NÁRODOPISNÁ revue

5/2023

JOURNAL OF ETHNOLOGY

JOURNAL OF ETHNOLOGY 5/2023 – AUTHORS OF ARTICLES:

PhDr. et Mgr. Petr WOHLMUTH, Ph.D., studied historical sociology and historical anthropology at the Faculty of Humanities, Charles University in Prague. He received his PhD in historical anthropology from the same faculty. He works at the Department of Historical Sciences, Faculty of Humanities, Charles University, in the Oral History – Contemporary History programme. He focuses on the actor experience of wars, armed conflicts, military service, and other types of military practice. He is editor-in-chief of the academic journal *History – Theory – Criticism* and chairman of the Czech Society for Military Historical Research (SVDV).

ORCID 0000-0002-5322-3262. **Contact**: Petr.Wohlmuth@fhs.cuni.cz

Mgr. Přemysl VACEK is a musician and PhD student in the field of general anthropology at the Faculty of Humanities of Charles University in Prague. He deals with oral history and contemporary cultural history, focussing on research into alternative structures of classical music and marginal social groups.

ORCID: 0000-0002-3474-4572. **Contact**: Premysl.Vacek@fhs.cuni.cz

Mgr. Eva ŠIPÖCZOVÁ, Ph.D., studied ethnology at the Department of European Ethnology of Masaryk University in Brno. In 2016, she defended her PhD dissertation dealing with the transformation of political jokes in the second half of the twentieth century and in the present. Between 2019 and 2023, she worked as a research fellow at the Institute of Ethnology of the Czech Academy of Sciences.

ORCID: 0000-0003-2719-8312. **Contact**: sipoczova@gmail.com

Doc. Lenka JAKOUBKOVÁ BUDILOVÁ, Ph.D., is a social anthropologist. Since 2017 she has been working at Charles University in Prague, first at the Institute of Ethnology of the Faculty of Arts, and since 2023 at the Department of Social and Cultural Anthropology of the Faculty of Humanities. She has conducted field research in north-western Bulgaria, Czech villages in Serbian Banat, and in Roma settlements in Slovakia. She deals with the anthropology of kinship, the Balkans, and Europe.

ORCID: 0000-0002-4311-6359. **Contact**: Lenka.JakoubkovaBudilova@fhs.cuni.cz

NÁRODOPISNÁ revue

5/2023

JOURNAL OF ETHNOLOGY

CONTENTS

TRIAD OF RESISTANCE, DEFEAT, AND RECONCILIATION: THE PRODUCTION OF HISTORICAL MEANING IN THE PERFORMANCES OF CZECH MILITARY REENACTMENT THROUGH THE EXAMPLE OF ESTONIAN SS UNITS

Petr Wohlmuth ***(Department of Historical Sciences, Faculty of Humanities, Charles University)***

Historical reenactment is a phenomenon widely present in the Czech Republic. It is a performative reconstruction of past actions and events, which involves the production of shared affectivity, the politics of memory, heritage, and the construction of historical meaning, and contains many features of ritualized action (Agnew – Lamb – Tomann 2020: 1–2). The most common form is military reenactment, where a group of several dozen, rarely hundreds and even more rarely thousands of reenactors, equipped with period weaponry and gear, publicly perform a "reenactment" of a historical armed conflict. In the Czech Republic, reenactments of the battles of Austerlitz or White Mountain are well known, as well as battles from the Seven Years' War, organized as part of the Josephine Festival in Theresienstadt.

In this text, I draw on concepts of historical reenactment research after the so-called affective turn, which has moved away from its original emphasis on the analysis of authenticity to focus in a constructivist way on affectivity, corporality, experience, performance, and especially the culturally contingent production of historical meaning (McCalman – Pickering 2010). In the Czech Republic, the scholarly reflection on historical reenactment is still a novelty and rather remains the subject of theses (Procházka 2013; Hadarová 2016; Bervidová 2017; Svoboda 2020; etc.). Only very few academic texts work with the analytical category of reenactment. One that stands out among them is Lenka Hadarová's study entitled *Za oponou autenticity minulosti: Vytváranie dobových historických ukážok druhej svetovej vojny* [Behind the Curtain of the Authenticity of the Past] (Hadarová 2019), which deals with the cultural construction of the authenticity of World War II reenactments with an emphasis on the relationship between materiality and human agency.[1]

Second, this text is theoretically underpinned by post-positivist oral history (OH) — an approach that is still new in Czech academia. It is used here to develop the problematic orientation outlined by reenactment studies, namely, that reenactors engage primarily in a practice that reflects the features and problems of their own historical subjectivity[2] rather than the notion of the authenticity of the representation of past events. The paradigm of post-positivist OH has turned away from the antiquated notion of OH as a qualitative research method, seeking to factually extract representative memory narratives, free of distortion, and use them to refine essentially positivist understandings of historical facts. In contrast, post-positivist OH welcomes distortion and selectivity of memory and understands it as a gateway to the actor's historical subjectivity, conceptualized as a set of cultural contents, forms, and processes through which actors express in their narratives an understanding of themselves in history (Abrams 2016; Portelli 1990). This means that post-positivist OH does not seek quasi-sociological sampling and representativeness, but the broadest possible cultural-historical typology and contextualization of actor subjectivities (Portelli 1997; Thomson 2013).

