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SMALL TECHNICAL HERITAGE OBJECTS IN THE CULTURAL LANDSCAPE: RESEARCH POSSIBILITIES AND CONSERVATION CHALLENGES

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Introduction

The aim of this article is to outline the possibilities and limits of research on, and the protection of, small technical heritage objects in the cultural landscape. In recent decades, the protection of cultural heritage has come to the forefront of the interest of experts across many disciplines. There is also a growing willingness of the general public, and therefore the state, to participate in the renewal and development of specific forms of cultural heritage, both tangible and intangible. However, not all forms of cultural heritage receive the same attention. Also, conservation efforts often face challenges, which partly result from the problematic nature of the idea of cultural heritage and which also stem from the specific character of small technical heritage objects.

In this article, we address some of these challenges by examining small traditional or pre-industrial technical facilities in the Rožnov region. These structures – grist-mills, sawmills, fulling mills, tilt-hammers, charcoal piles, glassworks, quarries, bleacheries, brick and lime kilns, shepherd huts, smithies, and so forth¹ – have been insufficiently researched, are often neglected as part of cultural heritage, and require innovative approaches for documenting, interpreting, and protecting them. To illustrate these challenges, we present the available research and analytical methods and illustrate their advantages, disadvantages, and limitations by exploring specific structures. At the same time, we consider the consequences that research on such objects has for their protection. We conceive the article as a critical reflection on the possibilities of research and the protection of small technical heritage objects in the cultural landscape, which can serve as inspiration for researchers and practitioners interested in cultural heritage research and conservation in general.

Cultural heritage, identity, and landscape

Cultural heritage, however unproblematic this concept may sound, does not have a simple definition

(Lowenthal 2005; Gillman 2010; Vecco 2010). From the point of view of history, cultural heritage can be perceived as a specific legacy of historical experience, which is present in objects, knowledge, practices, and memories (Ankersmit 2015: 193). Any cultural heritage object can thus be considered a legacy of history, which is not only a told story of the past, but its connection with place is also one of the ways to perceive history in a specific environment (Christie 2015: 10).

Cultural heritage is the subject of international and national legislation, which gradually evolves over time and differs from place to place (Blake 2000, Blake 2015; Lagrange – Oeter – Uerpmann-Witzack 2018). Similarly, the scientific approach to cultural heritage is changing, too. Although scientific attention is still understandably paid to objects of protection as such (i.e., the protection of cultural heritage as a technical problem), today cultural heritage is considered much more often in the context of broader social, economic, political, and landscape relations (i.e., cultural heritage as a social phenomenon). For example, the link between cultural heritage, tourism, and local and regional development appears to be very important (McIntosh – Prentice 1999; Timothy 2011; Licciardi – Amirtahmasebi 2012).

The importance of cultural heritage also stems from its close relationship to community and landscape identity. By selectively making some monuments of the past more visible at the expense of others, each community constructs the idea of itself in the landscape (see, e.g., the studies in Graham – Howard 2008). However, the relationship between cultural heritage and identity is not straightforward. All cultural heritage can be seen as the heritage of a specific small community and of all humanity, and therefore it can both unite and divide (Uerpmann-Witzack 2018). In some cases, heritage interpretation is so contradictory that it generates conflict and significantly complicates the eventual protection of heritage (Tunbridge – Ashworth 1996). Even in the case of seemingly non-political objects of cultural heritage, it is always necessary to proceed

sensitively so that eventual protection does not cause greater social damage than leaving an object to its fate would. This is especially important to keep in mind in places with a turbulent history and in multicultural situations, but also when instead of individual monuments we protect entire landscapes with a multiplicity of actors, owners, and users who have different ideas about how the area should be managed (Lozny 2006).

Although at first glance it might seem that cultural heritage focuses on the past, in reality its orientation is to the future, both ideologically and practically. At the ideological level, it defines the boundaries of communities and emphasizes their values. At the practical level, it creates the preconditions for the potential sustainability and resilience of communities in the face of future global challenges (Barthel-Bouchier 2016; Holtorf – Högberg 2020). Cultural heritage is therefore a topical and potentially controversial issue because the discussion about the representation of the past is, in fact, also a discussion about the shape of our common future.

Small technical facilities as cultural heritage and a research problem

Small, traditional or pre-industrial technical facilities represent an integral combination of tangible monuments and intangible technological knowledge. They are also closely connected with the natural and cultural landscape they are located in (Langer 2014; Dostálek et al. 2014). The location, appearance, and technical design of buildings were often directly related to the location and nature of resources in the landscape (availability of processed raw materials and building materials, water potential of streams or wind force, slope of the terrain, etc.). The logic of placing objects in the landscape and the consequences of this location for their architectural and technological design therefore call for special attention in research. Although in some cases small technical facilities are actually larger buildings, their typical features include small-scale production activities, the use of traditional energy sources, and connections with folk culture, including traditional building forms. However, the adoption of dominant architectural styles also occurred, but it often was delayed in the folk environment, especially in the researched area.

Small technical heritage structures that housed production facilities were typically replaced by industrial

production facilities. In their original forms, they survived either in peripheral areas, for non-professional production, or where it was not profitable to transform them into industrial use. The political and economic specifics of the Habsburg Monarchy also led to a reluctance to adopt some of the technological innovations of the Industrial Revolution, and thus the old forms of production effectively coexisted alongside expanding industrial forms at the end of the nineteenth century (Myška 1987: 96). For instance, in the Rožnov region, which we analyse in this text, we find a prevalence of simple water-powered sawmills (“valašky”), which were only gradually replaced by industrial steam sawmills, such as the mill in Zubří built only at the very end of the nineteenth century.

It is therefore difficult to determine whether particular buildings were traditional folk production, manufacturing, or industrial facilities (Štěpán 2007: 1050-1051). However, some authors consider this question to be secondary in the context of research and conservation of these structures. Others also recommend not defining the exact boundary between technical and agricultural buildings in the rural context (Štěpán 2003: 6-7; Štěpán – Vařeka 1991: 198-258).

An important feature of some of the analysed objects is their seasonality, low durability, and advantageous use of existing terrain features, complicating their identification, which is often possible only through archaeological research (Zkoumání výrobních objektů 1990). In some cases, the demise of these facilities was caused by their unprofitability, in other cases by their transformation into industrial operations or the loss of their function during the social changes of the mid-twentieth century. Despite their disappearance, their location and visual appearance often continues to be maintained in local memory.

Industrialization took place unevenly in individual regions and localities, and different industries predominated in different areas (sugar refining, the production of wooden furniture, the textile industry). In addition to steam and electricity, industrial production also used various combinations of traditional water propulsion with modern technological equipment and production capacity. The integral connection between traditional production and industry is also evident (e.g., traditionally produced charcoal as a fuel source for developing industry; Jakubec – Jindra 2006). Instead of attempting to formulate a general criterion, it is perhaps more practical

to determine the traditional–industrial boundary for specific objects, for example, by describing changes in the composition of mills, brick and lime kilns, or felling technology (Langer 1974; Medek 2002; Papoušek 2007). At the same time, some technologies continued to exist in their simpler forms alongside the developing industry (brick production, mining, fulling) until their final demise or even into recent times (shepherd huts, fruit-drying sheds).

Interest in traditional technical and production facilities can be traced back to the beginnings of ethnographic research in the nineteenth century (Kafka 1895: 97-145). In Czechoslovak ethnography, Czech ethnology, and Czech heritage conservation practice, studying these buildings was perceived as part of broader research on vernacular architecture (Frolec – Vařeka 2007; Frolec 1974). Much research was devoted to specific types of buildings and technologies, some of which, however, received greater attention than others due to their nature and the focus of researchers (Vařeka 1967; Trejbal 1989; Štěpán – Křivanová 2000). However, we have only infrequent or rare reports about some types of structures. This is because many researchers working on this issue focus on the conservation of heritage objects and their presentation to the public rather than engaging in basic research (Langer 1974; Ledvinka 2017; Michalička 2017; Podroužek et al. 2020).

Although heritage conservation practice also targets small technical facilities, usually within the framework of vernacular architecture, more commonly it focuses on purely industrial heritage. However, some methodological principles of heritage conservation used for industrial monuments can also be applied to small technical objects (Matěj 2018; Mertová 2019). These objects are represented by physically preserved buildings, which have been gradually added on the Central List of Cultural Monuments since the second half of the twentieth century (<https://www.pamatkovykatalog.cz/>). In the past decade, research on mining landscapes and their protection has intensified (Karel – Kratochvílová 2013; Sborník příspěvků odborného workshopu 2014). The activities of civic associations, such as the Windmills Section of the Circle of Friends of the Technical Museum in Brno (Doubek – Koč – Urbánek 2020), can also prompt widespread professional interest, popularization, and, ultimately, the protection of monuments.

In our research as part of the Traces of Human Ingenuity project (www.stopyumu.cz), we focused on small technical facilities in the Rožnov region (see Fig. 1). It is a mountainous area in eastern Moravia with a number of preserved folk traditions and a strong regional identity associated with Carpathian pastoral culture. The typology of small technical operations in the monitored area reflects the general economic needs of the inhabitants of this predominantly poor agricultural and mountainous region.

The relatively ample supply of water, primarily provided by the Bečva and Bystřička Rivers, but also by mountain streams, ensured stable water power for technical structures situated in valley areas: gristmills, sawmills, and fulling mills (Langer et al. 2011, 2012). By contrast, windmills, characteristic of the adjacent area of the Moravian Gate, expanded only marginally. A specific feature in the highest mountain locations was shepherd-ing (Štika 2009). Forest crafts such as the production of charcoal, potash, tar, and glass were also connected with the mountain environment (Langer et al. 2012; Michalička 2017; Španihel – Valoušková – Mašláň 2017). Mining and quarrying were made possible by sufficient mineral and rock deposits, which provided building materials for direct use or raw materials for further processing (Liďák 2020; Zahálka 1927). In connection with the cultivation of nonfood crops in the foothills, textile production also developed (Langer et al. 2012). Fruit-drying sheds were used to process and conserve surplus fruit (Kunz 2006).



Fig. 1 – Location of the Rožnov region in the Czech Republic

Some of these activities were performed across social groups and environments, from serfs to professional craftsmen, and feudal manors to guilds. Certain more complex activities were carried out only by some groups (e.g., operating tilt-hammers and paper mills, pond fish farming), and business operations began to expand under the direction of the feudal estate from the seventeenth century onwards. At the same time, it is necessary to take into account the mutual economic and contractual relations between the different social strata, including claims to the use of various resources (Langer 1974; Palát – Fišer – Solanský 1984; Jurok 2002).

Methods for researching small technical heritage structures in the open landscape

Researching small technical structures in the open landscape requires a transdisciplinary approach combining different disciplines and using a wide range of research methods for data collection, analysis, and presentation (see Fig. 2). In general, we can differentiate between geo-

graphical, archaeological, historical, technical, and ethnographic methods.² Each method has certain advantages and limitations, and only by systematically combining them can we gain comprehensive knowledge of the studied issues. In the following section, we briefly summarize some of these methods, especially those used to conduct cultural heritage research in the Czech Republic. Then we critically reflect on their potential use for studying small technical structures in the Rožnov region.

Cartographic sources and geographic information systems

Geographic information systems and spatial databases are key tools in interdisciplinary research on cultural heritage. Such databases make it possible to store all types of data, including their spatial distribution, and to analyse, identify, and interpret their context (Ian et al. 2008). Spatial databases are based on a set of adopted and original layers depending on the type of research (Wei – Cho – Kim – Bae 2000). The original layers contain information obtained during research, or by linking existing layers

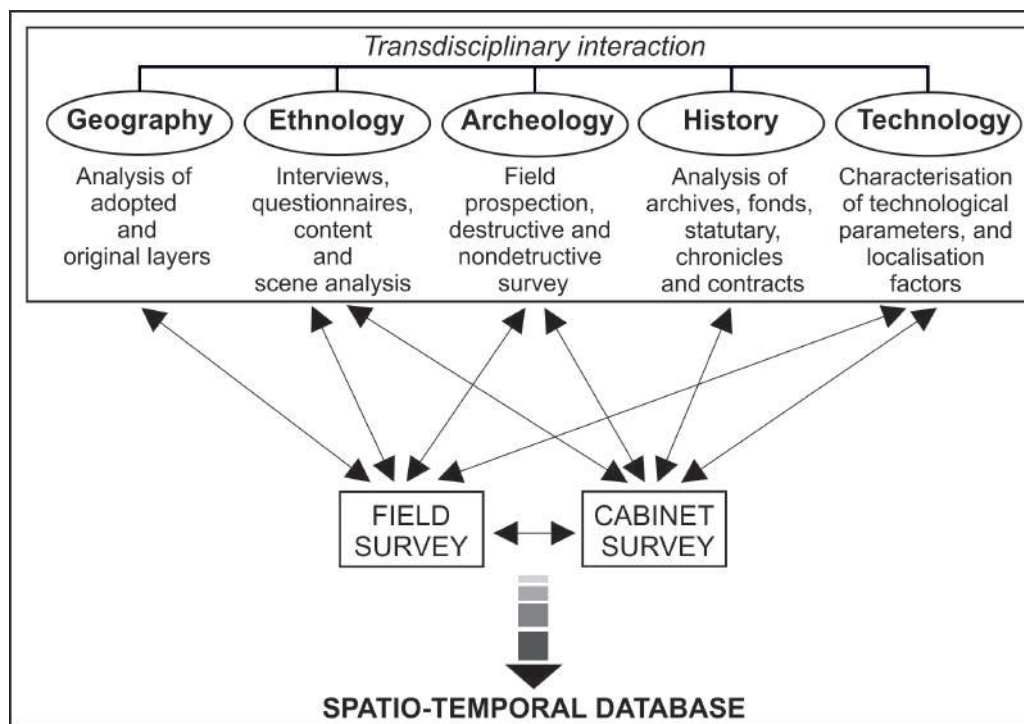


Fig. 2 – Conceptual framework for studying small technical heritage structures

with new data. Adopted layers can include, for example, a digital elevation model, a topographic map, a geological map, historical maps, orthophotos, detailed plans, or other documents that reflect the focus of the research.

A digital elevation model (DEM) is a mathematical image of the Earth's surface, based on a triangulation network of discrete points containing information on altitude, latitude, and longitude (Li – Zhu – Gold 2005). Using predefined algorithms, we are able to calculate surface properties, such as the derivative of a slope, curvature and slope orientation, as well as modified DEM types. These models serve as inputs for characterizing the relief and identifying various forms, such as charcoal piles, remnants of buildings, and mill races.

Additional important material is represented by orthophotos. These are georeferenced orthogonal images of the Earth's surface taken from an aircraft. In Central Europe, this type of aerial photography has been practiced since the 1930s. It is a valuable and detailed source of information about land cover, road density, and settlement structure, for example.

Despite problems associated with georeferencing, interpretation, and spatial inaccuracy, old maps are an irreplaceable source of information. The old maps depicting our study area include the maps of the First, Second, and Third Military Surveys and cadastral maps. Systematic military mapping was initiated by the Habsburg Monarchy to provide detailed, consistent maps for military campaigns (Boguszak – Císař 1961: 9-13). The mapping took place in three phases between 1764 and 1880. These maps show elevation changes, roads, water bodies, waterlogged areas, landmarks, settlements, and land cover. The First Military Survey was followed by the more detailed maps of the Franciscan Cadastre. These were created to record information about land ownership to calculate the land tax (Císař – Boguszak – Janeček 1977: 162-165; Pekař 1932: 363). Maps depict various types of land cover, watercourses, roads, the construction materials of buildings, and small landscape features.

Specific maps include other available historical map materials or plans providing valuable spatial or content information about the studied area. Such information is often so detailed that it does not appear in general maps. These documents can usually be found in archives, but some also appear on postcards, in newspaper articles, in village chronicles, and so forth.

Comprehensive GIS analysis using a diverse range of original and adopted layers helps to locate and interpret documented structures. At the same time, however, it also makes it possible to identify predominant localization factors and the mutual relationships between them. It helps us not only to describe where the objects were located, but also why our ancestors placed them there.

Historical methods

The use of historical methods in the research of small heritage structures is absolutely essential, but it presents a number of obstacles. Researchers must overcome the limitations of individual historical specializations and must have exceptional methodological skills in paleography and other auxiliary historical sciences, knowledge of different historical contexts to correctly interpret records, and the ability to link sketchy references in various sources and to use historical and contemporary analogies. This approach deviates from the traditional concept of historiographic methodology, which is usually based on providing a chronological description of the things being studied (L'Eplattenier 2009: 68-69). On the other hand, it brings the possibility of asking historical questions about long-term (*longue durée*) processes (e.g., Wallerstein 2009). This is doubly true of technologies traditionally and successfully used over many centuries, which are an integral part of cultural heritage.

Undoubtedly, archival sources are a critical, widely used source of information about cultural heritage objects (Křivanová 2002). When working with unpublished historical sources in the Czech Republic, the researcher must take into account that these sources are most likely not stored at one institution. For Moravia and the part of Silesia belonging to the Czech Republic, such documents can mainly be found in state district archives, provincial archives, and museums and other memory institutions. As a rule, it is necessary to consult the records of large estates. For the twentieth century, it is usually necessary to consult the archives of district offices (former district governor's offices) and district national committees. Of course, village and town archives are important for research on rural areas.

Official records including correspondence, permits, petitions, complaints, and other documents related to small technical objects are often stored in boxes together with materials dedicated to entirely unrelated

topics, which makes the systematic exploration of official records difficult. Nonetheless, a wide range of such records is also available for study. Some of them (e.g., estate registers, water and mill records, land registers, trade registers) even allow us to formulate quantitatively oriented research questions. Municipal, school, parish, family, and other chronicles should not be overlooked either. Of course, the researcher is not limited to working with archival documents because published sources also provide much valuable information. However, published sources cover only certain parts of the total spectrum of small technical facilities and can never entirely replace primary archival research.

Ethnographic methods

Ethnographic methods are essential for researching and protecting cultural heritage for many reasons (Brown – Murtha 2019). First, in the case of intangible cultural heritage, they make it possible to identify and interpret objects for which there are no other preserved records (in archives, in maps, or in the field), or they can complement and develop existing sketchy records. Although human memory is a problematic historical source (Oelofse 2011), in the absence of other sources, it is all we have. Second, objects of material cultural heritage or the places with which they are associated play a role in the daily lives of today's rural inhabitants. The ethnographic study of the current significance of heritage structures for individuals and local communities is therefore crucial in the search for conservation possibilities (Hollowell – Nicholas 2009; Palmer 2009). Third, few disciplines have contributed to the formation of the idea of folk cultural heritage as much as ethnography and ethnology. It is therefore appropriate to critically reflect on the work of earlier ethnographers, but also on our own assumptions about what cultural heritage is, to whom it belongs, and how it should be protected (Hofer 1991).

Ethnology, as well as anthropology, offers a wide range of methods that can be used in heritage research and conservation. They include participant and non-participant observation; various forms of interviews (structured, semi-structured, unstructured, narrative, phenomenological, individual, focus groups, walking interviews); questionnaires; and content, image, and discourse analyses (Bernard 2017). Different methods are suitable for different situations, and it is ideal to triangulate methods

to compensate for their weaknesses. The sources of ethnographic research can also be varied. They include contemporary inhabitants, their ideas, knowledge, and activities, as well as historical documents, chronicles, letters, toponyms, diaries, and photographs examined using ethnohistorical methods. Combining the aforementioned methods and sources, ethnology can provide a broad understanding of cultural heritage, its historical forms, and its current significance.

Data processing and presentation

Geographic information systems serve not only as a source of information about cultural heritage, but they also allow for the standardized collection, analysis, summarization, and visualization of data (English 2008). Unquestionable advantages include the clear and effective possibility of visualizing research results, spatial analyses, or historical records in spatial contexts (Healey – Stamp 2000). Thanks to today's geodatabases, it is also possible to connect all research team members on one platform, which supports interactions within trans-disciplinary teams. Modifying such databases is possible anywhere, and changes are recorded in real time.

Although the use of geodatabases has many advantages, several limitations need to be considered. Historical data can be incomplete or inaccurate, whether in terms of spatial location or the properties of objects. In quantitative research, we may encounter complications associated with a large amount of data and their retrieval. Historical data do not provide continuous information; rather, they offer information about a specific moment in time. As a consequence, it is often problematic to create a continuous record based on this information. One of the main disadvantages of working with geographic information systems and geodatabases is the complexity of functional geodatabase design. An important part of the geodatabase is represented by metadata and citations of sources enabling data retrieval and verification (Gregory – Healey 2007).

Results can be presented in the form of static or dynamic maps depending on the type of research. Unlike static maps, map applications support a wide range of possibilities, including temporal animation, spatial animation, and 3D viewing. These tools are used to visualize spatial distribution and geochronology. Applications can allow users to explore a virtual 3D world that can be

viewed not only from different angles but also at different times (Books – Whalley 2005).³ This type of presentation needs a large amount of data, not only about the object itself, but also about its history, including as many historical maps as possible, so that the animation of the object is as authentic as possible and supplemented with quality spatial data. The application itself should be designed with regard to the type of anticipated users (Ricker – Roth 2018). Such applications are accessed via a QR code or via a link to a website or application on a mobile device.

Examples of the use of research methods in practice

Studying small technical objects presents a number of challenges. Researchers applying the aforementioned methods in specific conditions often encounter various and sometimes insurmountable limitations that have a major impact on what we can learn about heritage objects and how we can contribute to their conservation. We therefore need to prepare for these constraints already at the research planning stage. Research design needs to be robust enough to minimize the risk of failure. At the same time, it is necessary to adapt research ambitions to the availability of sources, prepare for improvisation, and build strong interdisciplinary cooperation from the very beginning. In the following part of the text, we present our experiences researching small technical facilities in the Rožnov region, focusing on the fundamental obstacles or challenges we had to overcome. We comment especially on those that are less frequent and less known, but all the more insidious and that have a great impact on the knowledge and conservation of these monuments.

Map and geoinformatics sources

Cartographic data are a valuable source of information in transdisciplinary research. They can serve as both primary and secondary data sources. However, when studying small technical objects, we encounter a number of limitations. By far the most important of them is that, with a few exceptions, small technical objects do not appear in cartographic documents at all (see Fig. 3). They are often not specified at all in the maps of the Franciscan Cadastre, and we can then infer their possible production function only by their spatial context (e.g., location on a mill race), or from accompanying archival sources (e.g., value estimates for taxation purposes). The maps of the First and Second Military Surveys show only some

water-powered structures symbolized by a stylized water wheel without further distinction of whether it is a gristmill, sawmill, or hammer mill. Other technical objects are completely missing. Generally speaking, the use of cartographic methods is, of course, essential for locating heritage objects and identifying them in the landscape. Often, however, as in our case, maps do not provide information about their location, name, technology used, or ownership.

The use of cartographic methods in locating technical objects can also be problematic due to considerable inaccuracy, the various ways of depicting elevation, and, with the exception of the maps of the Franciscan Cadastre,

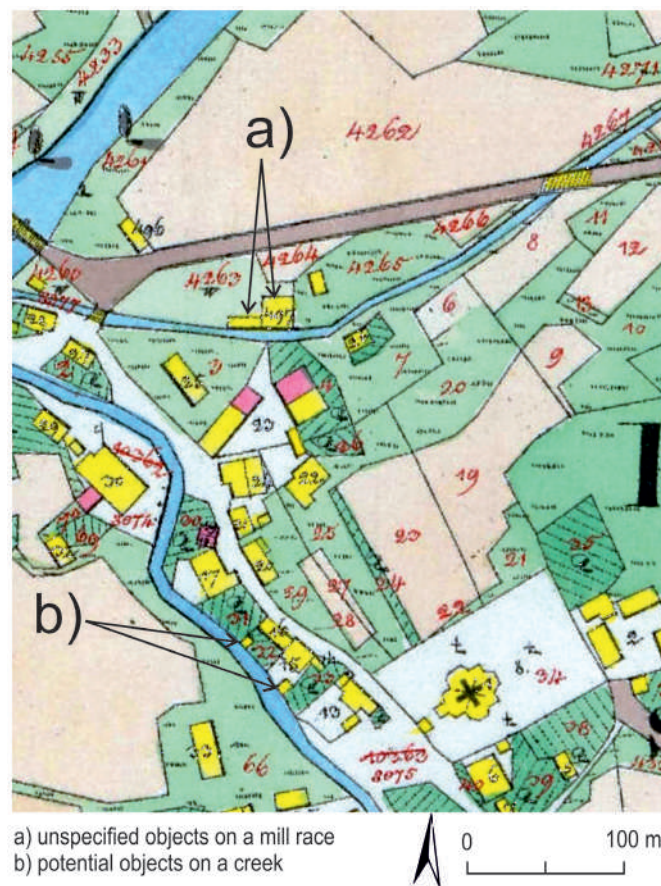


Fig. 3 – Unspecified technical objects on a map from the Franciscan Cadastre (1835)

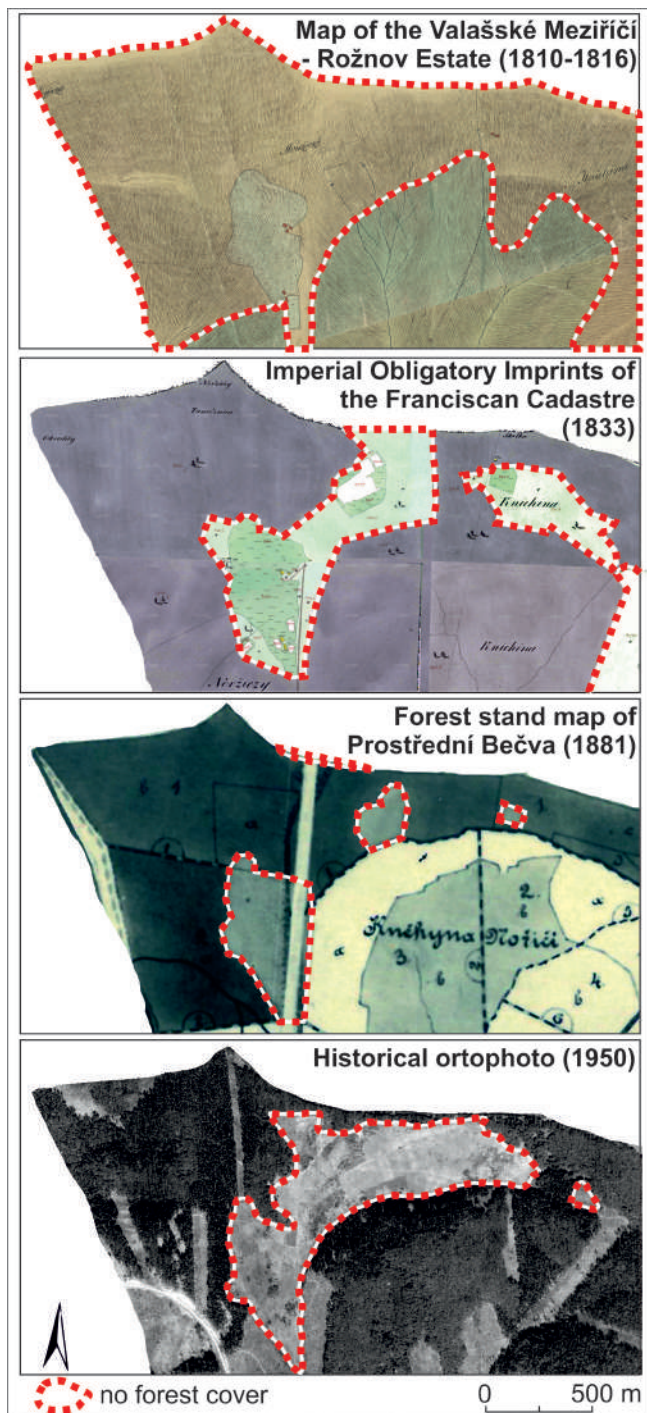


Fig. 4 – The area of Noříč in Prostřední Bečva on historical maps

insufficient detail. Another common problem with historical maps arises from the fact that these maps (as all maps) were created at a specific time and for a specific purpose. They reflect the landscape at a certain moment in history, they sometimes contain plans that were never realized, or they show only what was relevant for the given mapping purpose (e.g., tax assessment based on the records of the Franciscan Cadastre). The area of the Noříč and Kněhyně shepherding operations in Prostřední Bečva (merged probably in the early second half of the nineteenth century into a single Noříč-Kněhyně operation) illustrates well how landscape development is not reflected in cartographic depictions, which are otherwise commonly considered to be a very accurate source of information on the actual state of the landscape (Fig. 4). The economic map of the estate, made between 1810 and 1816 (Zemský archiv Opava 2021a), shows very extensive pastures in this area. The map of the Franciscan Cadastre from 1833 (ČÚZK 2021a) shows a very strong reduction in pastures in favour of continuous forest over a short period of time. The forest map from 1881 (Zemský archiv Opava 2021b) shows the forest-free area further reduced and already very strongly fragmented. In contrast, an aerial survey image from 1950 (Letecké měřičské snímky, 1950 – 04577) shows that the reality was probably quite different throughout the period because much of the original pastures were still preserved at the time of the aerial survey. The cadastral map thus showed only the cadastral status of the land, that is, it showed the plans of the estate owner for what should be a forest in the future. Similarly, the later forest map only faithfully copies the cadastral situation and thus shows forest-free areas only where there are plots classified as meadows or pastures in the cadastre records. The presumed forest also includes areas where there are no tree stands at all.

As a result of the inaccuracy of historical maps caused by the imperfection of cartographic and geodetic methods at the time of their creation, we encounter problems with establishing a suitable number of so-called ground control points when attempting to georeference old maps. The more control points are placed during georeferencing, the greater the deformation of the original map. Instead of an accurate historical map, we can get an unusable background with blurred symbols and labels and deformed spatial geometry.

We were also convinced of the unsuitability of the use of purely cartographic data when attempting to identify charcoal piles in the study area. Charcoal piles are not marked in historical maps, but they are documented in the area in numerous ethnological and historical sources. It was also not possible to identify them in old aerial photographs. For this reason, we tried to derive their location from various DEM derivatives (hillshade and focal statistics). We tried to identify a flat platform or a mild depression of a given radius in areas depicted on old maps as forest. Due to the sensitivity of the model type to the surrounding raster cells, we identified dozens of such forms in the studied area. However, these forms cannot be directly labelled as charcoal piles. It is necessary to verify their existence directly in the field or by other methods. Figure 5 depicts the same locality with documented charcoal piles as shown by two different models (a, b). Each type of DEM is suitable for identifying and emphasizing different forms and objects. At the same time, however, the display of other forms may be suppressed. For this reason, it is important to verify these results by other methods, or to use cartographic methods as a secondary source of data. In general, spatial forms identified in DEMs can provide many details about the objects themselves as well as about their surroundings. As mentioned above, it is appropriate to combine the use of a DEM with other background information. Objects that are identified only on the basis of a DEM, however, may be mere pseudo-objects, or they may be misinterpreted.

Changes of administrative boundaries can also complicate the processing of cartographic data. There may have been shifts in state, county, district, estate, or village borders that have clear implications for the location of related historical sources stored in regional, provincial, or national archives. In our case, these were changes in the borders between several municipalities belonging to two different feudal estates. These shifting boundaries have fundamental consequences for correctly historically interpreting documented technical objects; searching for and interpreting archival sources, ownership records, and statistical data; and for conserving such objects. Figure 6 illustrates the changes in the boundaries of the municipalities of Bystřička, Malá Bystřice, Brňov, Malá Lhota, and Velká Lhota lying on both sides of the border between the Vsetín estate and our study area, the Valašské Meziříčí – Rožnov estate. Thus, some techni-

cal structures changed municipalities several times over a relatively short period of time.

