academic sphere, e.g. Ludvík Kunz, Karel Fojtík, and Oldřich Sirovátka.

In 1960, Brno University was given a new name – Jan Evangelista Purkyně University (UJEP) – to honour an important Czech physician, physiologist and philosopher of the 19th century. When the teaching assistant Richard Jeřábek was awarded a senior lecturer degree for the discipline of Czech and Slovak ethnography, the Scientific Board of the Faculty of Arts of UJEP approved the foundation of a separate Department of Ethnography and Folkloristics as of 1st October 1964.¹⁷ The Department was chaired by R. Jeřábek, and the teaching assistants D. Holý, V. Frolec and B. Beneš made up the pedagogical staff, as well as external lecturers.

The then teaching programme for the discipline of ethnography is evident from the material that was

prepared for distance study.¹⁸ The teaching structure foresaw interdisciplinary overlaps to related sciences, archaeology, history and history of art. The discipline's historical orientation was supported by lectures on the history of Czechoslovakia and explanations about the "origin and culture of the oldest Slavs". In addition to introductory, general and historiographic lectures, all teachers were gradually involved in the "Ethnography of Slavs" within their specializations (traditional agriculture, non-agricultural jobs and labour of the folk, vernacular architecture, folk dress, social culture, folk visual arts, and spiritual culture). The course was based on supporting Slavic orientation of the discipline, which was cultivated already in Václavík's times. The "Chapters from general ethnography" delivered by R. Jeřábek and focused on the culture of northern Africa showed a broader dimension. Special lectures concerned e.g. research into viticulture (V. Frolec) and ethnomusicology (D. Holý). Because the internal teachers were not able to cover lectures from all realms of traditional folk culture and ongoing social themes (research into working classes and urban environment), the department continued using the services of external teachers. Besides lectures, tutorials and fieldwork, it was annual journeys around Czechoslovakia and abroad that became an integral part of teaching and that were mostly organized by R. Jeřábek. The first trip abroad led to Bulgaria due to close contacts with the University of Sofia and Professor Cvetana Romanska (Jeřábek – Čerešňák 1975).

Tutorials in fieldwork, which is the discipline's main research method, were part of teaching and were led by V. Frolec. Student research was in accordance with the department's plans to publish monographs about the ethnographic area of Podluží (southern Moravia) and Wallachia (eastern Moravia), and with the research intentions of particular teachers (e.g. viticulture theme in southern Moravia or cartographic recording of vernacular architecture in Moravia and Bohemian Silesia). Between 1962 and 1963, fieldwork was conducted in cooperation with the Slovak Ethnographical Society and was aimed at the Slovak shepherd culture and pastoral farming. In the second half of the 1960s, student fieldwork was carried on in cooperation with the Slovak National Museum in Martin. This included ethnographic rescue research in the area of the future Liptovská Mara water reservoir (northern Slovakia) and research into vernacular

architecture in the regions of Kysuce (northern Slovakia) and the Little Carpathians (south-western Slovakia) (Doušek 2016: 67).

The themes of master's theses which were defended at the department corresponded to the staff expansion and teachers' specialization (Válka 2006: 37–38). Due to the increase in the number of Slovak students, diploma theses also dealt with ethnographic material from Slovakia;¹⁹ however, the focus on the expressions of Moravian traditional culture prevailed. The village house and habitation monitored in the regions which had been away from the research interest was a frequent theme. In connection with R. Jeřábek's project, annotated bibliographies became a new form of Master's thesis; the spectrum of themes was enriched by literary folkloristics and folk visual art (Jeřábek 1967).

Scientific-research work was an important component in the work of the teachers at the Department of Ethnography and Folkloristics. This work continued the tradition of regional monographs, which still were the basic form to publish knowledge about folk culture. In this way, the joint monograph *Podluží. Kniha o lidovém umění* [Podluží. A Book about Folk Art] (1962) came into being. The book interconnects local forms of visual art with folk literature, music, and dance in the specific region of southern Moravia at the border with Austria and Slovakia. The other regional monograph – *Horňácko. Život a kultura lidu na moravsko-slovenském pomezí v oblasti Bílých Karpat* [Horňácko. Life and Culture of the Folk in Moravian-Slovakian Borderland in the Region of White Carpathians] (1966) – is a joint effort in which external specialists also took part. It includes all components of tangible and social culture as well as peculiar folklore expressions that made the region famous all over the country.

Besides their pedagogical obligations and research work, members of the Brno ethnographic department got involved in the activity of domestic and international professional organizations. They closely cooperated with the Institute of Folk Art (later the Institute of Folk Culture) in Strážnice, both on the platform of the famous international folklore festival, and in organizing symposiums in Strážnice and the publication of *Národopisné aktuality* [Current Events in Ethnography] (1964–1990), a common journal of Czech and Slovak ethnographers and folklorists. Václav Frolec was at the birth of the Open-Air Museum of Rural Architecture in

South-Eastern Moravia, which was built from 1967 as part of the Strážnice Institute. The Brno teachers' activity in the Czechoslovak Ethnographic Society resulted in the renewal of its periodical, the *Národopisný věstník československý* [Czechoslovak Ethnographic Journal], and the transfer of the editorial office to Brno. V. Frolec became the editor-in-chief. A project focused on the retrospective bibliography of Czech and Moravian ethnography and folkloristics, which was prepared and implemented by Richard Jeřábek (1964), was also linked to the Ethnographic Society.

The involvement of Brno teachers in international cooperation took place on the platform of the International Committee for the Study of Carpathian and Balkan Folk Culture (ICSCBFC), which involved researchers from the "Eastern bloc" from 1959. The Commission defined alpine pastoral farming, vernacular architecture, and the reflection of rebelliousness in folklore as themes that were supposed to be crowned with syntheses. In addition to research, the Carpathian Commission organized academic conferences and published an informative bulletin and other printed materials (Frolec 1985).

The political liberalization in the late 1960s allowed the scholars from Czechoslovakia to take part in conferences held in "capitalist" foreign countries and to get involved in the activity of international organizations, such as the UNESCO Union Internationale des Sciences Anthropologiques et Ethnologiques, and the Société Internationale d'Ethnologie et de Folklore, where V. Frolec became a member of the executive council (Ročenka 1969: 441; Frolcová 1994: 6). From 1970, R. Jeřábek was a member of the group of authors of the *Internationale Volkskundliche Bibliographie*, an international bibliography published in Germany, for which he selected citation data about ethnographic and folkloristic production in the Czech Republic (Jeřábek 1991c: 3).

The above-mentioned academic activities of the teachers of the Department of Ethnography and Folkloristics reflect the liberalized political situation in the 1960s (the period of the Prague Spring). The occupation by the Warsaw Pact troops in August 1968 did not only stand for the end of the process of political democratization, but it soon brought about the strengthening of Communist dictatorship into the life of Czech and Slovak society, including universities.

Foundation of the Department of History and Ethnography of Central, South-Eastern and Eastern Europe as a consequence of "normalization" processes

The new political line represented by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia brought about the return to the fundamental party line of Soviet type in the form of "normalization" into the life of society. Political screenings, which were to assess the attitudes of the teachers during the societal liberalization at the end of the 1960s as well as their attitude to the occupation of Czechoslovakia by the Warsaw Pact armies led by the Soviet Union (which the totalitarian propaganda interpreted as "international brotherly help") became a reason to punish Party stalwarts as well as teachers who were not members of the Party. The above-mentioned political purges significantly influenced the situation at the Faculty of Arts of UJEP as well as the existence of the independent Department of Ethnography and Folkloristics. They led to the foundation of the Department of History and Ethnography of Central, South-Eastern and Eastern Europe in 1970, to which the hitherto independent Department of Ethnography and Folkloristics was attached as a mere section. The historian František Hejl, who defended his political position, became the head of the new department. In contrast to several other departments, the staff in the Section of Ethnography and Folkloristics remained more or less unchanged.²⁰

The period of "normalization" brought about a return to obligatory lectures on the history of the working-classes movement and the Communist Party, Marxist-Leninist philosophy, political economy and scientific communism. On the other hand, the study programme for ethnography included lectures with a wider concept, which reflected the discipline's development towards ethnographic European studies, non-European ethnology, ethnic themes and the culture of the contemporary (socialist) village, in addition to historically oriented courses in response to the emphasized historical orientation of the discipline.²¹ The lectures and tutorials were no longer delivered by external teachers, and the study of ethnography was not offered every year, as this was subject to quotas defined by the Ministry of Education. Albeit with limited numbers of students, domestic and foreign discovery trips were implemented regularly. These were organized by R. Jeřábek and they went to the socialist countries of Central and South-Eastern Europe. One of the longest journeys led to Caucasus (Jeřábek 1987; Válka 2016).

Student fieldwork was related to research projects implemented in the department and it was aimed at the contemporary village with cooperative agriculture.

The centrally controlled state plan of basic research (Olšáková 2016) predestined the ethnography section to focus on folk culture of the Czech lands, and on the inter-ethnic relationship to the Carpathians and Balkans, based on tangible culture, folk visual art, oral literature and musical tradition. The 1970s brought the discipline again to ongoing themes associated with research into the countryside observed from the perspective of changes in modernization (Jeřábek 1981). The broad interdisciplinary research into “revolutionary” transformations of the South-Moravian countryside and the rural landscape was crowned with a large edition series *Lidová kultura a současnost* [Folk Culture and the Present] edited by V. Frolec, and his own synthesis (Frolec 1989). Thematically aimed anthologies monitored the expressions of rural tangible and social culture in their modernization and functional transformation after 1948 and during the era of “real socialism”. Student fieldwork was associated with the above-mentioned projects (Doušek 2016: 68–76).

In 1986, another organizational change concerning the ethnographic workplace occurred at the Faculty of Arts of UJEP: a new Department of History, Archival Studies and Ethnography was established. It was led by Professor Bedřich Čerešňák, who also was the Rector of Jan Evangelista Purkyně University at the same time. As the study of ethnography was not opened every year, the result was that in the above-mentioned year, the lectures on ethnography were given only for the second year of study. New were lectures from the realm of pedagogy and social psychology, the theory of scientific management and foundations of scientific information. The scientific and research activity of the new department was defined by several tasks of the state plan for basic research. Even the ethnographers, who conducted their own research, i.e. “Ethno-Structural Processes at Present” and “Research into Folk Culture in Socialistic Society” (Ročenka 1988: 189), participated in the historical project “Moravia in the History of the Czech Lands”.

Institute of European Ethnology at the renewed Masaryk University

The societal upheaval in November 1989, known as the Velvet Revolution, removed the government of one

political party in Czechoslovakia and established political polarity, which led to the democratization of societal life, economic transformation and decentralization of state administration. After the disintegration of Czechoslovakia (as of 1st January 1993) the Czech Republic started heading towards western-European structures. Coping with the totalitarian era was shown by different levels in society and had differently strict forms. Within Czech ethnography, the Ethnological Society initiated a commission which elaborated an evaluating text published in the Society's periodical (Jiříková – Mišurec 1991). Other assessments were published in the anthology *Česká etnologie 2000* [Czech Ethnology 2000] (Scheffel – Kandert 2002); on the pages of the *Český lid* [Czech Folk] journal a polemic about the relationship between ethnology and developing Czech anthropology was set in motion (Nešpor – Jakoubek 2006). The authors thought about the definition of and relationship between both disciplines even later (Soukup 2008).

The system of higher education changed significantly under the new societal conditions after November 1989. Academic freedom was renewed and rectors and deans were given new powers brought about by the Higher Education Act of May 1990; Brno University, which returned to its name Masaryk University, was able to get involved in European research structures. A new system of study, which was similar to that in western-European countries and which was organized as a three-year bachelor degree programme and subsequent two-year master studies, was introduced. Ideological constraints were removed from academic research, and the methodical and methodological basis for the research into the human being and his culture was able to continue in a plurality of forms. The new societal situation brought up ongoing themes for discipline's research (identity, gender studies, ethnicity, and migration).

Within the transformations in the organizational structure of the Faculty of Arts at MU, the Brno ethnographers succeeded in re-establishing an independent department as of 1st January 1991, which did not return to its original name, but taking into consideration the contemporary development trends, it accepted the name the Institute of European Ethnology.²² Professor Richard Jeřábek was elected as its head. The teaching was based on the study of Czech and Slovak folk culture in comparison with the culture of Slavs and Central-European area,

but it was extended by non-European ethnology and themes reflecting ongoing social and cultural changes. In particular, this department's direction was complied with by the content of "European and non-European ethnology" which not only classified ethnic communities in terms of anthropology, linguistics, religious studies and ethnology, but also characterized ethno-genesis, ethnic history and the culture of lower social classes in nations and other ethnic groups from Europe to Australia.²³

The early 1990s at the Institute of European Ethnology featured a generation change and admission of new teaching assistants.²⁴ The young generation at the Institute was represented by Martina Pavlicová, who began work as an internal doctoral candidate at the Institute and finished her studies in 1992, when she defended her Candidate of Sciences dissertation in the branch of ethnochoreology. She also taught the subjects "Introduction into the History of Ethnology" and "Introduction into the History of Folkloristics". In September 1992, Miroslav Válka, who focused on teaching in the field of traditional tangible culture under the umbrella of the Homo Faber course, became a teacher at the Institute. He took over the leadership of a subject aimed at the foundations of academic work, and organized fieldwork. Among the older generation of professors, it was Professor Dušan Holý who continued his lectures on ethnomusicology (music folkloristics), folksongs and music, music and monographs about the bearers of folk traditions. His course called "Music of Non-European Cultures" was aimed at understanding different systems of music in the world.

The system of university education at the Faculty of Arts of MU experienced an essential change in the academic year 2002–2003. A credit system was introduced to the three-year bachelor degree programme and subsequent two-year master studies. The system required a programme transformation of the study plan; the lectures were divided into obligatory (A credits), selective (B credits) and elective (C credits). The teaching still included fieldwork and museum practices; special excursions which were still ensured by Professor Richard Jeřábek continued (Válka 2016). The bachelor degree programme aimed at practice and traditional culture of the Czech ethnic group was based on the idea of employing aspirants to the study of ethnology in museums, heritage preservation and cultural institutions. The master studies expected that graduates would be specialists in the realm of European and non-

European ethnicity as well as in contemporary culture and society, which could open the path to graduates to an academic career and occupation in state and cultural institutions and non-profit organizations.

From 1993, the scientific and research work of teachers was aimed at an encyclopaedic work about folk culture in the historical Czech lands, which was written in cooperation with the Institute of Ethnology of the Czech Academy of Sciences. With the publication of the book *Lidová kultura. Národopisná encyklopedie Čech, Moravy a Slezska* [Folk Culture: Ethnographic Encyclopaedia of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia] (Brouček – Jeřábek 2007) the more than one-hundred-year long effort of Czech ethnologists was concluded to publish a summarizing book, an idea about which was already one of the tasks of the Czechoslovak Ethnographic Exhibition in 1895. The book completed a development stage which can be described as an ethnographic one and it established Czech ethnology abroad. The Institute of European Ethnology's teachers also took part in a summarizing work devoted to traditional folk culture in Moravia, which was published in cooperation with the Society of Museums and Homeland History and the Institute of Folk Culture in Strážnice within the new series of *Vlastivěda moravská* [Moravia in All Its Aspects] (Jančář 2000).