In terms of theory, it lies at the intersection of historical anthropology, ethnology, micro-history, and memory studies. Sometimes referred to as OH after the cultural turn, it was first established in the Italian academic community in the 1980s.[3] In Euro-Atlantic academia, its variants have long been the dominant paradigm of OH.

Consequently, one can find the theoretical-methodological intersection between reenactment studies after the affective turn and post-positivist OH primarily in a shared interest in the production of historical meaning in reenactor performances. According to post-positivist OH, this production depends, in addition to public discourses, to a large extent on the historical subjectivity of reenactors, that is, the ways in which they express how they understand themselves in history. Therefore, the key sources used for this study are the recordings and transcripts of a total of twelve OH interviews newly conducted with members of a reenactor military history club (hereafter MHC) focusing on the Austro-Prussian War

(1866), the Wehrmacht, and now dominantly the Estonian SS.[4]

The reason for the selection of the MHC was the unique production of historical meaning in the Czech context and the related unique position in the typology of reenactor historical subjectivities. This is epistemologically significant for post-positivist oral history. The cultural-historical typology of actors' historical subjectivities mentioned above, especially in the Italian OH tradition to which I subscribe, is often constructed in a direction from the solitary extreme positions to the centre. This is due to the strong theoretical inspiration of Italian micro-history and its emphasis on using sources concerning distinctly singular actors (Portelli 1997).

The existence of the MHC was brought to my attention by a reenactor of the pre-Munich Czechoslovak Army, who pointed out the MHC's unusual focus on the Estonian SS but added that the MHC is not neo-Nazi oriented, and its members are friends. The MHC's focus on the Estonian SS stemmed first of all from the military reenactors' typical regional research activities. In fact, about ten years ago, MHC members discovered in the state district archive unique historical photographs from May 1945, showing Estonian soldiers on the square of their town. In addition to this, many reenactors expressed their desire, as reflected in the OH interviews, to reenact something extraordinary and unusual in terms of military history. The result was their gradual shift of focus to the Estonian 20th Division, beginning around 2015.

Establishing contact with the narrators was difficult and took almost half a year. It was obvious that the MHC members were not looking for publicity and were afraid of media scandal. It is not surprising: for example, a heated controversy resonates to this day, which started in December 2010 with a text on the blog of the columnist and journalist Pavel Hrabica entitled "The Battle of Austerlitz: Only Idiots Celebrate a Massacre". It was published on the anniversary of the battle in an intentionally symbolic way (Hrabica 2010). In this article, the author directed extreme disdain towards the reenactors. Another similar "sore" reflected by a number of reenactors is the fact that in the community's otherwise respected authoritative monograph by Marie Koldinská and Ivan Šedivý, *War and the Army in Czech History*, contemporary military reenactments are described as "truly foolish theatrical stunts" (Koldinská – Šedivý 2008: 393).[5] Moreover, most reenactors with whom OH interviews were conducted mention incomprehension or even aversion shown by those around them. In all OH interviews with MHC members, they expressed concern about having to counter accusations of neo-Nazism and invectives from some spectators at almost every public reenactment. However, I eventually gained their trust. The key factor was probably the theoretical setting manifested in the sense of value neutrality (Weber 2009) and the rejection of the conventional — and outdated — model of historian as a proverbial judge (Ginzburg 1991: 85).

I subsequently explored the historical subjectivity of the narrators of the MHC mainly through the most essential parts of their repertoire. These are three main reenactments: first, the World War II week-long reenactment of *the March to Captivity* (hereafter *The March*, organized since 2018), referring to the events of May 1945 in the Czech lands. The same theme of retreat and defeat is also present in the non-combat "march" reenactment called *The West*. Representations of the same subject, taken to even deeper levels of meaning, are contained in the film reenactment produced by the MHC, which I call *Division 45*.[6] The research question of the following text asks, how is the historical subjectivity of narrator-reenactors reflected in the production of historical meaning in the reenactments organized by them?