In reality, the administrative situation in this area was even more complicated, as the territories of the municipalities did not necessarily form a coherent whole. Some municipalities had separate administrative exclaves in the territory of other municipalities, the vestiges of the area's complex colonization and legal history. For example, the village of Malá Bystřice had an exclave with sixteen houses and the associated fields and inhabitants located

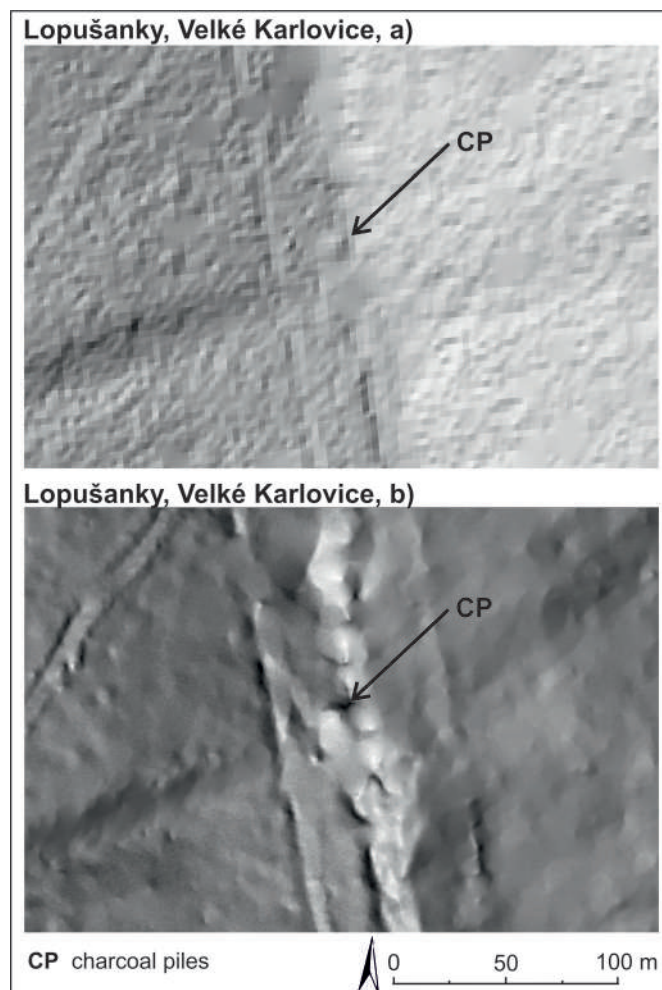


Fig. 5 – Digital elevation models for a locality with historic charcoal piles

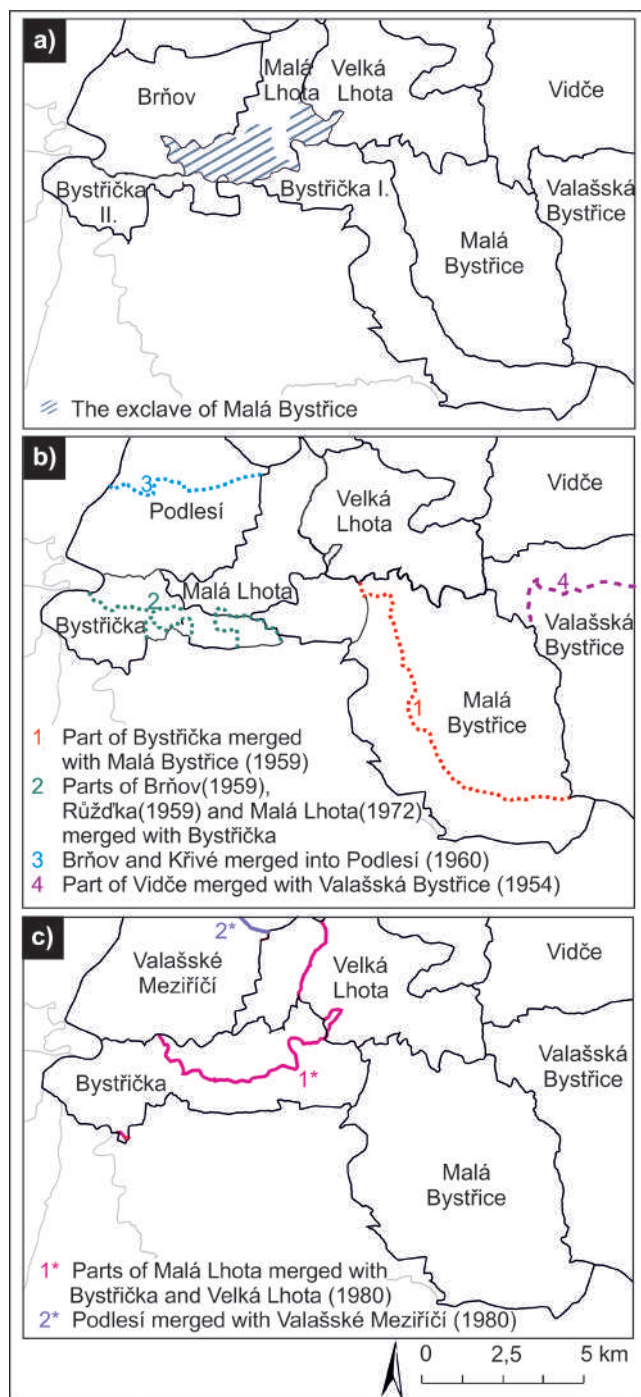


Fig. 6 – Changes of administrative boundaries in the western part of our research area

in the cadastre of a completely different village, Malá Lhota. These houses were recorded in the land registers of the original village for several decades, and dozens of their inhabitants still belonged to Malá Bystřice. A correction was not made until the second half of the nineteenth century. In the second half of the twentieth century, another change took place, and these houses became part of the village of Bystřička.

Limits of historical research

A significant problem of archival research is the degree to which historical sources are preserved. The basic archival fonds on the history of our area of interest (the Valašské Meziříčí – Rožnov estate) deposited in the Land Archive in Opava has been preserved only in fragmented form due to the fact that a substantial part of these records was recycled for paper production by the Rožnov paper mill. Ironically, this recycling did not allow the preservation of sources concerning the paper mill itself, one of the facilities we investigated. Further destruction of the fonds took place during World War II (Turek 1966: I). Nevertheless, it was possible to find a number of hitherto little-explored records, which made it possible to analyse specific objects of cultural heritage in their historical context. There is no doubt though that for the history of the nineteenth century, we analysed incomplete records, especially when it came to official correspondence, petitions, complaints, and other files. For example, the contracts for manorial mills and sawmills provided information for a very short period of time and monitoring their development over a longer period is complicated. Here, too, we confirmed that each archival fond or source is unique, as is the context of its use, which must always be kept in mind (L'Eplattenier 2009: 68-69).

Our focus on specific production operations necessarily raises questions about their exact locations. However, historical sources frequently do not provide this information at all, or if they do, it is often vague or inaccurate. For example, our analysis of the estate register of the Valašské Meziříčí – Rožnov Estate from 1676 provides a look at the genesis of gristmills and sawmills in the region. This register often contains the oldest mentions of their existence, but the only information about their location we find here is the village without any further details. Additional spatial specifications must be drawn from other sources. A concrete example can be the gristmill

mentioned in the land register of Vigantice, for which the miller Martin Solanský paid a set payment to the estate owner at the end of the seventeenth century. Although it could be easily identified with the Solanský Mill known from the maps of the Franciscan Cadastre as well as from water and mill records, looking at the estate register does not allow this identification, especially considering that for some time there was another mill in Vigantice at the confluence of Studený potok and Hážovka, which is in a completely different location (Kramoliš 1907: 212).

Although there are many kinds of production facilities, archival sources do not pay them equal attention. Gristmills and sawmills are relatively well documented. This is probably because of their economic and cultural significance, which was subsequently reflected in the sources (Smutný 2015: 11). In general, on the other hand, it appears that rural craft production was recorded in sources less frequently than production in urban settings. Typical examples are the production of charcoal and tar, or small facilities operating only for short period (Nováček – Vařeka 1992: 13). Although this does not mean that we completely lack the sources for these facilities (see, for example, the unique depiction of the tar furnace operated in Prostřední Bečva located in the fragmentary part of the Rožnov estate archive), we cannot compare them with the high number of sources for gristmills and sawmills.

In addition to the aforementioned estate register, water and mill records, trade registers, and a large number of various paper contracts or contracts preserved in official books, it is also worth mentioning that gristmills are also often mentioned in municipal chronicles. Their authors almost never forget to write about “their” mills, which can almost be considered a conscious “methodological” approach on the part of chroniclers. This clearly demonstrates the importance of these production facilities not only for the local economy but also for culture, memory, and identity of place (e.g., even no longer functional mills are frequently mentioned, acting as cultural monuments of the locality).⁴ Thus, mills as bearers of economic, technological, and cultural continuity have also been reflected in professional research (Freiwillig 2017: 7).

Another complication in researching the heritage of small technical structures could be presented by the multifunctionality of the structures themselves. In the sources, one structure could play other roles than mere production ones. It could be listed as the dwelling

of the operator and his family but not the place of operation of the technology itself. An example is Josef Slížek's charcoal trade listed in the trade register, which is rare evidence of the very long survival of traditional charcoal production with roots in the Middle Ages, which Slížek practiced in the forests of Prostřední Bečva on a professional level in the first half of the twentieth century (until 1942). The register tells us where he lived but does not indicate where exactly he burned coal. Another example is the Hamerský mlýn building in Zubří (see below), which is connected in the sources with the operation of an inn. Sources about renovating the inn, listed under the name Hamerský mlýn (Hammermühle), have been preserved in the estate's collection. They speak about the mill as a production facility only indirectly.

People's memory and the landscape's memory

Researchers studying the history of small technical heritage objects encounter many obstacles when working with historical sources. On the one hand, they are often unpreserved or fragmentary, and on the other hand, some types of objects are mentioned in them with a significantly lower frequency than others. Therefore, scholars cannot rely exclusively on archival sources when researching historical production facilities. Similarly, it is true that many operations have not been preserved in the field. To identify and interpret them, it is not possible to use the analysis of DEMs, aerial photographs, or field surveys. Therefore, sometimes the only usable source is the memory of the local population ascertained using ethnographic methods and the memory of the landscape inscribed in toponyms. Names such as Ve Mlýně, Na Pile, Hamra, Bělídlo, Na Salaši, Solajňa, Na Šachtě, and others directly refer to past technical and economic production activities. In many cases, the use of these methods is crucial for identifying, localizing, and interpreting various objects, but at the same time, reliance on ethnographic methods can be problematic, due to inaccuracies and dynamics of historical memory and errors in etymology and the transcription of geographical names.

For example, charcoal piles are seldom mentioned in historical sources and are rarely localized, even though they played a crucial role in the economy and landscape of our area of interest. Only thanks to the memories of witnesses, for example, could we credibly document charcoal piles in the Lopusňanky valley in Velké Karlovice.

No other indications – archival, relief, or archaeological – were available in this case. The same is true, for example, of small temporary brick kilns (regionally called *kozle*), which people built on construction sites. These ephemeral operations and related technological knowledge form an important part of cultural heritage and are often documented in more detail only from the memories of witnesses and scarce private photographs. There are often no traces left in the archives or in the field. At the same time, a large part of the houses in the studied area are built from such home-fired bricks.

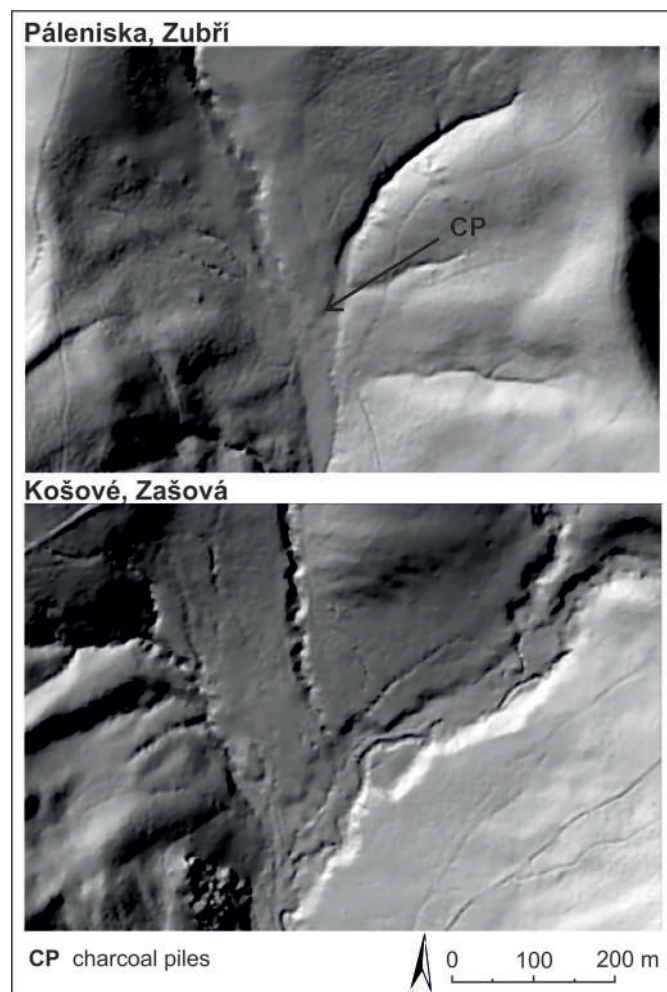


Fig. 7 – Digital elevation models for potential areas with historical charcoal piles

The memories of witnesses can even help reveal errors in the official records and thus refute completely erroneous assumptions. For example, the official database of quarries of the Czech Geological Survey indicates a small sandstone quarry on a hill called Olšovský vrch in the village of Zubří. According to witnesses, however, this “quarry” is in fact trenches built for military equipment used during Soviet army exercises in the 1980s. In this case, local memory plays an irreplaceable role.

Often, we are guided to potentially interesting sites only by geographical names maintained in the toponymic system of local inhabitants because there are no longer any witnesses who remember these establishments in operation. In the case of charcoal piles, these are names such as Uhliska, Na Milíři, or Páleniska. Figure 7 illustrates this case in the village of Zubří, where the local name Páleniska enabled us to localize charcoal piles. In a geomorphologically and vegetationally identical situation in the neighbouring valley in the village of Zašová, which, however, lacked a comparable local name referring to charcoal production, no charcoal piles could be found. This example also indicates the limits of the use of DEMs and other cartographic data. In practice, however, it turns out that geographical names can be problematic, as they often indicate large areas where it is difficult to locate small objects, or they are now associated with a different territory than the one they were originally associated with.

We encounter similar problems with names such as Skalka, Kutiska, or Stříbrník. Many of them are associated with legends about mining, but many have folk etymologies or the names have multiple meanings. The name Skalka, widespread throughout the region, refers to both natural rock outcrops as well as remnants of small-scale stone quarrying. Kutiska in the village of Vidče is probably a mistranscription of the original name Kútiska and therefore does not indicate a place where minerals were mined (from the verb *kutat*) but the peripheral part of the village (from the noun *kout*, dialectally *kút*). The name Stříbrník in the village of Zubří is associated in the local memory with silver mining, which is not documented either archivally or geologically. An alternative explanation for this name may be the finding of silver Roman coins documented in abundance in this village in other places. What is certain is that it would not be appropriate to rely only on the local name and local memory in this case. In general, individual

memories, collective memory, and geographical names can be a good servant but a bad master, and they should be treated as critically as any other source.

Data processing in geodatabases

The previous lines suggest that gathering information about small technical objects is akin to detective work, which results in a puzzle with many missing pieces rather than a clear historical picture. Geodatabases and map applications, which integrate the underlying layers and data obtained in the field, in archives, and from witnesses, are very useful tools for assembling this puzzle. They make it possible to visualize spatial and data relationships and thus determine many unknowns. Despite their considerable advantages, geodatabases also have several limitations imposed by the need to standardize the content of individual records and their spatial and temporal localization, while the reality of small technical objects is in many cases so diverse that it is not possible to fit it into geodatabase attributes without making significant compromises.

One of the fundamental problems in interpreting the history of small technical heritage structures is their origin, and end of operation. The temporal dimension is important especially when we want to model changes in land use and landscape and interpret the significance of technical heritage with regard to other contemporary archival sources. An example of such an uncertain historical development from our study area is the gristmill in Kamenný in Brňov, the history of which dates back to at least the sixteenth century. It was the only mill in this village, and it was mentioned under the same name throughout its existence, for the first time in a contract from 1575. Therefore, we can assume that it stood in the same place where it is depicted in the map of the Franciscan Cadastre from 1834 (ČÚZK 2021b). Because it is mentioned in multiple written documents at different times, we could also assume that it was in operation continuously throughout its existence. However, we know that at the beginning of the Thirty Years' War it was destroyed by fire, but we no longer learn how long it took to rebuild it and resume operation (Domlivil 1900). This then causes problems in the database when visualizing changes over time.

Other problems related to geodatabase standardization include changes in the physical location of a certain object without changes in ownership and func-

tion, the parallel existence of several identical facilities in the same place, changes in the shape of an object, or a modification or extension of the object's technology without a corresponding change in its position. The area of the former mills in Zubří is an example of a place where it is especially important to know the context of the development of individual facilities to avoid confusing them (see Fig. 8). The structure served several functions that gradually changed. It was originally a tilt hammer, then a gristmill, and finally a bark mill, but other operations were established at the site that were terminated, moved, and renewed throughout the centuries, leaving the researcher and conservationist with a challenging task. In parallel with these changes, the routes of mill-races and the retention capacity of adjacent ponds were also adjusted. When confronting this complex development with, for example, the relatively simple situation captured on the map of the Franciscan Cadastre, one could get the impression that the sawmill was in continuous operation from at least the first half of the nineteenth century until it was forced to shut down in 1949 (Baletka – Kolářek 2010). In fact, the actual situation was very dynamic, and it cannot even be ruled out that there were other buildings in the locality for some time, about which, however, no mention has been found, or which have mistakenly been identified with the objects listed above.

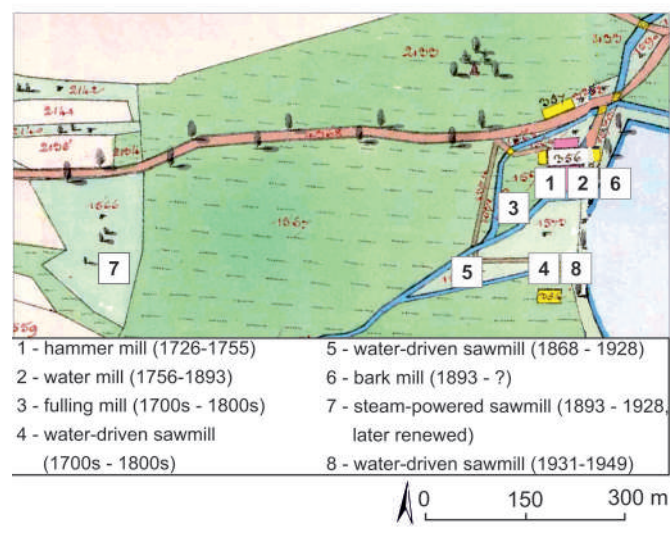


Fig. 8 – Different technical objects in the Hamry area in Zubří

The possibilities of protecting small technical heritage objects

In this article, we have tried to outline the pitfalls of research on small technical heritage objects as valuable and neglected objects of cultural heritage. Thorough knowledge of these objects is important in itself as a contribution to the social, economic, and cultural history of rural areas. However, it is also important for their conservation, especially for preserving them in their original place, *in situ*. Research can reveal valuable data about these monuments, but others will remain shrouded in mystery forever. What are the consequences of this fact for their protection and what options do we currently have for conserving such objects?

The protection of small technical facilities must be based primarily on the real situation in the landscape. Historical information about these objects is fragmentary or absent. Many buildings have completely disappeared or been rebuilt and used for other purposes. Only a fraction have survived in their original form. There are thousands of such objects across the country. However, their actual number is unknown, as the systematic research we carried out in the Rožnov region is rather exceptional in the context of the Czech Republic. In addition, most buildings and sites are privately owned, are not publicly accessible, and are not officially protected monuments. They are therefore not subject to the heritage protection regime, which would prevent further deterioration of the site, and the owners have no chance to obtain financial support for preservation or restoration.

Some objects were saved by moving them to open-air museums. This also applies to several objects from our study area (e.g., gristmill and sawmill technology and a complete fulling mill from Velké Karlovice were transferred to the Wallachian Open-Air Museum in Rožnov). For some European open-air museums, small technical buildings have even become the basis of their exhibition or the impetus for their creation, as in Sibiu in Romania or Etar in Bulgaria. Many museums and relocated technical monuments that are still operated give off a completely natural impression (e.g., the Wallachian Open-Air Museum in Rožnov pod Radhoštěm, Czechia; Ballenberg, Freilichtmuseum der Schweiz, Switzerland; Fränkische Freilandmuseum Bad Windsheim, Germany; Wielkopolski Park Etnograficzny, Poland).

However, the capacity of open-air museums is, of course, limited, both with regard to the museum prem-

ises themselves as well as with regard to their ability to provide systematic support and protection for objects preserved *in situ*. In addition, the transfer of a technical heritage object to an open-air museum leads to the loss of its spatial and cultural context and the loss of the authenticity of some of the building's structures. In the case of technical monuments and production facilities, the possibility of transferring and re-creating the natural environment is further complicated by their direct connection to raw material sources or sources of propulsion, especially in the case of hydropower. The authenticity and form of presentation of buildings in new locations therefore ultimately depend on the concept and overall design of the open-air museum (Langer 2005; Krstović 2017; Kania-Schütz – May 2015; Bryol et al. 2020).

The preferred way to protect small technical heritage objects should be to keep them in place. This does not necessarily mean their physical conservation or even restoration. This is often not possible due to the absence of information about their exact location or form. However, providing information about their existence, function, and events connected with them in the form of publications, information panels, websites, municipal publications, and other channels contributes to the preservation of these objects in the collective memory of the local community. Strong awareness and interest of the local community are basic conditions for their possible future conservation and restoration.

Municipalities, associations, and private enthusiasts play a key role in the protection of small monuments. The monuments are then used in the cultural life of the village and the promotion of tourism. They contribute to the formation of local and regional identity, landscape character, and the spirit of the place (*genius loci*). In the Czech Republic, we can find a number of maintained or restored buildings publicly and privately operated as small museum exhibits. One example from our study area is a windmill restored by a private owner in the Medůvka area in today's Valašské Meziříčí (historically the village of Brňov). Freely accessible remains of heritage objects with various forms of accompanying information represent yet another possibility. These are mostly watermills and windmills with accessories, smithies, hammer mills, and to a lesser extent also charcoal production, mining, and other sites (Krba 1985; Bryol et al. 2020: 72-79).

Some types of technical and production facilities are even the dominant tourist attractions in some regions

(e.g., wine cellars in the context of viticulture and winemaking in southern Moravia). Complexes such as mountain pastures with shepherd huts as manifestations of Carpathian mountain pastoralism practically no longer exist in our study area, but local cultural awareness is so strong that we still encounter them in a transformed form (e.g., restaurants, hotels) and moreover in a much wider area than they historically occurred. On the other hand, thanks to the renewed functionality and connection with wider cultural activities in the region, some traditional production structures are experiencing a renaissance (e.g., fruit-drying sheds in eastern Moravia). New research foci as well as the promotion of less-known destinations can emphasize many still neglected monuments (e.g., slate mining in northern Moravia). It is clear from the above overview that the public interest in small technical structures depends mainly on their physical form, the maintenance of their function, and the complexity of their adaptation to other purposes. This interest is also determined by their attractiveness and their potential use in destination management (Kesner 2005).

As in the Czech Republic, interest in small technical heritage objects in other countries is especially associated with the research activities of ethnologists and conservationists (Czajkowski 2005; Bedal 2007; Szabo – Sallay 2019). This interest is motivated by the significance of specific objects for certain regions or on the basis of a local initiative or potential use in the present (Podolák 1982; Schaber – Raffalt 2015; Pelczyk 2018). Individual regions thus differ in their offer of unique technical and

landscape exhibits such as windmills in Poland; small gristmills in Romania, Bosnia and Hercegovina, Vietnam, and Japan; mountain pastoralism in the Alps and Carpathians; or charcoal production in Germany.

A particularly interesting example of access to technical monuments in situ is the intervention of nature conservationists in the restoration of abandoned watermills in Kvačianska dolina (northern Slovakia) and their subsequent opening to the public (Petráš 2014). Small gristmills are also presented as potential architectural monuments in Czech villages in Banat, Romania (Urbánek 2002). Similar buildings adapted to the local economic tradition as monuments situated in their original locations are part of one of the most popular tourist routes in Japan: Nakasendo (Bryol 2017).

However, the integration of small technical monuments and technologies into the promotion of tourism must be approached with caution. This is because their Disneylandization poses a significant danger, as their original function, context, and form may disappear. Visitors can then obtain a distorted understanding about the true significance of the monuments. Their original, less attractive form may even give way to a historically erroneous, but commercially more successful image. It is here that open-air museums can play an important role as centres of basic research and methodological support providing guidance and know-how to those interested in the protection and restoration of small monuments, including municipalities, associations, schools, and private owners.

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NOTES:

1. In our research, we dealt with traditional production and economic operations that have left an architectural or physical footprint in the landscape of the Rožnov region. Shepherd huts and fruit-drying sheds are not of the same production nature as glassworks or mills, but they possess characteristic construction features and are technical objects that played an important role in the landscape of the Rožnov region and the memory of its inhabitants.
2. In this case, the historical analysis not only concerns the historical context, but also takes into account the historical-technological aspects of the issue. The specific objects reflect the technology used, which can be considered a specific category of research.
3. An example of such an application is the Acropolis interactive educational VR 3D for Android, downloadable on Google Play. It provides a 3D visualization of the Acropolis of Athens (Mozzaweb, Szeged 2019).
4. For example, Hamerský mlýn in Zubří even plays a central role in a local legend recorded in the municipal chronicle, similarly to historically and touristically important monuments, such as castles and chateaux.

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Summary

Small Technical Heritage Objects in the Cultural Landscape: Research Possibilities and Conservation Challenges

Small technical heritage structures in the cultural landscape present special challenges for their research and conservation. They are usually located on private land, many have disappeared entirely or have been refitted for a different purpose, and archival records are sparse or not available at all. The article describes experiences with the research and conservation of these structures in the Rožnov area in eastern Czechia. It outlines available methods, critically reflects on their application, and suggests ways for overcoming limitations associated with research of these structures. The article argues for the creation of a robust interdisciplinary research team including historians, anthropologists, GIS specialists, archaeologists, foresters, and geologists, to name a few. Also, it calls for the critical and complex use of archival materials, ethnographic interviews, and GIS in mutual interconnection. The conservation of small technical heritage objects is contingent on what we can find out about them through research as well as on their character, location, state of preservation, and on attitudes towards them held by owners, local inhabitants, and municipal authorities. A strong role can be played by private enthusiasts, local NGOs, and public officials as partners in the repair, renovation, and promotion of these structures. Open-air museums can contribute with expert supervision and methodical leadership to prevent amateur renovations from ruining the structures' heritage value.

Key words: Pre-industrial technical facility; cultural heritage; cultural landscape; in-situ conservation.

THE IMAGE OF STAGED FOLK CULTURE: FROM THE PRESENTATION OF TRADITIONS TO A STAGED GENRE

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Present-day ethnology works with a variety of concepts that touch upon traditional folk culture and its existence in the conditions of the modern world. These concepts include, for example, the broad area of intangible cultural heritage, where emphasis is placed especially on the community and its ethnic identity in the context of its own culture (Janeček 2015: 273-282; Pavlicová – Uhlíková 2013: 9-21). This is also linked to more narrowly conceived folklorism, where research primarily focusses on folk traditions and their transmission to different environments and with different functions.

The study of folklorism has gradually established itself since the 1960s. In the first theoretical postulates, the contours of folklorism were not yet very sharp, and the research perspectives often featured ambiguity – from a touch of a certain kind of pejorativeness in the term “the second existence of folklore” to a clear outline of the importance of studying expressions that are based on, relate to, and refer to folk culture (Luther 2005: 11-15; Hlôšková 2005: 16-25). Thus, a strong cultural stream gradually emerged in ethnologists’ field of vision, which has recently been termed, together with several additional factors, “ethno-cultural traditions” (Pavlicová – Uhlíková 2008: 50-56). Ethnological research focussed mainly on understanding the functions of expressions of folklorism that related to people’s everyday life but could also interfere, and often did interfere, in the level of artistic statements. However, it is at this threshold that most ethnological analyses finish and possible research efforts are left to other disciplines. This is especially logical in those cases that are loosely inspired by folk culture and that are part of specific artistic genres – musical, dance, and theatre ones. However, it is an undeniable fact that folk culture and folklore in particular have been intensively linked to the stage, a space particularly intended for artistic genres, for more than a century. Even though ethnologists are rather interested in the connections between the transmission of tradition, bearers, identity, and the functions of specific expressions, the question arises to what extent the stage itself has shaped the performance of folk culture (and subsequently its eventual

transmission). Although selected aspects related to this issue have already been reflected in several studies, there is still much space for reflections that consider the interconnection of the presentation of folk traditions with the artistic scene, and their subsequent development as a result of this connection.

In the Czech lands, Romanticism, which from the beginning of the nineteenth century resulted in the increasingly intense interest of scholars in rural culture, was associated with the burgeoning national movement. Although the countryside was undergoing significant transformation, especially in the second half of the nineteenth century (cf. Doušek 2016: 199-216), it was folk traditions in their archaic forms and idealized views that remained the basic focus of growing ethnographic interest (Pavlicová – Uhlíková 2011: 3-16). It is logical that at the time of intense national efforts, when the rural folk symbolized the foundation of the Czech nation and whose culture strengthened national identity, intellectuals strived to present folk traditions in the light of these reflections. However, collecting folklore and tangible artefacts was gradually extended by another activity, which included the presentation of folk culture, especially folk and customary traditions, to a wider audience.

We encounter presentations of rural people to a varying degree throughout the nineteenth century. They are richly documented, for example, from celebrations related to the coronation of Emperor Ferdinand V in Brno and Prague in 1836 (Laudová 1958: 159-162), but they also include many partial presentations in local conditions. Today we consider them valuable documents that can give us information about many aspects of folk culture in earlier periods (e.g., about folk dress, dance, instrumental music), from which we do not have very comprehensive reports for our study. At the same time, however, we can see that alongside these outputs a representational function emerges, which can be considered to be completely new in the general relationship of society to folk culture. For a long time, rural residents were depicted in aristocratic and bourgeois settings as obtuse, stupid, or ridiculous, as evidenced, for example, by interludes in

theatre plays (Sochorová 2004: 24). But the philosophical ideas of the Enlightenment gradually began to transform, to a certain degree, the relationship to folk culture. The echoes of folk motifs in musical compositions or the existence of music composed and performed by teachers, which grew out of the close connection between European musical streams and the local environment, provide valuable insights into this development (cf. Trojan 1987: 145-156).

However, it was only the 1880s and 1890s that brought the unprecedented development of activities in which not only philosophical but also political ideas of national emancipation culminated. In the Czech lands, these activities unforgettably resulted in two Prague exhibitions (Křížová – Pavlicová – Válka 2015: 98-113). In 1891, the General Land Centennial Exhibition took place, where, among other things, the so-called Czech Cottage became a specific exhibition space. And in 1895, it was the Czechoslavic Ethnographic Exhibition, which involved several years of preparations, that steered not only broad layers of the emerging Czech intellectual elites,¹ but also many local prominent figures from the Bohemian, Moravian, and Silesian countryside towards varied activities.

The Czechoslavic Ethnographic Exhibition drew much attention in Czech societal circles in the late nineteenth century. While it was being held – from May to October 1895 – news about it filled various columns in newspapers and magazines (for example, the daily *Národní listy* [The National Newspaper] even appointed a special reporter, Jaroslav Kvapil (1868-1950), later a renowned playwright and theatre director; Kvapil 1932: 131).

At the time of preparations for this important event, a number of productions were put on both as part of previous regional exhibitions and as independent ventures, which elicited all manner of responses. Among the controversial ones was a reflection on the so-called Folk Concert in Brno, which was prepared by the composer Leoš Janáček (1854-1928) in 1892. In addition to the performance of artistic music pieces, it also introduced an authentic folk music band from Velká nad Veličkou, a municipality in south-eastern Moravia in the Horňácko ethnographic region.² The subsequent reviews clearly showed how differently intellectuals understood folk culture at the time (Pavlicová – Uhlíková 2015: 13-17). For many of them, folk culture was an important, symbolic component of national culture, which was seen through

idealized images. However, coming face to face with it, some of them experienced a form of “culture shock” because this authentic interpretation did not correspond to these images.

Leoš Janáček also took patronage over the “live” Moravian participation in the aforementioned Czechoslavic Ethnographic Exhibition. His collaborators included, for example, the folk dance collector Lucie Bakešová, and Josef Čapka Drahlovský, chairman of the music department for the ethnographic exhibition in Přerov. The organist, choir director, and composer, who found inspiration for his work in folk songs, was also the author of the 1893 collection *Obyčeje a zpěvy lidu moravského* [Customs and Songs of the Moravian People]. In a text about secular singing, he claims, among other things, that it is necessary “*to instruct the young people in good songs, to acquaint them with the text and the melody, so that our old and splendid folk songs may come to life again, may be preserved, and may carry out their task of ennobling the emotion and morals through singing*” (Čapka Drahlovský 2013: 43). The presentation of folk culture as a national symbol was, alongside the emphasis put on its study and preservation, a leitmotif in the preparations for this exhibition, which also included performed folklore expressions. At the Prague Ethnographic Exhibition, it was the expedition from Moravia that brought most of these productions.

Already on 28 July 1895, the periodical *Lidové noviny* [The People's Newspaper] announced on its front page a Moravian festivity at the Czechoslavic Ethnographic Exhibition for 15-18 August: “[...] *the people wearing their beautiful folk costumes will in large numbers come from all regions of Moravia to the golden, Slavic Prague to present the individual stories of their real village life on the vast expanse of the exhibition amphitheatre and on the entire exhibition grounds*”³ (Lide moravský! 1895). Most comments on exhibition festivities were in the above spirit – the presentation of folk traditions and of that “real village life”, whereby it was the inhabitants of specific rural locations who were the performers. If this exhibition is seen as the beginning of professional efforts in the history of ethnology, it must also be perceived as the beginning of the staged presentation of folklore expressions. Although, as suggested in the introduction to the text, examples can be found in earlier periods when rural culture was presented to the public outside its own

environment, it was not until the Czechoslovak Ethnographic Exhibition that the framework was formed within which the genre of stage folklore evolved (cf. Pavlicová – Uhlíková 1995: 129-135).