The progressive increase in the number of students, which related to the governmental policy aimed at new trends in education in the Czech Republic, made it possible to employ new colleagues at the Institute. In 2000, Alena Křížová became a teaching assistant at the Institute of European Ethnology. Step by step, she took over the courses in clothing culture, ethnographical museology and folk visual art; her lectures focused on applied arts were intended for ethnologists as well as for students of history of arts and combined art studies.²⁵ In 2006, Roman Doušek became a teaching assistant. His specialization included spiritual culture, non-European ethnology and fieldwork methodology. A year later, the pedagogical staff was reinforced by Daniel Drápala, who participates in propaedeutics within his teaching and deals with the ethnology of Europe (Germanic-speaking and Romance-speaking nations) within the master's studies.²⁶ He was able to use his professional and organizational experience when leading fieldwork (together with Roman Doušek) and specialized excursions. Both teachers also ensure special selective lectures for both study cycles.²⁷

The past decade and the current transformation of teaching: from the discipline and programme of ethnology

The structure of the study of ethnology was more or less constant in the past decade.²⁸ The new organization of the academic and research work at universities brought about the funding of large interdisciplinary projects. The largest event of this type was the engagement of ethnologists in the research project, “The Interdisciplinary Centre for the Research into Social Structures from Prehistory to the High Middle Ages”, which the Institute of Archaeology and Museology at the Faculty of Arts implemented between 2005 and 2011. The ethnologists participated in “Comparative Research into the Social Structures of Dead and Living Culture”. The project resulted in *Etnologické studie* [Ethnological Studies] and *Etnologické materiály* series [Ethnological Materials], which made it possible to publish the results of the research conducted within the above-mentioned project, as well as works written by other members of the Institute.

Ethnologists also joined the project “The Faculty of Arts as a Workplace for Excellent Education. A complex innovation of study branches and programmes at the Faculty of Arts of MU with regard to the requirements of knowledge economics (2013–2014)”. In the Institute of European Ethnology, the Project resulted in printed study materials,²⁹ e-learning, and lectures delivered by experts from Belarus, Germany, Slovakia and Serbia. The teachers in the Institute also dealt with individual projects within grant agencies of the Czech Republic, the Czech Academy of Sciences, and within the University Development Fund (Válka at al. 2016).

The group project “The Development of Cooperation and Enhancement of Research Competencies in the Network of Ethnological Institutions” also represented involvement in the structural funds of the European Union. The 2011–2014 project encouraged cooperation between Brno ethnological workplaces: the Institute of European Ethnology of the Faculty of Arts of MU, the Institute of Ethnology of the CAS, and the Ethnographic Institute of the Moravian Museum. The Czech Ethnological Society, with its seat in Prague, joined the project as well.³⁰ Diverse outcomes in the realm of publications, conferences and teaching focused on the students of ethnology contributed to the next development of the branch, as papers with diverse methodical foci were published, which were not available in the branch at that time.³¹

Between 2012 and 2015, the teachers at the Institute of European Ethnology dealt with a large interdisciplinary project “The Geographical Information System of Traditional Folk Culture 1750–1900” under the leadership of Daniel Drápala. The Project emerged within the Programme of Applied Research and Development of National and Cultural Identity funded by the Czech Ministry of Culture. It was implemented in cooperation with the Institute of Computer Science at MU; not only teachers, but also many internal doctoral candidates participated in the work on the project. The created Internet application interconnects maps with information of a literary, written and iconographic nature from traditional folk culture in the historical territory of Moravia within the above period. It has the form of an on-line accessible geographic information system which allows its users – based on a chosen period or location or region (domain, parish, court district) – to get to know the tangible, social and spiritual expressions of folk culture. The published outcome, the monograph *Časové a prostorové souvislosti tradiční lidové kultury na Moravě* [Traditional Folk Culture in Moravia: Time and Space] (Doušek – Drápala 2015), tries to put the phenomena of traditional folk culture in Moravia into wider territorial and historical connections, and to define which phenomena can be considered to be autochthonous and which are part of the common civilization development; or what can be considered to be common for the whole of the historical territory of Moravia and what, in contrast, features close regional and local ties.³²

“Specific” research is another platform for the research work at the Institute of European Ethnology. It is based on the cooperation between teachers and students, and its goal is to support specific academic projects dealt with within one calendar year. The financial funds are directed at the research conducted by students of master’s and doctoral studies, whereby the research becomes a basis of their master’s or doctoral theses. The published outcomes also include summarizing works by former colleagues, which act as study materials,³³ and anthologies from conferences,³⁴ or those which pay attention to ongoing ethnological themes.³⁵

The 2016 amendment to the Higher Education Act introduced essential changes into studying at universities in the Czech Republic and accreditation, according to which it will be possible to carry on the accreditation directly at well-established universities. Instead of the term “discipline” a wider term “programme” is being introduced.

At Masaryk University in Brno, several forms of study are recommended. The goal of the reform is easy combining of different programmes not only within a faculty, but among more than one faculty. The programme “ethnology” falling within the historical sciences is preparing – after self-evaluation – study forms described as “completus” (study of just one programme, i.e. ethnology in our case), “maior” (i.e. a type of study, where ethnology as the main programme will be studied with a chosen auxiliary programme) and “minor” (it includes the study of ethnology as an auxiliary programme). The mentioned different forms of study are supposed to remove the problem of study failure rate and to better allow for learning propensity among graduates from diverse secondary schools. The new system is supposed to come into force in the academic year 2019.

Conclusion

The outlined history of the ethnological department at Masaryk University in Brno demonstrates the pedagogical staff's efforts to provide those interested with a high-quality university education in the discipline, and thereby corresponding employment. Ethnology originated in the interest in “national” culture in the 19th century and has undergone a development that reflected the changes in the discipline's discourse in response to societal changes during the turbulent 20th century. It can be said that the Brno university department succeeded in participating in forming the discipline in the former Czechoslovakia as well as in the independent Czech Republic, and with

its educational and research activities it contributed to the development of European ethnology. The teaching orientation was defined by Antonín Václavík, a founder of the university ethnographic department, and his students; for this reason, the subsequent development was continuous even though exposed to ideological political pressure after 1948. Journalism speaks about the Brno (Moravian) ethnographic school based on the historical approach to traditional and modern-day rural culture (Válka 2010; Altman 2016). The school developed based on cooperation between teachers and graduates, who found employment in the academic sphere, at the Brno section of the Institute of Ethnography and Folkloristics of the CSAS (today the Institute of Ethnology of the CAS), as well as at the Institute of Folk Culture in Strážnice (today the National Institute of Folk Culture) and in the Wallachian Open-Air Museum in Rožnov pod Radhoštěm, the biggest institution of this type in the Czech Republic, and in many regional museums. Domestic and foreign discovery journeys became an integral part of the teaching at the ethnological (ethnographic) department of Brno University and the graduates also take often part in these, strengthening their ties to their “alma mater” (Drápala 2016). After social changes related to 1989, the teaching of ethnology at Masaryk University aimed at contemporary culture and society, as well as the research into traditional folk culture. The study programme of ethnology, which is emerging in connection with the 2016 amendment to the Higher Education Act, will follow this line.

FOOTNOTES:

1. The Czech term “národopis” [literary nation writing or nationgraphy] is a bad translation of the German term “Volkskunde”. Even though “more correct” Czech versions from the linguistic perspective occur, such as “lidopis” and “lidozpyt” [literary folk writing, or folkgraphy], “národopis” has remained as a term commonly used by professionals and amateur public in titles of discipline periodicals and as an official term to define the first stage of the discipline's development (until 1948). However, already at the end of the 19th century, Czech journalism also used the term “ethnology”, which was explained mainly by Emanuel Kovář (1891).
2. We can note a different development in the discipline formation in the case of Czech (Sudeten) Germans, because the ethnographic research was carried on in the historical Czech lands (Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia) on the ethnic principle and it was affected by different levels of nationalism. See Lozoviuk 2012.
3. On the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the foundation of the Sub-Division for Ethnography and Ethnology at MU, a jubilee Almanac was published, which gives basic information about the development of the workplace until 2005. See Válka (ed.) 2006.

Personal bibliographies about A. Václavík, R. Jeřábek, V. Frolec, O. Sirovátka, and B. Beneš were part of the edition *Bibliographic Supplement to the Journal of Ethnology* published by the National Institute of Folk Culture in Strážnice. Available: <<http://revue.nul.k.cz/charakteristika-casopisu/personalni-bibliografie.html>>.

4. See note no. 2.
5. Stanisław Poniatowski (1884–1945), a Polish ethnographer and ethnologist. He conducted research in eastern Siberia, he dealt with the discipline's theory and he is an author of the synthesis *Etnografia Polski* (1932). See also *Etnografowie i ludoznawcy polscy* 2007: 270–276.
6. Cezaria Anna Baudouin de Courtenay Ehrenkreutz Jędrzejewiczowa (1885–1967), a Polish ethnographer and philologist born in Estonia. She monitored the relationship between the Slavic world and Byzantium, and annual and family customs, e.g. *Ze studiów nad obrzędami weselnymi ludu polskiego* (1929). See Jeřábek 2013: 27–28.
7. Jan Stanisław Bystroń (1892–1964), a Polish ethnologist, folklorist, sociologist and historian of culture. He studied folk ceremonialism,

- song traditions and paremiology. He is an author of methodological works and disciplinary synthesis. See Jeřábek 2013: 43–44.
8. Kazimierz Moszyński (1887–1959), a Polish ethnographer and Slavist. He is an author of *Kultura ludowa Słowian I, II/1,2* (1929, 1934, 1939), an essential work about the folk culture of Slavic nations, which was written using ethnographic methods. His work *Człowiek. Wstęp do etnografii powszechnej i etnologii* (1958) shows a theoretical-methodological dimension. See Jeřábek 2013: 140–141.
 9. Richard Beitzl (1900–1982), a German ethnographer and author of summarizing works *Deutsche Volkskunde* (1933) and *Wörterbuch der deutschen Volkskunde* (1936, with Oswald A. Erich).
 10. Arthur Byhan (1872–1942), a German ethnologist, he is a co-author of the joint work *Illustrierte Völkerkunde in zwei Bänder* (1926). *Völker Europas. Illustrierte Völkerkunde* (1930) is another work with his participation, where he wrote entries about Caucasus peoples, Turkic peoples in eastern Russia, and Finnish peoples.
 11. Masaryk University Archive Brno, Collection A 2, Faculty of Arts, personal files, Antonín Václavík, carton 18/1.
 12. The propaganda of that time termed political changes in Czechoslovakia in February 1948 “the victory of the working people”. After 1989 the term is “Communist putsch”.
 13. Masaryk University Archive Brno, List of lectures at the Faculty of Arts 1949/1950.
 14. The university was called just “Brno University”.
 15. The research into coal miners resulted in monographs which were based on the concept of traditional regional monographs. See Skalníková 1959 or Fojtík – Sirovátka 1961.
 16. Masaryk University Archive Brno, Collection 58, card files 4/VI, ethnographic sub-division activity 1945–1955.
 17. Masaryk University Archive Brno, Collection A 2, Faculty of Arts II., sign. III, Academic Staff, card files 1.
 18. Curriculum for ethnography and folkloristics 1961. Brno: Universita J. E. Purkyně (typewritten copy).
 19. Master theses: Stehlíková, Magdaléna. *Ludový odev a textil v Liptovskej Lúžnej, v Liptovskej Osade a v Liptovských Revúcach* [Folk Dress and Textile in the Villages of Liptovská Lužná, Liptovská Osada and Liptovské Revúce] (1964) and Turzová, Marta. *Fašiangové obyčaje v Rajeckej doline* [Shrovetide Customs in the Rajecká Valley] (1968)
 20. The only exception was Bohuslav Beneš's return from the Department of Czech Literature and Literary Science, which he left in 1969 due to his specialization.
 21. These were lectures *General Ethnography (European nations, non-European nations)*, *Ethnogenesis and Ethnic Processes* and *Problems of Ethnographic Study of the Present*, delivered by R. Jeřábek and V. Frolec. The lectures *The History of Czechoslovakia 1648–1918* and *The History of Czechoslovakia from 1918*, as well as the special lecture *History of the Village*, given by historians, were supposed to support the historical orientation.
 22. The discipline was renamed “ethnology” in the year 1994.
 23. Among external lecturers were Jana Pospíšilová from the Brno branch of the Institute of Ethnology of the CAS with a course in children's culture and folklore, Alena Kalinová and Hana Dvořáková from the Ethnographic Institute of the Moravian Museum with the theme of folk art and religiosity, and Miloš Melzer, an ethnographer and museologist, who delivered selective lectures regarding historiography, popularized handicrafts, and ethnic composition of the Czech Republic. Lectures were delivered also by foreign lecturers, e.g. Vera Mayer from the Ethnographic Museum in Vienna (Österreichisches Museum für Volkskunde), who explained the development of ethnography in Austria and pointed out the modernization changes in vernacular architecture and habitation in the 20th century in Austrian Burgenland with ties to southern Moravia. In spring 1992, the study programme included the *Profile of an Ethnographic Area*, a one-day tutorial connected with a field excursion. The first year was devoted to the region of Haná and the subsequent ten years were devoted gradually to other Moravian and Silesian ethnographic areas.
 24. V. Frolec died in 1992, B. Beneš retired in 1994.
 25. Alena Křížová was awarded a senior lecturer degree in 2005 and she was appointed to professorship of ethnology in 2015.
 26. In 2016, Daniel Drápala was awarded a senior lecturer degree based on the monograph *Venkovský obchod Moravy a Slezska. Socio-ekonomické sondy* [Rural Trade in Moravia and Silesia. Socio-Economic Probes] (2014).
 27. Doušek, Roman. *Sebranice v 18. století; Kapitoly z historiografie vesnice. Etnologie Vanuatu* [Sebranice in the 18th Century; Chapters from Historiography of a Village. Vanuatu Ethnology]. Drápala, Daniel. *Muzea v přírodě; Vybrané socioprofesionální skupiny I, II; UNESCO a ochrana nehmotného kulturního dědictví; Digitalizace v praxi* [Open-Air Museums; Selected socio-professional groups I, II; UNESCO and the Safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage; Digitization in practice].
 28. Since 2006, the workplace has been chaired by Miroslav Válka. His study stays at the university in Slovenian Ljubljana, in Bratislava, and discovery trips to Lusatia, Poland, Ukraine, and the Balkans enabled him to ensure the course “The Ethnology of Europe” aimed at Slavic nations, and selective lectures devoted to Slovak folk culture and Lusatians. He was awarded a senior lecturer degree in 2012 based on the thesis about the contemporary village (Válka 2011).
 29. Altman, Karel. *Úvod do studia dějin národopisu na Moravě* [Introduction into the History of Národopis in Moravia]. Brno: Masarykova univerzita, 2013; Brožovičová, Klára. *Žena z pohledu tradice* [Women from the Perspective of Traditions]. Brno: Masarykova univerzita, 2013; Mertová, Petra. *Mezioborová praktická studia* [Interdisciplinary Practical Studies]. Brno: Masarykova univerzita, 2014; Válka, Miroslav. *Homo Faber. Tradiční zemědělství a lidová výroba* [Homo Faber. Traditional Agriculture and Folk Production]. Brno: Masarykova univerzita, 2014.
 30. The teaching assistant of European ethnology Roman Doušek was the proposer and main coordinator of the project.
 31. The Institute of Ethnology published the edition series “Ethnological Handbooks”; the series included the following books: Doušek, Roman et al. *Archivní prameny v etnologickém výzkumu I* [Archival Sources in Ethnological Research]. Brno: Masarykova univerzita, 2014; Doušek, Roman et al. *Úvod do etnologického výzkumu* [Introduction into Ethnological Research]. Brno: Masarykova univerzita, 2014.
 32. The book drew the attention of the professional public due to its concept and graphic depiction, and it was awarded the 2015 prize of the Czech Ethnological Society in the category “publications”.
 33. Jeřábek, Richard. *Lidová výtvarná kultura. Dvacet dva příspěvků k teorii, metodologii, ikonografii a komparatistice* [Folk Visual Arts Culture, Twenty-two contributions on theory, methodology, iconography and comparatistics]. Brno: Masarykova univerzita, 2011; Jeřábek, Richard. *Biografický slovník evropské etnologie*