The reenactor march

In the case of military reenactments, the end of World War II in western Bohemia continues to be mostly associated with the traditional *Convoy of Liberty* event. The parade of historic combat vehicles of the Allied and primarily American armies, commemorating the liberation of Pilsen, which is also attended by veterans of the Allied armies, is a widely attended event, regularly reported on by the mass media. However, another reenactment, somewhat in the shadow of the *Convoy of Liberty*, has been taking place for several years now. Its participants produce very unusual versions of historical meaning, touching, like the *Convoy of Liberty*, on the end of World War II. Thus, a different convoy of historic vehicles of the German armed forces has passed through the borders of western and southern Bohemia several times — as part of an event called *The March*. The convoy is not greeted by crowds of thousands of spectators as in Pilsen, but its significance for the understanding of World War II military reenactment in the Czech lands is comparable. The *Convoy of Liberty* communicates

the meanings of official memory, the contemporary hegemonic narrative that speaks of the liberation of the Czech lands in 1945. *The March*, and especially *Division 45*, on the other hand, carry alternative meanings; they view the notion of liberation critically but not in a revisionist way. In the case of *The March*, the MHC is one of the traditional co-organizers, while *Division 45* was independently produced and directed by the MHC, who worked with several other clubs on the initial two episodes and had control over the script.

The MHC is highly relevant to the study of the culture and contemporary history of Czech military reenactment. First, both *The March* and *The West* are large, private, invitation-only events, subjectively perceived as the actual core of reenactor practice. This practice has in fact long been almost split between public, audience-accessible, scripted events and private, audience-inaccessible events. The latter tend to be structured according to a loose tactical agreement, generating a more intimate type of experience based on "introspective authenticity" (Daugbjerg 2020: 28; Handler – Saxton 1988), which most reenactors argue is where the essential takes place. During private events, it does not matter what the audience accepts as historically accurate ("mimetic credibility" type of authenticity), but in the absence of an audience the emphasis is on deep inner experience and its intersubjective sharing, which is typical of the "essential truthfulness" type of authenticity (Agnew – Lamb – Tomann 2020: 20). Narrator Jörg expressed this difference as follows: *"I can really touch history there. I'm lying in the woods, soaking wet, shivering, holding a machine gun, looking into the darkness, not knowing who's facing me... my finger on the trigger... it fulfils me, it makes me happy..."* (Jörg 2022a). *"It's a thousand times better than a big event,"* Anton agrees (Anton 2022a). *"We do it... for ourselves"* (Anton 2022b). *"For me the atmosphere is important... we do it our way... we understand each other"* (Paul 2022a). *"The atmosphere there is unique..."* (Matthias 2022a). *"Our priority events... we have drill and everything, we try to act like soldiers"* (Matthias 2022b).[7]

World War II reenactors in general, and those from the MHC in particular, prefer private reenactments, but they also participate in some public events organized by municipalities and memory institutions. During these events, they usually receive allowances for food, ammunition, and travel, and sometimes a fee, which is a welcome boost to the MHC's budget otherwise covered by the members' own finances. *"To be able to do private events, you have to do public events... You get recruits, and you earn money to run the club,"* Anton sums up part of the problem (Anton 2022a). Paul sees public events in a similar way: *"It's actually boring, it's theatre..."* (Paul 2022b), by which he reflects that at public events reenactors often have to submit to someone else's politics of memory, prescribed in a fixed script. Private events also exclude complete novices or half-hearted reenactors who do not have quality equipment (so-called Chims) (Anton 2022a). Their presence would disrupt the deeply affective essential authenticity shared.

The tactical agreement of *The March* takes the participants to the end of World War II, to May 1945 in southwestern Bohemia. Approximately one hundred reenactors split into two groups: first, Allied troops (usually the US Army and British Commandos), and then Axis German troops (Estonian SS and Wehrmacht or paratroopers – Fallschirmjäger). Units representing the Axis German forces then follow an agreed route trying to reach their destination, which is a prison camp run by the US Army, with a lower rate of clashes and the primary objective being to get through. They always reach their destination; however, they formally surrender, undergo intelligence interrogation, receive POW registration cards, and retire to

Fig. 1. Reenactors in period equipment: German armoured personnel carrier Sd. Kfz. 251. © WAR Productions, 2023

a guarded area where they stay until the end of the event. For "combat" contacts between the two sides, rules are agreed upon, stipulating, for example, the effectiveness of "firing" small arms (mostly so-called expansion blank firing replicas). The whole event is coordinated with the local authorities, and in exchange for the mayor's tolerance, the reenactors usually organize a so-called public demonstration combined with a tour of the military camp and historic automotive equipment. Besides this demonstration, however, the event is structured in such a way that the reenactors do not encounter "civilians" at all (Anton 2022a).

The result of *The March* is always the same: the Axis German troops eventually reach the American-occupied zone, surrender, and find themselves captured. The prisoner-of-war phase is also important. In the OH narratives and the available iconographic and other textual sources, numerous representations of the subjectivity of those taken captive are common: grief, dejection, reflection on their historical fate, on the moral ambivalence of the war and, in the case of the Estonian SS, reflections on the impasse of small nations caught between Stalin's USSR and Hitler's Germany. *The March* is distinctive already for this unusual degree of reflexivity raising a number of questions that are in an identical way even more explicitly represented in *Division 45*.