One of the most appreciated expressions of folk culture performed at the above-mentioned Moravian festivity was the girls' dance "Královničky" [The Little Queens], which was rehearsed by Lucie Bakešová with girls from Troubsko and Ořechov, villages near Brno. Lucie Bakešová (1853-1935), who was behind the "discovery" and popularity of this dance, belonged to an important circle of Moravian patriots (cf. Pavlicová 1993: 7-10). She was the daughter of the anthropologist Jindřich Wankel (1821-1897), and her personality was formed by her family background, by contacts with Czech intellectuals, and by her marriage to teacher and farmer František Xaver Bakeš. She got to know the little queen's dance, a maiden ritual expression related to the Pentecost season, only in the late 1880s. As she said, it was a collection of folk songs by František Sušil that inspired her to become interested in the dance (Pavlicová 1993: 7). She began her fieldwork in Ořechov near Brno, where she lived after her marriage, and in 1887 she met the first contemporary witness who had danced the dance in her youth.⁴ Based on further collecting activities carried out around Brno and Tišnov, Lucie Bakešová reconstructed the dance, and the restored "Královničky" dance could then be presented at an ethnographic exhibition in Ořechov in July 1888. The reconstruction of the dance also led to its preservation in printed form – in 1889 a description of the "Královničky" dance was published, according to which (or according to the outlined layout of this *chorovod* dance and the attached dance songs) it could be performed.

The "Královničky" dance began to be rehearsed and performed in many places in the Czech lands, and it was very successful at this time of intense national efforts that were caused by the Czech-German rivalry. In the music magazine *Dalibor* we can find numerous reports of its performances as early as in 1889. In March 1889, the "Královničky" dance was performed in Vyškov at a carnival (called šibřinky there), organized by a readers' and singers' association; Lucie Bakešová personally took charge of the rehearsal (Vyškov. Vlastenky zdejší 1889). Another performance, reported in the magazine, was held in July in Moravské Budějovice at an entertainment

evening organized for the benefit of the Sokol gymnastic union (Mor. Budějovice. Čtenářsko-pěvecký spolek Budivoj 1889: 239), and in the autumn of the same year in Hradec Králové at Klicpera Theatre, again with the personal participation of Lucie Bakešová: "*Mrs. Lucie Bakešová, the wife of a big landowner from Ořechovičky near Brno, has come to our town for the reason to teach, in her rare devotion, the local ladies those dances. [...] More than thirty patriotic ladies from Hradec Králové, all of them wearing quite identical national costumes, will perform the dance with singing. Music will be provided by the orchestra of Mr. Em. Fiala*" (Hradec Králové. Královničky 1889).

The performance of the "Královničky" dance is also reported in the programme of the Brno Vesna in 1889;⁵ in 1892 the dance was performed at the second ethnographic exhibition in Ořechov, and in 1895 it achieved great success at the aforementioned Czechoslovak Ethnographic Exhibition. It can be assumed that the publication of the description of the dance, even if it was an approximate description, opened up a certain trans-regional perception of this particular dance expression in Czech society. At the same time, the "Ořechov" queens' dance became a model for the transformation of this Pentecost dance in places where it still existed in a living form in the customary tradition (Drápala 2014: 44).

But the "Královničky" dance also penetrated the art scene. In 1889 the songs accompanying this dance were published in a piano arrangement by J. L. Sáchar⁶, and in 1890 the queens' dance was published in print by the composer Karel Kovařovic (1862-1920). It was part of his composition *Pohádka o nalezeném štěstí* [A Fairy Tale of the Happiness Found], which was staged as a ballet at the National Theatre in Prague in April 1889. However, according to contemporary press references, the queens' dance was included in the production in a not very organic way.⁷ Although the musical accompaniment corresponded to Kovařovic's authorial arrangement, the dance itself, according to newspaper reviews, was not stylized: "*The main triumph of the ballet is, however, postponed to the last act: Královničky, a Moravian folk dance [...]. It is indeed a lovely spectacle to see this original scene, so purely created by dance and singing based on the invention of the people. Mr. Berger seems to have incorporated the whole of it without alteration into his ballet, to the substance of which it is in no way connected.*"

But does it matter in a ballet?” (*Pohádka o nalezeném štěstí* 1889). The question remains why the choreographer Augustin Berger (1861-1945) did not consider the staged stylization of this dance, which would be in harmony with the concept of the musical component. Most likely, the “Královničky” dance was overly associated with the symbolic level of the “national” dance, whereby it was supposed to be safeguarded in the form in which the

dance was found and reconstructed. At the same time, as the libretto of the ballet shows (Vašut 1983: 177), the “Královničky” dance was performed in a scene with rural folk dancing in front of a church, so evoking an “authentic” dance occasion may also have been a dramaturgical choice.⁸ Augustin Berger became personally acquainted with the performance of the “Královničky” dance in 1889 in Olomouc, where he arrived together with Karel



The folk girls' dance “Královničky” [The Little Queens]. Ořechov 1889.

Photographic collection of the Institute of Ethnology of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Brno branch

Kovařovic (Hájek 1942: 160). His visit was noted by many newspapers, such as Olomouc's *Našinec* (13 January 1889) or *Národní listy*, which mentioned it as a negligible part of a voluminous report from a societal evening at Brno's Vesna (Národní tance na zábavě Vesny 1889). This evening, which took place on 21 February 1889 in the courtyard of Besední dům in Brno, brought a performance not only of the "Královničky" dance, but also of "Wallachian" (Lachian) dances with musical arrangements by Leoš Janáček.⁹

The performance of the "Královničky" dance on the stage of the National Theatre shows that there were differences between the stylization of folk songs and that of folk dances. Even though ballet performances sometimes saw a more considerable stylization of folk dance, adaptations of folk songs were, after all, rather perceived as natural creative work with folklore material. In the previous decades we could find many examples that show how the folk song was approached artistically¹⁰ – beginning with choral arrangements by Pavel Křížkovský (1820-1885), a composer and choir director at the Augustinian monastery in Brno, through a number of local composers (including the aforementioned Josef Čapek Drahlavský) to works by composers such as Bedřich Smetana (1824-1884), Antonín Dvořák (1841-1904), and Leoš Janáček. Similarly, we encounter varying degrees of stylization and adaptations, for example, within the forming association movement, including Slovácko folk circles in Prague and Brno, which from the 1890s onwards used piano accompaniments to folk songs, written by composers such as Leoš Janáček, Vítězslav Novák, and Mikuláš Schneider-Trnavský (Krist 1970: 37).

Folk dances began to be collected later, which was caused by interest in other expressions of folk culture and was also primarily related to the difficulty of capturing motions since a formalized dance script did not exist at that time. Moreover, the dance was also mostly associated with the environment of rural pubs, which often distorted the idealized idea of folk culture. However, bourgeois society, as a result of its efforts to enrich the repertoire of Czech balls and dance parties, began to accept folk dance as part of its cultural sphere, as various examples illustrate (Stavělová 2008: 157-185). The "Bohemian Beseda", a salon quadrille from 1862, in the creation of which the poet (and an excellent dancer) Jan Neruda, alongside the authors Ferdinand Heller and

Karel Linek, was also involved, is one of the most famous. But we can also see this motivation with Josef Vycpálek, later an important collector of folk dances. While working in Rychnov nad Kněžnou in eastern Bohemia in the early 1880s, he became involved in the implementation of the idea to organize a ball in folk costumes and with peasant dances: *"But where to get them? Nobody knew them, although there were still many older dancers around Rychnov who knew the old dances; but nobody knew about them"* (Vycpálek 1921: 8). This impulse sparked his travels to learn about folk dances, which resulted in the work *České tance* [The Bohemian Dances], a key collection of dance folklore (1921).

The theatre stage, however, brought a different dimension than the social enjoyment of Czech patriotic society, for which the artistic aspect was not the main goal. It is therefore not surprising to encounter a contemporary review of the musical arrangements of the "Královničky" songs by Karel Kovařovic that reads: *"In conclusion, we do not hesitate to confess that we see a more serious artistic feat in Kovařovic's musical arrangement of the 'Královničky' than in the revival of its choreography, and we imploringly recommend all ladies' singing societies to perform Kovařovic's 'Královničky' without dancing, as a rare, folk, not difficult, and very rewarding concert number"* (Pích 1890: 115).

The contradiction between the stylistic level of music and dance was very pronounced in this particular example. Of course, we can assume that the legend of little queens, as passed on by Lucie Bakešová in connection with their "discovery" and ancient "magical" meaning, did not allow the ballet creators to intervene in its form. Yet the search for roots to create a Czech national dance, just like in the case of music, generally resonated in society. This is also evidenced by the aforementioned report from the Vesna evening in Brno in 1889: *"But an even greater opportunity to use folk dances for the theatre appears in Wallachian dances. Already the dances that we saw danced at Vesna's dance party would be a magnificent example of our folk peculiar dance, and there is an extraordinary number of them. It seems to us that here is the path to a new, complete, and original Czech ballet"* (Národní tance na zábavě Vesny 1889). Dance historian Dorota Gremlicová points out, however, that although the productions put on by the ballet of the National Theatre in Prague at the time of the Centennial

Exhibition (1891) and the Czechoslavic Ethnographic Exhibition (1895) were perceived as Czech, “they did not achieve the position of a universally accepted Czech ballet”¹¹ (Gremlicová 2016: 64).

At the end of the nineteenth century, Lucie Bakešová became one of the leading figures in Moravia associated with folk dance and especially with the “Královničky” dance, which was unusually valued by the public (in fact, the media supported this positive view, if not created it to a certain extent). Cooperating with Leoš Janáček on preparing the Moravian participation at the Czechoslavic Ethnographic Exhibition gave her activities an official and prestigious character,¹² and it can be considered to be the peak of her efforts in this field. She then gradually moved away from ethnographic activities towards other activities, especially educational and charitable ones, but she remained connected with the “Královničky” dance. When, for example, Útulna ženská [The Sanctuary for Women]¹³ in Brno organized a summer course of folk dances in 1904, the “Královničky” dance was again specially rehearsed by Lucie Bakešová (V prázdninovém kurse 1904). Similarly, she rehearsed the “Královničky” dance in Ořechov and other dances at the *Útulna ženská* in Brno to be photographically documented, which was initiated by Leoš Janáček within the Working Committee for Czech Folk Song in Moravia and Silesia (Procházková 2003: 201-203). Although her motives were entirely based on her patriotic conviction and efforts to preserve the sources of national culture, during the preparations for the Czechoslavic Ethnographic Exhibition she was already contemplating how to stage dance and other expressions of folk culture. This is evidenced by some of her articles, and especially by her surviving correspondence (Pavlicová – Uhlíková 1995: 129-135).

Within the multiple layers of its existence, the “Královničky”, originally a Pentecost dance, can be perceived as unique: the end of the nineteenth century still saw it as a ceremonial dance in several rural regions; at the same time, it was consciously presented as a national dance symbol,¹⁴ and moreover it penetrated the theatre scene as part of the efforts to create Czech ballet.

The “reverberations” of the Czechoslavic Ethnographic Exhibition resonated in Czech society for a certain period of time. In the spirit of the exhibition, for example, a festival of Moravian dance and music was held in Prague in 1897, which was organized by an association called

Moravian Beseda (Krist 1970: 27). When the Exhibition of Architecture and Engineering was held in Prague in 1898, the “Czech Village”, which remained in the exhibition area after the Czechoslavic Ethnographic Exhibition and which was attached to the ongoing exhibition as an illustrative ensemble of vernacular architecture, also became a part of it (Kafka 1898: 29). However, one of the responses in the press inadvertently reminds us of the other side of the coin concerning society’s relationship to the countryside and its culture: “*Last Saturday in the evening, a very interesting Slovácko folk festival was organized in the Czech village outside Hudeček’s pub [...] It was a Slovácko party, sincere and cordial, and everyone who appeared there was certainly grateful that he came too. [...] A music band from Slovácko played there with Jožka, a Gypsy*¹⁵ [...], the women sang songs from Slovácko, and everybody danced, had a good time, and drank wine in the most cheerful mood” (Zbojnická pečénka 1898). This example shows that society’s attitude towards the presentation of folk culture fluctuated. In socially and politically tense periods, its values were accentuated in the direction of Czech national aspirations, but at the same time the tendency to associate rural culture with its “folkness” was not obscured.

The presentation of folk culture in Czech society on a patriotic and national basis had a strong background. One platform comprised associations; association life began to develop in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy in the second half of the nineteenth century as a consequence of the fall of Bach’s absolutism. The founding of the Sokol [Falcon] gymnastics organization¹⁶ and its individual clubs in 1862 provided strong impulses for the performance of folk dance and music. The situation with the activities of the Orel [Eagle] gymnastics organization¹⁷ and with reading and firefighting societies was similar in later years. The activities of the Sokol and the Orel movements always appealed to national sentiments, and for this reason the performance of folk dances was a frequent part of their festivals. And this was usually according to the scenario and in the same forms that became stable within the concepts for the Czechoslavic Ethnographic Exhibition. For example, the Moravian Year, a festival prepared as part of the Sokol *slet*, a mass gymnastics meeting, in Brno in 1914¹⁸ illustrates this tendency, as evidenced by surviving archival documents and photographs, very vividly.

The above-mentioned sources were complemented by film sources starting in the 1920s. The film *Slovácké tance a obyčeje* [The Slovácko Dances and Customs] from 1922, which contains shots from the Moravian-Slovak Year festivals in Uherské Hradiště and Kyjov (towns in south-eastern Moravia), also proves that the dramaturgies of this type of festival did not differ much from each other.¹⁹ However, what differed were some of public's views and expectations. The periodical *Lidové noviny* thoroughly described the Moravian-Slovak Year in Kyjov, and the text included a few interesting moments. The author of the article drew attention to a novelty in the programme – the custom of erecting a maypole, which was demonstrated by representatives from the village of Vracov. However, he criticized the “Královničky” dance, performed by girls from the village of Labuty, as a “pseudo-Slovácko novelty”: *“This flawlessly rehearsed graceful dance will certainly be excluded from the programme next time, after all, the Haná guests present protested very loudly against the so-called illegal borrowing of customs”* (-ti- 1922: 4). The above quotation alluded to the rehearsal and performance of the “Královničky” dance by girls from another ethnographic region. It is somewhat paradoxical if we compare this view with the history of the reconstruction of the dance in question and with its path to various stages, as this was described above in this study. However, in the context of the performance of folk traditions, an “ethnographic” idea of the form of particular expressions and their performers began to be codified, inadvertently, in the late nineteenth century.

However, the same text includes another position, namely the “audience friendliness” of the staging: *“The next organizers will surely mould these beautiful (also sometimes forgotten) Moravian customs of ours into a more brisk and vivacious course. Some of the numbers [...] have been chosen only for the audience's amusement in order to change the serious programme”* (-ti- 1922: 4). In this context, one can better understand the frequently quoted opinion reprinted by the cultural historian Čeněk Zíbrt in his contribution “Proti národopisným rokům” [Against Ethnographic Years] in 1929. The article, originally published in *Lidové noviny*, compares the living customary tradition in Slovácko villages with festivals at which folk culture is performed on stage: *“The ‘friends’ of ethnography require ethnographic festivals in Brno, Prague, Přerov, Luhačovice, etc. These festivals are ex-*

pensive, and they do not provide the right spectacle. [...] Ethnography should put aside its comfort; if they want to see Slovácko, they must go to its environment. Cabaret performances about ‘a year in Slovácko’ just demoralize the people” (Zíbrt 1929: 31). However, regardless of the subjective feelings of the author of the article, it can be stated that alongside the expanding possibilities of presenting folklore outside its original environment, a specific genre with its own rules was really born and consolidated. Lucie Bakešová was aware that performing on stage requires a certain adaptation of the performed expressions to a given situation and that the performers themselves must make a good impression on the audience; they cannot be tired or haggard after hard work (Pavlicová – Uhlíková 1995: 129-135). At the same time, however, this authenticity was seen as a value that was included in the presentation of folk culture. That is why, for example, Františka Xavera Běhálková (1853-1907), another collector of folk dances in Moravia, emphasized that she performed folk dances with her town group from Tovačov, that is, that the group members were not original performers, but those who had learned the dance and performed it in its “second existence”. For the sake of objectivity, it should be added that even the programme for the general public at the Czechoslovak Ethnographic Exhibition, which we mention in connection with the original bearers of folklore expressions, included folk dances performed by “gentlemen and ladies” from Prague, the rehearsal of which was very well received (Čumpelíková 1970: 182, 188).

The disappearance of traditions in the rural environment, which intensified after World War I, somewhat tempered the evaluative view of performers of folk expressions, who were not the original bearers. This made all the more stronger the tendencies and desire to learn to play according to the “old fiddlers”, to reconstruct local dances, and, in fact, to safeguard expressions of folk culture, which would have disappeared with the passing of their bearers. Thanks to these efforts, many traditions have been safeguarded, but it was members of folklore groups who gradually became their bearers. Folk culture thus began to be presented sui generis on stage. Great influence can be attributed to the already-mentioned Slovácko folk circles²⁰ that began to be established at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (first in Prague and Brno, cities where many students from

ethnographic regions studied, and later on directly in rural localities in Moravia), and in Bohemia, for example, to the patriotic-charitable association of “Baráčníci”.²¹

Even after the founding of the Czechoslovak Republic in 1918, there was rhetoric about folk culture in terms of its importance for the national culture; at the same time, certain political parties and movements appeared to use folk culture in their fight for the rural sector (Pavlicová 2018: 49-51). But even without these broader social and often utilitarian contexts, regional and local festivals emerged, local customs were maintained, and folk groups were formed. Folk culture and folklore were increasingly on stage, in front of large audiences, and, as time passed, in the media, meaning film and, from the mid-1920s onwards, also the radio (cf. Zíbrt 1927a: 43-48). One cannot, however, overlook some critiques that point to a certain kind of cluelessness in staging procedures which were applied in the programmes of folklore festivals. The already-quoted Čeněk Zíbrt repeatedly commented on this issue: *“The desired seriousness usually descends here to contrived affectation and theatrical, often unintentionally comic scenes, which, if not well rehearsed and performed, do not give an impression of genuineness and do not faithfully represent true, real models from the village green and from the habitable room”* (Zíbrt 1927b: 378).

In the interwar years, the Sokol movement still maintained its strong voice in the presentation of folklore expressions at all levels. The 10th All-Sokol Gymnastics Meeting, called a *slet* in Czech, held in Prague in 1938, brought a mass piece based on folk dance. One of two performances of junior women to music by the composer Jaroslav Křička²² declared the Sokol idea of education in the spirit of national culture: *“They alternate the serious with the busy, the exuberant Slovak verbuňk with the swinging waltz, the tender mazurka of the Horácko wedding dance with the wild swirl of the Slovácko vrtěná, the olden ceremonial Lachian dance with the exuberant Sub-Carpathian round [...], couples and triplets, rows and rounds – an amazing richness of invention in rhythms, melody, movements, and formations”* (Provazníková 1938: 1).

Although at the time of interwar Czechoslovakia we mainly encounter folklore performances based on models from the late nineteenth century, we cannot ignore the fact that also other approaches took shape. The dance

theorist Emanuel Siblík reflected on folk dances, based on the International Exposition of Art and Technology in Modern Life, held in Paris, where attention was also paid to folklore: *“Mostly, and this is also the case in our country, the experts studied only the dance music, while the rhythmic-plastic side of the dances was neglected; and yet it was an essential component in them. Because it is only by this formal study that we not only get to know the intrinsic nature of the dance, but it will enable us to trace further the filiation of dance motifs in various nations and, in the end, to discover the origin of the dance”* (Siblík 1938: 16).

The rich programme accompanying the aforementioned 1938 All-Sokol Gymnastics Meeting included a dance performance that demonstrated the Slavic idea and presented stylized dances that were already positively accepted by the audience and critics. Thus, at the same time we can see pressure to present Czech folk culture in the form of a “national treasury” on the one hand, and on the other hand the development of folklore production based on artistic stylization:

“The Evening with Slavic Dances, held in Lucerna, fit well into the framework of the troubled Meeting day of 28 June as the culmination of the programme. [...] If the exotic South Slavs revelled in rhythm, which verily overwhelmed the whole body of theirs, the Czech group led by J. Nikolská, N. Hajdašová, Berger, and Karhánek presented itself as a stylized, purely scenic formation; here folklore was translated into the artificial language of ballet, and the ethnographic function was primarily performed by the costume. The dance rhythms, inspired by the folk song, untied the legs of the routine ensemble into cheerful leaping, whirling gyration, and acrobatic arbitrariness” (Honcová 1938: 5).

The performers named in this quotation were dancers at the National Theatre (including Augustin Berger's grandson),²³ where the “Královničky” dance was performed in its unchanged (though already reconstructed) form nearly half a century before this. The view of folk culture at a greater distance from the “symbols” of the time could also make development possible in the field of dance, which headed towards autonomous artistic works that no longer had to merely “quote” folk culture but work with it as inspiring material.

The period of interwar Czechoslovakia thus brought a mixture of diverse staged presentations of folk culture,

which were dominated, as they were in the beginnings, by the performance of ceremonial expressions and mainly folk music and dance. In particular, some of the creators approached folk dance as an inspiration through modernist interpretative dance, while others drew on other starting points, or combined them. For example, Maryna Úlehlová-Hradilová can also be counted as one of the latter artists. In her work, she combined activities from the Sokol environment with the study of interpretative dance and simultaneously with the knowledge of folk dance in the field. Born in Moravany near Kyjov, she was involved in the Jan Máchal Sokol Regional Club in Brno, where she also encountered the rhythmic gymnastics of Augustin Očenášek²⁴ (cf. Žáček 1941: 17-20). In 1933, she opened her own school of rhythmic gymnastics in Hradec Králové, and she rehearsed mainly folk dances from Slovácko for Sokol performances. Her artistic endeavours culminated in the choreography of the *Slavonic Dances* by Antonín Dvořák in 1940 (Velkoborský 1941: 34). It is obvious from contemporary critiques that the dance stylization could not be compared with the accompanying music, and it did not reach the level of the work of other professional choreographers who also worked with Dvořák's music. The dance theorist Jan Rey stated at the time that *"the choreography [...] appears to be a poor addition to the rich and full, lively rhythmic and melodic music by Dvořák. The meagre store of dance movements and 'steps' was soon exhausted and persistently repeated in simple formations of two, three, four, etc., up to*

a twelve-person group, in rows and circles reminiscent of Sokol whirls" (Rey 1941: 7). Maryna Úlehlová-Hradilová made much better use of her creative direction only in 1946, when she and her husband, eminent biologist and ethnographer Vladimír Úlehla, founded the Moravian Dance and Singing Choir (Kosíková 1998: 173-181). They created an original ideological project of working with folklore and other phenomena of folk culture. As mentioned in the founding charter of the ensemble, their dramaturgical concept was formed under the influence of Soviet state artistic ensembles.²⁵ Although the ambition to create a professional music and dance ensemble was not fully realized (Vladimír Úlehla died in 1947), Maryna Úlehlová-Hradilová led the ensemble until 1961. Her way of grasping the folklore material on stage can be counted among the important models for the work of folklore ensembles, especially in Moravia.

In conclusion, it is possible to state that the image of folk culture in connection with its staged presentation evolved within diverse societal and artistic contexts. At the outset of the second half of the twentieth century, we can already speak about a staged genre that works with the above-mentioned image, which had been formed for almost one century. The emphasis put on folklore expressions and the different degree of stylization and use of artistic means, which is today an inseparable attribute of this genre, are the products of a development beginning with the presentation of "living" folk culture to the Czech patriotic audience.

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NOTES:

1. For backstage details about the approach of prominent personalities to the announcement of the organization of the Czechoslovak Ethnographic Exhibition, see Brouček (2002).
2. Hornácko is a geographically closed ethnographic sub-region with ten rural localities in the White Carpathian Mountains in south-eastern Moravia.
3. On the eve of the Moravian Festival on 14 August, the periodical *Lidové noviny* also published a detailed programme, which rivalled the programme of later folklore festivals: on 15 August, a parade heading from Žofín towards the exhibition area (the parade started at 10 a.m., the participants met two hours earlier), marching order (the Ride of the Kings from Kněždub and Velká nad Veličkou at

the head), at 5 p.m. the start of the performance at the exhibition area (the performers gathered an hour earlier behind the stage) and *"after the programme is finished, the parade shall go to the village square, where each tribe shall stay at its farm and the participants shall enjoy themselves freely"*. On the following day, the participants were given a tour of Prague in the morning and a tour of the exhibition in the afternoon; a *"parade of Slovácko carnivalists around the exhibition area"* at 7 p.m., and *"singing by girls from Velká nad Veličkou at the cross"* at 8 p.m. The *"singing by men of letters from Velká nad Veličkou in the exhibition church"* the next morning also contributed to enlivening the exhibition (Národopisná výstava 1895).

4. In the literature she is referred to as Marie Paarová (1815-1910); (see Mrázová 2006: 85).
5. In 1870, Vesna was founded in Brno as a girls' singing society; in 1872 it changed into the Women's Educational Union, and in 1886 it was formed as the first Czech School for Girls in Moravia (see Nováková 2003: 137-142).
6. J. L. Sáchar. His real name was Ladislav Bubeníček (Kučerová 2004: 174).
7. *"Everything in the ballet is old and well known; only the Moravian folk dances called 'Královničky' are dragged here by the hair, which are also the only original number"* (Flekáček 1888-1889: 789).
8. The aforementioned ballet survived one season on the stage of the National Theatre, and it had a run of eight performances. See Vašut (1983: 178). On the theme of staging "Královničky" (see also Brodská 2006).
9. After Olomouc, Augustin Berger also visited Brno, and we can read about his visit in Maria Trkanová's memoir: *"When Vesna, due to great success, repeated the entire programme at the Readers' Association's costume party on 3 March 1889, Antonín Berger, a ballet master of the Prague National Theatre, came to see the Wallachian dances, and the first threads were tied, which resulted in the memorable ballet Rákoš Rákoczy"* (Trkanová 1962: 51-56). However, according to Jarmila Procházková, Berger had also attended a previous performance of Vesna with the presentation of adapted Wallachian dances already in February 1889 (cf. Janáček 2009: 39).
10. The issue of responses to folk melodies or the intermingling of artificial and folk music is, of course, much older, and it was addressed by a number of musicologists (e.g., Vladimír Helfert, Jan Trojan, etc.). In the case of the topic of our study, however, we are referring to the nineteenth century and the already conscious interest in rural culture, including folklore expressions.
11. In 1891, during the General Land Centennial Exhibition, the ballet *Rákoš Rákoczy* by Leoš Janáček premiered, followed by the *Czech Wedding* with music by Karel Bendel (1838-1897) in 1895 (cf. Hájek 1942: 173, 194).
12. On 4 January 1891, for example, she attended a public lecture on Moravian folk dances at Vesna, together with Leoš Janáček and Františka Xavera Běhálková, another important figure in the realm of interest in folk dances in Moravia (see *Zpráva* 1891: 11).
13. A charitable institution established for accommodating girls from the Moravian countryside.
14. On the dance as a national symbol and its possible manipulation, see, for example, Giurchescu (2001: 115-117).
15. The aforementioned "Jožka the Gypsy" was the Romani musician Jožka Kubík (1859-1920) from Velká nad Veličkou, who played with the local Trn music band, among other things, also at the Czechoslovak Ethnographic Exhibition in 1895 and then at other performances outside his native region; see Holá (1997: 63-65). He is mentioned as an interesting person in the folk music of the Horňácko ethnographic area in many contemporary books (writers Matouš Béňa, Vilém Mrštík). He was also depicted, for example, by the painter Joža Uprka (*Jožka Kubík from Velká*, 1910), and his photograph was taken by the prominent photographer Erwin Raupp (Raupp 2010: 159).
16. Sokol was a nation-wide organization with a patriotic agenda, mainly focussed on physical education and cultural activities; it was founded in 1862.
17. Orel was founded as a Christian gymnastics organization in 1909. However, important impulses for the presentation of folk culture also came from other institutions. For example, as early as in 1910, the Czech Provincial Association for the Encouragement of Foreigners' Visits to Moravia and Silesia was founded and focussed on the promotion of natural and cultural aspects of these regions, including folk traditions (see Večerková 1995: 45).
18. The Moravian Year was an accompanying celebration of the Sokol *slet*, a mass gymnastics meeting, in Brno in June 1914. Due to the assassination of the heir presumptive to the throne in Sarajevo, the Sokol *slet* was interrupted, and the festival took place a month later. About its programme cf., e.g., Večerková (1995: 43-62).
19. The above record from the Moravian-Slovak Year in Kyjov and Uherské Hradiště was made by the Prague Comenius company, and the ethnologist František Pospíšil from the Moravian Museum in Brno was invited to provide expert cooperation. Slovácko, earlier known as Moravian Slovakia, is an ethnographic area in south-eastern Moravia (see *Věstník sokolský* 1922, 9 November: 727).
20. The Slováký krúžek [the Slovácko Folk Circle] in Prague grew out of gatherings of students, artists, and those interested in folk culture (especially from Moravia), which took place from the 1890s onwards. Informal get-togethers with singing and dancing were connected with many other activities and social networking. Similarly, Slovácko folk circles were established in Brno and other municipalities (see Krist 1970).
21. A patriotic association founded in the 1870s, which, in addition to educational and charitable activities (e.g., support for orphans), also had a programme for maintaining folk customs and folk dress.
22. Jaroslav Křička (1882-1969) was one of the composers who had a relationship to folk music culture, which was reflected not only in his compositions but also in his literary legacy. He often stayed in living-folklore localities, e.g., in Horňácko.
23. Jelizaveta Nikolská (1914-1955), Naďa Hajdašová (1914-1969), František Karhánek (1914; after emigrating to the U.S.A. he adopted the name Frank Pal), Jaroslav Berger (1916-1983).
24. Augustin Očenášek (1871-1942) was a prominent figure in the Sokol movement. He made his mark on its history by founding rhythmic gymnastics *"in the spirit of Czech svéráz [= peculiarity]"*, and he drew on folk songs and dances.
25. It is a paradox that the aforementioned enchantment with Soviet ensembles later contrasted sharply with Maryna Hradilová-Úlehlová's personal life. Her younger brother, the evangelical priest Oldřich Hradil, was imprisoned by the Communists in the 1950s, alongside the poet Josef Palivec (brother-in-law of the writer Karel Čapek), among others. In his letters from prison, he mentions Maryna Hradilová-Úlehlová as well as the folk songs that she sent to her brother, and these were a moral boost to him and his fellow prisoners (cf. Palivec 1996: 485).

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Summary

The study deals with the presentation of folk culture expressions on stage and tries to answer the questions that arise in this context. They relate both to the genesis of the presentation of folk traditions and to the subsequent developments that formed demonstrations of folk culture into a staged genre with artistic ambitions. Based on examples of selected expressions of folk culture in the Czech environment – especially expressions of folklore, which, alongside customary traditions, were always the backbone of staged presentations – the study shows how the demonstration of folk culture expressions was approached, how the performances were accepted by audiences, and which functions (ideological, artistic, and entertainment) were attributed to them. Another important question is what image of folk culture was created on the stage and how this image could have influenced the “living” terrain of the countryside and the very tendencies to protect the values of folk culture, which began to pick up strength in Czech society at the end of the nineteenth century.

Key words: Folk culture; folklore; folklorism; stage; dance; Czech lands.

ETHNOLOGICAL RESEARCH INTO SOCIALISM IN POST-SOCIALIST (CZECHO)SLOVAKIA

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Social scientists in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, which were part of the Socialist bloc, were involved in a great social experiment. They dealt with research into socialism already during that regime. However, they had to respect politically preferred themes and ideological and theoretical boundaries based on the adapted Marxist-Leninist historical materialism. After changes in 1989, newfound freedom allowed them to reinterpret their knowledge about and experience of life under socialism in the Soviet satellite states. The path to the post-socialist analysis of socialist everyday life was not immediate and easy. Jan Rychlík speaks about similar experiences: *"It is indeed understandable that there was not greater interest in this theme immediately after 1989 because each adult knew everyday life under the Communist (and mainly normalization) regime from his or her personal experience"* (Rychlík 2020: 32). The reality experienced until that time suddenly turned into a subject of retrospective research, and the newfound values negated, in the beginning, the previous ones without selection. For a critical and reasonably objective anthropological interpretation of the period of socialism, it was necessary to study this period with the benefit of hindsight. Authorities representing the transforming society, including scholarly ones, tended to present the image of the socialist past through *"the controversial term of totalitarianism that was also fiercely discussed by the professional and the amateur public"* (Franc 2015: 18), whereby in Slovakia that term also included the period of the Slovak State.¹ In the first years after the political coup of 1989, society was not in the mood to academically understand the high degree of adaptability, or even loyalty, of the population to the authoritarian regime of the Communist government, and to diverge methodologically from the totalitarian-historical model of research that clearly named victims and culprits (Polouček 2020). In the transforming society, several new research themes emerged that were more topical to address than returning to the recent pre-revolutionary past. At the same time, research freedom unlocked new possibilities for ethnological research into and interpretations of

everyday life in interwar Czechoslovakia, which had been until then described as "bourgeois" and therefore partly tabooed. Researchers searched there for a democratic past and models for the newly emerging multicultural Slovak society. Research on life during World War II focussed in particular on revealing the hitherto concealed Holocaust and its consequences for the formation of Jewish identity. Thus, in the 1990s, ethnological research in Slovakia focussed rather on the first half of the twentieth century, and, skipping over the period of socialism, ethnologists also began researching ongoing problems of the post-socialist transformation of society. At first, it was problems of ethnic identity and the transformation of agriculture that became predominant. Understanding and analysing socialism as an ideology and the basis of the social, political, economic, and cultural order were also in the focus of interest of "Western" social scientists, who had the advantage of not having to "dissociate" themselves from that period. The first Czech and Slovak scholars to join them were research fellows who had long been critical of the Communist regime and who took the opportunity to formulate and publish their attitudes in academia. In particular, they focussed their attention on *"revealing the power mechanisms of the Communist Party's monopoly rule and, above all, on politically motivated persecution"*² (Pažout 2015: 7). Their criticism was also aimed at the limitations of academic research during socialism as a result of working in an ideological bubble. The methodological apparatus for research on socialism was only taking shape in the 1990s, and researchers in academic institutions were aware of the fact that the ethnological interpretation of socialism should be based primarily on the knowledge of how socialism was reflected by inhabitants of different social classes and environments. However, they were initially reticent to present their interpretations of socialism. In lively scholarly forums, debates among experts took place in the 1990s, which reflected the conflicting differences of opinion. Rather exceptionally, they also appeared on the pages of academic journals (e.g., Slavkovský 1996; Podoba 1996a, 1996b).