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34. Drápala, Daniel (ed.). *Antonín Václavík (1891–1959) a evropská etnologie. Kontexty doby a díla* [Antonín Václavík (1891–1959) and European Ethnology. The Contexts of Time and Work]. Brno: Masarykova univerzita, 2010.
35. Pavlásek, Michal and Jana Nosková (eds.). *Když výzkum, tak kvalitativní. Serpentinami bádání v terénu* [If Research, then Qualitative. Along the Hairpin Bends of Field Research]. Brno: Masarykova univerzita a Etnologický ústav AV ČR, 2013; Malach, Roman and Miroslav Válka (eds.). *Vesnická stavební kultura* [Rural Building Culture]. Brno: Masarykova univerzita, 2014; Machová, Barbora. *Bitovo. Každodenní život v makedonských horách* [Bitovo. Everyday Life in Macedonian Mountains]. Brno: Masarykova univerzita, 2016.
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Summary

Since its foundation in the academic year 1945/46, the ethnological (ethnographic) section at the Faculty of Arts of Masaryk University in Brno (Czech Republic) has taken part in the formation of the discipline in the former Czechoslovakia and – since 1993 – in the independent Czech Republic. It was Prof. Antonín Václavík (1891–1959) and his student who defined the teaching's orientation, so one speaks about the Brno (Moravian) ethnographic school. After 1948, the discipline was declared a historical science and at the Faculty of Arts it became part of several departments dealing with history and history of art together. In 1964, an independent Department of Ethnography and Folkloristics was founded, which was chaired by Prof. Richard Jeřábek (1931–2006), but in the period of Communist “normalization”, from 1970, the discipline was again part of the Department of History and Ethnography of Central, South-Eastern and Eastern Europe. After social changes relating to 1989, the discipline became independent as the Institute of European Ethnology (since 1991). The teaching of the discipline gradually focused – as well as traditional folk culture observed within the Slavic context – on contemporary culture and society (working classes, countryside with cooperative agriculture, ethnic issues, folklorism, oral history, identity, and migration). The lectures on non-European ethnology were delivered by Richard Jeřábek. Domestic and international discovery trips became an integral part of the teaching. This line will be continued by the new study programme of ethnology, which is emerging in connection with the 2016 amendment to Higher Education Act.

Key words: History of ethnology; university teaching; Masaryk University; Brno (Czech Republic).

KAREL DVOŘÁK (1913–1989)

With his works in the realm of folklore comparatistics Karel Dvořák is one of the significant European researchers. He was a member of the International Society for Folk Narrative Research from 1969, and from the same year, he was a corresponding member of the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Volkskunde. He drew attention, mainly through his research, into medieval folklore and literature, in particular by the study of preachers' exempla. In his teaching and research activities he moved between literary science, German studies, folkloristics and ethnography. For many years, he was part of the university, cultural and social environment in Olomouc and especially Prague.

After having graduated from the grammar school in Olomouc, K. Dvořák studied Slavic studies, German studies and comparative history of literature at Charles University in Prague between 1932 and 1938. During his studies, he met many interesting teachers; for example the Germanist Otokar Fischer (1883–1938), the Slavist Jiří Horák (1884–1975) and the Romanist and teatrologist Václav Tille (1867–1937). They gave him serious foundations for his long-life orientation not only in the theory and history of literature, but also in folkloristics. He took part in lectures of the Prague Linguistics Circle, where he got to know modern methodology of structuralism. Already during his university studies, Dvořák translated poetic and prosaic pieces of works from German and Latin, and he published them mainly in Catholic-oriented magazines. His studies and reviews were soon published e.g. in the periodicals *Listy pro umění a kritiku* [Journal for Art and Critical Reviews], *Kritický měsíčník* [Critical Monthly], *Řád* [The Order], *Česká literatura* [Czech Literature] and others.

Between 1938 and 1947, Dvořák taught at secondary schools in Prague

and Olomouc, after which he became an assistant lecturer at the Faculty of Education at Charles University, and later associate professor at the then University of Education. There he occupied different academic functions including that of dean (1956–1958). Between 1958 and 1978, he gave lectures at the Faculty of Arts at Charles University, and then he worked as an external lecturer there – until the last days of his life. It should be added that between 1960 and 1969 he was head of the Department of Ethnography and Folkloristics; he was appointed professor in 1968.

Karel Dvořák significantly influenced the development of Czech literary science, as he dealt with the literature of the National Revival at a theoretical level first, analysing works by František Ladislav Čelakovský, Karel Jaromír Erben, Karel Hynek Mácha, and Božena Němcová. At the same time, he published their works in exemplary editions, where he used his qualification as a folklorist.

The works by the above authors were always provided with voluminous publisher's notes (see e.g. František Ladislav Čelakovský: *Slovanské národ-*

ní písně [Slavic Folk Songs]. Praha: Ladislav Kuncič, 1946; František Ladislav Čelakovský: *Mudrosloví národu slovanského ve příslovích* [Wisdom of the Slavonic Nation in Sayings]. Praha: Vyšehrad, 1949; Karel Hynek Mácha: *Literární zápisníky. Deníky. Dopisy* [Literary Notebooks. Diaries. Letters]. Praha: Odeon, 1972, in cooperation with Karel Janský and Rudolf Skřeček.) It is necessary to remember that due to this Dvořák contributed to the high level of Czech textology.

Almost every Dvořák edition represents a chapter from the history of folkloristics, and it is also a contribution to the history of folklore. He understood folklore to be part of national literature, as well as understanding national literature to be part of world literature. Dvořák also was interested in theoretical issues of poetry; he studied responses and reception of literary and folklore works from the period of the Czech National Revival. In this field, he cooperated with Felix Vodička (1909–1974), an important structuralist, from the mid-20th century. Vodička edited the second part of the academic *Dějiny české literatury* [The History of Czech Literature] (Praha: Nakl. ČSAV, 1960). Dvořák provided a distinctive author's contribution to this publication.

In addition, Karel Dvořák monitored the publication of teaching aids for secondary schools. In this respect, the *Čítanka pro střední školy I* [The Reading-Book for Secondary Schools] (Praha: SPN, 1976, 2nd corr. ed.) is interesting as *pars pro toto*. Under the leadership of Felix Vodička, Dvořák was also a member of authorial group which prepared the textbook *Svět literatury I* [The World of Literature] (Praha: SPN, 1967).

The theme of textology accompanied Dvořák in his subsequent projects as well, whether it was his publishing activity, or the reconstruction of epic heritage surviving in mediaeval exempla. It was Dvořák who significantly contributed to the reconstruction of fairy-tale repertoire-



es from the 14th century. From the exemplum tradition of that time, he took away fairy-tales that he put together in the edition called *Nejstarší české pohádky* [The Oldest Czech Fairy Tales] (Praha: Odeon, 1976; 2nd ed. Praha: Argo, 2002). It was a representative set with 117 texts of animal, magic, legendary, novelist and humorous fairy tales of Czech origin. He followed the professional works by the Germanist Albert Wesselski (1871–1939) and the Bohemist Jan Vilíkovský (1904–1946), who for the first time accentuated the importance of exemplum (i.e. preachers' examples) study for literary science and folklore studies. In the book, the fairy tales are arranged in a similar way as they are in the basic catalogue of fairy-tale storylines by Arne, Thompson and Uther. The presented texts are put into the European frame through different references to basic collections and catalogues, including the basic catalogue by Frederic C. Tubach *Index Exemplorum. A Handbook of Medieval Religious Tales* (Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica, 1969). In the mentioned work, Dvořák significantly contributed to the knowledge about Old-Czech literature and folklore. Simultaneously, he resolved the issues relating to the origin and development of exempla, coming, for example, to the opinion that these structures had society-wide validity.

Concurrently with the collection of the oldest Czech fairy-tales, Dvořák prepared the *Soupis staročeských exemplů* [The List of Old-Bohemian Exempla]. *Index exemplorum paleobohemicorum* (1978, 2nd extended and corr. ed. 2016). He was not satisfied by the original index from 1978, but he tried to prepare an extended list for the series Folklore Fellows Communications, published in Helsinki. Dvořák essentially completed the Tubach handbook based on excerpts of predominantly Bohemian material. In addition, he studied, together with Kamil Boldán, a research fellow from the Prague University Library, the

manuscript of exempla called *Historiae variae moralisatae*, from the period around 1400. This manuscript, which presents about 230 new texts, was partially translated by Jan Vilíkovský, but it was not fully explored. Taken together, Karel Dvořák put the theory of fairy-tales into a different light and he significantly contributed to the knowledge about mediaeval literature.

Dvořák's edition work is also represented by the anthologies *Ruské lidové pohádky* [Russian Folk Fairy-Tales] (Praha: Odeon, 1984) by Alexander N. Afanasjev, and *Pohádky a pověsti našeho lidu. Z národopisných sběrů akademického spolku Slavia* [Fairy-Tales and Legends of Our Folk. From Ethnographic Collections of the Slavia Academic Club] (Praha: Odeon 1984). We should remember Dvořák's shorter studies, from which for example the „Balada o podhození“ [A Ballad about a Changeling Child] (in: *Lidová tradice. Přátelé k 85. narozeninám Jiřího Horáka*, edited by J. Jech and O. Skalníková. Praha: Academia, 1971. 39–54) is noteworthy. In terms of textology, Dvořák reflects on the long-term tradition about this European numinous obsession.

It is noteworthy that Karel Dvořák thoroughly commented on each edition of literary and folklore texts, whereby he took into consideration details which seemed to be insignificant. He proceeded in the same way in the edition of the autobiography, written in Latin, of Johannes Butzbach (1477–1526), a German cleric. Between 1488 and 1494, Butzbach as an itinerant student travelled around Germany and Bohemia; he finished his work *Hodoporiicon* in 1506. In this work, he introduced rich facts, for example, about the lives of students, small craftsmen, and burghers, as well as beggars and thieves. He used “rounded episodes”, which resembled preachers' exempla as well as humorous stories. In his comments, Dvořák accentuates specific features of Butzbach's humanism and mentions its

ethnographic regard. However, he also explains quite surprising connections – how the literary practice in the Butzbach period tolerated the storyline of folklore origin. In his opinion, prose developed strong pressure on educational literature.

The genre of scientific portrait cannot use the entire Dvořák bibliography, which indeed was concentrated in a special addendum to the *Journal of Ethnology* by Ludmila Sochorová (2004). It only remains to add that Dvořák's students and collaborators always appreciated his wide range of knowledge, which allowed him to work – at the theoretical and methodological levels – even on the themes touching different areas of research. Otherwise, Karel Dvořák really thoroughly commented on each published or analysed text, putting it into a wider social-cultural context. While discussing at his workplaces, he generously offered to look under the lid of his scientific kitchen. As resulting from his output, he never refused to cooperate with other researchers.

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JAROMÍR JECH (1918–1992)

Jaromír Jech contributed significantly to the formation of Czech literary folkloristics after the Second World War, and he was a dignified successor of his predecessors, Jiří Polívka (1958–1933) and Václav Tille (1867–1937), who actively cooperated with their colleagues in Eastern and Western Europe. He began to develop his scientific work at the Institute of Ethnography and Folkloristics of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences (CAS) immediately after the Institute had been founded. His primary attention was focused on theoretical, methodological and terminological topics. He defined the terms “folklore” and “folkloristics”, while stressing their inevitability and crucial importance in the modern development of the discipline due to their international nature and practical one-word expression (*Folklor* [Folklore], 1956). He dealt with the issue of typicality, variability and stability of the individual categories of folk prose (*Variabilität und Stabilität in den einzelnen Kategorien der Volksprosa*, 1967). He participated in international projects, and became a member of the *International Society for Folk Narrative research* (ISFNR) and the *Société Internationale d’Ethnologie et de Folklore* immediately after those societies had been founded. It was thanks to him that the second working conference of ISFNR took place under the leadership of the Institute of Ethnography and Folkloristics of the CAS in Libice

near Prague in 1966. The conference was attended by top foreign researchers from Western Europe who Jech had been cooperating with on all international projects until the end of his life. He initiated and enhanced rich collaboration with professional colleagues from Poland, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic and the Soviet Union. With his research studies (*Tschechische Versuche um Klassifizierung und Katalogisierung der Volkssagen*, 1963, and *Variabilität der Sagen und einige Fragen der Katalogisierung*, 1964) Jaromír Jech contributed to the international catalogue of legends being compiled at that time. He was in touch with the publishers of the voluminous *Enzyklopädie des Märchens*. (*Handwörterbuch zur historischen und vergleichenden Erzählforschung begründet von Kurt Ranke*) since the very beginning (1975), and contributed with numerous entries into it. Jech’s exceptional and unique personality got acknowledged with his appointment as the director of the Institute of Ethnography and Folkloristics for the years 1964–1972. While fairy-tale had always stayed in the centre of Jech’s scientific work, he also paid attention to other prosaic genres. His astonishing

knowledge of the material and expert literature allowed him to analyse the fairy-tale not only as an independent folklore genre but also its particular aspects that are typical for its “life”. The typological-comparative perspective applied in his works represents one of the most important beneficial contributions to Czech and international folkloristics. In 1972, he was forced to leave the Institute because of political reasons. Thus, the internationally renowned and respected leading representative of Czech folkloristics was forced to go into premature retirement. His name disappeared from within the Czech environment but he continued his research activities and published the findings thereof abroad.