Accounts of the course of *The March* in OH interviews and other sources speak of it as a reenactment, which, although based on a loose tactical arrangement, has a clear basic plot: the Axis German side retreats to the west, is always defeated and captured, and reflects on its situation. *The West* presents the same situation, but without fighting: a group of soldiers, military nurses, and civilians (successfully) flee to the West but experience no retreat fighting or confrontation.

Division 45 is a five-part low-budget film miniseries, semi-professionally directed and produced by the MHC in an Estonian-German-Czech version with Estonian voiceover and Czech subtitles.[8] Its script is almost identical to *The March*, but more historically realistic. The protagonist from the third episode onwards is Jüri, a lone non-commissioned officer fleeing west, a member of the 20th Waffen Grenadier Division of the SS (1st Estonian). He overcomes various obstacles, hides from the Czech Revolutionary Guards and the Red Army, and reevaluates his experience with increasing urgency. The first two episodes briefly depict the mobilization, training, and retreat battles in Estonia and Silesia. In the case of *Division 45*, the plot focuses increasingly on the soldier's inner experience and reflection, and the most significant representations of reenactor historical subjectivities are to be found here. Paul strongly recommended *Division 45*, which was in post-production at the time of the OH interview, saying *"There will be a message and... stories"* (Paul 2022b).

All three reenactments consistently end in defeat and surrender. Why is such a reenactment, overshadowed in scope and performance by classic large-scale Czech events like *Barikáda* or *Cihelna*, worthy of research? Why does it take place if it fails to fit, affectively and in its historical sense, into the dominant production of patriotic and masculine military connotations of aggression and wounding, seizing, and disposing of the enemy, typical of military reenactments, commemorations, and rituals (Daugbjerg 2020; Åse – Wendt 2019)? These usual connotations are present in *The March*, but at the same time they are somewhat diminished in the OH narratives and then deconstructed step by step in *Division 45*. The point of all three reenactments is in fact not to defeat the (Western) adversary, but to surrender to him and come to terms with him and with one's historical subjectivity.

Historical context and meaning

Anja Dreschke analyses historical military reenactments as rituals within more recent concepts of researching performativity in reenactment and focuses on the issue of acts representing the re-appropriation of significant historical narratives and the subsequent reinterpretation of historical meaning. She draws attention to the importance of the construction of historical meaning, particularly in the middle phase of the reenactment itself, which she perceives in Turner's terminology as liminal, typical of communitas (Dreschke 2020: 202; Bell 2009). Such an analysis of the production of historical meaning can help to confirm or refute a common implicit hypothesis about the ideological motivation of the actors of military reenactments focussed on the Axis powers' forces during World War II.

Dreschke notes that available studies point in a different direction, namely the connection of early medieval Germanic tribal and Viking reenactors with neo-Nazism through ritualized reenactments, mirroring nationalist-occult *völkisch* concepts and the musical subculture of pagan metal or black metal (Hoppadietz – Reichenbach

2019, 2022; Banghard 2009; Dreschke 2020: 203). Ideologically explicit World War II Axis reenactors exist, but the rest of the Czech reenactor community tends to avoid them and is often openly hostile to them:[9] *"If a few idiots show up... who raise their right hand, they'll screw it up for all of us, pardon me!"* (Jörg 2022a).[10]

The application of Magelssen's thesis concerning the alleged exaggerated emphasis on historical fidelity in the details of uniforms and equipment, centred around military symbolism, which serves as a pretext for wearing the Nazi swastika or SS symbols in public, and therefore an aid to the construction of an *"authoritarian counter-culture"* (Magelssen 2020: 192), is also not relevant in this case. This thesis would have to be supported, for instance, by an analysis of the production of meaningfully coherent historical meaning, which draws different conclusions in the case of the analysed reenactments.

If we want to understand the production of historical meaning within the reenactment of *The March*, we must first identify what historical narrative the organizers and participants are performatively attempting to appropriate — and how they further modify this narrative. Its significance in the Czech context has so far been only hinted at (Plavec – Rosenthal 2006). It is a significant and complicated narrative, mainly concerning the Baltic SS units, which in the primarily Estonian setting is part of a contemporary hegemonic narrative that is used to make sense of modern Estonian national history. Therefore, we will use the Estonian case, which is in fact dominant in all three reenactments. The production of historical meaning in the examined reenactments is based on the basic elements of this hegemonic narrative, which can be summarized as follows:

Following the occupation of Estonia by the Stalinist USSR army in 1940 (under the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact), the Soviet authorities imposed a regime of political terror, characterized by numerous crimes against humanity, including the execution of more than 2,500 people and deportation to the Gulag, forced evacuation to the USSR, and conscription into the Red Army of more than 100,000 people, of whom approximately 40,000 died (Salo et al. 2005: 14–15).[11] Consequently, in 1941 a significant number of the population welcomed the German troops as liberators. However, the initial sentiments soon faded as nearly 9,000 more people, including the vast majority of Jews and Roma, fell victim to the three years of Nazi occupation (Salo et al. 2005: 18; Birn 2001). At the end of 1943, when the situation on the front began to develop to the strong disadvantage of Axis Germany, there was a threat of the reoccupation of Estonia by Soviet troops. After the collapse of the front in the Leningrad region in January 1944, the Nazi occupation administration ordered a general mobilization. Eventually, more than 30,000 men, sharing a fatalistic sense of a hopeless situation (Kirss 2011: 371–372), characterized by the option to choose *"between bad and worse"* (Kõresaar 2011: 10), joined in, with symbolic approval also from the resistance.[12] Wulf interprets the situation as a further manifestation of Estonia's cultural historical positioning as a *"buffer zone"* between the *"Russian and German empires"*, or a *"shadowland"*, whose status is uncertain and fluid and which must constantly confront a double aggressive otherness (Wulf 2016).

The reenactors mention in particular the principle of involuntariness: *"*[These] *Estonians had nothing to do with Nazism... They ended up in the SS… but they just got landed with it."*[13] They further describe the practice of conscription: "*And he was on his way home from work, in his early twenties. They picked him up in the street... and in the end he fell near Opole..."* (Jörg 2022a). *"Against the will of many of our compatriots, we were assigned under the black flag of the sinister SS,"* says the main character in *Division 45*, who was faced only with *"constant drill... hunger, bullying, and propaganda"* (*Division 45*, Episode 1). From the new conscripts and the 3rd Brigade mentioned above, the 20th Waffen Grenadier Division of the SS (1st Estonian) was administratively formed and immediately engaged in heavy fighting, which culminated with the defence of the Blue Hills area (Vaivara Sinimäed) on the Tannenberg Line in the summer of 1944, where the numerically much weaker Estonian units participated in stopping the Soviet advance and inflicted heavy losses on the invaders (Hiio 2006).

However, overshadowed by the dominant narrative of the 20th Division conscripts, who are described as men who voluntarily fought for their country in an unwillingly worn foreign uniform, other ethnically Estonian units in the German service play a less significant role in the Estonian narrative. These include the Omakaitse militia units established by the Nazis during the occupation and the subsequent Estonian volunteer security police battalions (numbering 24), known as Schutzmannschafts-Bataillonen

(Schuma), commanded by the Nazi security police, the Sicherheitspolizei (Sipo). They *"wore the same uniforms as their German counterparts, were trained in Sipo schools in Germany, and their commanders received SS ranks"* (Birn 2001: 185–186). Members of the Schuma were deployed at the front and in the rear, where they also arrested more than 900 Estonian Jews who did not manage to escape in the summer of 1941 and were subsequently mass-murdered by the Schuma and Omakaitse in the autumn. *Schuma* troops were also involved in guarding twenty-two concentration and labour camps established in Estonia from 1942 onwards, where, among other things, the Holocaust of Estonian Roma took place (Birn 2001: 188).[14] Wendt pointed out that until recently, reflection on the crimes committed by the Omakaitse and Schuma was suppressed in the official Estonian memory to the extent that *"most Estonians regard the Holocaust as an imposed discourse... with no direct connection to their country"* (Weiss-Wendt 2008: 475).

The core of the traditional narrative as well as of the examined reenactments is primarily the direct frontline deployment of the 20th Division. This is framed in contemporary Estonian military culture as a manifestation of a controversial yet heroic effort to prevent further Stalinist atrocities. As for the composition of the division, it is known for certain (Misiunas – Taagepera 1993: 49–69) that in addition to conscripts, a certain number of volunteers from the ranks of the Schuma also joined it. We do not know the exact numbers. After 1991, however, veterans of the Estonian SS eventually attained the government-defined status of freedom fighters (Kõresaar 2018: 167). In the collective memory of Estonia today, especially after the relevant parliamentary declaration of 2012, combat participation in the 20th Division is dominantly interpreted as a praiseworthy effort to avert the second Soviet occupation and to *"de facto restore the Republic of Estonia"* (Kõresaar 2018: 192–193). For example, during the first interview, Anton compared the importance of these soldiers for Estonian military culture to that of the Czechoslovak legionnaires for Czech culture (Anton 2022a).

The veterans of the 20th Division are respected persons in this official context. Those who received the highest German decoration for bravery, the Knight's Cross of the Iron Cross, during the battle for Narva and the Blue Hills, namely Paul Maitla, Harald Nugiseks, Alfons Rebane, and Harald Riipalu, enjoy particularly high status. When Harald Nugiseks died in 2014 at the age of 92, he was given a state funeral with military honours (Kõresaar 2018: 190). The reenactors from the MHC reflect the warm feelings of a large part of the Estonian public and met with them, for example, during a reenactment in Valga, Estonia. Jörg recalled an ambivalent and strong period rush-type affect (a concept to be analysed later): *"And we marched through the town in those SS uniforms and people waved and greeted us, and damn near threw flowers at us. Old ladies were wiping away tears, recalling events... I have never experienced anything such as this again, nothing has even come close... Not that I felt like a Nazi... but the crowd, the atmosphere, it felt terribly strange to me but not in a negative way…"* (Jörg 2022a).