It was mainly historians at the Nation's Memory Institute and the Institute of History of the Slovak Academy of Sciences who dealt with political and historical research into the era of socialism. Both institutions were also the closest allies of ethnologists at the beginning of research into socialism.³ Slovak scholarly publications on socialism, which were produced in related academic disciplines, did not find general relevance in ethnology; in this respect, Slovak ethnologists relied more on Czech production, in which it is possible to find examples of efforts to provide a comprehensive conception of life under socialism, without limiting the interpretation to the history of ideologies.⁴ Over time, research into socialism became part of historically contextualized ethnological research as a sub-stage within the development of the phenomena being studied. Studies and later even publications addressing selected areas of life under socialism were intentionally produced as part of academic research projects. They included the search for theoretical-methodological and methodological approaches that would be optimal for collecting information and interpreting it.

Definition of the Research Theme

Before proceeding to an analytical overview of ethnological research into the period of socialism, I find it necessary to clarify the period defined by the term *socialism*. I understand it to mean the period of Communist rule between 1948 and 1989. This period is also associated with selected historical events of the post-war years 1945-1948, which preceded the political victory of the Communists and influenced socio-political developments in the first years of Communist rule. The research focussed on the scholarly outputs of Slovak ethnologists, which aimed at ethnological/anthropological research into the period of socialism and which were produced after 1989.⁵ An overview study (an organic part of which is also a selected bibliography within the literature applied) has so far been lacking in Slovakia. Its aim is not to replace an evaluative view of the hitherto approaches and results of post-1989 research, for which the time is ripe after thirty years. In Slovakia there has also been no evaluation of the research that was carried out during socialism and which could be an important source for further research.⁶

Of the several options for categorizing the achieved results I chose to classify them based on aspects of eve-

ryday life under socialism: The bibliography included at the end of this paper is a selective bibliography related to the research intention. The observed outcomes can be divided into tangible, spiritual, and social culture; it was particularly desirable to single out research on the city, which began to develop around the year 2000. Minor themes are included in the section "*Institutions and the history of ethnology, the documentation of socialism in museums and audio-visual production*".

Ethnological research found its starting points in the collectivization of agriculture, the nationalization of industry, and the industrialization of Slovakia, which brought about the formation of a new social and spatial structure of the population and resulted in ideologically driven changes in values. The sphere of tangible culture is dominated by the themes of labour and changes in the culture of the construction of private houses and habitation, clothing, and eating, which were conditioned by a specific functioning of consumption. Other research focussed on spiritual culture and leisure activities – holidays, rituals, and religious practices. Studies on social culture are dominated by horizontal migration triggered by political decisions and survival strategies and research on ethnic communities. Folklore and folklorism were included in the research, too (Profantová 2012; Žúreková 2005). Within each thematic area, emphasis is placed on the main researchers in a particular thematic area. A separate research category deals with the history of individual academic and university departments and museum institutions, for which the period of socialism was a significant stage in their development. The activities of museums after 1989 aimed at documenting and presenting socialism are also briefly mentioned in this study. Research outputs in audio-visual form are also mentioned.⁷

Analysing ethnological research on the period of socialism by means of individual thematic areas does not mean that these areas would be phenomena described in an isolated way. The focus of interest moves towards the question of researching people's motivations, towards tracing the practices and life strategies of individuals realized in everyday situations, that is, manifestations of the period's formation of norms, attitudes, values, trends, and so on (Sedlák 2013: 132). In a simplified way, we can say that it was about understanding what people had to, wanted to, and were allowed to do under the given

socio-political conditions, how they coped with what was coming “from above”. Scholars sought to capture how the regime asserted a practical entitlement to being recognized by the population and how this fact was reflected in the everyday dimensions of historical reality.

Key methodological concepts in research into socialism included, from the beginning, the following: everyday life, values, norms, and attitudes, but also freedom, truth, censorship, power, fear, propaganda, identity, social change, and cultural (dis)continuity. Everyday life is perceived as “small history”, running in the background of “big history”, or the “surrounding world”. Small history is “the world that is lived”. We can fully agree with Peter Sedlák’s statement: if we focus specifically on everyday life, it is usually grasped not too theoretically, but with an overall understanding of it as a space or framework for the social practice and thought-world of people in their interactions with the regime. In their everyday lives, people usually view the world around them pragmatically, as part of the inclusion in the existing power hierarchies and public affairs – that is, in the practical mode essential for procuring the necessities of life (Sedlák 2013: 122). Ethnologists view the political milieu through oral histories of individuals, but they also draw information from contemporary documents that not only inform about the practices of everyday life but also frame them in terms of legislation and otherwise. This kind of research also attracted researchers from related academic disciplines, such as sociology, social psychology, history, and social geography. The images of the forms of socialism, obtained through oral histories of individuals, led to both reflections on and discussions about the system of creating constructs, about the possibilities of capturing the objectivity of knowledge, and about the importance of learning about subjectively experiencing the researched period (see Salner – Voľanská – Vrzgulová 2017).

The Most Important Projects

Already the 1990s saw research projects that studied everyday culture through political milestones, whereby the categories of *values* and *change* dominated. In 1991, a project titled “Continuity and Conflict of Values of Everyday Culture”, led by Dušan Ratica from the Institute of Ethnology and Social Anthropology of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, brought results with this focus.⁸ The aim of the project was to fill in some of the blanks in

the knowledge about the past and current way of life of different groups of inhabitants, because the activity in the field of values and morals could not exceed the “frame of the period” in the previous era. As the first research activities demonstrated, several problem areas required the timeline of confrontations with earlier historical stages to be extended. The projects resulted in two proceedings. Studying socialism as a systematic research objective became a subject matter of projects only from the first decade of the twenty first century onwards. It is necessary to mention the two most consistent research project activities focussed on research into socialism, which resulted in the publication of many studies. These are the research projects by Zuzana Profantová and Monika Vrzgulová, ethnologists from the Institute of Ethnology and Social Anthropology of the Slovak Academy of Sciences.

The most extensive results of research into socialism in Slovakia were cumulated by Zuzana Profantová, who worked on this topic as part of several successive grant projects for more than ten years. The projects did not involve organized team research,⁹ but rather addressed a multidisciplinary group of potential authors who provided studies on their research specializations to scholarly proceedings. Zuzana Profantová cooperated with institutions that dealt with activities associated with research on socialism – the Nation’s Memory Institute in Bratislava and the Oral History Centre at the Institute for Contemporary History of the Czech Academy of Sciences in Prague.¹⁰ This series of projects resulted in six scholarly proceedings (plus one of them translated into English), which covered several ethnological and non-ethnological (historians, writers, theatre artists, architects) thematic areas (Profantová et al. 2005a, 2005b, 2006, 2007, 2009a, 2012, 2016). Each of the proceedings was theoretically framed by Zuzana Profantová in an extended introduction, or by her own study. The last publication in the series was not proceedings, but it consisted of two parts – the first theoretical one aimed at explaining the biographical approach in ethnological research of everyday life¹¹ and the second empirical one in which an anonymized informant, “Helena”, told her life story on the background of the surrounding world.

Monika Vrzgulová, who is leading the largest, still unfinished project called “Contemporary Images of Socialism”,¹² has also focussed on researching socialism for a longer period of time. The aforementioned project

involves systematic research on people's memories of life in the era of the Communist Party's rule in 1960-1989. The basic research method includes oral history, whereby the importance of the data collected does not consist in their factual veracity, but in how the past is depicted in them. The researchers¹³ aim to find out how the fact that people lived under socialism influences their current attitudes and values. Some of the interviews are videotaped. The project contains an academic-research and an application component. The application component focusses on the creation of methodological materials for schools to teach about the period of socialism. The project results include the creation of a website for experts and the public, as well as the first digital oral history archive in Slovakia, which is accessible to the wider public. The methodological preparation of this archive was one of the subjects of the "Oral History: Methodology, Ethics and Archiving" seminar, where several researchers from the Czech Republic also presented their experiences. In 2019, an international team established on the initiative of a member of the project presented a paper titled "Track Changes: Reflecting on a Transforming World" at the 14th SIEF Congress. In 2020, the international virtual conference "Memories of the Communist Past" was held, a recording of which is available on the internet.¹⁴ In addition to the above activities, the researchers participated in several international and interdisciplinary conferences.

Before projects focussed on researching socialism emerged in Slovakia, Slovak ethnologists participated in international projects, which prompted research on other topics. In 2001-2005, Magdaléna Paríková and Ľubica Voľanská (Herzánová) participated in "FOROST¹⁵ Everyday Culture in Socialism", an international research project about socialist everyday life. It was led by German ethnologist Klaus Roth from the Institute of Ethnography/European Ethnology at Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität in Munich. Some of the results of the project can be found, in addition to international proceedings, in Slovak academic publications. They concern the thematic areas of *labour* and *generational relations* (Paríková 2004, 2009; Herzánová 2002, 2006, 2008a, 2008b).

One issue of the journal *Etnologické rozpravy* [Ethnological Debates] (2006, No. 2) was a minor project aimed at collecting ethnological findings about the period of socialism.

THEMATIC AREAS:

Labour

Research themes, such as the collectivization of agriculture, the nationalization of production enterprises, and the liquidation of tradespeople, were in the spotlight from the early 1990s onwards. These processes determined the social structure of the population and the culture of society. Collective and individual identities, values, (non) freedom and persecution, self-censorship, adaptation to government and party regulations, and the adjustment of these regulations to everyday life were closely related to labour. On the other hand, happy and contented workers were the declared goal of the Communist regime.

The development of Slovak agriculture in historical context forms a bigger unit within research into socialism. The context of collectivization was touched upon by several authors. This theme was most attentively dealt with by Peter Slavkovský (Slavkovský 1993, 1995, 2002, 2009), Oľga Danglová (1992, 2001, 2002), Dušan Kadlečík (2006), Katarína Popelková (2016), and Katarína Nováková (2005, 2006, 2007, 2012) in wine-growing regions of south-western Slovakia. Dušan Ratica (1991, 1992) dealt with the persecution of *kulaks* [higher-income farmers]. Research projects related to diverse intellectual work environments and the organization of work under socialism has not been completed yet. Zuzana Profantová and Ľubica Voľanská studied professional journalists (Profantová 2009b; Herzánová 2002), Katarína Košťalová focussed on the everyday life of pilots and railwaymen in Zvolen (Košťalová 2009), Monika Vrzgulová researched teachers, and Magdaléna Paríková dealt with work collectives competing for the title of the Brigade of Socialist Labour (Paríková 2009). Ethnologists also paid attention to marginal life situations related to labour – the termination of employment and retirement (Herzánová 2008a). Miriam Oľšavská-Ďurišová captured the unique period atmosphere of the 1950s with examples of youth constructions (Ďurišová 2006; Oľšavská 2012).

In addition to labour, researchers also paid attention to the specific nature of the redistribution and consumption of final products. Based on the study of English literature, Zuzana Búriková elaborated the concept of socialist consumption under socialism, according to which socialism must be viewed as a modernist programme.

She conducted her research in village shops in the region of Orava. She states that consumption became an important indicator of the success of both socialist ideology and the economy, and a subject matter of the competition with capitalism. Research on consumption during real socialism can help us understand the functioning of the socialist regime and life under it, as well as the general mechanisms influencing the formation of culture (Búriková 2004, 2005). Difficulties associated with foraging for both everyday and luxury items continually pushed consumption to the centre of citizens' attention. Research on production and consumption in the context of state paternalism quite logically became part of other themes in the field of tangible culture. Ladislav Lenovský studied aspects of illegal trade, examining black-market-eering families from Levice (Lenovský 2006).

Tangible Culture: Food, Dress, Architecture, and a Way of Living

The publication *Socializmus na tanieri. Možnosti a praktiky stravovania v rokoch 1948-1989* [Socialism on the Plate. Possibilities and Practices of Alimentation between 1948 and 1989] by Rastislava Stoličná-Mikolajová (2015) is one of the few Slovak monographs focussed on a particular thematic area of socialist everyday life. The monograph observed the collectivization of agriculture and the nationalization of food enterprises – mills, bakeries, and dairies – which during the first decade of socialism caused temporary chaos in the food supply chain. The change in the social structure of village communities also had an impact on gradual changes in eating habits. The development and modernization of the food industry also contributed to this. The author drew information from ethnographic and dietetic research, menus, professional journals on nutrition, economic analyses, information on the grey economy and corruption, media information including the CT *Retro* series, and ideological justifications for the socialist concept of the people's diet, which related, for example, to gender equality or the expansion of communal catering to workplaces and schools. She supplemented these diverse sources with a survey that observed people's reflections on this period through the context of food, kitchen equipment, and dining on weekdays and holidays. The publication attempts to give a view of the issue that is as comprehensive as possible, beginning with problems with supplying food to

the population in the 1950s to forms of socialist modernization, particularly observable mainly in the second half of the era of Czechoslovak socialism.

The issues of diet under socialism were also dealt with marginally by Juraj Zajonc (2006) and Silvia Dillnbergerová (2002).

Consumption is related to another thematic area – clothing. Research on changes in the field of clothing in the socialist period was carried out by Viera Nosáľová before 1989. After 1989, this theme was “shelved” in Slovak ethnology for almost twenty years. Jana Mládek Rajniaková continued Soňa Kovačevičová's research on traditional clothing in Liptov villages, which was carried out until the 1950s, and she grasped the theme of clothing under socialism in an original way (Rajniaková 2013). This theme was also touched upon by Marta Botiková within the international project “Women's Memory”,¹⁶ which was based on the oral history method (Botiková 2001, 2004).

Architecture and ways of living also remained outside the interest of researchers for almost two decades after 1989. Juraj Podoba is an expert in this field; he carried out his research mainly in the 1980s, and he also studied ways of living during the socialist period. His doctoral dissertation on this topic was published as a separate publication (Podoba 2011). He connects the issue of architecture transformations and ways of living with changes of an economic nature and the social stratification of society, and with the transformations of rural residents' values. From this perspective he also evaluates the phases characterizing the construction of certain building types during different stages of building socialism. He observes the spread of standardized houses, which are indifferent to traditional architecture. He pays attention to modernization and also to the individualization of building types in the 1980s. In the conclusion he states that the entire post-war development of rural architecture is full of contradictions and its objective evaluation cannot be unambiguous.

Spiritual Culture and Leisure Activities

Socialist rituals as a propaganda tool came to the fore in research on life cycle rituals, calendar customs, and political holidays and ritualized events.

Taking into account this thematic area, the publication *Občianske obrady na Slovensku* [Civil Ceremonies

in Slovakia] by Zuzana Beňušková (2017) can be considered to be a monograph inspired by the period of socialism. It was based on the theme of her doctoral dissertation, assigned in 1985, when civil ceremonies were a considerably limited theme, in terms of ideology, in the ethnology of socialist countries. In the publication, the author took advantage of the fact that she started her field research during socialism and continued it in the mid-1990s as society was transforming. The research conducted under the authentic conditions of socialism was interpreted after a reasonable time distance, and hence was no longer ideologically burdened. The publication examines civil ceremonies created as a specific phenomenon of the socialist way of life in historical context before and after the period of socialism, and it confronts them with religious institutional ceremonies; it also contains an international aspect, examining the other countries of the former socialist bloc.

Among political mass rituals, the researchers focussed on May Day parades (Beňušková 1994b; Vrzgulová 2009b), the Spartakiad (Beňušková 2012), celebrations of International Women's Day (Paríková 2012), and school festivals (Segľová 2006). Ritualization was symptomatic of army life when military service was compulsory. This theme was addressed by Ivan Murin (1994).

The thematic area of travel and holidays under socialism has been researched to a minimum extent (Bobulová 2012).

Social Culture

I have already mentioned above that ethnic issues, especially issues of ethnic identity, were one of the themes dominating Slovak ethnology in the 1990s. It also included, as a less prominent segment, the position of some national minorities in the period of socialism; this thematic block did not overlook the previously tabooed post-war forced migrations of several ethnic communities as a result of the efforts to achieve the so-called ethnic homogenization of the population. Although these processes were gradually subdued after the onset of Communist rule, their consequences can be traced even today.¹⁷ Historiographical aspects of the Beneš decrees, which triggered the migrations of ethnic communities after World War II, became the focus of historians from the Institute of Social Sciences of the Slovak Academy of Sciences in Košice. Among ethno-

logists, Magdaléna Paríková specialized in this issue (Paríková 2006). Zuzana Beňušková carried out a model probe into the life of a social community in southern Slovakia affected by post-war ethnic displacements of inhabitants and their consequences; she took the southern Slovak village of Tekovské Lužany as an example (Beňušková 2010). In one of her papers, this author focussed on the previously tabooed topic concerning the changing of citizenship – opting, called *optácia* in Slovak – which concerned a part of the Rusyn and Ukrainian populations in eastern Slovakia. This issue was treated later outside the ethnological community (Beňušková 2006). Gabriela Kiliánová analysed the Ukrainization of the Rusyn minority in eastern Slovakia on the background of historical research at the Institute of Ethnology (Kiliánová 2016). Peter Salner examined the life and identity expression of the Jewish minority, especially in Bratislava, from diverse perspectives; the period of socialism is dealt with in a separate publication (Salner 2006, 2011, 2016).

A large part of the publication *E/Migrácie* [E/Migrations] (Luther 2006) is devoted to emigration from Czechoslovakia during socialism, after 1948 and 1968, which is a unique theme within Slovak ethnology. The authors Daniel Luther, Ivica Bumová, Dušan Ratica, and Peter Salner examine this phenomenon, which encompasses all the negative concomitants of a totalitarian political regime (including economic aspects), from the perspective of individuals who emigrated. This topic is theoretically situated in the broader context of the study of migrations and diversification as a factor of identity formation.

Specific forms of controlled migrations were noted by research on villages that disappeared as a result of the construction of reservoirs (Kontriková – Šusteková 2012).

Research on family histories is an important method for investigating everyday life under socialism. But the research focussed on the family itself and on the intergenerational transmission of representations of political and social changes only in some cases. Monika Vrzgulová's project in 2014-2017 had this focus (see also Ratica 2005). The research also focussed on the way of life of the oldest generation, the process of ageing (Herzánová 2005, 2007a, 2007b, 2008b), the world of women in their different social roles (Botíková 2004, 2005; Šalingová 2004), and family and work life (Herzánová 2007a).

Life in the City

The two decades at the turn of the twenty-first century were abundant in urban-anthropological research projects in Slovakia. Similar to other themes focussed on diversified society and its values, attention was initially paid to the interwar period, and then to transformations of urban space and society after 1989. However, several studies also focussed on characterizing the transformation of cities and urban life during the socialist period. It was Daniel Luther and Peter Salner who were most involved in projects concerning urban research and who focussed on Bratislava – both on construction and redevelopment in the period of socialism, and on the symbols of the Communist regime (Luther 2014; Salner 2014). Monika Vrzgulová focusses her urban-anthropological research on the city of Trenčín. She locates there her study of society, public spaces and memories of life in the city, political rituals, and also the watershed year of 1968 (Vrzgulová 2007, 2009a, 2009b, 2009c; Vrzgulová – Salner 2020). Zuzana Beňušková focussed on the perception of life in a socialist housing estate in her research on the largest housing estate in Czechoslovakia – Petržalka. Her research on schoolchildren connected with the space of the city and political rituals – namely, May Day parades (Beňušková 1994a, 1994b, 2009) – is also associated with Bratislava. Socialist social engineering applied in the transformation of the village of Svätý Kríž into the industrial socialist town of Žiar nad Hronom was discussed by Katarína Beličková (2012), and life in the newly founded socialist town of Nová Dubnica has been researched by Juraj Janto (2019).

Institutions and the History of Ethnology, the Documentation of Socialism in Museums, and Audio-Visual Production

Crucial events at institutions where ethnology has been developed and the observance of their anniversaries prompted research into their own history. This research was carried out and published by a number of central research institutions and museums, and the forty years of socialism constitutes a significant section of it. This history reflects the social conditions that determined and limited activities at the institutions, what strategies they used towards state authorities, to what extent ideology penetrated the organization and the content of their work, and which institutional contacts were

important for these organizations. These themes were also discussed by leaders at academic institutions during the socialist period and who were directly confronted with state and party structures (Bobáková – Tužinská 2006; Kiliánová – Potančok 2017; Kiliánová – Popelková 2010; Kiliánová – Zajonc 2016).¹⁸ Working conditions, as well as moments from personal life during the socialist period, have been captured in audio-visual profiles of Slovak ethnologists, which were recorded as part of the long-term project “Personalities of Slovak Ethnology” (Osobnosti slovenskej etnológie 2019-2020). Transcriptions of recordings from ten ethnologists working outside central institutions are included in the publication *Etnológia v regiónoch* [The Ethnology in Regions] (Jágerová – Krausová – Voľanská 2019).

Museums have also explored their history, and moreover, they have to deal with the question of documenting the present. Although socialism is a closed chapter in history, it also falls within contemporary history, and museum workers have faced the question of how to grasp this theme and how to distribute it, due to its complexity – whether within acquisitions at a single institution or within the distribution of thematic areas among institutions. This issue was dealt with at several seminars in “The Ethnologist and the Museum” series. The proceedings *Dokumentácia druhej polovice 20. storočia a súčasnosti* [Documentation of the Second Half of the Twentieth Century and the Present] (Halmová 2012) are one of the outcomes thereof.

There is no museum of socialism in Slovakia so far. The public had an opportunity to see that museums have collections from this period at the Slovak National Museum’s exhibition “How Did We Live? Slovakia in the Twentieth Century”, which was very successfully realized in 2008. The exhibition included 1,000 three-dimensional documents and seventeen projections, including four multimedia applications. The Slovak National Gallery also offered successful exhibitions addressing life under socialism.¹⁹

Within ethnologists’ scarce audio-visual production, it is worth mentioning the documentary *Zatopené* [Flooded] by Soňa Lutherová,²⁰ a research fellow at the Institute of Ethnology and Social Anthropology of the Slovak Academy of Sciences. It relates the story of a mansion from the flooded Liptov village of Parížovce, which was moved due to the construction of the Liptovská Mara

reservoir, to the Open-Air Museum in Pribylina. The documentary follows the lives of the original owners – a Jewish family who had to abandon their house during the Holocaust – and the story of the building itself, which served for farming purposes in the period of socialism, when it was considerably devastated and finally transferred to the open-air museum, where it is presented to visitors in its full glory. Through the history of one building, the film focusses on people's relationship to property, home, and family. The documentary is a reflection on the impact of totalitarian regimes on the lives of individuals, and a search for justice in the fateful twists of Slovak society over the past century up to the present.

Conclusion

Research about socialism is currently being conducted in Slovakia, and monographs have been published on several themes (diet, instructional ceremonies, agrarian culture, and architecture). The above overview demonstrates the diversity and fragmentariness of how the themes have been addressed. Only a few thematic areas can be said to have been treated sufficiently. Young ethnologists, who did not experience that period, are more reticent about researching it; the older ones, who experienced it for better or worse, also took a long time to come up with independent scholarly interpretations of this period. The ongoing relatively large project "The Contemporary Images of Socialism",

with the potential for continuation, testifies that Slovak ethnology is aware of its debt in the realm of explaining socialist everyday life and of understanding some aspects of the perception of contemporary society by the inhabitants of Slovakia. Quite a high number of studies deal with theoretical problems, the elaboration of the oral history method, the system of interpretation of qualitative results, discovering the pitfalls of the functioning of memory, and the displacement of unpleasant memories from the memory; the authors also focus on the construction and verbalization of remembering and on the idealization of the period about which the informants speak with a time distance of several decades. The applied use of knowledge is in its infancy. However, "socialist retro" is quite popular with the general public and the young generation, as evidenced by the programme *Fetishes of Socialism*, a successful television documentary series about life under socialism.²¹ It is obvious that this programme was inspired by the Czech television series *Retro*, which is created in a much more structured fashion. The public's great interest in learning about life under socialism is also revealed by the good response to exhibitions presenting that era. Ethnologists from post-socialist countries have a wealth of possibilities for reflecting this forty-year-long social experiment known as "socialism" and its consequences in their research work, and to bring meaningful insights not only for their own country.

NOTES:

1. The theme of the Slovak State was pertinent not only through analogies with the totalitarian regime; a reason for the reappraisal of the events also consisted in the fact that several protagonists thereof expected to be rehabilitated.
2. The persecution of Slovak inhabitants by the Communist regime in the 1950s was dealt with mainly by Natália Veselská (2007).
3. They are of rather particular importance. Inspiring are sociologists' works aimed at the urbanization of Slovakia, or those by historian Marina Závacká from the Institute of History of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, who has long been dealing with the history of propaganda and the wider context of building regime loyalty in Slovakia in the twentieth century. For example, the publication by the political scientist Juraj Marušiak (2020).
4. For example Kolář – Pullmann (2016). See also Wessel (2018).
5. Since 1991, Slovak ethnology has lacked a comprehensive professional bibliography, and due to the diverse publishing possibilities of ethnologists, it is not possible to reliably register their entire professional production. This study works with scholarly monographs

- and articles published mainly in national ethnological journals and scholarly proceedings, as well as significant moments in the professional discourse related to the topic.
6. The given definition responds to the possible size of the study. For this reason, Czech authors who conducted their research in Slovakia during socialism (Kandert 2004; Skalník 1999a, 1999b) are not mentioned in the text; however, their works are listed in the bibliography to facilitate orientation in other research projects (J. Skalník's study was published in Slovakia in abridged form).
7. Monographs on villages, which were written by ethnologists and in which the period of socialism takes quite a large space, have remained out of the focus of this study.
8. Under the name the Institute of Ethnography of the Slovak Academy of Sciences at that time (see Ratica 1991, 1992).
9. This procedure results in a heterogeneous methodological approach, particularity, and the absence of discussion that would encourage the co-authors to reconcile interdisciplinary professional perspectives.

10. These projects were "Narrative Everyday Life in the Context of Historical Turning Points in the Czech Republic/Slovakia after 1948, 1968, 1989, 1993 from the Perspective of the Value Development Dynamics" (2006-2009) and "Narrative Everyday Life in the Historical and Ethnological Perspective" (2006-2009).
11. In terms of methodology, the author drew mainly from the sociological analysis of everyday life by sociologist Dilbar Alieva.
12. At the time this study was written, the "Contemporary Images of Socialism" project was still running. APVV-16-0345, 2017-2021.
13. Researchers from three Slovak universities are team members; for applied research, they cooperate with secondary school teachers and students (*Súčasný obrazy socializmu*).
14. At the three-day conference, forty-three papers by experts from Poland and the former Czechoslovakia, Soviet Union, and Yugoslavia were presented (*Memory of the Communist Past 2020*).
15. The project had two stages: *Practices and Strategies of the Everyday Life in Socialist Countries and Their Consequences for the Transformation (Alltagskultur im Sozialismus: Praktiken und Strategien des Alltagslebens in den sozialistischen Ländern und ihre Folgen für die Transformation)*, 2001-2003, and *The Heritage of the Socialist Everyday Life: Social Networks and Trust in Post-Socialism (Das Erbe des sozialistischen Alltags: soziale Netzwerke und soziales Vertrauen im Postsozialismus)*, 2003-2005.
16. "Women's Memory" – a project funded by the Open Society Fund. Project leader: Zuzana Kiczková, Faculty of Arts, Comenius University in Bratislava, 1999-2001, VEGA 2/5073/20.
17. For example, in the existence of divided families, in the problems of "reopiants" – those who returned from opting to move to Ukraine (even to the live in the dwellings of displaced Volhynian Czechs) – or in the discontinuity of the development of local communities in villages affected by migrations. Research into themes like these was ideologically undesirable in the period of socialism, and it could develop only after 1989.
18. The interviews, including critical assessments from some research fellows and managers, were published in journals, or they were published separately. The autobiography was published by Soňa Kovačevičová (2001). Several themes were presented at the conference "Ethnology in a Narrowed Space" in Prague (Woitsch – Jůnová Macková et al. 2016).
19. The photographic exhibition "Lost Time?" about life under socialism was very successful. It was prepared by the Slovak National Gallery at the turn of 2007-2008. Almost a thousand pictures by eighty photographers documented the period between 1969 and 1989, that is, from the onset of so-called normalization to the Velvet Revolution. The exhibition is documented in detail in the eponymous catalogue by Petra Hanáková and Aurel Hrabušický. Ethnologists were also attracted by the exhibition "Let Her Sew! or What Did We Wear in the Times of Socialism", which offered a glimpse of the fashion scene in Slovakia between 1945 and 1989.
20. Topic, screenplay, direction: Soňa G. Lutherová, produced by AH production, 2017.
21. The film was made in 2014 and 2015, and Slovak female ethnologists were invited to create several episodes.

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Summary

The text presents an analytical overview of the results of ethnological research on the era of socialism conducted in Slovakia after 1989. It mainly describes the projects within which this research was carried out and the applied methodological approaches. It classifies the research results by thematic area and includes references to relevant academic publications. The text also mentions the academic discourse that resulted in several studies and themes. For the sake of comprehensiveness, basic projects, considerable museum activities, and audio-visual outcomes are mentioned, which provide knowledge about everyday life in socialism.

Key words: Socialism; post-socialism; Slovak ethnology; research overview.

PATHS AND POSSIBILITIES FOR EXPERIMENTS IN THE FIELD OF TRADITIONAL TECHNOLOGIES (IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC)

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This study deals with experiments in the field of traditional production technologies. It focusses on experiments that can be used for ethnological interpretation.¹ Experiments, in our understanding, represent a method of gaining scientific knowledge through trials, that is, gradual and repeated testing. The study aims to define several basic approaches that researchers take in implementing such experiments. Based on the empirical observations of experiment results, the researchers can confirm or refute certain knowledge or establish new hypotheses in the field of traditional technologies and techniques that were part of traditional folk culture (Michalička 2009).

A range of trial-based principles, from scientific achievements to extraordinary amateur activities, is now applied to the exploration and adoption of traditional technologies. At first glance, these principles seem to suggest disparate approaches, but they are strongly intertwined and connected to each other. Therefore, even the results of amateur experimenters can make significant contributions to scientific knowledge. This overview study focusses on the form of contemporary experimental actions that in a certain way relate to experimental archaeology, the activities of open-air museums in the second half of the twentieth century, and the legacy of institutions trying to safeguard the viability of disappearing traditional technologies.

The study focusses on experiments in traditional technologies. The term *traditional technology* is used here in relation to the established concept of traditional folk culture. This term corresponds to tangible, spiritual, and social expressions that were adopted by the non-privileged population of early modern and modern society and that functioned on the principle of a passed on, but not unchanging, tradition (Kandert 2007; Doušek – Drápala et al. 2015: 12-17; Jančář 1988; Jarošová – Lidák – Michalička 2011; Langer 1975). Traditional technologies that are based on intergenerationally transmitted knowledge and experience represent an important part of traditional folk culture, that is, a culture that is no longer functional (Woitsch 2008: 14-15). These traditional technologies are characterized by the fact that

they developed very slowly from about the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries, but their extinction in the process of industrialization in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was rapid (Woitsch 2008: 19).

The text is divided into several sections, whereby the basic definition of experiments applicable for ethnological interpretations in traditional technologies is followed by an analysis of primary starting points, experience, and preconditions for their implementation.

For the sake of clarity, the approaches to experimentation are divided into several groups according to the concepts and focus of the experimenters. The text primarily focuses on scientific experiments, more specifically those carried out in museums with an emphasis on the specifics of ethnographic open-air museums. Attention is also paid to professional experiments of a restorative nature, which can be applied, for example, in heritage care. One special section examines experiments related to the concept of *living history* and experiments carried out by commercial craftsmen who draw on traditional technologies. These two groups should not be omitted in the overall inventory, as they can be an important source of data and experience for ethnological knowledge.

Ethnological knowledge of traditional technologies requires a broader interdisciplinary approach and insights from the perspectives of different scholarly disciplines. Indeed, records from classical ethnographic observations very often cannot suffice to answer many questions related to ethnological interpretations. For this reason, field research has to be supplemented by other types of research. In order to expand the possibilities of empirical knowledge, laboratory-type research through active verification by means of experiments is also a possible option. Jiří Woitsch (2006: 443) speaks directly about the use of “*somewhat unorthodox research methods*” that can help to obtain a range of otherwise unattainable exact data. The laboratory approach entails the active role of the researcher, who does not limit him- or herself to merely passive observation. In addition to a broader view of the investigated phenomenon, such hands-on experiments offer a more intensive experience of it.