Jaromír Jech was born in Václavice near Benešov on August 27, 1918. He graduated from Slavonic and German studies at the Faculty of Arts of Charles University in Prague (1937–1939 and 1945–1948). Jech revealed folkloristics while performing a dialectological research in the Neveklov area, and published his first essay with a folkloristic focus. In his article *Vyprávění ze života* [Narrations from Life], 1956, Jech as one of the first researchers draws attention to the so far neglected genre. His dialectological education was reflected in his sensitive approach towards the language aspect of folk narrations and language tools used in folklore poetics. This opened him the door to the work of the collector Josef Štefan Kubín (1864–1965). Jech thoroughly assessed his voluminous collections of folk narrations in Kladsko and Podkrkonoší [foothills of the Giant Mountains], and published them again with rich comparative comments supplied. He followed Kubín’s traces in the field and tried to find out what from the former tradition was still alive after fifty years. He included the results of his works, addressed in a new methodological way, not only in the critical publication of Kubín’s works, but especially in his book about an excellent female narrator, Filomena Hornychová (*Lidová vyprávění z Kladska*



[Folk Narrations from the Kladsko Area], 1959). In the study *Pohádky kladských Čechů* [The Fairy-Tales of Czechs from the Kladsko Area], published in the *Český Lid* Journal in 1959, he analysed their ethnic peculiarity. Based on the experience gained during the research, he also verified the "return research" and pointed out its significant methodological importance.

His interest in folklore at among Czechs in the Kladsko area brought Jech to the study of folk literature of the language minority in Romanian Banat, where he participated in a research project together with several research fellows from the Institute of Ethnography and Folkloristics in the years 1961–1963. The results of their work were partially made accessible in the *Český lid* journal (1962, 1963), and the summarized information was published in *České obce v rumunském Banátě* [Czech Villages in Romanian Banat] in 1992; the work written by a group of authors. Jech thoroughly investigated the status of local narrations, their themes and language, and in case of individual narrators he did not forget to observe the multi-ethnic environment in which they had grown up and lived, and which had influenced the origin and repertoire of their narrations.

Between 1953 and 1956, when the study of coalminers' folklore had become the focus of the Institute, Jech investigated this theme thoroughly in the Kladno region, writing the chapter *Lidové vyprávění* [Folk Narration], which is part of the widely outlined monograph *Kladensko* [The Kladno Area] (1959, ed. O. Skalníková).

The biggest attention, however, Jech paid to the study of fairy-tales. His research results are explained in *Lidová kultura* [Folk Culture], published within the work *Československá vlastivěda* [Czechoslovakia in All its Aspects] (1968), for the folkloristic part of which he prepared a section about fairy-tales, anecdotes and humorous stories, i.e. about genres which are often based on

the fairy-tale. The works from the 1970s and 1980s, when Jech was forbidden from publishing at home, were predominantly published abroad. The most outstanding contribution to the research of fairy-tales is represented by the second edition of his book *Tschechische Volksmärchen* (1st edition in 1961, 2nd edition 1984), published by the Akademie-Verlag in Berlin. Jech extended the 1st edition by his own collections, voluminous and detailed comments, focused on comparatistics, and added a large study. This combination of inputs resembles an introduction into the study of fairy-tales as a kind of folklore, and into the Czech fairy-tale literature. Jech's analysis of the position of Czech fairy-tales within the European context, their specific features and relationship to the fairy-tales of neighbouring nations is extraordinarily important. He observed the Czech fairy-tale from different points of view. In the study *Nad katalogem českých pohádek (O národní specifitě)* [Reading the Catalogue of Czech Fairy-Tales (About the National Specificity)] (1961) he contemplates the need to complete and correct Václav Tille's hitherto catalogue, which is insufficient for the comparison of fairy-tales in the international context. Jech's corrections, adaptations and annexes, he was working on for the whole of his life, are unfortunately not available. He noted the popularity of the well-known fairy tales of the collectors from the 19th century – Božena Němcová and Karel Jaromír Erben, their transformations and spread in oral tradition. He also paid attention to new developments of the fairy-tale, the situation with its oral tradition, its book transformations, and adaptations for film, television and radio (*Der gegenwärtige Weg des Märchens in der Tschechoslowakei*, 1990).

Jech's comparative aspect, a distinct sign of his works, concerned not only fairy-tales, but also other kinds of prose. As early as in 1957, he published in print – together with L. Déghová – *Příspěvek k studiu interetnických vlivů v lidovém*

vypravování [A Contribution to the Study of Interethnic Influences in Folk Narrations]. He applied his comparative view in Czech-Slovak, Czech-Polish (*Wpływy interetniczne na prozę ludową na Ziemiach Odzyskanych*, 1963), and Czech-Slavic relations and in relation to German folklore (*Die Brüder Grimm und das tschechische Volksmärchen*, 1988; *Fremdsprachige Wendungen in der Volksdichtung. Zur interethnischen Beziehungen*, 1965; *Interethnische Beziehungen*, 1991; *Česká slovesná folkloristika v mezinárodním kontextu* [Czech Literary Folkloristics in the International Context], 1992).

Jech also underlines the important role of the variation process. He considers it to be a natural attribute of folklore material, and dives specifically into the relation between variability and stability in particular categories of folk prose (*Relativitätsaspekte bei der Beurteilung der Variabilität und Stabilität*, 1968). The relation between stability and instability is demonstrated on the example of AaTh 1631A, a fairy-tale which appeared as a joke or even as a rumour in the 1970s. Jech shows what possible communication situations can cause (*Wirklichkeit oder Scherz?*, 1979). He pays attention to the environment where the fairy-tale lives and how (*Die direkte und die indirekte Kommunikation in der Folklore-Prosa*, 1982). As an expert in the fairy-tale, Jech pointed out the importance of studying its poetics. He conceived the principles of the folklore recording technique in the field, and the publication of prosaic texts. He participated in establishing an important edition series *Lidové umění slovesné* [Folk Literary Art], which was published by the Prague Odeon Publishing House of Belles-Lettres and Art. He took part in publishing many foreign-language editions of German fairy-tales (*Bratři Grimmové: Německé pohádky* [Brothers Grimm: German Fairy-Tales], 1961), as well as Hungarian and Yugoslavian fairy-tales, which he not only selected for publication, but also supplemented with a large introduction and rich

comparative notes. Although he was no longer a research fellow at the Institute of Ethnography and Folkloristics of the CAS, he cooperated with his colleagues abroad. This cooperation resulted, e.g. in the book *Zvonící lipka. Pohádky západních Slovanů* [A Ringing Lime-Tree. Fairy-Tales of Western Slavs] (1972, 1973) with P. Nedo, H. Kapelušová and V. Gašparíková as the co-authors. The book was published in seven languages. The book *Skarb w garncu. Humor ludowy Słowian Zachodnich* (1979, 1988), in which D. Simonides represented the Polish party, is another result of the cooperation. Jech did not place his versatile knowledge into scientific works only. He also made many of his own collections of folk literature as well as those of others available in books for children and young people.

After he had been forced to leave the academic institute and deprived of all professional functions and possibilities of publishing in Czech journals, Jech retired to Paseky nad Jizerou in north-western Bohemia, to a countryside that was well-known for the tradition of local patriots from the beginning of the Czech Revival in the 19th century. Jech bought the cottage from the folk writer Věnceslav Metelka, enhanced investigating the tradition of local folk writers, and published Metelka's memories, accompanied with an apposite introduction and voluminous notes. He took part in and organized rich local cultural life; he cooperated with a publishing house in Hradec Králové and published folk narrations by regional authors. His forced leaving did not mean quitting his scientific work. He invited domestic and foreign researchers for expert discussions to Paseky. He remained a member of the ISFNR; with his papers he took part in conferences and congresses abroad, and he cooperated with H. J. Uther on the *Enzyklopedia des Märchens*. He took an active part in conferences (Bergen 1984: *Gegenwart und Vergangenheit im alltäglichen Erzählen*; Hammeln 1984: *Die Rattenfängersage in der Tschecho-*

slowakei (with V. Gašparíková), Budapest 1989 etc.). He kept his eye on foreign literature, especially on the research by Rudolf Schenda, who published autobiographies of pensioners in Zurich, as the narration of life stories was Jech's long-time interest.

After 1990, Jech returned to Czech scientific and public life. He assessed the past twenty years of Czech folkloristics (*Česká slovesná folkloristika v mezinárodním kontextu* [Czech Literary Folkloristics in International Context], 1992), the period when the former prestige of the discipline was damaged, the leading researchers J. Jech and O. Sirovátka were forced to leave the Institute, comparative folkloristic research was forbidden and the research fellows lost the possibility of being in contact with their colleagues in Western Europe; the western literature was not available and the research had to aim at Slavic and non-folkloristic studies. Jech emphasized the need to open up to the world, to get to know all the streams, "all the conveniences sine ira et studio", but not to get trapped by fashionable trends, because "we have to see not only folkloristics, but folklore itself". Sadly, he could not materialise many of his plans and impetuses, as he died in 1992.

After his death, Jech's popular-scientific publication *Krakonoš. Vyprávění o vládci Krkonošských hor od nejstarších časů až po dnešek* [Krakonoš. A Narration about the Ruler in Giant Mountains since the Oldest Times until Modern Day] (Praha 2008) was published. Jech was working on this during the twenty years when he was forbidden to publish. This work is the master piece of his folkloristic production. The commented edition with texts about a mythic creature submits Czech, German and Polish pieces selected in printed literature and recordings of folk's oral tradition; it shows how these two forms existed one beside another, how they were intertwined with each other and how they enriched each other.

Jaromír Jech is an extraordinary personality in several aspects. Despite

the unfavourable political circumstances which he had to face in the 1970s and 1980s, his scientific career is an example of a concentrated and unique struggle of a researcher. Jech's output (almost 300 works) has a significant importance for the formation of theoretical and methodological foundations of Czech folkloristics in the 20th century. In his works, he integrated the requirement of a systematic investigation followed by a field research.; He required the same attention to be paid to the material and life of narration and to the narrator and narrative situation, the folk narration to be evaluated in the broad cultural and social context, and placed into the international comparative context, and terminological stability. Jech's works combine the continuity of the discipline with innovative elements. It is Jech's merit that folkloristics became an independent research discipline at the Institute of Ethnography and Folkloristics, whereby its prestige was increased and acknowledged in general. Together with O. Sirovátka, J. Jech succeeded in developing what was very unusual at that time – the international cooperation overarching just Slavic dimension. Czech folkloristics began to present itself successfully at ISFNR and ISEF; the contacts of both researchers with the West allowed Czech research fellows to become familiar with the otherwise unavailable professional literature and to get to know new research themes and methods (especially in comparatistics). Czech folkloristics was able – in an unofficial way – to keep pace with the development of the discipline in the West, especially in the Federal Republic of Germany, Switzerland, Sweden, etc. The important personalities of Czech folkloristics, whose output brought the discipline to a new stage, (Polívka, Tille, Horák, Dvořák, Horálek, and Bogatyrev) can be rightfully extended with the name of Jaroslav Jech.

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OLDŘICH SIROVÁTKA (1925–1992)

The Czech folklorist, ethnologist and literary scientist wrote and published his production for forty years in the former Czechoslovakia; some of his works were published only after his death in the new Czech Republic. Together with the already deceased folklorists Karel Dvořák, Karel Horálek, Jaromír Jech and Dagmar Klímová, he was one of the authorities of Czechoslovak folkloristics, who were internationally regarded, including in Western Europe, even at the time of their political isolation (Klímová 2005; Janeček 2016). His focus was mainly on comparative folkloristic studies, development and current condition of folk literature, as well as on the mutual relationship between oral tradition and literature.

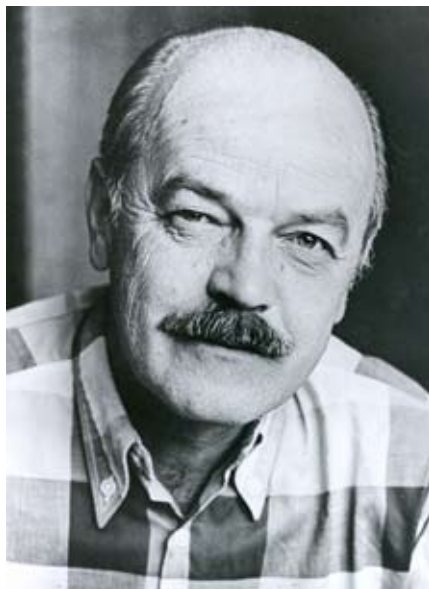
Sirovátka was an analyst and author of syntheses, editor of historical and current records, and collector of folklore in the field; he systematically popularised

the folk culture and folklore, especially dealing with staged folklore; he was author of the programmes and co-creator of the new concept of the International Folklore Festival in Strážnice. He possessed literary creativity and the art to retell folklore texts; he was also a poet and an unusually affable and hardworking man. From 1953 he taught at the Faculty of Arts, and from the turn of the 1980s and 1990s also at the Faculty of Education of the today's Masaryk University. In 1991, he was granted a professorship.

O. Sirovátka was born into the family of an Italian legionnaire who served in the gendarmerie in Teresva in Ukraine (the former Carpathian Ruthenia, which was part of Czechoslovakia). Sirovátka's career was positively influenced by the institutionalization of ethnography in the 1950s within the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences. In 1953, he began to work in the Brno branch of the newly established Institute of Ethnography and Folkloristics. His creative development was affected by reversals in the Czechoslovak history: after World War II he studied Czech language, philosophy and ethnography at the Faculty of Arts of

the University in Brno, and at the beginning of the 1970s he was dismissed from the Institute of Ethnography and Folkloristics of the CSAS as a consequence of a discriminating measure, as was his friend and colleague Jaromír Jech from the Prague Institute. The different situation in academic institutions, conditioned by political and personal circumstances, is testified by the fact that Sirovátka was immediately admitted to the Institute of Czech Literature of the Academy of Sciences where he was allowed to develop his proficiency in another direction.¹

After the political reversal in 1989, O. Sirovátka returned to the Brno branch of the Institute of Ethnography and Folkloristics as its head, going on to define the follow-up orientation of the Institute and to become involved in the more general theoretical-methodological discussion in folkloristics and urban ethnology. The width of his professional focus was one of his features. At the beginning of his academic career he took part in the constitution of Czechoslovak montane ethnography and the study of the culture of the working-classes in a monograph about the Rosice-Oslavany coalmining area (Praha 1961). At the end of his career he paid attention to another theme when he focused on the project of ethnological research into the City of Brno and its suburbs. Its concept included the theme of Czech-German relations, which were taboo until that time, including intercultural influences, and tolerance or intolerance between Czechs and Germans living in Brno until the end of World War II. Sirovátka also initiated the international conference *Stadt als multiethnischer und multikultureller Raum* (1992), at which the Brno German minority and the results of the hitherto carried-out ethnological research at cooperating institutions from Bratislava, Prague and Brno were presented (*Leute in der Großstadt*. Brno 1992). After the researcher's sudden death, his colleagues prepared a multidisciplinary pictorial publication for print



called *Město pod Špilberkem* [The Town beneath the Spilberg Castle] (1993), in which Sirovátka formulated the character of folk culture in Brno and its environs.