The final phase of the history of the Estonian SS is inextricably linked to the end of World War II in the Czech lands. In May 1945, a *Kampfgruppe* with only a few thousand men, who remained from the 20th Division after heavy retreat fighting from Estonia to Upper Silesia, tried to pass through the Czech lands to the west to American captivity. A column of the 46th Regiment under Alfons Rebane took the northern route across the foothills and reached its destination, but a column of the 45th Regiment under Paul Maitla and other units headed toward Prague, gradually disintegrated and surrendered to the Revolutionary Guards. It was followed by what Estonian soldiers and historians refer to as "Czech Hell" (Est. *Tšehhi põrgu*; Hiio 2006: 1048–1054; Kirss 2011; Cielecki 2015). Despite the surrender agreements, several thousand Estonian prisoners were subjected to inhumane treatment, and more than five hundred were tortured to death or executed without trial, including Paul Maitla in Nymburk (Plavec – Rosenthal 2006). In Estonian military culture, Czech Hell represents a traumatic episode, among other things, because the legendary character of Paul Maitla, who is the only Estonian holder of the Knight's Cross not buried in Estonia and whose exact final resting place is still unknown, was also a victim.

Reinterpretation, not revisionism

The MHC produces historical meaning in its reenactments. These showcase the story of some of the Estonian men under arms in 1941–1945: the soldiers who joined the 20th Division in early 1944. The adopted Estonian hegemonic narrative concerning the 20th Division's combat journey is visibly edited to remove elements that

could be exploited in a revisionist way. We may compare, for example, *Division 45* with the successful Estonian film drama called *1944* (2015). It depicts the defence of the Blue Hills near Narva with the participation of Dutch (Vrijwilligerslegioen Nederland) and Danish (Frikorps Danmark) members of the SS who in several scenes befriend the Estonian soldiers and experience a brotherhood in arms. Many of the Dutch and Danish were ideological Nazis indeed, volunteers, not conscripts.[15] The only reference to these volunteers can be found in the first episode of *Division 45*, when the Estonian voiceover briefly lists the nationality of the soldiers deployed in the Blue Hills. In scenes thematically identical to those in *1944*, only Estonian soldiers are seen in *Division 45*. In this way, the reenactors also implicitly distance themselves from explicitly Nazi traditions and meanings.

The MHC's reenactments do not carry the connotations of revisionist reenactments and commemorations typical of German, other Western European SS veterans' organizations, and their successors (Hurd – Werther 2017: 344). They show a different cultural logic than, for example, the historical confrontations between veterans of (not only) the Estonian SS and the Red Army and political activists in Pärnu, Lihula, or Tallinn regarding memory sites (Brüggemann – Kasekamp 2008; Smith 2008: 424). If this were the case, the MHC would primarily reenact the battle for the Blue Hills, where revisionist meetings of SS veterans traditionally took place, not the defeat and escape into captivity of May 1945 in the Czech lands, which carries completely different historical meanings.

The March, *The West*, and *Division 45* also generate a different affectivity: they do not imbue heroic suffering and death on the battlefield with a sacred character, but in a diachronic perspective, the MHC uses them to communicate increasingly strong feelings of futility and hopelessness, which call for a reassessment of one's historical role and experience. Authors who have studied the rituals typical of revisionist neo-Nazi heritage groups and reenactments have pointed out that during these rituals, repressed manifestations of symbolic aggression and hatred, such as anti-Semitism, regularly occur (Hurd – Werther 2017: 352). *The March* is not typical of this either, and negative affective reactions in *Division 45* only appear in connection with representatives of the Soviet and Nazi occupation regimes, including mocking references regarding the end of Adolf Hitler: *"When the news reached us that Hitler had fallen in Berlin, it did not stir any emotions. The gentleman with the moustache has kicked the bucket and now what? What about us?"* (*Division 45*, Episode 2, 2022).