The performed experiments thus become a tangible reality; the result can be touched and directly observed. It is important to note that basic laboratory-type experiments do not result in authentic phenomena and their expressions, but due to the artificial conditions created, they present several possibilities for understanding historical technologies, which makes it easier to establish hypotheses and to carry out various analyses and comparisons (Woitsch 2006: 45). However, experiments also have a number of limitations and pitfalls, and present considerable interpretative risks.

Experiments with traditional technologies use a variety of approaches, and they naturally follow experimental archaeology in many respects. It is the acquisition of key information about production methods that links them. The knowledge from archaeological experiments focusing on indigenous technologies, particularly from the prehistoric and early historic periods, are usually a very good methodological guide also for experiments primarily aimed at more specific traditional cultures.

The continuity with experimental archaeology is also reflected in the relatively frequent collaboration between experimenting ethnologists and archaeologists.

In traditional technologies, scholarly interpreted mainly from the perspectives of ethnology, two basic types of experiments are used with differing intensities. We can define them, in a simple way, as analytical and applied experiments (Michalička 2009). Both approaches are very important and have great potential. They are also intertwined in a certain way. Analytical experiments focus especially on scholarly research of an academic nature. Applied experiments are or can be used by memory institutions.

The analytical experiment opens up a range of possibilities. It can also successfully apply the interdisciplinary approach of the humanities and the knowledge of technical and scientific practices. It makes it possible to acquire data leading to scientific knowledge, facilitates the creation of classifications, helps to expand hypotheses, and also provides data to help explain many of the relationships involved in the studied phenomena.

The applied, or practical, experiment focussed on traditional technologies seeks to answer many questions at the cultural memory level, where this search is a unique creative cognitive process based on the principle of testing and verification. In this active process, many cultural

phenomena and their expressions can be examined very intensively. In the applied phase of the experiment, it is possible to speak about the peculiar animation of cultural phenomena, while the emotional view of the past also gains importance. Archaeologists also work with this experience in their creative experiments. In addition to the well-known term *experimental archaeology*, they also work with the term *experiential archaeology*. This term clearly indicates that the process of conducting experiments has the potential to bring both experiences and experience for those involved (Smetánka 2003: 124-126). This leads us to a level where the main purpose of the experiment, which consists in verifying technologies while adhering to exact principles, is overridden by an experience based on intimate contact with the past (Michalička 2019: 63). It is also for this reason that experiments with traditional technologies are valuable for the future work of cultural memory institutions.

In contrast to archaeologists, experimenters focusing on traditional technologies have an opportunity to draw on rich ethnographic information and sources of inspiration; as well as to tap the interpretative potential of ethnology. They have at their disposal, for example, technological records from the past, thorough old ethnographic descriptions, and possibly even contemporary witnesses. In field research, even within Europe, a range of traditional technologies can be chronicled. Contacting an active bearer of intergenerationally passed-on handicraft skills and discovering a large number of tangible authentic artefacts are still real possibilities. Yet the need for verification and explanatory experiments and reconstructions may still arise, as many details and contexts can fade away from any documentation. Experiments are an important point of reference, especially for learning about technologies that have disappeared completely or have been safeguarded only in a fragmentary or modified form. Their purpose is to point out gaps and doubts in the documentation of traditional handicraft production and to contribute to their completion (Woitsch 2006; Michalička 2009).

Experiments with traditional production technologies and hand-processing of natural materials can be aimed at testing technologies, verifying unknown facts, and understanding certain technological processes. However, experiments can also result in partial or complete constructions perceived as reconstructions of traditional

technologies and artefacts. These then have considerable informational and value potential in both analytical and applied approaches and uses.

Experimentally realized reconstructions, especially those of various artefacts and objects, are often carried out in collaboration with skilled craftsmen, who are invited to participate in experiments because researchers often lack the necessary skills and dexterity. The problem is that skilled craftsmen inevitably project their current knowledge and mastered techniques into the experiment, which can distort the final result. Reconstructing traditional vernacular buildings in open-air museums, where craftsmen are often unable to deny their individuality, experience, and skills (Langer 1995), can be a case in point. For these reasons, specialized research groups in particular can guarantee the theoretical background and the handicraft skills that are necessary for experimental types of (re)construction.

In the Czech lands, learning about traditional technologies and testing them can relatively strongly rely on thorough documentation, including the use of these technologies during the twentieth century. In the twentieth century, when most traditional technologies were rapidly disappearing, purposefully selected expressions of handicraft production were understood as folk expressions. When it became clear that traditional technologies, together with the use of natural materials, had no chance or possibility of still being used, targeted selection began, accompanied by the search for options for safeguarding the widest possible spectrum of knowledge and technologies and for finding new missions for them. This selection and the associated documentation still play a very important role in numerous experiments with traditional technologies, and they are a crucial stepstone for many experimenters.

The era of targeted support began at a time when there were still many authentic producers who were familiar with traditional technologies for processing natural materials. Therefore, this support was primarily aimed at two things: providing income opportunities for those producers and keeping the legacy of the original traditions alive. Thus, during the twentieth century, several institutions were founded, with the most significant being the State Educational Institute for Home Industry, the Moravian Centre for Home Industry, and the Centre for Folk Art Production (ÚLUV). The activities of these organiza-

tions, whose goal was to support traditional handicraft producers and to ensure the marketing of their products, were accompanied by distinctive and often very thorough documentation of the technologies they mastered. An indispensable role was also played by the ÚLUV thanks to whose activities an enormous number of production methods and handicraft products were documented in detail.² Thanks to this, a whole range of technologies were recorded in descriptions, drawings, photographs, and films (Jarošová – Liďák – Michalička 2011: 9).

ÚLUV activities helped safeguard many technologies of varying provenance and quality, since most of the technologies were applied in the field of aesthetic products in the second half of the twentieth century. For this reason, only some technologies were selected, which inadequately shaped the view of the past. In fact, this selection and manipulation of traditional technologies for the needs of modern society also constituted a certain kind of experiment – that is, they sought to verify the functionality of traditional techniques for the present. Due to this approach, the diverse expressions of home and home-based production, as well as the later artificially formed folk art production, had and still have an influence on the present-day often-distorted perception of traditional handicraft production. Contemporary researchers conducting experiments must also take this influence into account, as it can lead them astray in their interpretations.

Despite the possible pitfalls, the aforementioned research and documentation projects resulting from the activities of the ÚLUV provide a unique information base for conducting experimentation in the field of traditional material culture. Thanks to these rich materials that feature exact descriptions, contemporary experimenters have a much richer information base for some traditional technological practices than researchers conducting archaeological experiments.³ Thus, today's experimenter, working with well-documented cases, not only knows exactly what an experiment is supposed to result in, but he can also work with a variety of clues pointing the way to it. However, he must also repeat experiments to intricately search for specific undocumentable details, as with the absence of authentic bearers, knowledge and skills disappear, no matter how high the level of documentation is.

The ÚLUV left behind not only a large amount of documentation and comparative materials, but also a large amount of confusing disinformation constructs that were

necessary for the former application of traditional techniques and materials. Rigorous experiments can help clarify many inaccuracies and define the real functionality of products and technologies.

The following examples of experiments in the field of traditional technologies are based mainly on the information and experience acquired through contacts, consultations, and cooperation with particular experimenters. Informed and rigorous experiments are absolutely necessary for new interpretations and hypotheses associated with traditional technologies in a wider context. However, the experimental approach as a distinctive way of human interaction with a selected part of traditional tangible culture can be increasingly observed also among amateurs.

Purely scientific experiments focussed on researching traditional technologies are rather unique in the Czech environment. The ethnologist Jiří Woitsch⁴ approaches experiments as real research methods with academic consistency. He reflects on present-day interdisciplinary efforts and seeks answers to historical-ethnological questions also in the engineering and natural science fields. His research on historical potash is a significant achievement; he used all the research methods offered by historical ethnology, including experimentation. They provided him with missing data and helped define the form of production and its broader contexts (Woitsch 2003).

Experiments, especially those carried out with strictly scientific methods, provide wider opportunities for interdisciplinary overlap, mainly with technical disciplines. Collaborating with technical scientists can also result in important insights that traditional field and archival research cannot reveal or define. While reconstructing the production process, Jiří Woitsch produced sufficient quantities of potash, which was then subjected to laboratory chemical analyses and calculations. He succeeded in obtaining conclusive and verified data on yield, raw material consumption, and chemical composition. He then compared these exact data with archival materials, verifying their real significance, and created new hypotheses about the historical reality. He came to realize that the indisputable data ascertained by precise detailed chemical analyses and measurements contradicted the uniform data in written sources (Woitsch 2003). This example illustrates the important role of experiments, since they, like narratives, for example, can expose the pitfalls of the accounts contained in written sources.

A prominent experimenter among ethnologists, who uses the technical approach, is the erudite Radim Urbánek.⁵ His initiatives are based on thorough knowledge of the sources, and they focus on mastering and justifying many technological details. His approach is also linked to his education; before he studied ethnology at university, he received a secondary technical education (chemistry). In his case, mastering technologies consists in detailed analysis and in understanding the operational mechanisms as well as physical and chemical processes. He is one of the researchers among ethnologists who managed to understand different segments of technologies. He recognized the basis and rationale of some operations that are difficult to understand from today's perspective, especially because of the fundamental change in the approach to materials and work.

The most important experiments carried out by Radim Urbánek, which resulted in the mastery of technological procedures in their completeness, include especially those concerning grinding techniques on manual and water mills and the practically unknown millstone sharpening. With these experimental achievements, he significantly advanced research on the milling and processing of cereals. Radim Urbánek's experimental activities are exceptional due to their thoroughly technical character, and they logically often relate to rural technical buildings, the complex functionality of which still remains unknown even for many erudite researchers.

The experiments carried out at the Centre of Traditional Technologies in Příbor (CETRAT), which is one of the branches of the Museum of the Nový Jičín Region (MNJ), also seek to understand and master the essence of traditional techniques. It is the direct mission of CETRAT to focus on the experimental verification of traditional handicraft technologies used to process natural materials. The aim of the experiments conducted by the research group led by Václav Michalička is to gain a thorough understanding of the approach that traditional folk culture practitioners adopted when working with available natural materials.⁶ The carried-out experiments consist of gradually mastering and verifying the original techniques, and they are aimed at discovering their principles. This is followed by the creation of materialized hypotheses, which, due to their physical nature, can be subjected to thorough testing. The most challenging project included the experimental verification of the traditional processing of nettle fibre.⁷

The comprehensive “nettle” project was accompanied by museum, field, and archival research that included cooperation with textile experts, restorers, conservators, and biologists (Michalička 2017a). The conducted practical experiments and the subsequent reconstructions of nettle products were based on the knowledge gained through interdisciplinary overlap and on consultations with foreign experts. The research process was very long as a specific slow path with gradually gained experience was chosen for it. Such partial and follow-up experiments, consisting first of mastering individual technological processes, are particularly important when knowledge from generational transmission is not available. Therefore, the starting point was to acquire at least partial proficiency in the implementation of the basic procedures.

The applied method of acquiring knowledge based on the mastery of individual tasks led to the creation of a number of artefacts that could be compared with surviving authentic objects. These included, for example, nettle fibre bobbin lace and nettle clothing (shirts).

The nettle experimental project made it possible to significantly deepen the understanding of why nettle fibres were processed in the past and also to uncover the ways in which this was done. This opened up a whole set of new questions about the cultural role that the processing of natural materials played in traditional settings. Acquiring precise or at least approximate data on the quantity of raw material needed and the time required for the technologies proved to be fully unrealistic. As the level of knowledge and practical experience increased, the time and consumption of raw material decreased very rapidly and significantly. Nevertheless, it was not possible, even approximately, to achieve values comparable to the historical reality.⁸

Radim Urbánek and Václav Michalička are museum workers, and their approach almost corresponds to an independent museum experiment. It is in museum institutions that professional experiments with traditional technologies take their certain specific forms. Museums can carry out experiments on a scholarly basis, thanks to the large amount of knowledge they have accumulated and their professionally trained staff. However, in the case of museums, the tempting possibility of presentation inevitably prevails over mere scientific description. The use of experiments for museum purposes stems precisely from the need to maximize data quantity while

creating elaborate memory constructs that form the essence of the social mission of every museum.

In museums, experiments with traditional technologies can significantly enrich the thesaurus of authentic objects (museum items) because collections of production tools are usually quite incomplete (Machálek 2020: 24-25). They can also explain the functionality of the stored objects that are often difficult to define.

The experiments carried out in museums in the field of traditional handicraft production thus, in a specific way, revive and put into a broader context the collection objects, and they often pass into presentation activities that supplement the impressiveness of specific exhibitions. This experimentation then provides museums with a basis to more thoroughly animate cultural phenomena. The authentic museum items presented using traditional museum presentation forms are given, due to the animation programmes, a different dimension that appeals more broadly to the human senses and emotions. Through animating cultural phenomena, people can experience and live out cultural realities that can be mediated only with difficulty. In principle, it is a directly lived reality where all the senses are involved in the experience, making the experience memorable knowledge.

Truly fertile ground for an experimental approach to traditional technologies is found primarily in ethnographic open-air museums, which, due to their nature, possess real and functional technological elements on the basis of which even experimental archaeological open-air museums are built⁹ (Šimša 2019: 120). For open-air museums, this is above all an opportunity to go even further in presenting and mediating the past – as close as possible to human perception. It is the impressive connection of authenticity with a newly created environment identical to the original reality that plays a crucial role there (Šulěř 1980). Open-air museums are in a great position to carry out experiments, as experimentation stood at their very inception.

In the Czech environment, it was Jiří Langer who worked with the elaborated scholarly concept of the open-air museum as an experimental laboratory and who can be considered an important pioneer in this field¹⁰ (Langer 2005: 12). His approach lay in testing, verifying, and mainly comprehensively reconstructing phenomena of tangible and spiritual culture that either disappeared or survived only in fragments. Open-air museums, following this

conception, offer a broad space for technological and functional experiments. It is namely the compactness of open-air museums that is the basic precondition and that enables original technologies to be applied in a variety of ways (Langer 1995; Bryol 2018: 113).

In Czechoslovakia and then the Czech Republic, it was the Wallachian Open-Air Museum (VMP) that long set the course for this experimental conception. On a professional basis and initially with the help of authentic skill bearers, a number of interesting technological experiments were carried out there. A large part of them was connected in particular with the presentation of the functional operation of the whole model situation. This was namely based on the concept of the open-air

museum as a functional model of the vanished rural living space. The related experiments focussed mainly on the operation of technical buildings, agriculture, and mechanisms for the functioning of traditional farming and households (Langer – Brandstettrová 2018: 59-60). Jiří Langer, who conceived of the experimental design, required all technological, logical, and purposeful links to realistically function, whereby the real image was essential for him.

At the VMP, the experiments related to the operability of technical buildings and the entire technological area of the Water Mill Valley (hammer mill, mill, sawmill, fulling mill, oil press) were technologically interesting and demanding. To demonstrate these very specific facilities,



*Weaver Josef Fidler at work on reconstructing the technology of traditional chenille production.
Photo Petra Vidomusová 2015, Museum of the Nový Jičín Region*

their technical functionality had to be reconstructed, including testing the technological procedures and individual operations. This entailed not only depicting the translocated historical reality appropriately, but also ensuring the credibility of the entire complex with technical buildings. Technologies interconnected with the functional operation of historical buildings were followed by experiments that touched upon various spheres of the traditional way of life. The VMP thus became a breeding ground for further experiments that were unique at that time. The burning of charcoal in charcoal kilns is a typical example.¹¹ Although this technology did not directly relate to the operation of technical buildings, it was intertwined with them. In the past, charcoal was necessary for the operation of hammer mills, where iron was forged, and therefore the real charcoal kilns were supposed to supplement the area of the exhibited hammer mill.

Zdeněk Cvikl, an expert at the VMP, took part in the charcoal-burning experiment at a charcoal kiln directly at the open-air museum. People who actively knew the original technology were also involved. Zdeněk Cvikl subsequently mastered this technology through further testing and practice, so that it became part of the knowledge and skills associated with the overall model situation of the VMP.

A significant advantage of such experiments lay in the field research conducted using professional scholarly methods and often accompanied by the aforementioned acquisition of knowledge from authentic bearers who at the museum directly passed on or rather demonstrated their knowledge and experience under thorough observation and examination (Langer 1995).

Luděk Štěpán – the founder of the Vysočina Collection of Vernacular Houses (now the Vysočina Open Air Museum) – was able to cooperate very well with authentic bearers on the reconstruction of technologies associated with rural production buildings. He excelled in his ability to identify in the field, and especially to involve in the realization of the open-air museum, a number of producers, especially those who were working in professions that were definitely disappearing. His most significant achievement in this direction, which was based on the consistent documentation of technological procedures and traditional crafts, was the revitalization of the millwright's craft in connection with the safeguarding of technical water-powered buildings. His cooperation with

Jan Vondráček, the last master millwright, initiated the formation of a new millwrights' group.

Impulses proceeding from the knowledge and experience gained from authentic bearers became the basis for museum researchers who subsequently tested, verified, learned, and developed them. In the case of such experiments, contact with the last bearers of the skills played an important and often unrepeatable role. However, due to the fact that the skill set was no longer easily transferable, the age of the authentic bearers, and the considerable time gap, it necessarily proved to be problematic and fragmentary and therefore posed considerable risk. For this reason, the core of knowledge increasingly changed into independent experimentation. Experiments thus found a permanent spot in the work of the open-air museum, especially because of the possibilities it offered to expand on the history that it presented.

Experiments at open-air museums can also be used to achieve maximum verisimilitude in presentation activities (Drápala 2009). In this respect, various technologies related to everyday life in traditional cultural settings have been well received. Among the later experiments of the VMP oriented in this direction, we can mention the textile reconstructions by Lenka Drápalová and Libuše Matochová. These reconstructions significantly contributed to the knowledge, preservation, and spread of awareness of many textile techniques associated especially with the traditional environment of the Carpathian region. For example, reconstructions of knitted decreased stockings, experiments with knitting on moulds (called the *zapjastková* technique), and many others were very popular (Michalička – Drápalová 2007).

Because of their efforts to safeguard and consolidate traditional technologies for the future in the most functional way, open-air museums are fertile ground for the experiments under discussion. In many cases these museums have a strong desire to act as a kind of reservoir of original technologies that can find wider application than just in museum collecting and presentation activities (Novotný 2019: 67; Michalička 2010: 81).

Experimental undertakings carried out, for example, at the National Institute of Folk Culture in Strážnice feature a restorative nature. The concept of complex experiments with earth architecture under the leadership of Martin Novotný is a prime example.¹² The results include not only finished exhibition buildings, but also

practical verification and the acquisition of knowledge, which in cooperation with building technicians serve to create certified methodologies for contemporary building practice in the field of traditional architecture. The certified methodologies, which are one of the important outputs of Martin Novotný's experiments, are in principle practical working instructions that aim to provide verified evidence of the functionality of traditional techniques (Novotný 2019: 67-73).

Less work with experiments is done in the field of heritage preservation, but even there it is possible to encounter several interesting analytical initiatives, carried out based on the practical verification of hypotheses. However, the primary motivation consists here in the intention to restore techniques and in the application of acquired knowledge in practice. The aim is usually to establish and develop a preservation procedure based on the experiment methodology. Experiments are meant to prove, verify, and check the use of historical technological procedures and, on the basis of an expert analysis, to determine the possibilities of using these technologies for contemporary heritage preservation.

A heritage-care procedure was, for example, an outcome of the interdisciplinary project "Historic Timber Structures: Typology, Diagnostics and Traditional Woodworking", in which several research institutions participated.¹³ Through systematic applied research tasks on the basis of theoretical and experimental work and with the cooperation of specialized technologists and ethnologists, the heritage preservation procedure "Longitudinal Splitting of Logs in the Repair of Timber Structures" was established as part of this project.

It is also *living history* that works with a certain form of specific experimentation and that focusses on everyday life in different periods of the past, proclaiming the maximum effort to be as true to the period as possible. However, this concept is only rarely applied in traditional ethnography, and, for example, the connection with the popular mass folklore movement is minimal (Bryol 2018: 113). This movement works primarily with stylization and extracted traditional elements tied to dance and musical expressions that are modified to meet present-day needs. Hence, this also implies the fact that only a limited number of rigorous experimental clothing reconstructions is carried out – in fact, much less than we would expect due to the mass nature of the folklore

movement. In archaeological approaches, by contrast, clothing is dominant when conducting experiments.

In the folkloric approach, with few exceptions, the hand-crafted production of folk costumes using contemporary techniques and industrially processed materials is absolutely predominant, and there is no deeper search for the essence of the garments. For the practitioners of folklore, the folk costume has become part of their contemporary existence, and the degree of authentic workmanship is not so important, as this segment does not represent a fundamental source of knowledge and discovery for them.

Nevertheless, even in the ethnographic concept of *living history*, we could find several distinctly more complex approaches to experimentation in the field of tangible culture. The Koliba club from Košařiska is a very nice example; in their distinctive exploration of the traditional Goral culture of the past, this club uses idiosyncratic, mainly experiential experiments, also in the field of handicraft production and technologies (processing of sheep wool, technologies associated with shepherd culture, charcoal burning in charcoal kilns, production of potash, lime burning, etc.; Michalička 2017b).

The method of experimentation with a large amount of necessary erudition and a thorough heuristic approach is used by the people around the Association of Archaic Enthusiasts. The activities of this association from Sebranice are also focussed on the traditional way of life. Not only are their experiments on traditional technologies based on literature and the narratives of witnesses, but the core of their knowledge also lies in verifying their findings through their own practical experiments.

Thanks to its focus on experiencing the past, the Association of Archaic Enthusiasts has well-developed presentation activities. For example, their experiments with agricultural technologies and textile production are among their activities with a relatively broad impact. Two practical manuals, *Příběh obilí* [The Story of Grain] and *Příběh lnu* [The Story of Flax] (Kmošková – Kmošek 2013; Vojtěch – Kmošek – Kmošek 2010), are valuable publication outputs. It is the experience gained through contact with witnesses and the honest approach to experimentation with a desire to thoroughly understand the nature of technologies that make their presentations, whether they are demonstrations or publications, very valuable materials, especially for other enthusiasts and

lay experimenters. Their activities, which are based on a dutiful approach and a willingness to invest a lot of time in experiments, are also beneficial for experts.

Ethnographic discovering and experiencing focussed on technology and conducted in the context of *living history* in the field of traditional folk culture can be observed mainly at the individual level. There is an increasing number of individual undertakings directly related to discovery, knowledge, and experience, and in many cases, it is not simply a matter of learning traditional skills, but of methodical testing, meaning discovery through experimentation. There are many such examples, but in many cases it is impossible to distinguish exactly whether the focus is on traditional folk culture or prehistoric production techniques.¹⁴

Present-day female spinners (occasionally also male spinners) are a remarkable example. They are growing steadily in number (working on spindles and spinning wheels), even coming from the younger generations. They find in traditional spinning methods opportunities to spend their leisure time, which brings them the satisfaction of self-fulfilment. They certainly do not conduct scientific experiments, but theoretical knowledge is important for these activities (literature, museums, films, videos).

At first sight, this form of leisure may resemble the self-fulfilment of do-it-yourself activities. The above activities are also very close to the fondness for creative work with natural materials whose suppleness and natural beauty challenge many to test their own skills. But the essence of these activities is quite different. The basis consists in



Experimental burning of charcoal in a charcoal kiln by the Koliba club in cooperation with the Museum of the Nový Jičín Region.
Photo Petra Vidomusová 2021, Museum of Nový Jičín Region

the targeted learning of historical facts through testing. Even here we can trace real experimentation, including the search for new challenges. Experimenting with the past offers these individuals, among other things, the opportunity to learn about and compare life in different historical periods by testing what people had to cope with, including the subsequent verification of their own abilities and possibilities. It is not about escaping from the present, but above all about learning about oneself. Therefore, their experiments are immediately followed by, or rather intertwined with, experience, which is also of great importance for perceiving the past on this individual level.

We can also encounter a distinctive concept of experimentation fostered by handicraft producers whose business is traditional handicraft production. Specifically, these producers are those who, although working in a commercially artisanal manner, resort to experimentation to achieve a final result in the form of a product intended for sale. They experiment because the technology for producing the artefacts that are supposed to be their source of income has not survived in functional form.

There are very few commercial producers who apply a complex experimental approach and take advantage of available sources of knowledge (narrators, museum collections, literature, their own acquisitions, etc.) because this approach is not very effective for them.

High-quality experiments are carried out, for example, by the weaver Josef Fidler.¹⁵ His revival of the handmade production of traditional *chenille* fabric required a lengthy laboratory-type approach based on permanent testing and repetition. This was done until the desired result was achieved, which was as close as possible to the authentic pattern.

Petr Mužík is among the regionally oriented commercial producers who have acquired specific knowledge about their products through study and research with tradition bearers; he has revived the production of Wallachian leather sandals, called *krpce*, and mother-of-pearl clasps, called *kotule*.¹⁶ His production is based on the experimental mastery of the original non-artisanal principles of this production, with a maximum effort to recognize and respect authentic procedures. His approach is also based on step-by-step testing and searching, which distinguishes him from other producers of *krpce*. These draw on their own shoemaking

craftsmanship, which is considerably different from the authentic concept. These craftsmen, who are often very enthusiastic experimenters, play an important role in how society perceives folk culture. However, their reconstructions, even though they have a wide social impact, contribute significantly to the preservation of handicraft traditions and skills, and promote society's taste, cannot usually be realized in the full complexity of the historical reality. Due to the current perception of the value of time and labour, the final products must necessarily be modified by the producer. These commercial producers, even though they use experimental concepts, traditional materials, and traditional technological processes, have to take into account production efficiency. This necessarily eliminates the possibility of a completely comprehensive approach; they use components that are identical in function and appearance, but not entirely traditionally made, or semi-finished products and various technological improvements. The product thus inevitably becomes primarily a contemporary commodity, and this function overshadows the (re)construction of the past. Large-scale production requires the adaptation of the results obtained through experimentation. The form of these adaptations is based both on the production possibilities of the designer and on the requirements of the customers. It is ideal when the demand for these goods is based on a preference for maximum adherence to historical practices and the desire to buy such a specific product prevails over its high purchase price.

Experiments in the field of traditional technologies certainly have a significant future, and their use has great potential. As a conclusion, a practical example of a completely extinct and very little documented technology follows, which cannot be currently described through standard research.

Based on a model example from the former Rožnov domain, the goal of the Traces of Human Ingenuity project is to locate and document small technical and farm buildings and their remains in the countryside, including any associated infrastructure and the knowledge of production processes, with regard to their former economic and current cultural, historical, landscape-forming, and identity-forming functions.¹⁷

The objective of this project is to describe, through applied research, associated authentic technological practices. Knowledge of these practices is essential to

the project, but much of it has been completely forgotten. This is the case, for example, with the technology for producing ash filtrates. There is only a single record of this technology in the present-day Czech Republic, and information about this technology is minimal. The only alternative for including it in the overall context of the project is to use the knowledge from the carried-out experiment.

A period description of this technology dates to 1886. The record was made by the headmaster Jan Kutzer, who at that time wrote a history of the village of Velké Karlovice, called *Karlovské zrcadélko* [A Small Mirror of Karlovice] (Kutzer 1886). It is a very brief record, but it gives a certain idea of the use, form, and spread of this truly unique production method.

The production of specific ash filtrates was widespread in the cadastral areas of the researched villages of Solanec and Velké Karlovice in the nineteenth century. It was a very simple technology, which produced well-storable filtrates with a potassium carbonate content that was sufficient for the needs of linen bleachers. The production process was a primitive and inexpensive alternative to the production of potash. However, linen bleachers did not need the quality of potash, and they were content with coarse ash filtrates, called *cinders* by the locals.

The description of the production process recorded by Jan Kutzer is very short:

“A more profitable occupation was the burning of cinders from ash. The best way was to place two logs, about 1–4 m from each other, in the bank. The soil between them was dug out, levelled, and filled with ash to about 8–10 cm. Short timbers in the form of a bridge were laid across the logs, after which everything was covered with soil and rammed down. At the lower end of the chimney, made in the above way, a strong fire was lit, until the heat melted the ash and it flowed down in the form of cinders. The cinders were sold to linen bleachers in Frenštát and elsewhere.” (Kutzer 1886: 55)

It was only experimental verification of this very obscure technique that brought more concrete knowledge about this production process. The experiment was first carried out by Václav Michalička at the VMP in 2007; he carried out further experiments as an employee of the MNJ in cooperation with the Koliba association in 2010, 2018, and 2019. Due to the indeterminacy of the

technique, it was not possible to immediately obtain specific data about this production process, but the primary aim was to define what production might have looked like in forest areas and how it could have been implemented.

The first experiments conducted at the VMP in 2007, after several failures, only confirmed the functionality of the primitive chimney, and only after the experience with potash production was it possible to produce ash filtrates in 2018 that could be used to bleach linen. In the same year, the functionality of filtrates as a bleaching agent for linen was verified. The experiment was successfully repeated in 2019. These experiments answered the basic questions of whether a functional product could be produced by this process and how the production was carried out. However, the experiments also had a secondary impact in terms of experiencing the past by the members of the Koliba association, for whom these were emotionally powerful experiences.

Only future experiments can provide more detailed data to clarify the nature and wider cultural context of this production process. These include mainly chemical analyses, measurements of wood consumption for ash and heating, and measurements of the time required and labour efficiency. This characteristic example of experimentation with extinct traditional technologies illustrates that a whole new set of hypotheses, and above all a whole new set of questions, can appear.

The current development of experiments in traditional technologies suggests that these are activities which may take on considerable scope in the future and that their role in understanding and interpreting traditional folk culture has considerable potential. For relevant results and data, it will be essential to put the necessary emphasis on scientific approaches and methods that are based on critical concepts. As these experiments are primarily linked to human handicraft skills, the enthusiasm and skills of lay experimenters, who can overcome many obstacles that often stop researchers, cannot be overlooked. Therefore, lay experiments and *living history* activities should be thoroughly monitored by the professional public and subjected to research and critical evaluation.

Even professionally conducted experiments based on thorough theoretical knowledge will never achieve results that will be completely identical to the authentic reality, since contemporary cultural influences to some

extent prevent a complete understanding of traditional approaches. The main reason for inaccurate results is the absence of generationally passed-on and routine experience and habits. Yet these experiments can enrich many ethnographic research projects, and they un-

doubtedly have potential for ethnological research. For these reasons, it is important to focus on their development in the future, whereby it is only interdisciplinary collaboration that will allow us to overcome the many technological difficulties and unknowns.

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NOTES:

1. The nature of these experiments in the field of traditional technologies cannot be exactly defined, as these experiments feature considerable interdisciplinary overlaps and involve a number of disciplines (technical sciences, natural sciences, and humanities).
2. The Centre for Folk Art Production was established in 1945 based on a decree issued by Czechoslovak President Edvard Beneš. The centre was dissolved in 1995. Its voluminous documentation materials are stored in the National Museum (National Museum Archive) and in the National Open-Air Museum (Wallachian Open-Air Museum in Rožnov pod Radhoštěm).
3. Although the ÚLUV's documentation work was voluminous, it did not include descriptions of many commonly used traditional technologies.
4. Jiří Woitsch, director of the Institute of Ethnology of the Czech Academy of Sciences, ethnologist.
5. Radim Urbánek, director of the City Museum in Ústí nad Orlicí.
6. Václav Michalička, head of the Centre of Traditional Technologies – Museum of the Nový Jičín Region (author of this study).
7. The "nettle" project started in 2014, and it still continues.
8. Other large projects at the Centre of Traditional Technologies in Příbor include, for example, the (re)construction of the dress and accessories of Carpathian shepherds in the late eighteenth century (the project started in 2018 and is still ongoing).
9. Archaeological open-air museums are a big inspiration for ethnographic open-air museums, as they developed as a direct product of experiments. These experiments were to verify scientific hypotheses, beginning with the acquisition of production tools through the construction of a house and living in it up to its demolition.
10. Jiří Langer, ethnologist, an eminent expert in the field of European open-air museums and traditional architecture.
11. Currently, the experimental burning of charcoal in charcoal kilns is much more widespread, and it has become increasingly popular. Jiří Kadora is one of the famous and most erudite experts to have mastered this technique.
12. The ethnologist Martin Novotný began his experiments related to earth architecture at the National Institute of Folk Culture in 2011, where he is still working on this project.
13. The following institutions participated in the project "Historical Timber Structures: Typology, Diagnostics and Traditional Woodworking": the Institute of Theoretical and Applied Mechanics of the Czech Academy of Science, Centre in Telč; the Faculty of Forestry and Wood Technology of Mendel University in Brno; and the National Open-Air Museum in Rožnov pod Radhoštěm.
14. It was mainly personal consultations, meetings at workshops, and interaction on social media that served as a source of information about individual experiments in the realm of *living history*.
15. The author of this study held several interviews with Josef Fidler in 2016-2021, and he also visited Mr Fidler's workshop.
16. The information is based on interviews with Petr Mužík and observations made in 2006-2020.
17. The Rožnov domain was chosen for the Traces of Human Ingenuity project (DG20P02OVV004) as a prime example of a quite compact and internally interconnected economic unit that included sub-mountainous and mountainous villages with different types and stages of settlement and with a wide spectrum of handicrafts and production facilities.