Due to his long-term work at disciplinary institutions, in scientific societies and on the editorial boards of journals, and due to many contacts with foreign colleagues, Sirovátka acquired a broad overview in the realm of research into folk culture. He was able to contribute to the cognition of Czech and regional specifics of oral literature, to inter-ethnic studies in European space, and – together with Jaromír Jech – to develop Czech (Czechoslovak) folkloristic studies and to enhance the prestige of this discipline abroad.

Among other things, Sirovátka dealt with more general themes of the nature, essence and function of folk oral literature and traditions as part of the national culture. His essential historical-comparative book is called *Česká lidová slovesnost a její mezinárodní vztahy* [Czech Folk Oral Literature and Its International Relations] (1976). He dealt with nearly all folk literary genres, especially with texts of folk songs (mainly ballads), legends and fairy-tales. He also advanced the collecting of and research into current oral-literary expressions (e.g. jokes), he drew attention to the viability of folklore in children's environment, and he was one of the first to define the place of memorates in folkloristics and he pointed out their artistic aspect. His concept is cited in Hermann Bausinger's entry „Alltägliches Erzählen“ in compendium *Enzyklopädie des Märchens* (1977).

In the 1960s, the intensive cooperation between Czech and foreign folklorists ran on many levels. Sirovátka's study journeys led to Germany, Switzerland, Sweden, Belgium, Norway, Romania, Hungary, etc. He took part in conferences in the whole of Europe and he became involved in the preparation of an international classification system and catalogues of legends and ballads. At the opening conference of the International

Society for Folk Narrative Research in Antwerp in 1962, a seminar of the Permanent Committee on International Legend Research was held; Jaromír Jech and Oldřich Sirovátka were permanent members of this Committee (Janeček 2016: 234).² Sirovátka's share in the compilation of the catalogue of legends is valid even today. The summarizing publication *Vergleichende Sagenforschung* (1969) by the Austrian author Leander Petzoldt mentions only two names from the Slavic world – K. V. Čistov and O. Sirovátka. In his 1990 study on international research into the legend, the American folklorist Timothy Thangerlini pointed out Sirovátka's morphological approach in the analysis of legends' motives (*Zur Morphologie der Sage und Sagenkatalogisierung*, 1969). The Swedish folklorist Bengt af Klintberg refers to Sirovátka's perception of the legend as a genre in the introduction to the catalogue *The Types of the Swedish Folk Legend* (2010).

The correspondence stored in Oldřich Sirovátka's personal fund evidences the large amount of personal contacts with eastern European and western European researchers and institutions, and it contains information about stays abroad, publication activities and project preparations.³ The large correspondence, for example, provides information about the preparation of a catalogue of folk ballads, on which Sirovátka's two colleagues – Marta Šrámková and Olga Hrabalová – worked with him, or about the preparation of the first and the second work meeting focused on the compilation of the international catalogue of folk ballads together with Rolf W. Brednich (Freiburg 1966, Cikháj 1969). The concentrated research into folk ballads resulted in the *Katalog českých lidových balad. I. Démonologické náměty, II. Legendární náměty* [Catalogue of Czech Folk Ballads. I Demonological Topics, II Legendary Topics] (1990, with M. Šrámková) and several editions, for examples *Měl tatíček, měl tři dcery. České a slovenské lidové balady*

[A Father Had Three Daughters. Czech and Slovak Folk Ballads] (1990).

O. Sirovátka made good use of his literary talent and stylistic abilities when he published readers' adaptations of folk oral literature, especially fairy-tales and legends for children and young people. He prepared more than thirty editions, with graphical accompaniment, of Czech (nation-wide and regional) and Polish fairy-tales and legends, with which several generations of children "grew up". His popular-scientific anthologies *Tschechische Volksmärchen* (Düsseldorf – Köln 1969) and *Slawische Märchen* (Praha 1971) had international response. This collection was published three times, also in Russian (1972), French (1973, 1977), English and Finnish (1974), Swedish (1975), and Japanese (1976); it was awarded the Grand Prix Bologna prize (1972) and it was also awarded a prize in the competition "Pitré-Salomone Marino" in 1987 (Centro Interzionale di Etnostoria Palermo).

Sirovátka proved his complex view of folklore in several publications, especially in the book *Folklór a folkloristika* [Folklore and Folkloristics] (1982, with Milan Leščák). The manuscript *Česká pohádka a pověst v lidové tradici a dětské literatuře* [The Czech Fairy-Tale and Legend in Folk Tradition and Children's Literature] (Brno 1998) was part of the author's estate; with this book Sirovátka intended to continue his work *Současná česká literatura a folklór* [The Contemporary Czech Literature and Folklore] (Praha 1985) and to connect folkloristic pieces of knowledge and approaches with the results of literary-historical research, when explaining fairy-tales and legends. In addition to the above book, the Brno branch of the Institute of Ethnology published two more anthologies with representative studies: *Srovnávací studie o české lidové slovesnosti* [The Comparative Studies about Czech Folk Oral Literature] (Brno 1996) and *Folkloristické studie* [Folkloristic Studies] (Brno 2002), which are intended mainly for students.

Sirovátka's production is summarized in a personal bibliography, which contains more than 500 titles (Válka – Jeřábek 1993). This respectable number can be extended further by more than one hundred dictionary entries and articles in journals and newspapers, which have been found subsequently.

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Notes:

1. In an interview in Freiburg in the year 2001, Lutz Röhrich remembered O. Sirovátka with respect and he expressed his opinion that seen from the political perspective, the situation in Czechoslovakia was the hardest one among the former Communist countries, and that it strongly restricted the professional activities of colleagues.
2. At the opening conference in Antwerp in 1962, the collector and translator Josef Štefan Kubín (1864–1965) was admitted upon the proposal of Jaromír Jech and Oldřich Sirovátka as the first honourable member of this society. His recordings from the region of Czech Kladsko and that of Giant Mountains foothills are considered to be the ever largest published collections of Czech folklore prose.
3. The personal fund with Sirovátka's correspondence is stored in the documentary collection of the Institute of Ethnology of the CAS in Brno, sig. R 8.

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IVA HEROLDOVÁ (1926–2005)

The research into expatriates and their migrations became in the Czech Republic one of the central themes at anthropological and ethnological

departments after 1989. The then anthropological methods could be applied to this theme quite well, and the expatriate migrations seem to be compatible with the study of minorities and migration especially in the western world even today. Many Czech scholars were well-suited to this transfer to the study of the “close others” in the 1990s, as they knew the expatriates' territories from their university mentors in the then Czechoslovakia. The theme of expatriates had been well-documented over the long term by the academia, and it became one of the pillars in the study of “ethnic processes”, which – in the then vocabulary – could be termed “the study of inter-ethnic coexistence”. This theme was shown to be significant for the then ethnography and folkloristics in the early 1950s, i.e. in the period which prefigured a change in the paradigm of anthropological disciplines worldwide.

In the Czech environment, the orientations towards new themes were affected by the ideological order and by the fact that sociological workplaces were dissolved at the turn of the 1940s and 1950s, and before they were re-established at the turn of the 1950s and 1960s, ethnography became one of the few academic disciplines which were able to reflect the new situation in the Czech borderlands, from which German inhabitants were expelled and the depopulated territory was partially resettled by inhabitants of Czech origin who returned from foreign destinations where they lived as national minorities. At that time, ethnographers' attention was drawn to the fact that the returning expatriates showed many specific features of behaviour which they had obtained during their stay abroad on the one hand, and on the other hand they preserved a lot of specific features which their ancestors had taken away when they left Bohemia for new destinations, whereas these specifics had disappeared in the Czech environment. At the beginning of the 1950s, the then ethnographers tended



to divide these specifics into progressive traditions, which had to be safeguarded, and prejudices, which had to be rooted out. Heroldová began to study the largest one among these groups in the first half of the 1950s – the Volyn Czechs who resettled in Czechoslovakia from the then Soviet Ukraine in the years 1945–1948.

Iva Heroldová studied ethnography and Czechoslovak history between 1947 and 1952, and in 1953 she began to work in the Department for Ethnography, which was affiliated to the newly established Institute of Ethnography and Folkloristics of the then Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences in 1954. She was able to build on her experience, as she dealt with the Bohemian village during her studies and worked with information which she got from the Volyn Czechs living in Volyn before their resettlement and then in Bohemia in the countryside.

Iva Heroldová's research shows that she tried to interconnect the information about the source and the target destination, to comprehend the present time using historical retrospective, and to interpret resettlers' self-reflective evaluation of the situation. She collected large quantities of materials consisting of narrations, period correspondence, printed matters, and photographs. As obvious from her work, she allowed the participants' interest to influence her in terms of the theme. In the 1950s, she published the extended series of texts about the Volyn Czechs "Ethnografické zvláštnosti ve způsobu života a kultuře volyňských Čechů" [Ethnographic Peculiarities in the Way of Life and Culture of Volyn Czechs]. *Český lid* 44, no. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 (1957): 47–51, 107–112, 145–149, 193–198, 241–247. As obvious from the texts, Volyn Czechs returned to Volyn in their recollections, and they currently perceived Volyn as their lost homeland, although their ancestors went there from Bohemia almost one hundred years ago, at the time of her first research. The data that Heroldová collected about Volyn and the resettlement from Volyn

is of great research and historical value today.

Another great theme which Iva Heroldová dealt with is reflection on war in the light of its participants. It was again the resettlers from Volyn and the countries of the former Yugoslavia who sparked her interest in this theme. In both groups, there were active soldiers and – at the same time – both minorities originally lived in regions where the World War II significantly influenced the life of civil inhabitants. It is worth to mention especially the following texts: "Druhá světová válka ve folklóru a dokumentech volyňských Čechů" [World War II in Folklore and Documents of the Volyn Czechs]. *Český lid* 60, no. 1 (1973): 49–57; "Lidské dokumenty z druhé světové války. (Z výzkumu volyňských a jugoslávských Čechů). K 30. výročí osvobození Československa" [Human Documents from World War II. (From the research into the Volyn and the Yugoslavian Czechs). On the Occasion of the 30th Anniversary of Liberation of Czechoslovakia]. *Národopisné aktuality* 12, no. 3 (1975): 169–188; *Válka v lidovém podání (národně osvobozené boj volyňských a jugoslávských Čechů)* [The War as Interpreted by the People (the national-liberation fight of the Volyn and the Yugoslavian Czechs)]. Praha: ÚF ČSAV, 1977.

Another group which Iva Heroldová thoroughly studied were the Czechs in the territory of the former Yugoslavia, especially in Croatia, as well as in Bosnia, in the "Republika Srpska" (an entity within Bosnia and Herzegovina), in Vojvodina and southern Banat – e.g. "Akulturační proces české menšiny v Chorvatsku" [The Process of Acculturation among the Czech Minority in Croatia]. *Národopisné aktuality* 5, no. 1 (1968): 8–13; "Výzkum české menšiny v Jugoslavii 1965–1967" [The Research into the Czech Minority in Yugoslavia 1965–1967]. *Český lid* 56, no. 2 (1969): 79–86; "Česká svatba roku 1969 v Ivanově Sele" [A 1969 Czech Wedding in Ivanovo Selo].

Národopisné aktuality 6, no. 3–4 (1969): 172–186; "Petrifikované zvyky a obřady bosenských Čechů. Z výzkumu v Mačině Brdě a Nové Vsi" [Petrified Customs and Ceremonies of Bosnian Czechs. On the Research in Mačino Brdo and Nová Ves]. *Národopisné aktuality* 11, no. 2 (1974): 99–114; "Současný stav české etnické skupiny v Jugoslávii" [The Contemporary Situation of the Czech Ethnic Group in Yugoslavia]. *Jednota* December 19, 1981: 202–204 and Januar 6, 1982: 204–206; "Vystěhovalectví z českých zemí. Balkán I. – Jugoslávie" [Emigration from the Czech Lands. The Balkans I – Yugoslavia]. *Český lid* 72, no. 2 (1985): 96–99; "Etnicita českých vystěhovačů 19. století na příkladě Čechů v Chorvatsku" [The Ethnicity of the 19th Century's Czech Emigrants on the Example of Czechs in Croatia]. In *Zpravodaj KS VI*, no. 5. Praha: ÚF ČSAV, 1989. 55–61; "Vystěhovalectví do jihovýchodní Evropy" [Emigration to South-Eastern Europe]. In *Češi v cizině* 9. Praha: ÚF ČSAV, 1996. 67–95).

In the published texts, Heroldová studies many aspects of the expatriates' way of life, and she points out how and under what conditions they take over new elements of their life style and under what conditions they safeguard their cultural peculiarities.

She also extended this knowledge in Romanian Banat, whose villages with descendants of Czech resettlers attract Czech ethnographers even today, including the way of life of immigrants from these villages who have returned to the Czech Republic – e.g. "Čeští reemigranti z rumunského Banátu" [Czech Re-Emigrants from Romanian Banat]. *Český lid* 70, no. 4 (1983): 240–244; "Vystěhovalectví z českých zemí. Balkán II. – Rumunsko, Bulharsko" [Emigration from the Czech Lands. The Balkans II – Romania, Bulgaria]. *Český lid* 73, no. 1 (1986): 45–50. She also paid attention to Slovaks abroad and their settlement in the Bohemian post-war borderlands – "Slovenští reemigranti z rumunského

Rudohoří" [Slovak Re-Emigrants from the Romanian Ore Mountains]. *Český lid* 70, no. 1 (1983): 55–57; "Příchod slovenských reemigrantů do českých zemí" [The Arrival of Slovak Re-Emigrants in the Czech Lands]. *Český lid* 73, no. 4 (1986): 220–234; "Příchod slovenských reemigrantů do českých zemí" [The Arrival of Slovak Re-Emigrants in the Czech Lands]. In *Zpravodaj KSVI*, no. 3. Praha: ÚEF ČSAV, 1988. 1–36. In the late 1980s, she also wrote about Czechs from Austria ("Reemigrace Čechů z Rakouska po 2. světové válce" [Re-Emigration of Czechs from Austria after World War II.] In *Češi v cizině* 4. Praha: ÚEF ČSAV, 1989. 222–315).