Fig. 2. Action scene from Division 45: Battle of the Blue Hills at Narva, 1944. © WAR Productions, 2023

In the conceptual vocabulary of reenactment studies after the affective turn, one of the key concepts is the concept of period rush, also referred to as *wargasm* in military reenactment. It is a temporary intense and holistically absorbing affective rush, carrying the meaning of an imaginary journey back in time, which reenactors generally desire: the period rush type of experience during reenactments is clearly one of the main motivations for becoming a military reenactor (Daugbjerg 2017, 2020; Runia 2006). Narrators in our interviews regularly used references to experiences of this type, and representations of their lived wargasms formed a major part of the content shaping their historical subjectivity. While many of the reenactors cited in the literature speak of wargasms occurring in the imagined heat of battle, in the case of *The March*, *The West*, and *Division 45* we see a gradual abandonment of battle wargasms and a shift towards the non-combat, non-violent feelings of period rush that occur in the moment of reaching the destination in the form of the POW camp, the act of surrender, and the subsequent "camp life" and reflective contemplation. It is here that some of the strongest affective reactions are mentioned in the narratives. Jörg, Paul, and Matthias all said that the most powerful experiences of *The March* were the situations involving the skilful laying of traps, taking of prisoners, and negotiating to get through to the West (Jörg 2022b; Paul 2022a; Matthias 2022a), characterized by the relative absence of direct violence*. "It's more non-contact... reconnaissance and stuff; we have to capture someone"*, Anton recalled (Anton 2022a). Paul included the only combat scene (the fight over the bridge), which he attended in a public demonstration, separated it from *The March* programme, and, for example, recalled that he fired at most forty rounds of ammunition in a whole week during the last event, a common consumption for an hour during public events (Paul 2022b).

Fig. 3. Jüri removes and buries his Iron Cross decoration.
© WAR Productions, 2023

As regards production of historical meaning, it is crucial to see that in *Division 45*, the defensive and retreat battles in Estonia and Silesia are merely a prologue to the main meanings associated with the events of May 1945 and the end of the war. This means that the most important episodes in *Division 45* are the third, fourth, and fifth, mostly set in Bohemia, full of escalating meanings of escape and desperate loneliness, providing an opportunity to reassess one's own life. The main character Jüri is on the run across the foothills of the Giant Mountains and the Jizera and Ore Mountains further west, and as an Estonian he feels *"alone... against the whole world"* (*Division 45*, Episode 3). In the key, most affectively powerful scene of the miniseries (Episode 5), following many different struggles, he finally takes off his German uniform: *"The uniform of the country I did not serve"*, and in the symbolic act of removing and burying his Iron Cross 2nd and 1st Class decorations, he demonstrates the shedding of his self as a soldier of the 20th Division. Jüri's character then swims across the river separating the Soviet and American occupation zones in Germany almost naked, leaving all his belongings on the eastern bank, which is another symbolic representation of the rejection of the old self and the attempt to enter a new life "purified" (*Division 45*, Episode 5).

The non-standard type of wargasm in military reenactment is a key form, co-creating the historical subjectivity of the reenactors involved. The relieved sense of security after being captured by the US Army is content that is opposed to other types of wargasms represented in OH interviews with other narrators engaged in reenacting the activities of World War II–era German armed forces: for example, the experience of firing an MG 42 machine gun or firing a Panzerfaust replica at a Soviet tank,[16] or using a flamethrower in trench combat. In last year's *The March*, the final stay in the POW camp was accompanied by an improvised "denazification" element: the discovery of a Gestapo officer who had infiltrated

the captured soldiers and was subsequently denounced by them to the Allied guards, who began to treat him much less correctly (Matthias 2022a). The killing of a Gestapo officer fleeing along the same route to the West as Jüri is also one of the central scenes in *Division 45*. Jüri beat the Gestapo officer to death with a stone in an explicitly violent scene. *"The bastard's conscience was not clear..."*, adds the Estonian voiceover (*Division 45*, Episode 3).

The narrators refer to the experiences of retreat and captivity as the climax of the reenactment in the interviews: *"And after the last combat we got captured; they took our weapons... took us away... stripped us, searched us... and brought us in for interrogation. It was an interesting twist; this doesn't normally happen at events... it's absolutely a top event..."* (Paul 2022a). Matthias recalls the final phase in a similar way: *"They captured us and took us to the camp... The interrogation and the search began. So that was nice; that's part of it, and we were prisoners... and then there was... prisoner life"* (Matthias 2022a). In general, the narrators' performance changed during the account of the end of *The March*; they were more focussed, with richer paralinguistic expressions, and the narrative was also more fluid. But what are the reenactors actually retreating from? Why do contemporary Czech military reenactors of the Estonian SS try to performatively immerse themselves in their historical subjectivity? The whole reenactment takes place on the side of the "losers" and is imbued with a strong nostalgia affect (Schroeder 2020), linked to representations of hopelessness. These manifestations of subjectivity are indeed unusual. Military reenactment is usually dominated by the already mentioned androcentric emphasis (Tomann 2022: 217) on the performance of dominance, aggression, and hegemonic masculinity (Hunt 2008: 474–478). In our case, reenactor nostalgia carries the connotations of an attempt to return to the Estonian and probably also Czech (Czechoslovak) pre-war context, in which a "small nation" existed in its own country and for a moment was not just a "buffer space" between the West and the East, immediately threatened by two empires at the same time (Wulf 2016). This idyllic context is expressed in *Division 45* by both real and hallucinatory scenes of Jüri with his fiancée Külli (played by reenactor Julia), representing symbols of a loving, peaceful life, to which the character of Jüri constantly relates.