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Summary

This study deals with experiments in the field of traditional production technologies. It focusses on experiments that can be used for ethnological interpretations. Attention is paid to both scientific experiments and results achieved by amateur experimenters. The theoretical introduction, defining the historical continuity and basic principles of empirical knowledge of traditional technologies based on experiments, is followed by a review text focussed on the form of contemporary experiments and reconstructions of historical technologies and techniques. An important part of the study presents examples of successful and significant experiments carried out in the Czech Republic. The experimental reconstruction of the technology used for the production of ash filtrates, which disappeared in the second half of the nineteenth century, is mentioned as an illustrative example. In the conclusion, the author points out the benefits and pitfalls associated with experiments in the field of traditional technologies.

Key words: Ethnology; experiment; tangible culture; reconstruction; hand-crafted production; traditional technology.

HANDMADE PRODUCTION OF CHRISTMAS TREE DECORATIONS FROM BLOWN GLASS BEADS INSCRIBED ON THE UNESCO REPRESENTATIVE LIST OF THE INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE OF HUMANITY

The nomination of the Czech Republic “Handmade Production of Christmas Tree Decorations from Blown Glass Beads” was successfully inscribed on the UNESCO Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity on 17 December 2020. The inscribed cultural element concerns a specific kind of glass handicraft associated with Christmas traditions.

The first workshops producing blown glass beads were established in north-eastern Bohemia in the late nineteenth century. The knowledge of a unique technique – the blowing of hollow beads from glass tubes – spread to the village of Poniklá, the current centre of production, from Jablonec nad Nisou in the late nineteenth century. Over time, the handicraft took roots there, and the beads were not

only blown but also processed – coated with silver, cut, and thread. At the time of the greatest boom, from the early twentieth century until World War I, about 400 producers worked in Poniklá and its environs. Export houses in Jablonec mediated the export of glass beads, which were used in bijouterie and as clothing decorations, to the world. The first factory in Poniklá to produce blown beads was founded by Stanislav Horna in 1902. He employed home-based glassblowers and delivered matrix moulds and glass tubes to them; then he took blown beads from them and transported these to the central workshop where the beads were silvered. The silvered beads travelled to domestic cutters and threaders, from whom they returned, threaded in many patterns. In the central workshop, the beads were packed and prepared for export in accordance with the orders. After a great sales crisis in 1912, the local glassblowers came up with the idea of threading individual beads on strings and creating various Christmas tree decorations from them. The idea caught on, production increased rapidly in the com-

pany, and the decorations were exported to all of Europe. In the 1940s, production was slowed down by World War II and by the nationalization of Horna's company and small workshops in Poniklá after the war. In the 1950s, the factory in Poniklá became part of two national enterprises (Železnobrodské sklo [Glass from Železný Brod] and Skleněná bižuterie [Glass Bijouterie]), in which it became a marginal branch. After 1989, both enterprises were privatized, and independent workshops separated from them. The workshop in Poniklá was one of them. It was acquired by the Rautis family company, which is also the bearer of the cultural element, together with domestic workers – glassblowers, cutters, and threaders – who cooperate with the workshop and jointly produce Christmas tree decorations. In terms of labour organization and production technique, the Rautis company follows in the footsteps of the factory founded by Stanislav Horna. Rautis has succeeded in gradually rehabilitating the network of domestic workers, reconditioning old preserved moulds for beads, rescuing original pattern books, preserving handmade production techniques, and above all keeping decoration production in the place where it started. This was also the main reason why the nomination submitter – the Museum of the Bohemian Paradise in Turnov – decided to nominate this traditional glassblowing technique for inscription on the List of Intangible Elements of Traditional Folk Culture in the Czech Republic, and then to draft a proposal for inscription on the UNESCO Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity.

The production of these seemingly simple Christmas tree decorations is quite complicated. First, it is necessary to make the semi-finished product – light, hollow, thin-walled beads of various shapes. These are blown from a glass tube that is heated above a burner and inserted into a brass mould. The tube forms them into a row of beads shaped by



*Handmade Production of Christmas Tree Decorations from Blown Glass Beads.
All photos: Museum of the Bohemian Paradise in Turnov*

the chosen mould. The resulting *klauts-chata* are then silvered inside, coloured outside, or hand-painted and decorated with glass glitter. After that, they are cut into parts or individual beads. These are threaded on strings that are bent and connected to create decorations in a variety of shapes and colours, which are then hung on a Christmas tree. Poniklá in the Podkrkonoší region is the only place in the world where this traditional technique of producing Christmas tree decorations from blown beads has survived.

The nomination was first submitted in 2017, but it was not approved in the 2017-2018 assessment cycle. The assessors considered the explanation of the relationship between the “manufactory”, meaning the Rautis company, and other tradition bearers to be insufficient. They were also concerned about the monopoly that this “manufactory” had on this particular craft technique. They also pointed out the overly commercial aspects of the nominated element and the insufficient description of how inscription would contribute in general to making intangible heritage more visible. In the

proposal for completion, the commissioners also required additional information about how the bearers of the element were involved in the preparation of the nomination documents and why only seven bearers expressed consent with the nomination.

At a meeting of the Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, the representatives of the Czech party had an opportunity to express their opinion on the mentioned flaws and to defend the rationale of the questionable criteria. However, they instead opted to revise a part of the nomination and to wait for the assessment process to be redone. New accompanying photo and video documentation was made as well. This was to exemplify the wide involvement of domestic bead-blowers, threaders, sample makers, and other domestic craftspeople in the production and distribution of the decorations. The proposal of Rautis representatives to create an accompanying printed catalogue to present personal statements made by several practitioners (tradition bearers) appeared to be a very good idea. In the publication, the craftsmen, independently of each other, describe their relationship to the nominated element, and some of those addressed also express their personal interest in the safeguarding of the handicraft alongside proposing protective measures that can ensure the sustainability of this tradition (e.g., passing-on of know-how in their own families, or to those interested in bead-producing). Their statements confirm that even if the Rautis family company ceased to exist, the technique would be safeguarded in the village of Poniklá. The revised and supplemented nomination was submitted to the UNESCO Secretariat in March 2019. In August 2020, the UNESCO Secretariat addressed the Ministry of Culture of the Czech Republic with two further questions. These concerned specifying the participation of particular subjects –

bearers, local and regional governments, and so forth – in safeguarding measures for preserving the nominated element. These issues were addressed thoroughly, and on the Ministry of Culture’s proposal, a shortened version of the accompanying film was made to be presented at the committee meeting. After the presentation, the Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage congratulated the Czech Republic for the exemplary manner in which it addressed and resolved all comments, and it recommended the revised nomination for inscription at a meeting held online due to the pandemic between 14 and 18 December 2020. This led to great joy not only of all those who took part in the submission of the nomination, but also among the broader cultural community. The Ministry of Culture of the Czech Republic received an announcement about the inscription of the element at the beginning of February 2021.

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A COLLECTION FOR A FUTURE CURATOR: COVID-19 AND MUSEUM DOCUMENTATION AT THE MORAVIAN MUSEUM IN BRNO

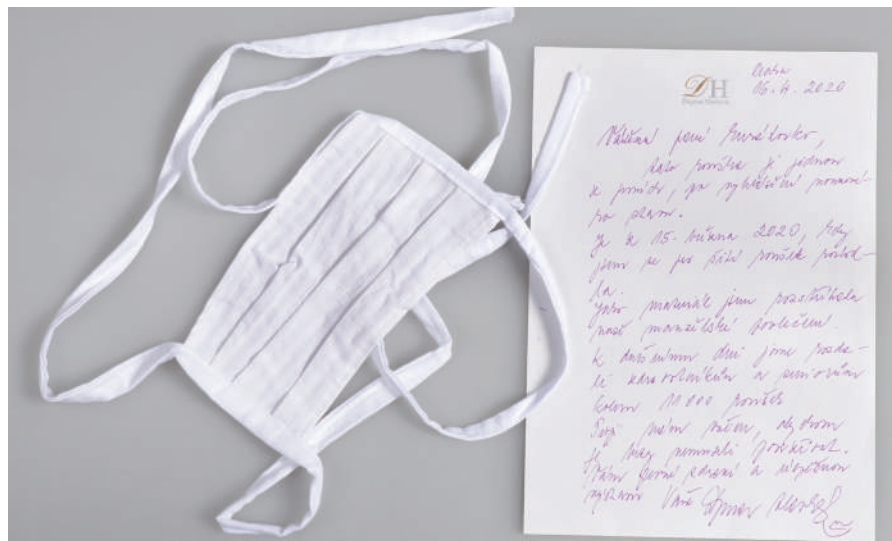
In April 2020, at the beginning of the COVID-19 lockdown, the Ethnographic Institute of the Moravian Museum in Brno addressed the public through its website, asking for help in the creation of a collection of items that began to be used at that time. Of course, the main focus was on masks, which have become an obligatory part of our lives and at the same time a non-wanted symbol of the era. When the outbreak began, a new specific situation emerged in the Czech Republic practically overnight: the government announced the obligation to wear masks, even though they were in short supply commercially. This shortage was resolved by civil initiatives, as people started to make masks themselves within 24 hours of the government proclamation. A broad range of the population took part: people sewed at home and in empty theatres, bars, and hairdressing salons. The former

first lady – Václav Havel's widow, Dagmar – sewed and distributed masks, and so did dozens of other nameless inhabitants of all ages and sexes. Within a few hours, social media was full of instructions and recommendations for minimizing mistakes, an optimal design was soon determined, and people began searching their homes for old bed linens and extra fabric, which volunteers delivered to seamstresses. The eminent Czech designer Liběna Rochová designed and made – in collaboration with students of the Fashion Design Studio of UMPRUM – several thousand masks for charity organizations. It was surprising to witness the mass extent of creativity in the production and distribution of these masks. Those who could not sew lent sewing machines or distributed masks. Volunteers – students, actors, singers, and everyone who wanted to help – organized deliveries. Actors and other famous people stressed the importance of wearing masks in spots shot at home. The crisis awoke an unexpected solidarity. Initially, a fully neutral medical aid, a trivial part of everyday life, took on a strong symbolic meaning overnight.

The masks that make up the core of the collection held in the Ethnographic Institute of the Moravian Museum include both home-produced ones and design pieces. The diverse backgrounds of their makers are reflected in the execution, material used, and cut, which was unified within the first weeks of the pandemic. Besides variations in how the masks were cut, there were soon also differences in size as children's masks appeared. Side by side we find stylish pieces and clumsy handmade face protective gear from blue-and-white or pink-and-white checked canvas made by a neighbour. The pattern used reflects the personality of the wearer or his or her hobbies. Beekeepers have masks with bees on them, fishing associations, with fish, and theatres or museums, with their logo. The range of fabrics used would provide enough material for a cultural anthropological study. People found forgotten bits of wedding dresses; never-used damask bed linens were back in style thanks to their sturdy weave. There are blueprint fabric and machine and handmade embroidery. The cymbalom band of the folk ensemble Ondráš wore stylish embroidered masks with ornaments during the funeral of the athletic legend and Olympic medallist Dana Zátopková.

The facemask becomes a fashion accessory, worn exemplarily by the president of the Slovak Republic, Zuzana Čaputová, at the very start of the pandemic: her combination of cyclamen dress with gloves and a mask of the same colour will surely enter the annals of fashion history. Matching masks and handkerchiefs became part of men's wardrobes, too. The pandemic became an unintended inspiration for the creative work of young designers taking part in the 2020 Biennale of Student Design at the Technical Museum Brno, where the category "Design in the Coronavirus Era" was created.

A strip of fabric with a primarily protective function unintentionally turned into a political item reflecting the mood of broad layers of society. The mask be-



A face mask made by Dagmar Havlová, wife of President Václav Havel.
Donor: Dagmar Havlová, Prague

came a phenomenon, evidence of the state of society, which responded to the state's insufficient supply of protective equipment unusually quickly and with solidarity through self-sufficiency. It was this commitment and "networking" in society that in spring 2020 distinguished the Czech Republic from neighbouring countries where mask-making was supported on an official basis through companies (e.g., in "Textile Valley" in Baden-Württemberg masks were sewed in fifty textile workshops).

With a view towards the future, the Ethnographic Institute of the Moravian Museum decided to gather a small collection of evidence of these events in the form of masks and related graphic materials about COVID-19. It is a collection compiled intentionally during the period of greatest danger because we were aware of the fact that after the threat subsided, these items would disappear and end up in dust bins. In the very first few months, we thus addressed the public and asked for their cooperation. We intentionally did not address only VIPs but also large swathes of society. The mass media found the idea interesting, and subsequent radio and TV interviews with the curator garnered positive reactions from the public across the Czech Republic, which resulted in people sending in masks and emails describing the circumstances under which they were made.

Masks from neighbouring countries (Austria, and Bavaria and Saxony in Germany) were acquired for comparison as well as masks from Tokyo, Japan, where blueprint fabric was used.

The lifetime of masks was limited. This was even truer for leaflets offering help for seniors and posters with instructions for how to behave on public transport, how to wash one's hands correctly, and so forth. Materials were acquired through field collecting and directly addressing companies (e.g., Brno Transport Company). A selection of these printed materials also makes up part of the Coronavirus collection.



*Face masks made by Liběna Rochová, a prominent Czech designer.
Donor: Liběna Rochová, Brno-Prague*



*A face mask made for "The Liberation of Brno", a historical reenactment of a battle.
Donor: L. Dufková, Brno*



Blue-print face masks made using a traditional Japanese technique.
Donor: Rie Ogawa, Tokyo, Japan



Institutional face masks. Donor: Museum of Moravian Slovakia in Uherské Hradiště and Theatre of Moravian Slovakia in Uherské Hradiště



A set of face masks from the village of Vacenovice.
Donor: Municipality of Vacenovice



A cotton face mask designed by the street-artist Timo.
Donor: Timo, Brno

Similar collecting and exhibiting activities were observed on the website of the Bavarian Centre for Non-state Museums in the case of museums in Erding and Glentleiten or in Baden-Württemberg in the case of the Württemberg Museum in Stuttgart at the end of April 2020.

In 2021 the collection of the Ethnographic Institute of the Moravian Museum contains roughly 100 masks. They are currently classified by the age of the wearer (children, adult), whether they are amateur or professional products, and whether they were the masks of individuals or those of institutions. Side by side are institutional masks with the logos of the Technical Museum Brno, the Slovácko Museum in Uherské Hradiště, the Slovácko Theatre in Uherské Hradiště, and the Police of the Czech Republic, and masks from the mayor of the village of Vacenovice in South Moravia, a beekeepers' association, and a fishing association. Our goal is to catalogue the items, that is, to record the name of the donor, the place of origin, and if possible, the profession of the wearer. In some cases, donors who sent masks also sent emails explaining how and where the masks were made. These messages are repositories of individuals' stories that bear witness to the period atmosphere.

The intent of the Ethnographic Institute of the Moravian Museum was to enable future researchers and curators to make use of the gathered collection; for example, in 2030 it could be a valuable source of exhibits for a display titled "The Year 2020: 10 Years Later". This idea was inspired by the efforts of French, German, and Austrian historians and archivists who collected items and documented everyday life on the home front in 1915-1918. Now, 100 years later, we envy such collections.

We dare to contend that society's behaviour during the COVID-19 pandemic will become a subject of future sociological, cultural anthropological, and other studies. Already today there are attempts of this kind, for example, at

the Museum of Everyday Life in Stuttgart or the Museum of Applied Arts in Vienna.

It is great news that Czech museum institutions are also taking part in documenting the present.

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TRACES OF HUMAN INGENUITY: A PROJECT OF APPLIED RESEARCH ON NATIONAL AND CULTURAL IDENTITY

Research projects with an ethnological focus in the Czech Republic are eligible for financial support from several national programmes, in addition to internationally oriented programmes, aimed to support research and development. Since 2009, the Ministry of Culture has regularly issued a call for applications for the Programme for Support of Applied Research and Experimental Development of National and Cultural Identity. The supported projects must primarily be of an applied nature, and they are to contribute to safeguarding and developing national integrity and national specificities in the context of European and world culture in the twenty-first century. Many of them have an interdisciplinary character, interconnecting the humanities and social science disciplines (ethnology, history, linguistics and literary studies, sociology, etc.) with the natural sciences, technical disciplines, IT, and heritage conservation. In the past decade, successful ethnological projects supported by this programme have included the "Geographic Information System of Traditional Folk

Culture (1750-1900)"; "Traditional Folk Dress in Moravia: Identification, Analysis, Conservation and Sustainable Condition of Material Collected between 1850 and 1950"; and "Techniques of Traditional Earth Architecture in Moravia and Its Relationship with the Mid-Danube Area".

These applied research projects contribute not only to interdisciplinary cooperation but also to effective collaboration between individual research institutions. The project "Traces of Human Ingenuity" exemplifies this; the project has been implemented by the Institute of Ethnology of the Czech Academy of Sciences and the Department of European Ethnology of the Faculty of Arts of Masaryk University in Brno since 2020. In addition to ethnologists, historians, an archaeologist, and an anthropologist, the project team also includes a geographer, a geologist, and a specialist in forest cover and the cultural landscape. The three-year project combining basic research with applied research is territorially linked to the former Valašské Meziříčí – Rožnov domain, which is situated in the north-east of the historical province of Moravia near the border with Slovakia. It focuses on small-scale production and technical buildings, such as mills, sawmills, fulling mills, yarn-bleaching plants and mangles, trip hammers and village smithies, glassworks, charcoal- and potash-producing plants, fruit kilns, shepherd's huts, and brickworks, as well as sites where mineral and building materials were extracted. On the other hand, traditional city guild workshops, which from the nineteenth century onwards took on a purely industrial character, remained out of focus.

The territory of the former Valašské Meziříčí – Rožnov domain was chosen intentionally. It includes twenty-seven villages in the foothills and mountains with differently sized cadastral areas and populations. The oldest of these villages were founded during the period of so-called external colonization in the thirteenth century, while the youngest

ones are the result of late settlement processes in the second half of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. In addition to villages, also two small towns (Rožnov and Krásno nad Bečvou) acted as local administrative, market, and craft centres in the studied area. The communities have a long tradition of intensive and extensive farming and pastoralism, while the difficult mountain conditions necessarily contributed to the development of numerous non-agricultural forms of subsistence. Handicraft activities and the architecture directly linked to them, which were tied to the mountainous environment of the Western Carpathians, became an important factor in the local and regional economy and a stabilizing element in social ties. Because many villages were poorly accessible, the traditional techniques used in agricultural and handicraft activities, which also reflected various stages in the development of technological equipment (from the simplest to proto-industrial), were preserved until recent times. In the context of the Czech lands, the Western Carpathians are also the only mountainous areas with permanent settlements not affected by the displacement of the German population after World War II. Therefore, such monuments could be vividly preserved in people's memories and in the present-day landscape. At the same time, the pressures of suburbanization on the one hand and the continued afforestation of farmland on the other pose a major threat to these monuments.

The project team tries to understand the circumstances of the creation and working of the aforementioned facilities, and their composition within individual villages and the manor as a whole. The spatial distribution and the production potential of the particular types of facilities, their geographical coverage, and their capacity with respect to the population and number of households in the manor and individual locations are also studied.

The research team tries to learn not only about the circumstances of the crea-

tion and working of these facilities over time (many of them no longer exist physically), but also about their traces in people's memory, including the vestiges of the technical skills that were associated with them. Standard methods of historical research, based on archival sources, historical maps, and iconographic and printed sources, are used to identify individual facilities and their technical infrastructure (e.g., mill races and water reservoirs). Archival study covers a wide range of materials related to the administration and economic management of the domain and from local and district administrative bodies. Statistical recordkeeping books of an economic and demographic nature and materials from professional organizations and judicial institutions with local competence are studied as well. In addition to standard archival collections, the documentary and collection fonds of museum institutions are also examined, through which the research team accesses information that was recorded in the past, for example, by amateur ethnographers. Iconographic materials are obtained not only in the collections of memory institutions, but they are also continuously acquired from surviving contemporaries in the region. Archival research is supplemented by ethnological field research, which is conducted with selected respondents throughout the defined territory. Historical maps are a key source of knowledge for the project (maps of domains, forestry districts and manor farms, maps of the Franciscan Cadastre and military mapping, orthophotographs, archival aerial photographs of the region). Alongside the analysis of these sources, the visual detection of buildings and landforms is carried out, using shaded relief and similar outputs resulting from the data of the Digital Relief Model of the Czech Republic. Initial experience with this method has proven the benefits of combining approaches: the terrain model helps identify the forgotten location of a plant, which is vaguely mentioned in archival sources. On the other hand, field

research, archaeological surveys carried out on site, and interviews with people who experienced things first-hand have the potential to correct the selection of sites that, based on the analysis of the digital relief model, appear to be possible traces of a former building in the field.

An important part of the project is to chart the "memory trace" that the existence of each plant has left in the individual and collective memory. Actively working with surviving contemporaries and older records stored in memory institutions has brought quite a wide thematic range of information, which includes details about the technical and technological levels associated with individual facilities and the life stories of individuals or entire families associated with them. The team has also found traces in oral tradition in the form of historical and local legends, superstitions, and folk tales. Hitherto field research demonstrates that forgetting is a dynamic process. While information on some technical facilities is long retained in the memory, demonstrating a surprising longevity, being remembered for decades or even centuries after their physical demise, some other information vanished from memory with surprising speed. Therefore, the project also includes field surveys of locations associated with the operation of the studied facilities.

The main outputs of the three-year project are divided into several categories. In addition to the presentation of partial results, the sum of the acquired knowledge will be conveyed through an exhibition with a critical catalogue, two sets of map sheets, and a spatial database available on the project website (<https://stopyumy.cz/>).

The project "Traces of Human Ingenuity" is not aimed at restoring or immediately revitalizing buildings that in the past significantly helped the inhabitants of foothill and mountain villages in north-eastern Moravia earn their livelihoods. However, it should contribute to raising awareness and enriching active knowledge about this component of

cultural heritage as an important element based on which the principles of local and regional identity can be formed.

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THE “MATERIAL LANGUAGE: TRADITIONAL CRAFT TECHNIQUES THAT MAY SALVAGE CULTURAL HERITAGE AND CURRENT LIFESTYLE” PROJECT: PRESENTING FINDINGS FROM QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

Research projects in the humanities in the Czech Republic are funded from several different sources. One significant grant provider is the Ministry of Culture: its subsidy programmes include, among others, the Programme for the Promotion of Applied Research and Experimental Development of National and Cultural Identity for 2011-2015 (NAKI I) and NAKI II for 2016-2022. The aim of the programme is to support projects in applied research and development focusing on preserving the values of cultural heritage and national cultural development while making them more accessible to the general public. The duration of supported projects ranges from three to five years. Grants are intended exclusively for research organizations. A NAKI II-funded project is currently being carried out by the Institute of Ethnology of the Faculty of Arts of Charles University, Prague, with the following title: Material Language: Traditional Techniques That May Salvage Cultural Heritage and Current Lifestyle (2018-2020). The project consists of qualitative empirical research conducted in the Czech Republic. The objectives of the qualitative research comprise the following: 1) identifying the causes and factors that are at the source of the transmission, modification, and/or extinction of craft techniques; 2) describing, analysing, and

interpreting the situation currently prevailing in attitudes towards craft technique protection and preservation; 3) defining barriers that prevent passing of know-how and technological procedures to new generations; and 4) defining possible resources (human, institutional, legislative) that can contribute to the preservation of craft techniques and even to their further development.

The sample consisted of craftsmen and restorers who specialize in the following crafts: stove-fitting, parquetry, varnishing, gilding, fine woodworking and locksmithing, weaving and upholstery, woodcarving, plastering, and glass cutting. The respondents were selected using snowball sampling, that is, new subjects were recruited through referrals from existing respondents. Snowball sampling was chosen because craftsmen are a specific and rather small group whose members are difficult to identify and address. Data were collected through semi-structured interviews that gave respondents ample space for unrestricted and open answers, while interviewers adhered to predefined spheres of inter-

est. The duration of interviews was adjusted to individual oral testimonies and the degree of openness of each respondent. The questions asked were divided into several categories and topics that were identical for all the respondents, which allowed for meeting the predefined objectives of a qualitative survey and for capturing developmental changes in arts and crafts from 1989 up to present.

The qualitative research that was carried out among craftsmen and restorers allowed for conducting a SWOT analysis aimed at identifying the strengths and weaknesses of the situation that arts and crafts currently face. What we consider strengths are the craftsmen's endeavours to adhere to traditional technological procedures, their efforts to work with original materials, their emphasis on having a personal relationship with their occupations, their work ethic and motivation to do their job, and their rich experience and professional know-how. Weaknesses include the interruption of the historic continuity of craft technology transmission, limitations linked with the selection of original materials,



Talent, dexterity, and manual skills are essential. Photo: Martin Frouz

decreasing interest in expanding professional qualifications, and the low degree of promotion and distribution of artefacts at the level of individual craftsmen. What we consider a negative trend is the attitude that local authorities have towards local crafts, an absence of a distribution network for artefacts, a limited offer of relevant education and quality training in the sphere of arts and crafts in the Czech education system, and the young generation's weak interest in carrying on crafts due to low financial remuneration and changes in lifestyle. Another factor that adversely affects the development of arts and crafts is the wide range of competitive products from East-European countries that compromise the quality and prestige of traditional handicrafts, the low administrative literacy of Czech craftsmen, and their resignation concerning the use of grants and subsidies. Other factors that are far from being positive are the decrease in craftsmen's interest in membership in associations and societies and their lack of confidence in the basic functions of such institutions.

What can be considered possible opportunities for preserving arts and crafts and ensuring their further development are new development trends that take into account the significance of cultural heritage and the value of historically appreciated handicrafts. At present, we are witnessing increasing demand for quality material artefacts and an effort to link crafts with design and architecture. Collaboration between craftsmen and designers results in the fact that crafts are becoming increasingly part of our lifestyle and tourism. Factors that play an important role in this connection are an increase in foreign markets' interest in Czech artefacts, efforts to create a brand of a quality craft product, enhanced collaboration between craftspeople and regional authorities, and the presentation of crafts to the general public through media. By contrast, threats to the existence and development of arts and crafts are the high average age of craftsmen

and their growing uninterest in passing on their technological experience and know-how to the young generation. Other negative factors are redundant administration and restrictions resulting from current dysfunctional laws, a lack of client interest in quality craft products, a drop in institutional and government support for arts and crafts, a lack of willingness to develop the cultural, economic, and social potential of arts and crafts, and a decrease in taste and the ability to recognize high-quality craft products.

Describing, comparing, analysing, and interpreting the situation that arts and crafts are currently facing in the Czech Republic can become part of an important basis for preserving, transmitting, and further developing craft technologies. Strategic government support of arts and crafts is currently a basic presupposition for saving them. The research has demonstrated that it is essential to renew



Many craftsmen have mastered their craft primarily by studying relevant literature and thanks to their hands-on experience. Girdler and restorer Ivan Houska. Photo: Martin Frouz

institutional and government support for arts and crafts as well as the documentation of technological procedures. It is important to support educating the new generation of craftspeople and promote handicrafts in the Czech Republic and abroad. Arts and crafts in the Czech Republic have reached a turning point, and stabilizing them and creating conditions for their further development are important for their preservation. Some crafts are on the brink of extinction. That is why governmental institutions and non-profit organizations should cooperate to enhance arts and crafts in the social, political, and economic spheres. Arts and crafts should not function merely as revived history; they should be a functional branch of art culture, industry, and design, integrating traditional materials and time-proven craft technologies. For this reason, it is necessary that the government starts funding education and the development of craft subjects and fields of study. An inherent part of such studies should cover, in addition to clearly defined professions, the basics of accounting, marketing, and management; elementary knowledge of tax legislation and laws; basic computer skills; and foreign languages. It is also vital to ensure accreditation of branches of study that are not currently taught but that are still a valued manufacturing activity in the market environment (for instance, braiding). Elementary school teachers should be aware of the existence and focus of different craft subjects and how their graduates can apply expertise in such crafts. One possible way of effectively presenting arts and crafts to students is to build a replica of a village or a street with workshops and shops as in Poble Espanyol in Barcelona. At the governmental level, laws should be amended or at least reviewed to ensure the inclusion of arts and crafts and their products in state tourism policy.

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CONTEMPORARY DIY CULTURE THROUGH THE PRISM OF *KUTILSTVÍ*

DIY, understood as the self-production of the most common practical and decorative items and even unusual specialized objects, is an integral part of modern society. *Kutilství* – a distinct local form of DIY, a widely popular practice with a long history and embedded in a particular socio-cultural imagery – tends to be understood as something distinctly Czech, and moreover as particularly connected to the state socialist period of the 1970s and 1980s (so-called normalization). However, DIY has been a force around the world as well as in what is now the Czech Republic since the beginning of the twentieth century due to industrialization and its subsequent social impacts, for example, increased free time and its strict separation from work or the gradual emancipation of women. While the DIY movement is starting to garner more attention from scholars abroad, it has yet to receive much attention from Czech scholars. The project “DIY Culture and Its Importance for Czech National and Cultural Identity”¹ represented an effort to bridge that gap at least in part as it strived to explore present forms of *kutilství* and its recent transformations; locate these in social, cultural, historical, and political contexts; and relate *kutilství* to contemporary DIY culture. The aim of the project was to offer the first comprehensive view of *kutilství* in Czech as an intriguing phenomenon that is practised extensively, has a distinct history and vibrant presence, and is a local and localized rich expression of everyday human creativity.

Although designated as an applied project with a particular emphasis put on generating outcomes for the general public, the project relied on social-science-based multi-method research comprising field research and interviews conducted with DIY practitioners as well as on archival and media research targeting

magazines and books for DIYers and the TV show *Receptář* (Recipe book), which at the turn of the 1980s and 1990s set the tone for how *kutilství* and DIY have been imagined, represented, and practised in Czechia until today. The project team consisted of sociologists, social geographers, anthropologists, and an architect, and the team composition informed the interdisciplinary approach to *kutilství*. Throughout the project, the research focused on examining varied material manifestations of *kutilství* in order to rethink the histories and biographies of DIY artefacts and their creators and understand the motivations, inspirations, and ideas behind the practices of creation, and the emotional and embodied aspects of DIY material culture. The perspective on *kutilství* generated within the project is not only interdisciplinary, but also multi-sited, since the project explored DIY practices of and beyond *kutilství* in two socio-economically different regions, in and around the city of Cheb located in northwestern Bohemia, a region designated as structurally underdeveloped, and in the capital city of Prague, the cultural and economic centre of the country.

During the research, *kutilství* emerged – both in its cultural and media representation and in practice – as a specific form of DIY encompassing complex self-led manual projects as well as minor work and repairs (primarily) carried out in one’s free time. What sets *kutilství* apart from contemporary – widely conceived – DIY is the fact that, practised either individually or collectively, it is not intended as a potentially profitable or subversive activity, neither culturally nor politically; it is neither explicitly politically or environmentally oriented nor formed exclusively in opposition to contemporary consumerism. It however allows for and encompasses more sustainable practices of creation, albeit tacitly, as it entails the reuse, exchange, and recycling of materials and fosters social and community networking without being explicitly concerned with these things.

Kutilství – as considered in the project – thus excludes professional and semi-professional handicrafts as well as products intended for immediate or prospective sell on the market, an idea underlying e. g. contemporary so called maker culture. As a particular form of DIY culture, *kutilství* includes creating, repairing, and altering functional or decorative objects of everyday necessity, use, or pleasure, as well as various alterations to private, semi-public, and sometimes even public spaces. Even though *kutilství* comprises a variety of manual activities, it differs from traditional domestic (homestead) activities, such as domestic industries, home-made crafts, or folk art production, because it is not a matter of subsistence or generating profit nor is it necessarily grounded in the existing vernacular (aesthetic) forms of creative expression.

Based on the research (outcomes), the project set an aim to present the complexity of *kutilství* to the public by means of two exhibitions and accompanying publications (Gibas et al. 2019, 2020a). The first exhibition – “DIY Today: Contemporary Form of Self-led Creativity” – was held in 2020 in the Retromuzeum in Cheb (*Kutilství dnes* 2019). It showcased the breadth of *kutilství* by focusing on inner connections and motivations as well as the relationship between practices, emotions, experience, and creativity underpinning the identity of the DIYers. At the same time, the exhibition challenged the gendered aspect of *kutilství* – the fact that *kutilství* is predominantly imagined and represented as masculine – by assembling artefacts, stories, and narratives from both men and women in line with but also going against the ideas of what can be created by whom.

The second exhibition, titled “Bricolage: From ‘Self-led Manual Projects’ to DIY”, opened in autumn 2020 at the Ethnographic Museum of the National Museum. It illuminated how recent political, social, and economic changes have impacted *kutilství* and highlighted the continui-

ties and discontinuities, the differences and similarities, between *kutilství* and emerging forms of (globalized) DIY. The exhibition referred to contemporary DIY being created in contemporary community workshops (in Prague) where anyone can come, use shared tools, and create or repair artefacts. These often-specialized workshops, such as sewing workshops, bike-kitchens, and maker and hacker spaces, often exist in a complex relationship with the market and thus transcend as well as transform Czech DIY practice(s).

The two exhibitions and accompanying monographs sought to explore and present the multi-faceted forms of DIY culture in the particular socio-cultural and political-historical context of contemporary Czechia. Together with the other popular (Gibas et al. 2020b) and scholarly² outcomes of the project, they show that *kutilství* reflects changes to everyday life in the recent past as a topic of scholarly inquiry that might improve our understanding of the social transformations that have taken place in the Czech Republic in the previous decades. By exploring and elucidating the meaning of practising DIY, the project painted a complex picture of both *kutilství* and wider DIY culture as distinctive, rich expressions of everyday human creativity conditioned by, but at times also challenging, local social, economic, and political contexts.