From the 1960s, she already focused on ethnicity and its changes in post-emigration conditions, while studying the theme of expatriates. She involved the theme of ethnicity in the agenda of the Institute of Ethnology, and she referred to the contact situations which caused transformations in ethnicity as ethnic processes. From the perspective of ethnic processes, Heroldová probably considered the enclaves in the territory of present-day Poland, which were isolated from each other and which evolved in different confessional and language environments, to be the most inspiring for her. In addition to articles and studies – "Z českých vesnic v Polsku" [From Czech Villages in Poland]. *Český lid* 45, no. 4 (1958): 170–173; "K akulturačnímu procesu nejstarší české menšiny" [The Acculturation Process of the Oldest Czech Minority]. *Český lid* 53, no. 3 (1966): 146–159; "K otázce přesídlení kladských Čechů a problému jejich etnicity, etnického vědomí a etnické příslušnosti" [On Resettlement of the Kladsko Czechs and the Problem of Their Ethnicity, Ethnic Awareness and Ethnic Affiliation]. *Český lid* 75, no. 4 (1988): 214–224; "Vystěhovalectví do Polska" [Emigration to Poland]. In *Češi v cizině* 9. Praha: ÚEF AV ČR, 1996. 11–25. Iva Heroldová wrote a very good monograph *Život a kultura českých*

exulantů z 18. století [Life and Culture of Czech Exiles from the 18th Century] (Praha: ÚEF ČSAV, 1971) on this theme. In the monograph, she summarizes where and under what conditions their actors merged with the local inhabitants. With the above-mentioned monograph, Heroldová prefigured the interest in formulating ethnic theory, accommodated for local conditions. She devoted several theoretical texts to this theme in the 1980s. Because she proceeded mainly from empirical materials, she always rejected theoretical simplification and the schematic character of the then approaches, and with her examples she showed a variability of possibilities of how the coexistence and the mutual take-over or the refusal of different customs can be played out. Let us mention the following theoretical texts: "Etnografická problematika českých národnostních menšin" [The Ethnography of Czech National Minorities]. *Český lid* 51, no. 5–6 (1964): 366–378; "Předávání etnokulturních informací v etnicky homogenních a etnicky heterogenních rodinách" [Handing Down of Ethno-Cultural Information in Ethnically Homogenous and Ethnically Heterogeneous Families]. *Slovenský národopis* 31, no. 3–4 (1983): 494–499; "Novoosídlenecká vesnice" [The Newly-Settled Village]. *Český lid* 71, no. 3 (1984): 130–141; "Etnografický výzkum novoosídleneckého pohraničí – k otázkám metodologie a metodiky" [Ethnographical Research into the Newly Settled Borderlands – on the Issues of Methodology and Methods]. *Národopisný věstník československý* 2/44, no. 1 (1985): 7–18; "Etnická specifika v terminologii etnických procesů" [Ethnic Specifics in the Terminology of Ethnic Processes]. In *Zpravodaj KSVI*, no. 9. Praha: ÚEF ČSAV, 1987. 51–57; "Etnicita českých menšin" [The Ethnicity of Czech Minorities]. In *Zpravodaj KSVI*, no. 3. Praha: ÚEF ČSAV, 1989. 80–91.

Iva Heroldová was not only a significant domestic, but also an internationally acknowledged scholar. In addition to

the many foreign-language texts which she published, she was also among the "associates" in *Current Anthropology* in the 1960s and 1970s. It was thanks to her that the research into processes running in the post-migration period among migrating and settled groups reached a high level, and that the researchers were able to continue in this realm after 1989. The methodological procedures were at a corresponding level and the theoretical knowledge did not mean only the repetition of Julian Bromley's reflections, whose work on the theory of ethnos was translated into the Slovak language in 1980. Many of her conclusions were ground-breaking in the early 1970s – for example those about the absence of national consciousness among exiles leaving to go abroad before the constitution of the modern Czech political nation, or those about relations between religious consciousness and ethnicity. The work with the concept of ethnicity significantly changed, especially at the beginning of the 21st century. However, this was a period when Iva Heroldová did not actively work in academic affairs. She retired in 1988.

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JOSEF VAŘEKA (1927–2008)

Josef Vařeka was one of the most important Czech ethnologists of the second half of the 20th century, whose multi-layer works significantly contributed to the development of that discipline at European level. Despite all the adversities caused by Vařeka's cold relation to the governing political system before 1989, this research fellow managed to keep numerous contacts with colleagues both in Eastern and Western Europe and to reflect modern topical and theoretical-methodological approaches.

His work was always based on thorough knowledge of material, whether obtained through long-term fieldwork or study of archival sources. As to the themes, Josef Vařeka went far beyond his most distinctive specialization – the complex study of vernacular architecture, settlements and dwellings; he wrote many studies on traditional production and craftsmanship, agrarian ethnography, ethnographic regions, history, and theory and methodology of ethnology. He also dealt with research into Czech expatriate communities in Eastern Europe. His ethnocartographic works feature a strong European comparative dimension, and due to his approach to folk culture as a complex phenomenon and the strong emphasis he put on the social and spiritual dimensions of tangible culture, his works aimed at expressions of folk belief and piousness, customs and rituals, family relations etc. are not surprising. Josef Vařeka had the best preconditions for the above-mentioned aims. During the short period of free development of education after 1945, he was given a wide interdisciplinary education by the most significant scientists at the time of the First Czechoslovak Republic. Thanks to his own diligence he was able to assert himself in leading positions of the Czech, or Czechoslovak and mainly European ethnology in the follow-up years, albeit with certain roundabouts.

Josef Vařeka came from the ethnographically exceptional Moravian Wallachia. He was born into a family of the senior counsellor for land surveyance in the town of Valašské Meziříčí. After his study at secondary school, he began to study at the Faculty of Arts at Charles University in Prague in 1946 and Slavic philology (Czech language) and philosophy became his main disciplines. In the second year of his study, Vařeka changed his specialization to the disciplines “Czech language – English language”, but he also signed up for lectures in Slavic studies, pedagogy,

aesthetics and psychology. He was able to make good use of the unique training in subsequent years – for instance, he was one of the few Czech ethnologists who mastered English in addition to the usual knowledge of German, French and Russian. In the winter semester of 1947, Josef Vařeka began to attend lectures in ethnography, first mainly those given by Karel Chotek, and later on those given by Drahomíra Stránská and Vilém Pražák, with whom Vařeka later worked on research into vernacular architecture. His research interest in ethnology definitely predominated in the end. As early as in the early 1950s, Vařeka carried out his first fieldwork and in 1951 he finished his study of the Czech language with a de facto ethnological thesis *Nářečí Hodslavic. Monografie jedné obce* [Hodslavice Dialect. A Monograph about One Village]; in 1952 he defended his rigorous thesis *Starší a současné zemědělské techniky v Karpatech* [Older and Contemporary Agricultural Techniques in the Carpathians].

Despite visibly heading for a scientific career and commencing remarkable research and publication activities,



Vařeka was – by an administrative fiat – sent to the Czech-German borderlands, where mining and industrial production evolved massively. He became a teacher at the elementary school in Hrdlovka near Duchcov in 1951; from 1953 he worked at a pedagogical secondary school and then at the Technical School of Glass Making and Machinery in Teplice. However, as an ethnologist Vařeka did not idle even during his teaching interlude – throughout the 1950s he conducted research (mostly as a collaborator of the Czechoslovak Ethnological Society) into the Northern-Bohemian borderland (especially in the region of Krušné Hory), he worked on “rescue” research in areas where large dams were about to build (Orlík, Želivka, Morávka) and together with Alena Plessingerová, an ethnologist and museologist and his life companion, he studied Slovak villages in the Javorníky Mountains.

As a mature and experienced scientist, Josef Vařeka was admitted to the Institute of Ethnography and Folkloristics of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences in 1963, at the time of the political liberalization process. He merged all his subsequent scientific life with the Institute, as a specialized and then an independent research fellow. At the Institute, he defended his doctoral dissertation *Větrné mlýny na Moravě a ve Slezsku* [Wind Mills in Moravia and Silesia] in 1964; in 1969–1971 and 1974–1992 he was the head of the Department for Ethnological Study of the National Revival Period and the Department of Historical Ethnology at the Institute; between 1995 and 1998 he served as Deputy Director and after that – until 2002 – he was a Scientific Secretary at the already renamed Institute of Ethnology of the Czech Academy of Sciences (EÚ AV ČR).

After having entered the academic institute, Vařeka fully developed his extraordinary intellectual potential, which became evident in his publications (his bibliography includes more than 700 items, among them more than 200 large

scientific studies and monographs) as well as in his organizational activities. For Czech ethnology, Vařeka's international contacts, which evolved in several directions, were especially significant in this respect. His interest in the ethnographic region of Wallachia led him to comparative research into the Carpathian mountainous culture, which at that time developed mainly within the activities of the International Committee for the Study of Carpathian and Balkan Folk Culture with active participation of ethnologists and other scientists from Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Romania and other countries in South-Eastern Europe. However, Vařeka was just one of many who dealt with this theme.

With the hindsight of several decades, it is Vařeka's contacts with "western" ethnology that seem to be more significant. These were based – often at a polemic level that, however, was not afflicted with ideological bias (for example in terms of accusing the western scientists of an imperialistic attitude) – on an intensive reception of knowledge, in particular that about West German Volkskunde. Let us remember in this respect e.g. Vařeka's discussion with the German ethnographer Bruno Schrier about the "ethnicity" of the folk house. Vařeka's knowledge of the Sudeten-German ethnography (that means the ethnography of the forcibly displaced Czech Germans) was extraordinary important as well. At that time as well as later, Vařeka maintained semi-official and sometimes even really "secret" contacts with e.g. Georg Schroubek and other German ethnologists from the group of the Germans forced to transfer from Czechoslovakia after World War II. As early as in the 1970s, Vařeka became an active collaborator of the prestigious association *Arbeitskreis für Hausforschung*, and he introduced into Czech ethnology the most recent methodological impulses to investigate vernacular architecture. What is more,

he informed foreign scientists about our environment as a regular contributor to the journal *Demos: Internationale ethnographische und folkloristische Informationen*.

The other line of Vařeka's international engagement relates to research into vernacular architecture and – mainly – ethnocartography. In both cases, this line is strongly framed by the paradigm of European comparative ethnology, which was suggested by Sigurd Erixon and his collaborators. At the turn of the 1960s and 1970s, Vařeka gradually replaced Jaroslav Kramářik as the principal leader for ethnocartographic work in the Czech lands, and he also became the Czech representative in *Ständige Internationale Atlaskommission* (SIA), where he maintained intensive relations with the "elite" of European ethnocartography until the 1990s. These were crowned by the conference *Evropský kulturní prostor – jednota v rozmanitosti* [European Cultural Space – Unity in Diversity] in 1996, one of the most prestigious events of Czech ethnology after the Velvet revolution. Vařeka's authorial and organizational share in the first volume of the European Ethnological Atlas, published in 1980, was significant too. Vařeka collaborated on that work with M. Zender and H. L. Cox, among other scientists, which also helped him to undertake a long-term study stay at the archives of *Atlas der Deutschen Volkskunde* at the University of Bonn immediately after the change of political situation (1992). Not only within SIA could Vařeka intensify his cooperation with the Scottish ethnologist Alexander Fenton, with whom he was united by a firm bond of personal friendship. His knowledge of English and international reputation brought Vařeka into the group of 80 authors of the prestigious three-volume *Encyclopaedia of Vernacular Architecture of the World* (1997). Vařeka spent his 1994 study stay at the Oxford place of operation of its editor Paul Oliver, and at the very end of his scientific career

they compiled together a unique Czech-English / English-Czech dictionary of vernacular architecture terms *Anglicko-česká / česko-anglická terminologie lidové architektury* [Terms used in the vernacular architecture of England with some Welsh and Scotch] (2005).

As mentioned above, Josef Vařeka's scientific output includes several hundreds of items with an extraordinary array of themes. It is Vařeka's analytic and synthetic works integrating the folk culture of the Czech lands into wider cultural, geographical and development frames that can be considered to be the essential benefit to European science. In this sense, he addressed, for example, the theme of bricked and half-timbered houses, house interiors and some technical buildings; he is also author of the hitherto respected regional typology of the traditional house in the Czech Republic. From the theoretical-methodological point of view, his studies about the relations between urban and rural architecture as well as the workers' habitations are noteworthy. As early as in the 1960s, these studies headed towards the research into the „present“ in the spirit of modern European ethnology. Vařeka helped to definitively overcome the national self-centeredness of European (Czech and German written) ethnology through the careful application of comparative studies and the ethnocartographic method. Currently, this researcher is one of the few permanently cited Czech ethnologists of the second half of the 20th and early 21st centuries at the global level.

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VÁCLAV FROLEC (1934–1992)

It is creative people who play key roles in the history of science. Masaryk University in Brno is one of the Czech centres where ethnology and folkloristics evolves. This was the institution where Václav Frolec, Professor of European ethnology, whose scientific, pedagogical and cultural legacy belongs to the history of Czechoslovak, Czech and European ethnology, Balkan studies and ethological European studies of the second half of the 20th century, as well as to the perspectives of the discipline in the 21st century, was active. Frolec was a creative person and a scientist with the talent to formulate programmes, to conceive syntheses, to communicate with people and to connect international and interdisciplinary research teams. He thought over his research intentions and results from the perspectives of cultural tradition and identity of Europe, cultural-spatial and inter-ethnic relations of Moravia, Silesia and the Danube area, the Carpathian region and the Balkans, and in later years also from the perspective of the sense of the history of folk culture of a small nation in the middle of Europe. In Frolec's theses and hypotheses, in his case and conceptual studies, we can find ideas which have disappeared and impetuses of timeless values. These concern mainly the connection of historical and cultural-

spatial discourse of the ethnology of Central and south-eastern Europe.

V. Frolec worked at the university in Brno (1961–1992) as a student of Antonín Václavík. His scientific and pedagogical work was formed by the field research in Moravia, Silesia and Bulgaria, the coordination of international research for the International Committee for the Study of Carpathian and Balkan Folk Culture, the leadership of ethnographic and interdisciplinary research into the contemporary village and small town, the cooperation with archaeologists and sociologists, the study and lecture stays in western and south-eastern Europe, as well as the activities related to the care of folk traditions. Frolec developed the applied research focused on the presentation of vernacular architecture and folklore heritage especially in cooperation with the Institute of Folk Art in Strážnice (today National Institute of Folk Culture). Frolec's works are characterised by a balance of empiricism and theory, to which he tended especially in his declining years. The theoretical thinking in the period complicated by the limits of socialism strengthened his personal



contacts and the exchange of publications with the then European scientific East and West: with Cvetana Romansky, Olivera Mladenović, Bagra Georgieva, Anna Szyfer, Robert Wildhaber, Günter Wiegelmann, Hinrich Siutse, Leopold Kretzenbacher, and other European researchers. At Masaryk University, Frolec educated many ethnologists who are still active at academic, museum and cultural institutions.