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NOTES:

1. The whole project title in Czech is "Kutilství a jeho význam pro českou národní akulturní identitu: současný stav, socio-kulturní a historicko-politické souvislosti, typologie a využití potenciálu pro místní rozvoj", translated into English as "Do-It-Yourself Culture and Its Importance

for Czech National and Cultural Identity: Current Situation in Social, Cultural, Historical and Political Perspective, Typology and Potential for Regional Development"; the project was financed by the NAKI II programme of the Ministry of Culture (project no. DG18P02OVV022). For more details, see (Kutilství 2018-2020).

2. These include, e. g., a special issue of the *Studia Ethnologica Pragensia* journal on "Do-it-yourself in anthropological perspective" (Kutilství v antropologické perspektivě 2020), and a specialized map on the "Spatial distribution of DIY in the Czech Republic on the example of model building". All the project outcomes are available on the webpage (Kutilství 2018-2020).

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THE "NEW APPROACHES TO THE COORDINATION OF COMPATRIOT POLICY" PROJECT

The recent migration crisis in Europe and discussions about the influx of refugees eclipsed the fact that until the second half of the twentieth century Europe was primarily an emigration continent and at the same time that most migrations take place permanently within it. When considering diverse threats and challenges, Europeans often forget that they have relatives and potential allies, who keep reminders of their European ancestors and journeys to their new homes, especially in the Americas, Australia, New Zealand, and other distant destinations. These diasporas are a major economic and political force. Some European countries institutionally codify their potential (UK), while others are only now beginning to utilize it more systematically (Ireland). If we consider individual countries instead of Europe as a whole, we can state that the current internal and external movement of Europeans, along with the still recent frequent changes in borders, has contributed directly in Europe to the creation of national minorities, which are perceived as compatriots from the point of view of their countries of origin or ancestry. The topic of who is and who is not a compatriot can be interpreted in different ways. However, the existence of social networks created on this principle is obvious.

The Czech Republic is not and certainly will not be a central emigration country. Nevertheless, according to estimates based on censuses and Czech embassies abroad, today 2-2.5 million people outside the Czech Republic claim to have Czech ancestry (Počet 2021). Every year there are reported to be over 500,000 people with Czech citizenship living abroad. During the pandemic, this number dropped by half. Before the pandemic, 80-90 billion CZK came into the Czech Republic in the form of remittances.

In 2017, for example, the exact figure was 83.8 billion CZK (Zbojňíková – Kamenický 2019: 23). Social capital is difficult to quantify, when on the one hand the workforce, ideas, and people's energy are leaving the Czech Republic, but on the other hand there are people coming into the country with higher qualifications, new experiences, stimuli, and contacts. In the first generation, these people usually do not know where they will end up, whether they will live permanently abroad or in the Czech Republic or spend their lives traveling between several destinations. In any case, such population movement is inevitable for Czechia, and in terms of contacts with the world it needs to be paid attention to.

Czech society has been aware of the importance of this cross-border movement since at least 1848 and even more intensively since 1918, when Czechs in exile first made a significant contribution to the development of the local geopolitical situation. Already in the interwar period, institutions were established and remarkable studies on the Czech diaspora in different countries were created. The topic of Czechs abroad did not completely disappear in 1948-1989. We have serious, high-quality works dealing with compatriots and their activities from this period, too.

The New Approaches to the Coordination of Compatriot Policy project builds on this interest in compatriots and also has a broader ethical dimension. When thinking about the securitization of migration, an old idea comes back to the centre of focus: that migrants not only arrive in a destination, but also come *from somewhere* where they have ancestors, relatives, social ties, contacts and from where they bring cultural capital. They usually also have citizenship of the country of origin. Countries of origin bear their share of responsibility for their citizens abroad, and if they offer a supportive relationship to compatriots who have lived abroad for a long time, even for several generations, they can also benefit from

this openness. This also applies to the Czech Republic. Besides traditional communities, the New Approaches to the Coordination of Compatriot Policy project also focuses on diverse alternative forms of living abroad – expats, half-pats, glopats – taking into account that current migrations are not simple movements from source to target destination, but rather expansions of action radiuses, in that migration expands opportunities, both for the migrants themselves and for the source and target destinations.

The project should primarily have applicable outputs. It aims to help the Czech government and other state institutions communicate with compatriots and create a relationship of mutual assistance and understanding. It therefore focuses on the social impact of living abroad but does not neglect economic and political issues. Hence, it also includes the study of the social activities of compatriots abroad, as well as their economic activities and remittances. Most remittances come from European Union countries, a large part from neighbouring Germany. Apart from the most basic data, we know almost nothing about them. Academia and governing bodies also know very little about the political aspirations of compatriots and their interest in influencing political events in the Czech Republic. The current discussions about correspondence voting are an indicator that this is an area that has not received enough attention. Elaborate systems enabling compatriots to participate in the political process are already in place in many neighbouring countries, not only in countries that are famous for emigration, such as Poland, but also in countries where emigration does not seem to play such an important role, like Austria.

The complexity involved in compatriot issues also requires a comprehensive approach that cannot be covered by a single specialization. Therefore, several entities joined forces and formed a consortium to deal with the project, which is financed by the Technology

Agency of the Czech Republic and is being implemented in 2020-2022. Its members are Charles University, the project coordinator, managed by Eva Janská from the Faculty of Science; the Institute of Ethnology of the Czech Academy of Sciences, where the project is coordinated by Veronika Beranská; the National Institute for Research in Innovative Technologies, represented by Kateřina Zachová; and the Czexpats in Science association represented by Olga Löblová. The consortium brings together several figures who have long been involved in the field of migration, such as Dušan Drbohlav, Zdeněk Uherek, Zdeněk Čermák, Markéta Doležalová, and Kristýna Janurová. The application partner is the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic.

From a methodological point of view, the project combines quantitative and qualitative research. One of its pillars is a questionnaire survey, where the research sample is partly generated by controlled selection and partly created using a search engine for contacts on the internet. The survey is followed by interviews with compatriots as well as representatives of governmental and non-governmental organizations dealing with compatriot-related policies. In keeping with the interests of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, data collection is primarily focused on compatriots living in the USA, Australia and New Zealand, Germany, and the United Kingdom. However, all countries with a significant Czech compatriot community are covered. The collected data focuses on the needs of compatriots, their plans and aspirations, and where they see problematic points in cooperation with the Czech Republic. However, dialogue is needed to achieve better understanding. To stimulate such dialogue, the microsite www.cestikrajane.cz was created. The mentioned questionnaire is available on this website and compatriots can also discuss their concerns and share further information with the site administrators.

Through the questionnaire, contacts for in-depth qualitative interviews will also be generated and used to create a planned database of contacts. When data collection ends, roundtables will be held for the public as well as for compatriots and coordinators of compatriot policy. To gain a more comprehensive overview, the expatriate policies of other countries are also monitored, including those of Germany, Slovakia, Poland, Austria, France, and Ireland. Attention will also be focused on typologizing migration channels to gain a deeper understanding of compatriot trajectories. The aim of the research is generally not to exhaust the compatriot agenda, but to capture typical cases of compatriot issues in relation to the agenda of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The active involvement of compatriots in organizing the research guarantees the sustainability of the project after the end of its financing by the Technology Agency of the Czech Republic. Outputs should include research reports reflecting the needs of compatriot communities in individual countries in terms of maintaining their ties with the Czech Republic, reports on the possibilities for developing compatriot communities in Germany, the West Coast of the USA, Australia, New Zealand, and other countries, and recommendations for coordinating compatriot policy and creating a communication tool in cooperation with Czechs living abroad.

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BROADSIDE BALLADS IN THE HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS IN BRNO: AN INTERDISCIPLINARY PROJECT

The broadside ballads (*kramářské písňe*) in the historical collections of various Brno institutions are the subject of a project financed by the Programme for Applied Research and Experimental Development of National and Cultural Identity (NAKI). The project was initiated by Pavel Kosek, a philologist and Czech studies scholar from Masaryk University, Brno. The following disciplines and institutions participated in the project: linguistics and literary studies (Masaryk University, Brno); ethnology, ethnomusicology, and hymnology (Institute of Ethnology of the Czech Academy of Sciences and the Moravian Museum); and history and history of the book (Moravian Library). The interdisciplinary team of researchers is comprised of Pavel Kosek, Jana Pleskalová, Olga Navrátilová, Veronika Bromová, and Michaela Boháčová; literary historians Hana Bočková, Michaela Hashemi, and Marie Hanzelková; ethnologists and historians Markéta Holubová and Jana Poláková; ethnomusicologist Věra Frolcová and musicologist Tomáš Slavický; and book history scholars and historians Jiří Dufka, Jindra Pavelková, Jitka Machová, Romana Macháčková, and Martin Drozda. Three of the above-mentioned Brno institutions – the Moravian Library, the Moravian Museum, and the Institute of Ethnology of the Czech Academy of Sciences – have unique historical collections, hitherto not opened to the public, of Czech

chapbooks, amounting to almost 45,000 catalogue items (printings); the largest collection (approx. 40,000 items) is being processed by the Moravian Library. Musical sources stored in the documentary collections at the Institute of Ethnology of the Czech Academy of Sciences comprise another source for broadside ballad scholarship. The project's starting point is both the productive and receptive framework of the researched phenomenon as well as its intermedial character. Research defined in this way aims to present Czech broadside ballads to both the academic and general public.

The project aims primarily to produce applied research results that could contribute to the preservation, documentation, presentation, and use of broadside ballads as a specific medium of European popular history and song culture: a methodology for creating bibliographic records of broadside ballads, a specialized map, and exhibitions of secular and spiritual broadside ballads (including exhibition catalogues). These results of applied research depend on basic research on broadside ballads, which in turn is based on a thorough interdisciplinary approach. The project team plans to organize two international events (a conference and a workshop) and publish four books. Researchers with different specializations cooperate on individual outputs. Emphasis is placed on the textual, aesthetic, contextual, material, visual, and musical aspects of broadside ballads, which are researched using both the synchronic and diachronic approaches. Furthermore, the research is conceived in such a way that it accentuates the regional aspects of song culture in Moravia and Silesia, as well as the links between broadside ballads and marketplace, pilgrimage, and cult functions. This approach is informed by the fact that Czech broadside ballads have been represented in various media from the sixteenth to the twenty-first centuries (chapbooks, pilgrimage books, prayer books, missionary books, handwritten or printed

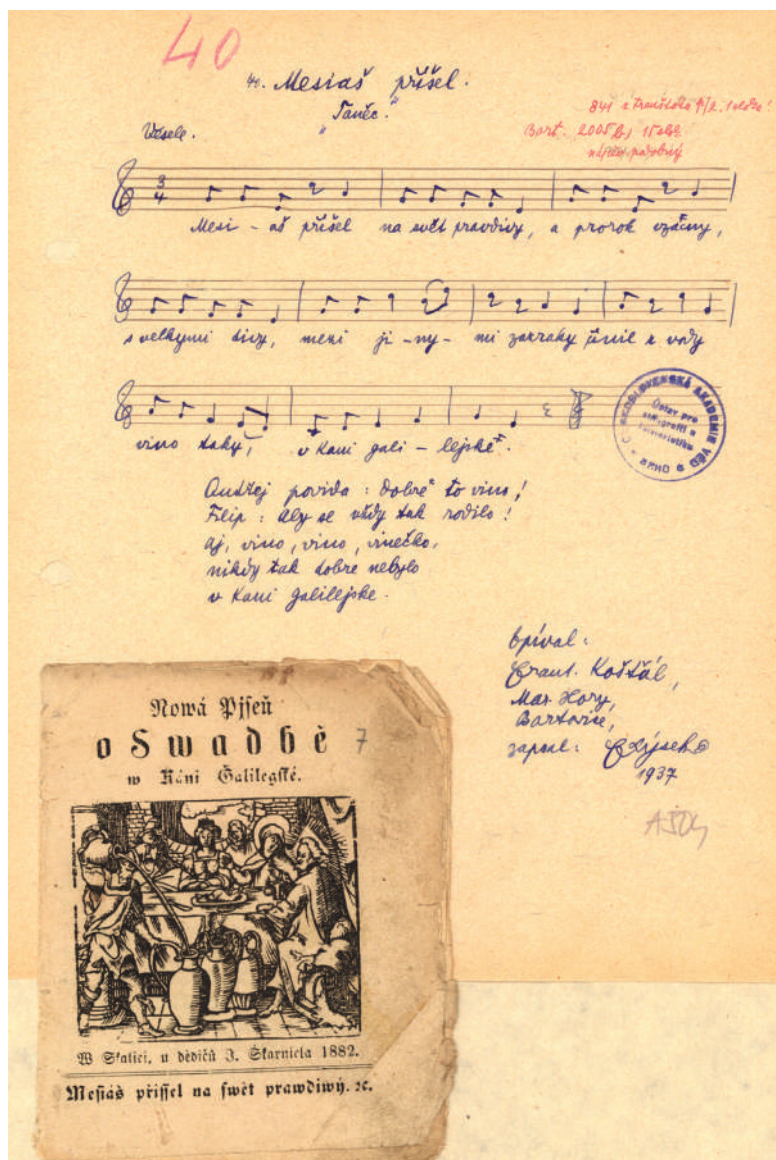
hymn books, songbooks, memory and oral tradition, or customs). The project develops the concept of the intermediality of song culture in an interdisciplinary perspective.

The Institute of Ethnology of the Czech Academy of Sciences participates in the project by providing its own sources, which are processed and presented by the institute, as well as by offering historical-ethnological and hymnological-ethnomusicological insights into broadside ballad research. The broadside ballad historical collections are now accessible to the public (1,257 items) in the form of a printed catalogue, which presents to expert and lay audiences the gamut of Czech broadside ballads, both with secular and spiritual themes, distributed in the Czech lands and western Slovakia from the late seventeenth century up to the 1930s. Blocks (*špalíčky*) as well as works printed with another work (*přítisky*) are also part of the project. A specific feature of the Brno collection is the simultaneous documentation of 268 notated records of songs from the oral tradition, which were preserved in the printed form of broadside ballads with tune imprints. The interdisciplinary character of the research has also resulted in an extensive index apparatus consisting of an author index, an iconographic index, a theme index, a place and year of publication index, a title index, a distributor index, and a tune imprint index. There are also indexes linked with notated entries of songs from the oral tradition, for example, a collector index, a singer index, a collection site index, a dance tune index, and a thematic index by notated entries. The broadside ballad collection of the Institute of Ethnology of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Brno, is a counterpart to the larger Prague collection. The Prague collection and the Brno collection together comprise an entity of unique value in the Czech and Central European cultural space.

One contribution of the project is that it engages in ethnomusicological and hymnological research on the musical

aspects of broadside ballads that are not notated. The collections of the Brno department of the Institute of Ethnology of the Czech Academy of Sciences offer two types of musical sources: first,

there are primary sources, that is, notated handwritten broadside ballads documented from oral tradition and memory in the first half of the twentieth century. These records were primarily made by



Printed broadside ballad from 1882 ("A New Song about the Wedding at Cana of Galilee") and its notated record according to folk oral tradition. Documentary collections and funds of the Institute of Ethnology of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Brno branch

folk song collectors František Lýsek and Jan Poláček. Second, there are musical documents of tune imprints and contrafacta, that is, notations of broadside ballads of various origins documented from oral tradition. These ethnomusicological sources are also valuable hymnological sources: they are memory variants of folk spiritual songs, especially songs with Passion themes or Eucharistic themes. There is also an extensive collection of songs about the Virgin Mary. These are often the only notated entries found in hymn books and pilgrimage books in textual form alone, that is, without tune imprints. Ethnographic contexts and memory records attest to the broadside ballad tradition, and they contribute to the idea that the broadside ballad is an intermedial phenomenon, thus demonstrating that the song tradition is more than 300 years old.

At Masaryk University, linguists as well as literary scholars are involved in the project. Linguists deal with orthographic issues and linguistic analysis of the selected broadside ballads. They are mainly concerned with print-

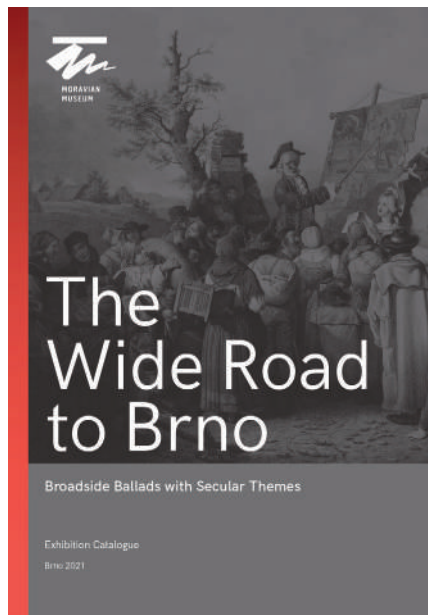
ings published by printing houses with a strong regional identity, that is, those based in Brno, Olomouc, and Litomyšl. In addition to that, printings published in other Czech cities (Chrudim, Jihlava, Kutná Hora, and Prague) or in Skalice in today's Slovakia are also studied as comparative material. Orthography research is based on the transliteration of selected printings studied from the developmental perspective from the middle of the seventeenth century to the beginning of the nineteenth century. The research analyses the features of the printing orthography of the period that were subject to developmental changes. The orthography research is conducted in close cooperation with the Moravian Library team as it is impossible to carry out an adequate analysis of printing orthography without knowledge of the technological possibilities of book printing and the equipment of particular printing houses. The linguistic team is also involved in the examination of the language of broadside ballads from their beginnings up to the nineteenth century. Its main focus is on the features that were subjected to linguistic changes. Based on these features, it analyses issues related to the continuity between the standard language of the early modern period and of the modern period, with the degree of variability and the influence of vernaculars. Based on such an examination, the research attempts to characterize stylistic aspects of broadside ballads.

Literary analysis of broadside ballads is primarily focused on those produced at the same range of regionally situated printing houses. Following the basic division of broadside ballads, the literary studies team analyses spiritual as well as secular broadside ballads, especially the wide range of genres of texts, taking into consideration formal, structural, and thematic aspects. Literary research concentrates on the selection and use of literary devices in relation to the style classification of texts, while taking into considera-

tion their functional specialization. From an interdisciplinary perspective, it analyses the literary relationships between the broadside ballad and the folk song as well as higher literature and its genres. Further, it examines the adoption of artistic techniques; it is concerned with the choice of subject matters and the methods of their adaptation for the purposes of newly emerging texts. It also considers the receptive aspect, that is, the expectations of broadside ballad recipients.

Cooperation between academia and memory institutions, which are intensively cataloguing their collections while carrying out research on them, proved to be very fruitful. The Moravian Library examines broadside ballad production from the perspective of book history, studying the historical aspects of the production, distribution, and reception of broadside ballads. The Moravian Museum pays special attention to ethnographic aspects of murder ballads and other secular broadside ballads, their oral tradition, and the regional variants of broadside ballads.

The main outputs of the project so far include:



- Critical catalogue to the exhibition; Pavel Kosek et al. *The Wide Road to Brno: Broadside Ballads with Secular Themes*. Ed. Hana Glombová. Brno: The Moravian Museum [online]. Available at: <<https://www.phil.muni.cz/media/3258508/do-brna-katalog-po-str-maly-soubor.pdf>> [accessed April 15, 2021];

- Specialized map of broadside ballads, The Moravian Library, Brno; Jiří Dufka et al. *Kramářské písně* [online]. Available at: <<https://kramarsketisky.mzk.cz/>> [accessed April 26, 2021];

- Markéta Holubová. *Katalog kramářských tisků brněnského pacoviště Etnologického ústavu AV ČR* [Catalogue of Broadside Ballad Printings, The Institute of Ethnology, Brno, Czech Academy of Sciences]. Prague: The Institute of Ethnology, Czech Academy of Sciences, 2021.

The team aims to publish an English monograph, *Czech Broadside Ballads as Multimedia Text, Art, Song, and Popular Culture, c. 1600-1900* (Amsterdam University Press), edited by Patricia Fumerton (University of California, Santa Barbara, USA) together with Pavel Kosek and Marie Hanzelková. All team members will have a chapter in the volume. The volume will also contain chapters written by Czech as well as international experts in the field. The monograph will introduce the foreign reader to the essential aspects of the Czech broadside ballad, situated in Central European and international contexts. Other planned outputs of the project by 2022 include: a certified methodology for describing chapbooks in the MARC 21 format, an exhibition of broadside ballads with spiritual themes and an accompanying critical catalogue, English versions of the catalogues for both exhibitions, the monograph *Writing, Image, Decor* (Moravian Library), and an anthology titled *Broadside Ballad Singing in Notated Manuscripts from Moravia and Silesia / Kramářský zpěv v notovaných rukopisech z Moravy a Slezska* (Institute of Ethnology, Czech Academy of Sciences).

The current interdisciplinary and international cooperation, partnerships between memory institutions and academic institutions, and the participation of ethnologists and musicologists in the project open up new perspectives on how to effectively combine applied and basic research on song culture in the Czech and Central European context.

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FOLK SONG AND DANCE OF THE CZECH LANDS: A DIGITAL SYSTEM FOR PRESENTATION AND PRESERVATION

One of the applied research projects financially supported by the Ministry of Culture of the Czech Republic under the NAKI programme is a project focused on digitizing and improving access to folk songs and dances from the Czech lands. Since 2018, the project's investigators have been the Institute of Ethnology of the Czech Academy of Sciences and the National Institute of Folk Culture (NÚLK). Thanks to this, archival sources that were in danger of being damaged and forgotten in archives can gain new life.

For many years, discussions have been held at the Institute of Ethnology about the need to digitize the institute's extensive collections of music and dance sources. On the initiative of ethnomusicologist Lubomír Tyllner, these efforts were combined a few years ago with the idea of a comprehensive system for processing and publishing these

sources. This system should provide both the professional and general public with access to extensive sources of folk music and dance from the territory of the Czech Republic. Projects of a comparable scope are currently rather rare in the world. Similarly oriented is, for example, the publicly accessible database *Liederlexikon*, which is operated by the German Folk Song Archive at the University of Freiburg. Other similar portals are run by the Institute of Musicology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, the Austrian Institute for Folk Song in Vienna, and the Norwegian Centre for Folk Music at the University of Trondheim. Databases have been an important topic in the field for several decades, and recently, new possibilities have opened up, especially thanks to developments in information technology, which make it possible to take advantage of the fruits of many years of research carried out by the staff of the Institute of Ethnology and the NÚLK, who are continuously addressing theoretical issues of cataloguing sources related to folk music.

The main goal of the project is to create an effective tool for publishing song and dance folklore as an important part of the cultural heritage of the Czech Republic and national cultural identity. Its purpose is to make available to the public material whose potential remains largely untapped, as most field recordings, whether in manuscript or audio form, have never been published or access to them is problematic for various reasons. The planned application will enable a wide range of interested parties to obtain detailed and yet comprehensible information about the folk songs, music, and dances of the Czech lands. At the same time, it should contribute to their preservation through a project based on the latest knowledge from the sphere of data preservation and conservation.

Besides this main goal, the project also has several sub-goals. As the most visible output for the public, an internet

portal will be created, which will allow users to obtain information about individual sources, that is, about printed and manuscript collections, but also about the individual songs recorded in them. At the core of the portal will be newly developed software linking several levels of information: melodic and textual incipits, locations, genres, dance styles, recording dates, collectors, and so forth. The portal will allow users not only to search for data but also to compare it so that interested parties will be able to find related melodies or songs in which similar themes appear. A system capable of handling the dialectological inconsistency of song lyrics, which complicated the functioning of previously developed search software and databases, and a system for searching for the melodic variants of individual songs will be developed. This software will draw from a database including digitized written and audio documents from the collections of the Institute of Ethnology of the CAS and data from major printed editions. Digitization will allow access to most sources and prevent the loss of important cultural heritage on media at the end of their useful life. It is the interest of the project researchers that in the future sources stored in other collections, for example, in regional museums and archives, can be added to the database. To facilitate the work of the future processors of these collections and to ensure a uniform procedure for data entry, the project investigators are also developing a certified methodology for digitization and standards for the entry of textual and melodic incipits so that new materials can be included in the database and linked to existing data.

Specialized maps for displaying information from the database will also be linked to the database and its browsing portal. The first of these maps has already been created and displays data relating to printed collections of folk songs. It shows which areas of the Czech Republic have been documented

in published collections, which have been the focus of a greater number of collectors, and which have remained on the margins of interest. The map also shows how this interest has changed over time, or which municipalities served as the main sources. Thanks to this information, and thanks to the map display with an interactive timeline, it is possible to take a fresh look at printed collections of folk songs as a source for shaping the general public's awareness of folk music and dance culture.

Written and audio sources of folk songs and dances will be analysed in terms of systematic processing and cataloguing. Individual parameters will be identified, and their description will be determined. During this process, the problematic phenomena for which we are looking for solutions will be described. In the field of textual incipits, this includes, for example, dialectal variants, proper names in lyrics, and so forth; in musical incipits, it is a matter of metre and rhythmic aspects or problems of form. In the context of the development of a certified methodology, a corresponding software solution is being created that will integrate the individual parameters of songs and their sources into a system that allows searching on several levels. At the same time, elements are being developed that will allow communication with the users of the system and that will reflect the diversity of their needs, whether they are experts or amateur enthusiasts. The software will be programmed on the IS ALEx platform, which has long been used to create programs working with large data sets. The resulting database will also serve as a data source for the creation of specialized maps. Both these phases require a considerable amount of source material on which the procedures for creating the certified methodology and software are tested and refined. The principles for the methodology can only be properly established on the basis of material comprising tens of thousands of entries (song or dance records) from

different genres and regions. Therefore, since the start of the project, the digitization of written and audio material has been underway to provide the required volume of data. The digitization of the audio sources includes the selection and determination of the type of recordings; cleaning, possible surface repairs, and demagnetization of the tapes and the device; adjustment of the scanning heads of the tape recorder; digitization in 96 kHz/24-bit resolution; data checking and archiving; and registration and cataloguing. The digitization of written sources is similar, with documents being scanned at a resolution of 300-600 DPI depending on the nature of the item. The software and methodology will be presented to potential users from institutions whose archives contain sources that could be included in the system in the future, through individual consultations and a workshop. On these occasions, feedback will be obtained to allow better fine-tuning of the software system and methodology.

In the course of the work, both anticipated and unexpected problems will arise. The former include the difficulty of finding a song analysis system that is capable of comparing songs with regular rhythms and slow songs that lack a rhythmic pulse (so-called *parlando-rubato* songs). Unexpected problems include the quality of some historical sound recordings, which show that collectors working, for example, in the 1950s with tape recorders did not master the necessary techniques well enough, which led to sound problems. Despite these difficulties, the project has made significant progress since its inception. It will result in a system that will enable the professional and lay public to better know and use the rich sources of folk music and dance stored at the participating institutions, and will enable the database to be expanded in the future to include sources from other collections.

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(Institute of Ethnology of the CAS)

THE TEXT STRUCTURE OF CZECH FOLK SONGS FROM THE TURN OF THE EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURIES

To be conducted in 2021-2023 with support from the Czech Science Foundation, this project aims to explore the text structure of Czech folk songs from the turn of the nineteenth century. The research team is composed of members of the Czech Language Institute of the Czech Academy of Science (Petr Nejedlý, Tereza Hejdová, Blanka Nedvědová, Štěpán Šimek), while ethnomusicology is represented by Zdeněk Vejvoda of the Institute of Ethnology of the Czech Academy of Sciences. At the core of the project lies the analysis of the language component of folk songs found in sources dating to the late eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century. The folk song is, not only in the Czech cultural and historical context, a fully-fledged musical-verbal genre straddling the boundary between artificial and non-artificial art. Folk songs are unique in how they are created, preserved, and further (re)produced as well as in their limited range of communication occasions. These features influence the text structure and tectonics, which can be described by analysing the choice, frequency, and composition of language elements at all linguistic levels. The language of folk songs, which themselves are constant on the one hand and variable on the other, reflects the early stages of Czech, in this particular case the language of the Baroque era, in addition to the spoken language of the beginning of the “long” nineteenth century, which was not yet influenced by the reforms of the approaching Czech National Revival.

The language of folk songs is explored using several collections and manuscript songbooks (or editions thereof) from the turn of the nineteenth century. These include a 1768 manuscript by a miller named Antonín Franci, a resident of Švihov, Central Bohemia; early

handwritten collections by Václav Hanka from 1808-1834; and others by Jan Jeník of Bratřice from 1810-1838. A rich source of materials was also produced by a “state-driven” collection effort (known as *Sonnleithner-Sammlung* in Austria), initiated by the Vienna-based Society of Friends of Music (*Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien*) and officially established through an administrative order issued by the Austrian Ministry of the Interior in 1819. Collections of special value include the *Kolovratský rukopis* [Kolovraty manuscript], a selection of field records sent from different Czech regions and compiled in 1823 by Bedřich Diviš Weber, director of the Prague Conservatory; Jan Rittersberk's collection entitled *České národní písně / Böhmische Volkslieder* [Czech folk songs] published in 1825; and the manuscript *Staré světské písně* [Old secular songs] from 1819-1820 compiled by Jan Němeček, Jan Tadeáš Plaček, and Václav Pícek in Sadská, a town east of Prague. What all these sources have in common is the fact that they were uninfluenced by the Romanticist modifications that were often made to conform to Johann Gottfried Herder's ideas, one of the reasons being that most of these collections were compiled for their authors' private needs.

The analysis pays adequate attention to the melodies of the folk songs as they are normally as equally important as the texts. With Franci's and Hanka's songbooks, where no melodies are included, alternative melodies recorded in other sources need to be explored. Apart from a monograph synthesizing findings on the language of the songs, the project is expected to result in a critical edition of unpublished folk songs recorded by Franci and Hanka, which will present comparative melodic material comprising songs from the period in question as well as more recent songs, applicable in further research as well as in teaching and performing practice.

The project's methodology is primarily grounded in the domestic tradition of

taking a functional approach to folklore and the folk song itself, taking into consideration its position on the boundary of artificial and non-artificial art, with the folk song being influenced by features typical of both these domains. The linguistic component of the methodology revolves around (neo)structuralism, approaching the text (here inseparable from the melody) as a complex structure. The editing process will rely on comparative methods; the critical edition itself will respect standards proposed as early as in the 1970s and revised based on current linguistic and folkloristic research.

The primary contribution of the project will be to produce a comprehensive outline of the as-yet-unexplored textual and linguistic structure of Czech folk songs from the turn of the nineteenth century and the evidence it provides regarding the historical continuity (“traditionality”) of folk-art forms as well as their open and fluid nature. Furthermore, the analysis of song texts will make it possible to expand the existing *Lexikální databáze humanistické a barokní češtiny* [A lexical database of Humanistic and Baroque Czech] to include new lexemes so far unrecorded as well as the source texts themselves. The research will also employ the latest ethnomusicological findings regarding musical analysis and the typology of Czech folk songs. No less valuable is the fact that the project will make accessible two unpublished handwritten songbooks, which contain no melodies and have therefore remained outside the focus of folklore scholars applying rigorous methodology. The sources for studying Czech musical folklore comprise numerous song collections that were compiled, with different motivations and in variable quality, over the last two centuries. However, as studying manuscripts without melodies is not a priority of ethnomusicologists, these works tend to be more in line with linguistic research interests. Therefore, the present project intends to shed more light on some of the oldest sources of Czech folk songs, the understanding and

publication of which will make a valuable contribution to decades of debates regarding the relationship between folk and semi-folk songs and rural and urban folklore, and the differences between folklore and folklorism.

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(Institute of Ethnology of the CAS)

The project "Text structure of the Czech folk songs from the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries" was financed by the Czech Science Foundation (Grantová agentura České republiky), project no. 21-04973S.

THE TIME OF THE KNIGHTS OF THE FAR SEAS: COLLECTOR AND PATRON JINDŘICH VÁVRA (EXHIBITION AND CATALOGUE)

The nineteenth century was a century of images – a multifaceted *Bilduniversum* with a wide range of themes that touched

the lives of the general public more than in previous eras. Only one thing was crucial for this great theatre of the modern world – to find a new visual means corresponding to the social and technical changes of the time. Photography proved to be ideal. The burgeoning world of images associated with this invention began to erase distances and status barriers to penetrate, to an unprecedented degree, the intimate sphere of the individual.

The new medium, in the form of a donated set of exotic photographs, also had an impact on the collections of the former Francis Museum in Brno (founded in 1817, today called the Moravian Museum). The photographs were donated by Jindřich Vávra (1831-1887), a Brno native, a doctor in the service of the Austro-Hungarian Imperial Navy, and a participant in the naval expeditions of Emperor Maximilian and the princes of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, who was awarded the title of Ritter von Fernsee (Knight of the Far Seas) by the emperor. This collection of exotic images did not deviate from the contemporary practice,

where the souvenirs from prominent natives' journeys abroad usually ended up in the collections of the nearest museum. Donations to museums were in fashion, and they, in return, strengthened the donor's prestige. The inclusion of exotica in the funds of the current Ethnographic Institute of the Moravian Museum was the result of the development of the collection-creating programme of the Francis Museum, where the Department of Ethnography consisted of two equal units, with collections acquired overseas forming the core of its collections in the context of the nineteenth-century focus on ethnological studies; the other equal part comprised a collection of artefacts related to Moravian folk culture.