Frolec developed the conception of ethnology as a historical science. From the perspective of the contemporary paradigm of ethnology, it is possible to draw on three sources of Frolec's legacy: the concept of a cultural space and inter-ethnic relations, the concept of cultural continuity and discontinuity, and the concept of a dual stream in culture, which he elaborated in the new conditions of the second half of the 20th century. Frolec's factual and empirical research is holistic and conceptual (monographs on the contemporary village, the Danube region as a cultural area, Carpathian and Balkan folk culture, history of Czech folk culture), as well as thematic and period/topical.

His thematic studies include the development of vernacular architecture in recent and historical documents of the Czech lands (*Lidová architektura na Moravě a ve Slezsku* [Vernacular Architecture in Moravia and Silesia]. Brno 1974; *Lidová architektura. Encyklopedie* [Vernacular Architecture. Encyclopaedia]. Praha 1983, 2007, co-author J. Vařeka; "Vesnická stavební kultura mezi středověkem a novověkem" [Rural Building Culture between the Middle Ages and the Modern Times]. *Archaeologia historica* 12, /1987/: 47–83) as well as in the contexts of the Central and south-eastern European countries (*Kulturní společenství a interetnické vztahy v lidovém stavitelství v Podunají* [Cultural Communities and Interethnic Relations in Vernacular Architecture in the Danube Region]. Praha 1970; *Die Volksarchitektur in Westbulgarien im 19. und zu Beginn des 20. Jh.*

Brno 1966; "Vliv rozkladu velkorodiny na vývoj lidového obydlí v západním Bulharsku" [The Influence of the Joint Family Collapse on the Development of Folk Dwelling in Western Bulgaria]. *Český lid* 52, no. 3 /1965/: 164–175). He paid special attention to the ethnological research into viniculture in Moravia and in European environment *Tradiční vinařství na Moravě* [Traditional Wine-Growing in Moravia]. Brno 1974; *Jihomoravské vinohradnictví. Tradice a současnost* [South-Moravian Viniculture. Traditions and the Present]. Brno 1984; "Die Weinbaukultur in Mähren im Kontext der europäischen Entwicklung". *Ethnologia slavica* 17, (1985): 13–52). He applied the European and Slavic context in the research into social and spiritual culture (*Jízda králů. Lidový obřad, hra, slavnost* [The Ride of the Kings. A Folk Ceremony, a Play, a Festival]. Praha 1990, with a team; "Sveti Gjorgji vo narodnata tradicija na slovenskite narodi". *Make-donski folklor* 6, no. 12 /1973/: 87–91; *Vánoce v české kultuře* [Christmas in the Czech Culture], Praha 1988, 1989, 2001, with a team). Folkloristics is represented in Frolec's works by the editions of fairy-tales (*Bulharské pohádky* [Bulgarian Fairy-Tales]. Praha 1970; *Bulgarische Volksmärchen*. Praha 1971), small genres, and studies about folklore in the present ("Autentický a stylizovaný folklor jako fenomén kulturního života současné vesnice" [Authentic and Stylized Folklore as a Phenomenon of Cultural Life in the Contemporary Village]. In *Československá slavistika 1983. Literatura, folklór*, edited by S. Wolmann. Praha: Academia, 1983. 243–251).

Frolec responded to the ongoing phenomena of social and cultural life, which he observed from the ethnological and interdisciplinary perspectives (the village with cooperative agriculture, cultural traditions and changes, the relation of contemporaries to folklore). He also formulated several new subject-matters to be studied, e.g. cultural and historical awareness, the phenomenon

of Moravianness, the home as an ethnological category, the microstructure of local community, the folk custom as an act of communication. With new intentions, he created and verified some new methods in the fieldwork. Frolec's heuristics is based on field and archival research. From autopsy and stationary research he knew about the last development stages and the extinction of traditional tangible culture; in the realm of spiritual culture he pointed out the discontinuity and renewal of some cultural traditions. While creating the methodology of research and the interpretation of sources, he proceeded from ideal criteria, namely the place, time, social and socio-professional differentiation, ethnicity and cultural communication, and he searched for a solution in the case of deficiency of heuristics. He used comparative historical, typological, functional-structural and ethnocartographic methods, and he saw the ethnological method in connecting the above-mentioned procedures. He also applied several quantitative methods in the ethnology of the present. The search for analytical and comparative methods of ethnological Europeistics is a special chapter. Frolec's ethnological works move from analyses to syntheses, and they were written from both objective and emic perspectives ("Die mährische Identität: Dimension und Konflikt des historischen Bewußtseins". *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* 45, no. 4 (1991): 367–389).

Frolec proceeded from empiricism to theory. He proceeded from the relations of national and folk culture, and he headed towards the history (*Periodizace české lidové kultury* [The Periodization of Czech Folk Culture]. Praha 1988) and the study of cultural identity of Europe ("Národopisná utopie nebo kulturní perspektiva? Lidová kultura jako faktor etnické identity" [An Ethnographic Utopia or a Cultural Perspective? Folk Culture as a Factor of Ethnic Identity]. *Národopisné aktuality* 26, no. 3 (1989): 145–158; "Kulturní prostor střední a jiho-východní Evropy: dimenze lidové kultury" [The

Cultural Space of Central and South-Eastern Europe: the dimensions of folk culture]. *Ethnologia Europae centralis* 1 (1992): 11–23). As a co-creator of the historical and cultural-spatial discourse of European ethnology at the end of the 20th century, Frolec dealt with the theory of cultural communities across language borders, and with the issue of how to be equal with a symptomatic problem of generalizing knowledge. Frolec's study about transformations of the Pentecost custom called "the Ride of the Kings" in time and meaning is one of the possibilities how to resolve facts of a specific and general nature in a national concept in a methodological way (*Slovenský národopis* 27, no. 4 /1979/: 419–448). The ethnologic interpretation in macro-partial European space places new methodological demands. This is demonstrated by the project on the synthesis of vernacular architecture in the Carpathian-Balkan area, on which Frolec worked with an international group. He sacrificed many powers to this work, although his experience from international scientific cooperation was both positive and negative. Shortly after Frolec's death, the cooperation de facto disappeared, but the essential target was fulfilled – Jiří Langer and Helena Bočková critically assessed the semi-finished long-term project on the vernacular architecture in the Carpathians and Balkans, and crowned it with a synthetic monograph.

The international responses to Frolec's works are reflected by foreign reviews, two prestigious awards and an invitation to lead the Department of Ethnology at Vienna University. In 1989, Václav Frolec was awarded the Gottfried von Herder Prize for his contribution to humanistic research into the culture of Slavic nations and for the development of scientific and cultural contacts among the nations of Central, Eastern and South-Eastern Europe. In 1989, he was awarded the international prize of the 1st stage – Pitře – Salomone Marino – for the treatment of feast cycles in the book

Vánoce v české kultuře [Christmas in the Czech Culture] and for the contribution to ethnological Europeistics.

Václav Frolec had the courage to work on large projects with the awareness that each generation will invest its critical opinion and share in it. For this reason, he was an advocate of the discipline's continuity and scientific cooperation with the European East and West, which is rare today. He bequeathed the possibilities of choice to us. The completion of the Carpathian-Balkan project on vernacular architecture by two of his colleagues confirmed and shifted forward Frolec's understanding of ethnology as a historical discipline, and developed the methodology of ethnological comparatistics in a large cultural space. This scientific performance connects the 20th and 21st scientific centuries and is unparalleled in ethnological Europeistics.

From the perspective of European ethnology of the 21st century, Frolec's postulate of ethnographical documentation of the present applies, as a link to the historical chain and as a starting point for synchronous and historical studies. This postulate has a special importance today for the study of spiritual culture in the Czech and Central-European cultural space, and this is also a possible field for the cooperation of ethnological and anthropological disciplines. Frolec's results and concepts of European ethnology are here to be studied, reassessed, and overcome in a new reality and by new generations; even this demonstrates the power of Frolec's personality, the trust in the future of ethnology and its inspiration.

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RICHARD JEŘÁBEK (1931–2006)

Richard Jeřábek was largely engaged in the profiling of ethnology at Brno University for almost fifty years (1959–2006). He took over the leadership of the current Institute of European Ethnology of the Faculty of Arts at Masaryk University in Brno after the sudden death of Antonín Václavík, Department founder and Jeřábek's teacher. During the subsequent decades, he succeeded – together with his colleagues of the same generation (Dušan Holý and Václav Frolec) – in building up a renowned scientific and pedagogic institution. For more than seventy years, this institution has focussed on the study of Central European traditional culture and its social-cultural transformations; however, its activity also includes comparative European studies. For several decades, Richard Jeřábek's academic team contributed to the development of Czech, Slovak and – on a larger basis – European ethnology through graduates from the Department, who found employment in different fields of basic research and applied ethnology after their studies at Brno University.

Richard Jeřábek was a member of a strong generation that began to study at university after World War II (1950–1955) and that soon became active in the discipline's further course. Already

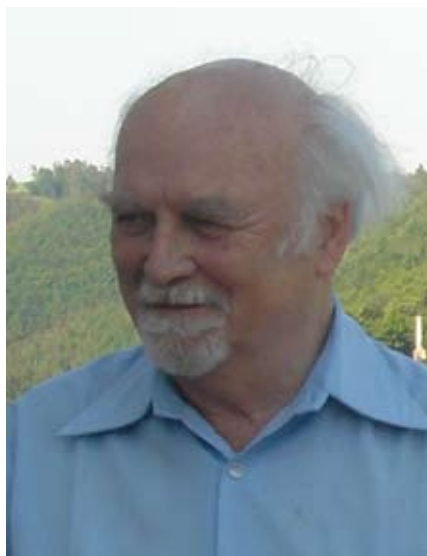
during his study at the grammar school in Valašské Meziříčí he met schoolmates for whom folk culture became their lifelong scientific mission. These were Jaroslav Štika (1931–2010) and Josef Vařeka (1927–2008) who largely contributed with their results to the development of the discipline at European level.

Richard Jeřábek's initial research interest was rather aimed at tangible culture and traditional livelihood (e.g. surviving and traditional ways of lighting a fire, transportation by rafts, drinking water extraction, traditional fishing, cereal storage) and Jeřábek was quite motivated by Václavík's intention to work out a monograph about the region of Moravian Wallachia in the north-eastern part of the current Czech Republic. At that time, Jeřábek's studies published in journals as well as his dissertation *Karpatské vorařství v 19. století* [The Carpathian Rafter's Trade in the 19th Century] (1961) showed Jeřábek's potential for wider historical-ethnological comparative research, which would evolve in the field of supra-regionally formed cultural areas. Moreover, we can consider the book about the trade of the rafter to be the first summarizing synthesis dealing with that specific way of transport, which covers the culturally valuable territory of the Carpathian Arc. This territory includes several states of Central and Southeast Europe.

In the 1960s, Václavík's students continued his vision on regional monographs by means of their modern collective works about the Moravian ethnographic areas of Horňácko and Podluží. Richard Jeřábek was the author of several chapters, and moreover, he co-participated in their emergence by preparing them as an editor. He continued participating in the summarising works of Czech ethnology as an author and editor even in the subsequent years. These activities of his were crowned by his position as editor-in-chief (together with Stanislav Bouček from the Institute of Ethnology of the Czech

Academy of Sciences) of the three-volume encyclopaedia *Lidová kultura. Národopisná encyklopedie Čech, Moravy a Slezska* [Folk Culture. Ethnographic Encyclopaedia of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia] (Praha 2007). Besides his work as an editor, Richard Jeřábek wrote a lot of material and personal entries. It was especially the biographical volume whose concept he formed.

The process of the formation of ethnographic regions and related regional identity was a theme that was a natural result of Jeřábek's research into the regional forms of traditional culture as part of his research interest. Within a wider historical perspective, he tried to point out the dynamicity of this process and the incorrectness of some images, constructed in a stereotypical way, related to the ethnographic zoning of Central Europe. Richard Jeřábek not only observed the historical lines of the origin, transformations and extinction of the forms of cultural areas, ethnographic groups and ethnic minorities, he was mainly interested in the theoretical difficulties in defining the regions. After a number of partial texts, he summarized the results of his research endeavour



in the compendium *Lidová kultura* [Folk Culture] from the edition *Vlastivěda moravská* [Moravia in All Its Aspects] (2000), and then as part of the collective publication *Etnografický atlas Čech, Moravy a Slezska. Díl 4. Etnografický a etnický obraz Čech, Moravy a Slezska (1500–1900). Národopisné oblasti, kulturní areály, etnické a etnografické skupiny* [Ethnographic Atlas of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia. Volume 4. Ethnographic and Ethnic Image of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia (1500–1900). Ethnographic Regions, Cultural Areas, Ethnic and Ethnographic Groups] (2004). His knowledge of the fragmentation of early reports about traditional culture in Moravia and processes of ethnographic zoning and differentiation led R. Jeřábek to the preparation of the edition *Počátky národopisu na Moravě. Antologie prací z let 1786–1884* [The Beginning of Ethnography in Moravia. The Anthology of Works from 1786–1884] (1997). It made texts of authors from diverse realms which were less available at that time and which were published in German or Czech written works (journals and books) in the 18th and 19th centuries accessible (travellers, publicists, topographers, regional amateur ethnographers).

Because Richard Jeřábek also studied the history of art, besides ethnography and folkloristics, at Masaryk University between 1950 and 1955, one of the main directions in his research interest was aimed at folk graphic arts culture. His potential to apply an interdisciplinary approach allowed him to submit a high-qualified treatment of the themes which were out of the interest of mainstream researchers in the history of art, while ethnologists usually did not have corresponding methodological knowledge to deal with these themes at a professional level. Not only in terms of the themes, but also due to the applied methods, the range of Richard Jeřábek's works in this research sphere was not limited only to the national community of researchers. The international over-

lap can be observed especially in his studies published in journals and anthologies, and in his conference contributions. His engagement in supra-national scientific structures (Société Internationale d'Ethnologie et de Folklore; Union internationale des sciences anthropologiques et ethnologiques; Committee for folk graphic art at the International Committee for the Study of Carpathian and Balkan Folk Culture) enabled him to enter into contacts with foreign researchers and to develop innovative incentives from foreign research in his works.

Within the theme of folk graphic arts culture, Richard Jeřábek mainly focused on terminology, categorization and systematics, and symbolism. Based on a thorough analysis and comparison he tried to interpret iconographic motives (from the Old and New Testaments, as well as purely profane ones – e.g. from the environment of highwaymen and rebels). Because he knew the European materials, he could search for particular sources of inspirations for paintings and graphics which became popular in professional art and within a wider geographic area. Besides the historical level of his study, Richard Jeřábek did not omit the theme of graphic arts folklorism, which was a topical theme at that time, non-professional naïve art and kitsch. However, he tried to observe the graphic arts expressions in the context of the function that they had in selected events of the annual customary cycle. He published his mainly partial studies focused on graphic arts culture abroad (especially in German, French and Polish languages). His essential texts related to this theme were printed only after the author's death in the book *Lidová výtvarná kultura* [Folk Graphic Arts Culture] (2011).