The rich legacy of Jindřich Vávra encompasses botany, numismatics, zoology, and ethnology, and six splendidly hard-bound albums with photographs. The latter stand out from the rest of his legacy and were intentionally collected on cruises of the Austro-Hungarian Imperial Navy ships *Saida* (1856), *Carolin* (1857-1858), *Adria* (1860-1861), *Novara* (1864-1865), and *Donau* (1867-1871), and on a cruise around the world with the princes of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha (1872-1873). Similar photo albums became more and more popular among the bourgeois beginning in the second half of the nineteenth century because they made it possible to "travel in the head" from the comfort of bourgeois drawing rooms. The set collected by Vávra corresponded to the hobbies of that time, but it was exceptional in its range and quality.

The albums in the Brno collection are deep wooden boxes (dimensions 45 x 33 cm) with high gold edging and a robust engraved gold buckle for safety locking. The boards are covered with decoratively embossed textile. The front page of each bears a German inscription, embossed in gold, with the list of the contents: Album I, Album II, Album from the Cruise of the Prince of Coburg around the World I, Album from the Cruise of the Prince of Coburg around the World



Japan, norimon-palanquin, from Jindřich Vávra's journey in 1872-1873, 205 x 255 mm, gentle colored in parts, photographer not listed

II, Album from the Cruise of His Majesty around the World on the Frigate *Donau* I, Genoa – Japan, and Album from the Cruise of His Majesty around the World on the Frigate *Donau* II, Japan – Montevideo.

The boxes contain loose edited photographs, which are continuously numbered. Topographical views depicting oriental exoticism and the industrial boom of the U.S.A. create a kind of imaginary map of the world from East to West. The motifs include shots of cities, landscapes, and types of people, corresponding to the popularity of nineteenth-century anthropological photography. Only the geographical location of the place where the photos were taken is what distinguishes these nearly identical works in terms of subject matter. The numerical scale also includes tableaux, that is, cardboard mats with cabinet cards glued on them. The first album also contains an exception – two group portraits of the ship's crew, the first labelled "Command of the Frigate *Donau*" and the second, "Command of the Corvette *Friedrich*".

In terms of the history of photography, the images from the cruise on the frigate *Donau* are interesting. This cruise, taken in 1868, went to the Far East as part of the first official Austro-Hungarian diplomatic and commercial mission to Siam, China, and Japan. In addition to civil servants, industrialists and natural scientists joined the expedition, as did Jindřich Vávra, who, besides his role as the ship's doctor, also served as a botanist. The expedition also included two Austrian photographers, Wilhelm Burger (1844-1920) and his assistant, Michael Moser (1853-1912); Burger spent only a few months in Japan with the expedition. During this time, he produced several dozen unique documentary photos of high artistic quality. In accordance with the custom of the time, he also compiled his own images in an album, which is now, according to available information, in the collection of the Museum of Applied Arts in Vienna (MAK – Österreichisches Museum für angewandte Kunst, Wien).¹

Photographs taken on this cruise make up the set that is part of Vávra's Brno collection and which is labelled Album I; this set also contains Burger's photographs, among others. Most photographs in the album come from Japan, which was becoming a fashionable motif: from portraits of the highest dignitaries, that is, the emperor and the nobility, to images of street life, including pictures from public baths. The set thus provides a colourful picture of an exotic country that Vávra described in 1869 as "not yet so advanced and original". Both albums – Vávra's and Burger's – materialize the desire to capture memories of travels to new unknown lands, although each album was created on a different basis. Due to the popularity that Japanese and Chinese culture enjoyed in the second half of the nineteenth century, it should be mentioned that Vávra's travel activities occurred before the outbreak of

Japanomania, which began with the 1873 Vienna World's Fair.²

From the point of view of foreign photography, it is extremely interesting that Count Ervín Dubský, another patron of the former Francis Museum, a frigate captain, and an imperial-royal chamberlain,³ took an approach similar to Vávra's; on his trips, he also bought popular souvenir photographs in addition to three-dimensional objects.

From the 1850s to the 1870s, Jindřich Vávra was one of the most important collectors of photographs in the Czech lands. During his travels he managed to collect about 1,300 photographs. The formats include large-folio formats, cabinet cards, visiting cards, and stereo-photographs. Most photographs do not have a known author, but among the signed ones we can find the names of several prominent nineteenth-century photographers from around the world:



Utah, Salt Lake City, Mormon boys, from Jindřich Vávra's journey in 1872-1873, 187 x 240 mm, photographer not listed

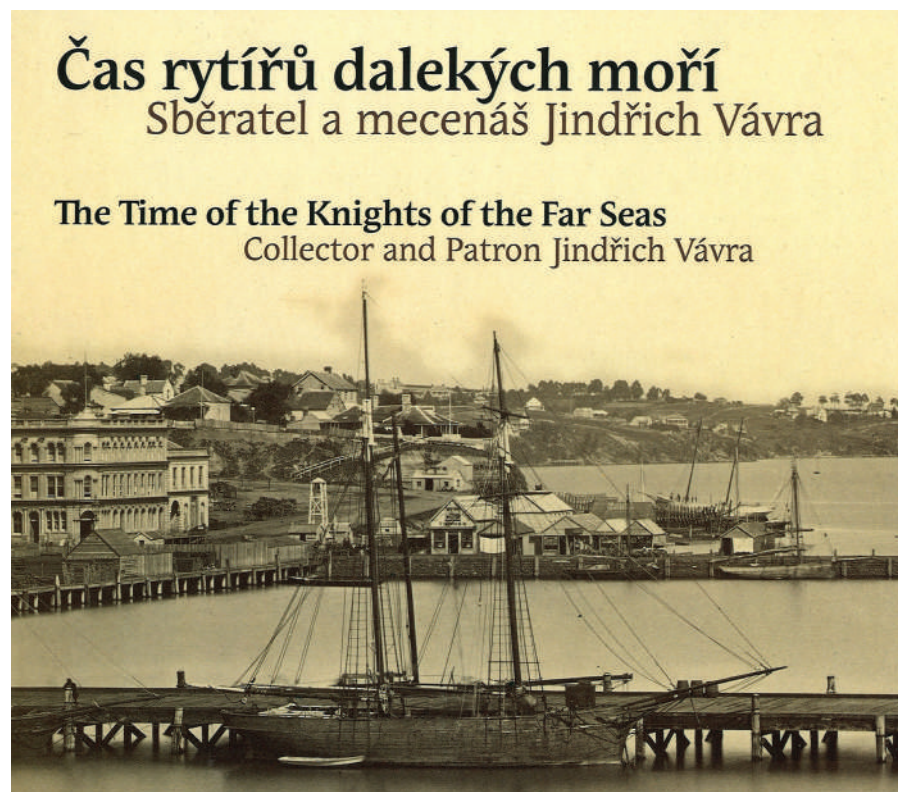
Samuel Bourne working in India, William Thomas Saunders in China, Eugenio Courret in Peru, George Leuzinger in Brazil, Thomas Jetson Washbourne in Australia, and portraitist Jeremiah Gurney in the U.S.A. In Malaysia, Vávra acquired many photos of people taken by the photography team of Walter Bentley Woodbury and James Page. However, many of the landscape and topographical photographs from Vávra's two journeys around East and Southeast Asia, as well as other continents, were taken by unknown professional photographers; some of the images in visiting-card format bear obvious traces of amateur vision and processing. The question of who their author was is unanswered, but it is possible that it was Vávra himself.

In the summer of 2020 and at the beginning of 2021, the Moravian Museum held an exhibition titled *The Time of the*

Knights of the Far Seas: The Collector and Patron Jindřich Vávra.⁴ The exhibition presented photographs mainly from 1865-1879, which had not been displayed as a whole before. This exhibition, apart from Vávra's photographic collection, also focused on the entire spectrum of his activities, that is, his ethnographic, numismatic, zoological and botanical collections.

The exhibition was accompanied by a catalogue of the same name in Czech and English, the first part of which consists of a selection of photographs and the second one of accompanying studies mapping Vávra's life and activities.⁵ Both the exhibition and the catalogue are the Moravian Museum's payment to the history of collecting in Moravia.

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Notes:

1. For more about the development of photographic interest in Japan, see Suchomel, Filip 2008: *Evropští fotografové v Japonsku*. In Bláhová, Kateřina – Petrbok, Václav (ed.). *Cizí, jiné, exotické v české kultuře 19. století* [The Strange, the Other and the Exotic in the Czech Culture the 19th Century]. Praha: Academia. 109-121 (here p. 111).
2. For more, see Hánová, Markéta 2019. *Japonské dřvořezy a jejich sběratelé v českých zemích* [Japanese Woodblock Prints and Collectors in the Czech Lands]. Praha: Národní galerie Praha.
3. See Suchomel, Filip – Suchomelová, Marcela. 2006. *Námořní deník Erwina Dubského. Sbírka albuminových fotografií ze 70. let 19. století z Japonska* [Journal of a Voyage – the Erwin Dubsky Collection: Photographs from Japan in the 1870]. Brno: Moravská galerie.
4. Pavilion Anthropos of the Moravian Museum, 16. 7. 2020 – 17. 1. 2021. Authors: Hana Dvořáková, Petr Kostrhun, and Pavel Scheufler.
5. Dvořáková, Hana – Kostrhun, Petr – Scheufler, Pavel (eds.). 2020. *Jindřich Vávra. Sběratel a mecenáš = Jindřich Vávra. Collector and Patron*. Praha: Moravské zemské museum – KANT.

MARTIN ŠIMŠA: KNIHY KREJČOVSKÝCH STŘIHŮ VE STŘEDNÍ EVROPĚ V 16. AŽ 18. STOLETÍ I. [TAILOR'S PATTERN BOOKS IN CENTRAL EUROPE IN THE 16TH - 18TH CENTURIES I.] Strážnice: National Institute of Folk Culture, 2021, 381 pp.

In the mid-nineteenth century, the history of rural and urban clothing became one of the major themes in the study of the tangible culture of society. This theme was dealt with by historians, historians of culture, and ethnographers. Research evolved from observing the form of particular garments and adornments to constructing regional typologies based on tangible documents and historical iconographic sources. To

establish various regional typologies it was necessary to be familiar with the cuts of particular garments; it was mainly surviving garments that made this possible. However, the cultural-historical method, elaborated in the German environment, began to incorporate tailors' patterns for analysis in the 1930s; based on these sources it was possible to observe the influence of stylized costume on folk dress as well as its development and changes in time and space.

Even though the Czech ethnological literature includes earlier sporadic essays on patterns made by professional tailors, it was only Martin Šimša's large and generously designed project, lasting several years, that revealed the particular merit of pattern books for the study of folk dress. The thorough archival research conducted in the Czech Republic resulted in mapping the surviving tailors' pattern books from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, a period in which guilds played an essential role. The author published his first critical edition, *Tailor's Pattern Books in the Czech Lands in the 16th - 18th Centuries*, in 2013; this included documents from Bohemia (Tachov, Chomutov, Prague's Old Town, Český Krumlov, Česká Kamenice, Frýdlant, České Budějovice, Liberec, Tábor, and Pilsen) and Silesia (Cieszyn and Opava). Unfortunately, the edition does not include Moravia, where pattern books have either not survived or have not been found yet. Martin Šimša utilized the knowledge acquired by analysing cuts and their transformations over the course of three centuries in many studies about men's and women's garments, which he published in prominent academic journals.

The systematic research carried out in subsequent years bore fruits. Focusing on all of Central Europe opened the door for wider comparison, and in 2021, the book *Tailor's Pattern Books in Central Europe in the 16th - 18th Centuries I.* could be published. Additional locations in Bohemia are covered (Most, Bílina, Broumov, and Dobruška), as are

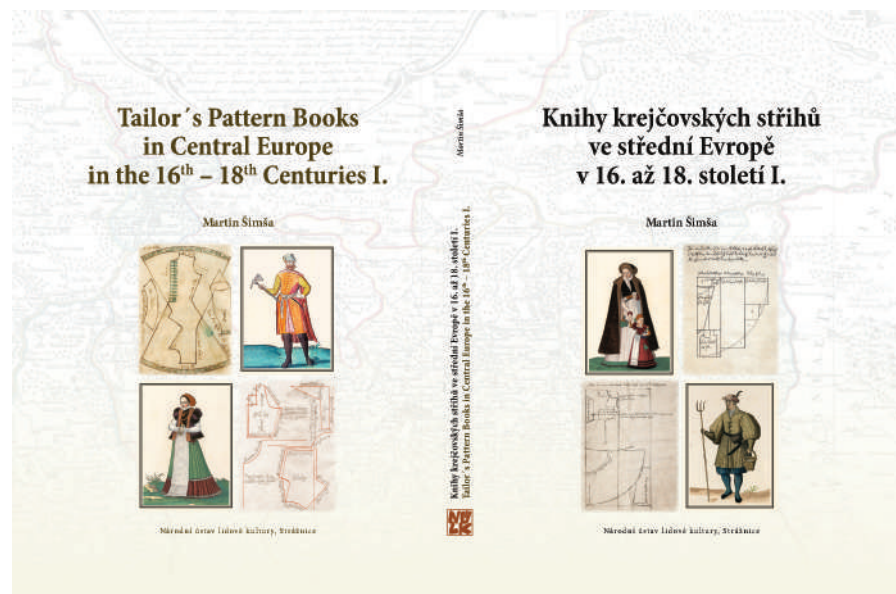
the Polish cities of Wrocław, Przemyśl, Wschowa, Leszno, Poznań, and Opole, and the Slovak cities of Trnava, Sabinov, Kežmarok, Košice, and Bratislava. The second volume, which is under preparation, shall deal with pattern books from Hungary, Austria, and Germany, by which the complete circle of neighbouring countries that underwent similar historical developments shall be closed.

The voluminous introductory chapters deal with the political, economic, and religious context of how tailor guilds worked and what kinds of rules they were governed by. As far as rural areas are concerned, the section dealing with non-guild tailors, called *stoliři*, is crucial. These were trained journeymen, and if they, for a variety of reasons, did not pass the master exam, they often entered the service of lords or they settled outside of cities, meaning out of the range of the local guild.

Based on the use of tailors' patterns and written and pictorial sources, Martin Šimša has described particular men's garments (farmer's garment for ploughing, farmer's and waggoner's *kitle*, farmer's skirt, *kaftan*, trousers, coat,

men's fur coats, and textile headwear) and women's garments (sleeved skirt with bodies, skirt with bodice, circle skirt, band skirt, bodices, jacket, cloak, *mantlík*, šuba, *kolár*, fur coat, and linen clothing – *kirtle* and *letnice*), which were made by tailors of different levels. Interesting are the transformations that took place over time, their dependence on the stylized clothing, and the time delays in the spread of such garments to socially backward groups and rural residents, and so forth.

The edition includes both official guild books with patterns and personal books compiled as part of preparations for the master exam. Some of them have survived as originals, whereas others are later copies that often incorporate new developments. The books present garments worn by urban and rural residents, vestments (differing according to confessions), riding equipment, horse blankets, and tents. All the pattern books are published as a complex including appendices with pictures (almost 200 documents) and texts, which were transcribed in the modern language to be understandable. Every pattern is



accompanied by an analysis of its construction; information about recommended or used materials and their assumed consumption are important as well.

The publication is written in two languages (Czech and English), and the graphics are well arranged. The publication ends with accompanying sections – verbatim English translations of the original texts in the pattern books (in German and Polish), a glossary of fabrics, an index of clothes, a bibliography, and a list of pictures. In conclusion, both published books can be, without exaggeration, defined as an essential contribution to research on the early-mediaeval clothing of urban and rural residents in Central Europe.

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MARKÉTA HOLUBOVÁ – JAN HRDINA – LUBOŠ KAFKA – MARTIN OMELKA – OTAKARA ŘEBOUNOVÁ: ETNOGRAFICKÝ ATLAS ČECH, MORAVY A SLEZSKA IX. DUCHOVNÍ A HMOTNÉ ASPEKTY ZBOŽNÉ PEREGRINACE. [THE ETHNOGRAPHIC ATLAS OF BOHEMIA, MORAVIA, AND SILESIA IX. SPIRITUAL AND TANGIBLE ASPECTS OF PIOUS PEREGRINATION.] Praha: Etnologický ústav Akademie věd České republiky, v. v. i., 2020, 175 pp. and 24 maps.

The ninth volume of the large *Ethnographic Atlas* project, the individual volumes of which have been published since 1978, deals with pious peregrination – one of the significant elements of Catholic piousness. The book observes this phenomenon, which was widespread especially among the rural population in the Middle Ages and the early modern period. The publication consists of two parts – texts commenting on individual maps in the Czech language

and maps depicting phenomena relating to peregrination in the Czech lands with legends written in Czech and English.

The text and the map documentation are divided into four basic sections that focus on various aspects of peregrination. The first two studies and related maps deal with pilgrimages and religious sites in the Middle Ages, which are identified using tangible (mediaeval pilgrimage badges and Baroque devotional medals) and written documents (e.g., books of miracles from pilgrimage sites). The author of this section also analyses the geographical origins of pilgrims traveling to particular pilgrimage sites abroad (especially sites in present-day Germany and Austria). The view of mediaeval pilgrimages not only as wandering to remote places outside the Czech lands but also as evidence of quite busy pilgrimage activity inside the Kingdom of Bohemia is an inspiring aspect. The author also reflects on the Hussite movement in relation to peregrination as an expression of Catholic piousness.

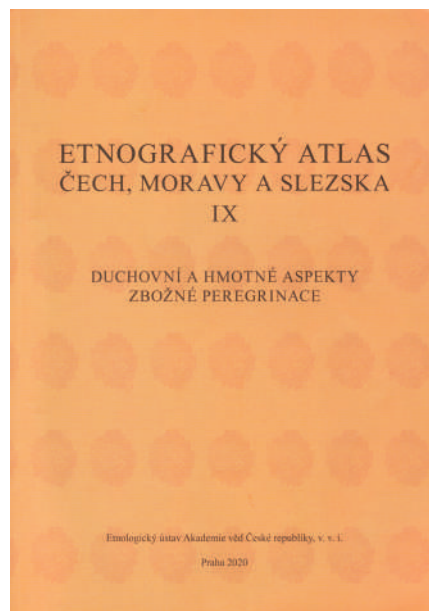
The third chapter studies pilgrimages at the end of the eighteenth century

based on official inventories made on the initiative of the state administration. The state tried to punish and subsequently to suppress or even abolish pilgrimages. The author uses two major sources to examine this topic, namely, the official inventory of pilgrimages from 1768 for Bohemia and from 1771 for Moravia and Silesia, and the surviving books of miracles from selected pilgrimage sites. The text acquaints the reader with particular cult places, with the geographical range of visiting worshippers, and when they visited the sites.

The concluding large section focusses on aspects of folk artistic production in relation to objects of devotion. The information necessary to express the theme in terms of cartography was acquired by the author through his study of collections in selected museums and galleries in the Czech Republic and the border regions of neighbouring countries. This resulted in a set of maps depicting the occurrence of reverse glass paintings, paintings on household furniture (painted chests, etc.), and folk sculptures, taking into account, of course, the observed iconographic types of objects of cult worship.

For a comprehensive understanding of the pilgrimage movement in the Czech lands it would certainly be beneficial if the work contained a chapter dealing with peregrination in the early modern period, or throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, not only the situation at the end of the eighteenth century. It would also be interesting to observe the transformation of the pilgrimage movement after the great changes in religiosity during the Josephine reforms of the last quarter of the eighteenth century. It was in the nineteenth century that the map of pilgrimage sites changed considerably, when many cult centres disappeared or were significantly reduced and, conversely, new ones emerged.

To produce the maps contained in the ethnographic atlas of peregrination the authors utilized both well-known and new sources and analytical approaches.



For this reason, the publication summarizes our hitherto knowledge about the spread of the popularity of particular pilgrimage sites in the Czech lands, and its cross-border overlaps. At least with regard to archaeological sources it may be reasonably expected that our knowledge will be refined in the future.

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LEOŠ JANÁČEK: FOLKLORISTICKÉ DÍLO (1891–1928). RECENZE, STATĚ, PŘEDNÁŠKY, PŘEDMLUVY, STUDIJNÍ POZNÁMKY, AGENDA, MEMBRA DISJEKTA. Řada I. Svazek 3-2. [LEOŠ JANÁČEK: FOLKLORIC STUDIES (1891–1928). REVIEWS, ESSAYS, LECTURES, PREFACES, STUDY NOTES, PAPER-WORK, DISJECTA MEMBRA. Series I. Volume 3-2.] Edd. Jarmila Procházková, Marta Toncrová, and Lucie Uhlíková. Brno: Editio Janáček, 2020, 599 pp.

In 2020, the second volume of the critical edition that presents the complete works of the Czech composer Leoš Janáček (1854–1928) was published; it is devoted to Janáček's study of folk music and dance and his organizational, methodological, and editorial activities in the field of folklore studies. The book includes texts that were unpublished during Janáček's lifetime, and thus it supplements the first volume (2009) containing works published by the author during his lifetime. The editors, Jarmila Procházková, Marta Toncrová, and Lucie Uhlíková, have divided the selected materials into several larger sections (Reviews, Essays, Lectures; Preparations for the Edition of Moravian Love Songs; Study Notes; Agenda, Papers; Disjecta Membra), in which the individual texts are arranged in chronological order. Many of Janáček's works are published here for the first time. All the included sources were subject to time-consuming detailed analysis

and a critique of text variants; many of them were reconstructed from fragments and they were mutually compared and completed based on collections in various institutions. Texts preserved only in German were newly translated into Czech.

A significant section of the publication contains materials relating to different versions of the preface to the song edition *Moravské písně lidové* [Moravian Love Songs]. Janáček, together with the philologist Pavel Váša (1874–1954), prepared the publication over the course of two decades, and it was finally published in individual volumes in 1930–1937 (although it is dated 1936) after the composer's death. The first version of the edition, as well as its entire concept (the arrangement of the songs into groups containing close textual variants), is related to the Folk Song in Austria (Das Volkslied in Österreich) song collecting and editing project, whose aim was to collect and publish folk songs of the ethnic groups living in the Austrian part of the Habsburg monarchy. Working committees were established in each of the

lands that took part in this project. Leoš Janáček became the chairman of one of them in 1905 – the Working Committee for Czech Folk Song in Moravia and Silesia. Together with his collaborators, he conceived the principles of folksong collecting based on a modern research concept, striving not only for obtaining accurate recordings of songs (using, among other things, Edison's phonograph), but also for establishing the context of its "life", including its bearer.

Further sections of the publication also contain inspiring materials related to the activities of the aforementioned Working Committee for Czech Folk Song in Moravia and Silesia and, after the formation of independent Czechoslovakia, of the newly established State Institute for Folk Song (Státní ústav pro lidovou píseň), which grew out of these previous activities (Janáček remained chairman of the Moravian-Silesian Committee at this institution until his death in 1928). As the editor Jarmila Procházková points out, the selection of texts for publication "*was guided by the desire to make available mainly the texts that contain Janáček's theoretical views and key conceptual issues*". Leoš Janáček's folkloristic work is one of the cornerstones of the beginnings of Czech (or Moravian) folklore studies, and the study of folk music in the Czech Republic still draws on this foundation. With the passage of one century, it is more and more obvious that the value of Janáček's efforts to capture the folk music tradition is priceless and that it is a full part of the overall legacy of his musical work.

The careful editorial work (including creating entries for more than 250 people, institutions, and activities whose names the reader can find in the first and the second volume of Janáček's folkloristic works, as well as a variety of indexes based on the nature of the treated material) not only provides further insight into Janáček's creative activities, but it also shows how challenging it is to critically evaluate manuscript sources so that their narrative



value is not distorted. Simultaneously, studying the entire publication begs a question related to the current assessment of scholarship and research in the Czech Republic and concerns the fact that editions of folklore material are often underestimated as scholarly outputs. The critical publication of period materials, in this case related to the folkloristic activities of a world-famous person, is a most worthwhile kind of research initiative, which, in addition, due to its demanding nature requiring immeasurable erudition in musicology, ethnomusicology, and editing, is comparable with other types of academic achievements. This publication not only adds to knowledge about Janáček's relationship with folk music for the Czech reader, but thanks to the translations of the editors' introductory studies and regesta of Janáček's individual texts into English and German, it is also an important contribution in terms of international research.

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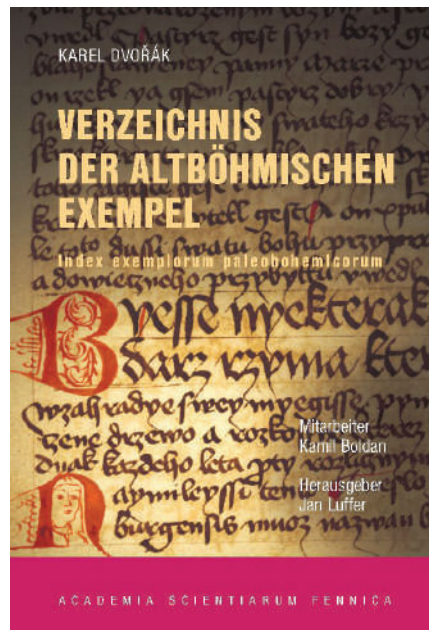
DVOŘÁK, KAREL: VERZEICHNIS DER ALTBÖHMISCHEN EXEMPEL. INDEX EXEMPLORUM PALEOBOHEMICORUM. Edited by Jan Luffer. Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica, 2019, 307 pp.

A book written by a Czech author has been edited as part of the literary collection of FF Communications Academia Scientiarum Fennica (the Finnish Academy of Science and Letters) after almost one hundred years. In addition to *Verzeichnis der böhmischen Märchen* by Václav Tille, Czech folkloristics is in this collection represented by two names – Karel Dvořák, the author of an index of Czech exempla, and Jan Luffer, the editor of Dvořák's posthumously published work, which was initially planned for publication at the above institution.

The literary historian and folklorist Karel Dvořák (1913-1989), who worked at the present-day Institute of Ethnology at Charles University in Prague from the late 1950s until his death, incorporated into the broad range of his long-life interests also exempla, short narratives that priests used in their sermons to illustrate their religious explanations. Even though exempla flourished in the High and Late Middle Ages, they can even be found in ancient literature as part of philosophical or rhetorical works. As medieval literature developed, exempla became part of morally educative works; over time, they became independent and they entered secular entertainment prose as part of sets of stories. Following the example of fairy-tale catalogues, Frederic C. Tubach used the exempla to create his *Index Exemplorum: A Handbook of Medieval Religious Tales*, which he published at the above-mentioned Helsinki institution in 1969. This American researcher found in Karel Dvořák one of his few successors, if not the only one. Dvořák tried to supplement Tubach's international index mainly with excerpts from mediaeval

literature that developed in the Czech lands before the Hussite period. Similarly to Tubach, Dvořák also referred to the 1961 version of Aarne-Thompson's (AT) catalogue of folktale types. Dvořák took over his numbering and English nomenclature of types, but at the same time he also brought something new: more thorough descriptions of storylines and exacter references to sources and literature, variants of each folktale type, references to proverbs, and finally also a new typology. Using this method and based on Latin and old-Bohemian printed sources, Dvořák created about 600 types of exempla, almost doubling Tubach's index. The result of his efforts was published in Czech as *Soupis staročeských exempel* [An Inventory of Old-Bohemian Exempla] (Prague 1978).

Dvořák was well aware of how much unexploited material is hidden in manuscripts. To give the planned and continuously supplemented Inventory international significance, he wrote it in German. In the 1980s, Dvořák also collaborated with his former student Kamil Boldan on the translation of *Historiae variae moralisatae*, a collection of barely legible texts from the late fourteenth century. Dvořák mentioned just a few examples from it before; they were published by Jan Vilíkovský. His cooperation with Boldan enriched his Inventory with another 230 types. Dvořák did not include them in the complete catalogue, but he approached them as an amendment. Unfortunately, he did not manage to finish this version including indexes and proofreading. After Dvořák's death in 1989, the manuscript remained in the possession of his family. An opportunity to publish it arose around the year 2000. While medievalist Anežka Vidmanová wrote the lacking foreword, folklorist Dagmar Klímová compiled the indexes. The manuscript was sent to Helsinki to Laori Honko, who once promised Dvořák to publish it as part of the FFC literary collection. Unfortunately, this promise had not yet been kept.



The current German edition is a result of a meeting between three men – Kamil Boldan, a historian of typography; Jiří Král, Dvořák's son-in-law; and Jan Luffer, a beginning folklorist at the time. The latter not only prepared the German manuscript (he had two versions available; the first one was at the Institute of Ethnology of the Czech Academy of Sciences to which it was donated by the author's family; the other one was possessed by Kamil Boldan), but he also decided to make it accessible to the Czech reader. This was the reason for publishing *Soupis staročeských exempl. Index exemplorum paleobohemicorum* [An Inventory of Old-Bohemian Exempla] (Praha 2016), which prefigured the German edition in Helsinki.

In the edition intended for international academic societies, Luffer tried to mention as much information as possible from both typewritten copies, which can be seen mainly in the footnotes. From Dvořák's first edition of the "Inventory" from 1978, he included the original foreword and proverbs, which the author did not consider using in the German edition. He corrected three indexes and introduced a different structure to the references for each particular type. While in the Czech version he left Dvořák's references to AT, in the German one he used references to the version of the AT catalogue expanded and revised by Hans-Jürgen Uthner

(ATU) in 2004. In the brackets he mentions cases where ATU differs from AT.

Each type has a digit identifying the serial number from Tubach's catalogue, including its English name. If marked with an asterisk, the type is Dvořák's own type. After that, an alphabetically ordered English term for the type follows; this term is created based on the dominant motif. Then a brief summary of the exemplum follows, with references either to corresponding types of exempla or to places in the Bible mentioned under it in brackets. All that is followed by sources of Czech exempla, comparative references to other sources, and references to secondary literature as well as collections or lexicons of proverbs.

As mentioned before, Dvořák originally desired to have a literary historian write the introduction to his catalogue of exempla. In the article "Exempla v Království českém" [Exempla in the Kingdom of Bohemia], literary historian and Latinist Anežka Vidmanová both defines this genre at the interface of literary studies and folkloristics, and presents a thorough inventory of the works from which Karel Dvořák drew. In her opinion, exempla throughout the Middle Ages were influenced by both the Western Roman and the Eastern Roman traditions. In the twelfth century, when education rapidly developed, exempla were already indispensable. In the High

and Late Middle Ages, exempla were included in the works of authors who wrote both in Latin and in vernacular languages. In Bohemia, the popularity of exempla culminated during the reign of Charles IV, while the Hussites tried to eradicate them from churches, schools, and literature.

The neatly arranged book with a dust jacket designed by the graphic artist Eva Lufferová is supplemented with an inventory of old-Bohemian sources, texts for comparison, secondary literature, catalogues, periodicals, and proverb collections. The list of exempla is complemented by a concordance of Dvořák's catalogue with ATU, and the publication includes name and object indexes as well as necessary commentary written by the editor.

For Karel Dvořák, exempla were the subject of his long-life research efforts. It is not necessary to accentuate the fact that Luffer's edition of Dvořák's Inventory is a significant achievement in comparative literature. In contrast to authoring texts, editorial work is usually not crowned with laurels. It is a service done on behalf of somebody else. Both collaborators – editor Jan Luffer and historian of typography Kamil Boldan – have used their erudition and patiently spent years producing a work about whose usefulness we are fully convinced.

Marta Ulrychová
(Pízeň)

EDITORIAL

This is the second year we have been struggling with the COVID-19 pandemic. It has influenced our lives and changed how our society, including ethnology, functions. This fact is not surprising. Since the times of Marx and Weber we have recognized the critical link between science and society. If in the past we thought about society's influence on how we understand knowledge, about in which spheres knowledge is demanded and in which, in contrast, it is not, if in the past we analysed and interpreted the influence of political regimes on knowledge and grieved over the economic dependence of science on societal priorities, today we are experiencing something different. The lockdowns prevented our research projects from being implemented – we were not allowed to conduct interviews and observe many common social interactions; research rooms in archives, museums, and libraries were closed. On the other hand, the exceptional situation that we are going through offers us unique opportunities for thinking about the functioning and composition of our societies. Every day we can observe group protests or individual breaches of common social conventions and government anti-epidemic regulations, we can take note of the creativity of inhabitants in coping with the current situation, and we can monitor the spread of rumours and their impact. In the public space we can study symbols and their reception – beginning with omnipresent face masks and hygienic accessories through placards with regulations and visual manifestations of disapproval to the uncompromising wailing of ambulance sirens. Beside this, our lives go on with their common positive and negative aspects, and we think about the time “before Covid” as well as about what we can expect in the future.

Much of what I have written in the above lines is reflected in the current issue of the *Journal of Ethnology*. The study by Zuzana Beňušková about ethnological research on Slovakia during the Communist regime and that by Václav Michalička about the ethnographic experiment as a method used not only by Czech ethnology submit to critical review the hitherto state of research. In contrast to this, in the study about research on small technical heritage structures in the context of the cultural landscape of Moravian Wallachia, the authors investigate the future paths of ethnology. The current issue of the *Journal of Ethnology* also comments on changes, specifically, the transformations in staged presentations of folk culture expressions in the Czech lands in a study by Martina Pavlicová.

Roman Doušek

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