As he was well versed in historical graphic arts production originating in the folk environment or related to it as to its content, Richard Jeřábek was able (often in cooperation with his wife Alena

Jeřábková) to develop the iconographic study of traditional clothing not only in the Czech environment, but also in the wider Central- and Southeast-European context. He not only interpreted the pictures, but in some cases he was able to identify the authorship or historical context of the origin of valuable iconographic sources.

Richard Jeřábek showed long-term interest in bibliographic work, which he developed at the theoretical level for all his life (the concept of the retrospective bibliography of Czech ethnography) and applied it in practice too. Both on his own and together with his wife Alena he worked on several bibliographical inventories of Czech journals in the field, as well as personal bibliographies. Due to his bibliographic activities, he succeeded in finding his place in international disciplinary networks, and from 1969 he contributed systematically to *Internationale Volkskundliche Bibliographie* with a selection of book and journal titles from the Czech lands. The project that he implemented in the form of the *Biografický slovník evropské etnologie* [The Biographical Dictionary of European Ethnology] at the turn of the century shows international aspects. Based on excerpts from available sources and in significant association with foreign consultants, Richard Jeřábek managed to write up 267 personal entries of representatives of particular national schools of ethnology in Europe, whose research activity exceeded regional and national dimensions and significantly enriched the discipline at the pan-European level. Although the author's death in 2006 thwarted the finalization of the manuscript, due to the care of his home institution, the *Biografický slovník evropské etnologie* [The Biographic Dictionary of European Ethnology] was published as a study handbook in 2013.

The personal bibliography of Richard Jeřábek includes more than four hundred positions, and in addition to scientific studies, it includes texts of a material

nature, inventories, and contributions of a review and polemical nature, which are not less important for the formation of the discipline. Due to his engagement in international scientific networks, he was able to maintain personal and professional contacts with leading representatives of the discipline in the then East and West block. From the theoretical-methodological point of view, we can appreciate Jeřábek's works in the field of ethnographical zoning and especially folk graphic arts culture, and their wider geographical and social-cultural connections. The numerous incentives with which Richard Jeřábek entered different thematic realms of ethnology and discussions about the follow-up course of the discipline are also very important for the development of ethnology in the Czech (Czechoslovak) area. In many cases, his critical approach helped break down stereotypes passed down for generations and associated with the subject-matter of the study and the discipline itself. One should not omit his organizational, editorial and especially his pedagogical activities thanks to which he largely co-participated in the education of three generations of Czech ethnologists.

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JIŘÍ LANGER (* 1936)

The character and the quality of scientific research are inevitably associated with the activity of scientists, who play a key role in the formation and development of a particular scientific discipline or a group of related disciplines: they define their current direction; they represent a certain stage of discipline's development, a scientific school or a research direction, etc. There are rare individuals whose scientific production at a mature research age moves forward the progress of a particular scientific discipline from the point of view of methodological

approaches or epistemological attitudes, development of scientific theory, intellectual perspective, way of perceiving professional issues, scientific invention, way of argumentation, interpretation of data acquired through scientific research, and synthesis of available expert knowledge. This statement is generally valid. However, it plays a special role in small, disciplines, predominantly humanities and social sciences, where the group of scientifically productive researchers is naturally limited. In the Central-European conditions, the fact becomes even more evident in the realm of the care of cultural heritage, its safeguarding, presentation, and further development, which often depends on the initiative of keen and unselfish individuals and their enthusiasm.

The mental withdrawal of small humanities into an intellectual peripheral provincial frame did not allow, and still does not allow researchers who in better conditions could reach the parameters of the European dimension of their discipline to develop in terms of science and personality. The scientific production and professional activity of some social

scientists who are active on the territory of the former Czechoslovakia indicates their high qualities, which appear to form a complex of knowledge, scientific approaches and interpretations in parallel to the dominating mainstream.

The historian, ethnologist and museologist Jiří Langer is a distinct representative of this small but admirable group of Central-European social scientists. What he has achieved during his active life – research and publication activities, ground-breaking shift in understanding the connections in research into traditional building culture and habitation (at the beginning in the area of the north-western Carpathians and then within the wider European perspective), innovative impetuses in the realm of fine art history, his activities on behalf of the development of Slovak and Czech museology, mainly in the process of open-air museum construction, and in generally his personal contribution to the development of Czech and Slovak social sciences and humanities, and culture – could probably have been even multiplied, if he had been allowed to develop his research, authorial and organizational activity under more favourable conditions. The personality of his calibre was strongly limited in the small curtailed domestic conditions. Moreover, within the conditions of regional cultural institutions, during his active life, Langer could not fully develop even his scientific and organizational potential. He surmounted the obstacles brought by the period and the small-mindedness of the domestic situation with the exceptional originality of his approach and peculiar endurance, with which he worked on and observed the themes and scientific problems which were of interest to him and to which he devoted his concentrated scientific research. Basically, Langer created a parallel model of the scientific-research orientation at the boundary of different social sciences and humanities within the sciences on culture and society in the Central-European context of the last third



of the 20th century and the first decades of the 21st century; he undoubtedly found inspiration in the scientific output of many domestic and mainly foreign researchers.

Langer's broad scientific interests were interconnected with his practical activities in museum institutions. He dealt with fine art, traditional manufacture and technical buildings, and mainly with the building culture of peasants in the wide region of the north-western Carpathians, with an emphasis on the social dimension of farming and habitation of Carpathian highlanders in the pre-industrial period. His long-life professional activities are not only diverse, but above all comprehensive. He is one of just a few representatives of humanities who combine a high degree of their involvement in the organizational and practical activity in the field of culture with high scientific erudition and productivity. His scientific interests must have significantly influenced the character and quality of his professional activities in the fields of museology, preservation of monuments and art; and the same applies vice-versa.

Jiří Langer was born in Brno, but the family moved to Prague, where he – after his school-leaving examination at the grammar school in 1954 – attended the third year of the Secondary School of Arts and Crafts. The reason was his relation to drawing and graphics. From 1955 to 1960, he studied Czechoslovak History at Charles University; he graduated with a master's thesis about the social situation of inhabitants in the region of upper Orava at the turn of the 20th century. Between 1972 and 1973, he studied ethnography within postgraduate education. He underwent his scientific education at the Ethnographic Institute of the Slovak Academy of Sciences in Bratislava in the years 1977–1983, and he defended his Candidate of Sciences dissertation thesis *Lidové stavební tradice moravsko-slovenského pomezí v severozápadních Karpatech* [Vernacular Building Traditions at the Moravian-Slovakian Borderland in the North-Western Carpathians] in 1983.

From the year 1952, he spent the summer holiday months in the region of Orava, mainly in Zuberec, where he became part of the local environment. He drew a lot, documented, and perceived the social environment and regional culture. After he finished his studies, he moved to Orava, where he became involved in the foundation and development of regional cultural institutions. He conducted long-term field research accompanied by precise documentation, and he published scientific studies with voluminous materials and precise historical-social finds. He was extraordinarily active in the documentation and safeguarding of the Orava cultural heritage. He worked in the Orava Museum between 1960 and 1963 as a custodian of historical and ethnographical collections, and then in the District Educational Centre in Dolný Kubín. He participated in the foundation of the Orava Gallery, and he was its director in the years 1965–1971. In the professional and methodological respect, he supported the foundation of a unique open-air exhibition of folk wooden carvings and stone relief sculptures on the Slanický Island. He prepared the project of the ethnographic Museum of Orava Rural Architecture in Brestová near Zuberec and took part in its construction. In the weeks after the Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia, he devoted himself to illegal anti-occupation broadcasting in Orava in dangerous conditions, as well as to the protection of the endangered Gallery collections. After a short time spent in the Regional Centre for Heritage Care and Nature Protection in Banská Bystrica, he worked at the Wallachian Open-Air Museum in Rožnov pod Radhoštěm from the year 1971 until his retirement in 1996; from 1972 as deputy director. In that period, he essentially contributed to the construction of the Wallachian Village area, and he wrote the libretto for the Mill Valley area and took part in its construction. Langer had a great sense of practical museology,

which, however, was accompanied by high professional erudition and a struggle for an international outlook. In Rožnov, he prepared a number of domestic and international exhibitions; he could support this by his education in fine arts in addition to the knowledge of material and theme. He took part in the preparation and building of open-air museums, or better said in their professional direction: the Open-Air Museum of Liptov Rural Architecture in Pribylina, the Open-Air Museum of Kysuce Rural Architecture in Nová Bystrica, the Open-Air Museum of Slovak Rural Architecture in Martin, and the Ethnographic Open-Air Exhibition in Stará Ľubovňa. He is the author of many librettos, scenarios and ethnographic-architectural studies for the needs of several Slovak and Moravian open-air museums; he was a long-year co-operator of the folklore movement.

With his approach, work with sources, perception of scientific problems and broad professional range, and his specific language and interpretation of ethnographic material, Jiří Langer always excelled in something within the context of research into folk culture in the Central-European space. His scientific thinking and research approach feature a thorough historical attitude, absence of romanticism and essentialism, rejection of straight evolutionistic interpretations as well as presence of determinism in his view of scientific problems and explanation thereof. His territorial view of the development of building culture in the rural environment, which was never limited by state or ethnic borders or wedged between the borders of ethnographic areas, is specific. He was not restricted by the limited network of researched locations either. In his later synthetic works, he extended the space to the whole of the European continent. He repeatedly states that the Carpathians drew his attention as a mountain range. This is reflected in his scientific work in many past decades: the holistic approach and complexity as the main principle of

his synthesis of knowledge (first, about the vernacular architecture in the north-western Carpathians, and later extended to the whole of Europe), which is based on the unbelievably detailed knowledge of rich ethnographic and archival materials. This gave rise to what was for him a typical dimension of the view of development of pre-industrial regional peasant cultures, which he interprets in a considerably different way than the mainstream ethnographic, cultural-historic and art-historic literature did and does. He differs in his work with sources and the original opinion on problems, and he takes into account a number of interconnections and opposites in the historical development in the struggle to understand the connections. He considers the relation between the economic production and social differentiation to be crucial. He interprets ethnographic material through searching for relations between social structure, social environment and socio-cultural development. In these connections, especially from the perspective of the research into building traditions of the north-western Carpathians, it is necessary to emphasize his identification of the dependency relations between social structure and building techniques and structure of buildings, even with regard to ecological conditions, mainly in relation to the predominating building materials. Through the search for the relationship between building techniques, constructional elements, heating system

technology, transformations in agrarian technologies, and family structure he explains the inequality in socio-cultural development. He focuses on the issues relating to the importance of social environment in relation to cultural development, especially with cultural differentiations, whereby he observes the processes linked to social stratification. The way and with which cultural means the subjective struggle for social prestige comes through is of interest for him. In many of his works, he analyses colonization processes and their social economic and cultural consequences, as well as how the variants of pauperism and a retreat to lower economic forms became evident in cultural development, how the social differentiation manifested itself in the building culture and in the culture of Carpathian peasants' habitation.

Jiří Langer is – in the context of the time and the contemporary social sciences and humanities, in which he is active – exceptional with his quite unambiguous methodological anchoring. His scientific work was formed in connection with his intellectual development, which was really not straightforward, and it headed towards the space of a wide and disciplinarily unclear interface of social sciences and humanities, such as social and cultural history, ethnology, art history, history of architecture and cultural geography. His scientific publications also indicate his erudition in the history of technology and history of economy. He puts detailed ethnographical analyses

in detailed geographical contexts, interconnecting them with serious events of the political history of Central Europe in a way that we cannot find in the case of scientists in the disciplines of humanities. This is not only due to the wide erudition; the method is very important too. Langer succeeded in interconnecting long-term detailed ethnographic field research with archival research. He interprets the ethnographic data acquired through the long-term fieldwork in the context of the social history of a region, but always on the background of wider, supra-regional, socio-economic and socio-cultural connections, put into the context of political history. He tries to interpret his particular pieces of knowledge from the field in the general context of civilization development.

Jiří Langer is an undervalued Central-European scientific personality; I am afraid that despite his massive publication activity during the past fifty years, he is in principle an undiscovered author for the majority of the academic community. For the whole of his life, he was working on the fringe of academic life, in small Carpathian towns, where he – with enthusiasm peculiar to him – built cultural and museum institutions. Scientific research, with which he dealt mainly in his leisure time, became his long-life mission.

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EDITORIAL

The special English issue of the Journal of Ethnology 5/2017 is being published for the third time. The editorial board has prepared the issue with the intention of explaining the development of ethnology in the Czech environment to foreign readers (one of the articles deals with ethnology in Slovakia as the common Czechoslovak state established numerous ties in the realm of science between 1918 and 1992, which have survived to this day). In their studies, renowned authors present the development of prosaic folkloristics, ethnochoreology, research into folk dress, and ethnic studies as well as the formation of ethnology as a university discipline at Masaryk University in Brno. The Czech texts are supplemented by the already mentioned overview of the current position of the discipline in Slovakia. The summarizing studies are completed by portraits of important Czech ethnologists, who were instrumental in the development of this discipline in the Czech lands, leading it from ethnography to ethnology.

SUMMARY

The Journal of Ethnology 5/2017 publishes summarizing articles related to the knowledge of the development of Czech (and Slovak) ethnology and to the formation of their particular specializations. Marta Šrámková dealt with the history of the research into verbal folklore (*Evolutionary Paths of Czech Prosaic Folkloristics from the Formation as a Scientific Discipline until the year 2000*). Martina Pavlicová submitted the knowledge concerning ethnochoreological research (*Czech Ethnochoreology in the Context of Time and Society*). Martin Šimša assessed the experts' interest in folk dress (*The Research into Folk Dress in the Czech Lands: From Topography to European Ethnology*). Zdeněk Uherek dealt with the research into ethnic themes especially in the Institute of Ethnology of the CAS (*Ethnic studies in the Czech Republic*). Gabriela Kiliánová explained the evolutionary stages of Slovak ethnology (*Ethnology in Slovakia in Crucial Historical Periods /after 1968 and 1989/: From a Historical to a Social Discipline?*). Miroslav Válka focused on ethnology and the university environment in the Moravian capital (*Ethnology at Masaryk University in Brno. The 70th Anniversary of the Foundation of the Sub-Division for Ethnography and Ethnology*).

The further section of the special issue includes the Personalia Column. It remembers the names of researchers who have left a significant trace in Czech ethnology and whose production reached the international level: Karel Dvořák (1913–1989), Jaromír Jech (1918–1992), Oldřich Sirovátka (1925–1992), Iva Heroldová (1926–2005), Josef Vařeka (1927–2008), Richard Jeřábek (1931–2006), and Jiří Langer (born 1936).

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