Reenactment and a score to settle in history

The March, and especially *The West* and *Division 45*, represent a cultural form that significantly distances the subjectivity of our narrators from lay perceptions regarding their neo-Nazi orientation. *The March*, for example, represents at first glance a potentially ideological event for many writers in the field of reenactment studies as it fills in the "blank spots" of contemporary history through an affectively intense military-historical reenactment (Hoppadietz – Reichenbach 2022; Horwitz 1999). However, this reenactment is not counterfactual in the sense of reinforcing various stereotypes and does not communicate the meanings of the triumph and imaginary victory of the Axis powers' armies.

As far as the SS units are concerned, the MHC members are only involved in commemorative activities related to the Estonian 20th Division. In the past they participated in the famous reenactments in Valga, Estonia, and visited the Blue Hills battlefield. They are also conducting researching to locate the grave of Paul Maitla, but they do not collaborate with the SS veterans' associations and their *Kriegsgräberstiftung*. Instead, they focus on the Volksbund Deutsche Kriegsgräberfüsorge, the official association run by the German government (Jörg 2022a, 2022b; Anton 2022a). Again, their activity in this sense differs from the usual practice in revisionist circles of SS veterans and their followers seeking to revive the Nazi ethos of historical SS weapons (Hurd – Werther 2017: 353).

Fig. 4. Reenactor of German WWII paratroopers (Fallschirmjäger) with MG 42 general-purpose machine gun. © WAR Productions, 2023

The MHC, by contrast, creates meanings in its reenactments based on the rejection of both totalitarian regimes (Soviet and Nazi), and they consider the possible discovery and exhumation of Paul Maitla and his subsequent repatriation to be potentially problematic (Jörg 2022a; Anton 2022a).

Thus, there is a clear distinction in the activities of the MHC. They do not associate themselves with the traditional *Truppenkameradschaften*, which carry the Nazi ethos of the SS, and do not participate in their revisionist counter-memory (Hurd – Werther 2017: 330–334). In addition, they regularly commemorate anniversaries of tragic events associated with the Nazi occupation of Czechoslovakia on their social media, for example, referring to the extermination of Lidice as *"one of the greatest crimes committed by the Nazis against our nation"* (Facebook MHC 6/2022). It is undeniable that in the case of *The March* and especially *Division 45*, the production of historical meaning and the nature of the reenactors' affective experiences of the period rush point in the direction of what has been described as an attempt to publicly deal with "a score to settle in history" (Daugbjerg 2020: 27; Schneider 2011: 33), which is usually understood in the literature as an indicator of historical revisionism. This is not the case of the MHC. *The March* suggests and *Division 45* explicitly tries to interpret the experience of defeat in World War II from the position of a third party.

Fig. 5. Group of German WWII reenactors during a training session.
© WAR Productions, 2023

This means the position of a member of a "small nation" in the scheme of a greater history who is forced to fight in a foreign power's army uniform and who tries to reflect on a desperate situation that provides minimal possibilities to act in an unquestionably moral way: *"It was the fate of the Estonians. The poor guys were beaten from all sides..."* (Jörg 2022a). In *Division 45*, the similarity of the Estonian and Czech historical fate is finally expressed in the fifth episode, when Jüri comes across a pre-war Czechoslovak fortification during his escape. The Estonian voiceover says*: "On the way I came across small monuments of sad times, built by the Czechs near the border with Germany. The line of fortifications they built before the war against Hitler's Germany. Fear of an aggressive neighbour... One of the few things Estonians and Czechs had in common back then. They built those bunkers for nothing. Czechoslovakia, cornered and without help, did not fight in the end"* (*Division 45*, Episode 5).

The key to understanding the meaning of the reenactments under study, however, is not found in the reflection on the events of 1938, but in the identification of a central affect, represented most strongly in *Division 45*, linked to May 1945. Since the beginning of the MHC reenactors' engagement with the Estonian theme (2014), the retreat from the emphasis on the usual combat wargasms in reenactment towards reflexive experiences of reconciliation has been linked to the shock of learning about the violence against Estonian prisoners of war in Bohemia in the summer of 1945: *"They were treated as if they were Germans... They were tortured, executed... terrible what was happening to these guys here".* (Jörg 2022a) In this sense, *The March*, *The West*, and *Division 45* as well as the additional activities of the MHC aimed at documenting the tragic days of May 1945 in the Czech lands, especially the fate of the Estonian soldiers, carry the same connotations as the serious questions long raised by Czech historians, especially Tomáš Staněk and Jaromír Mrňka. These questions relate to the extreme and criminal forms of retaliatory collective violence, reacting, among other things, to Nazi atrocities in the final weeks of the war, committed in the Czech lands especially between May and August 1945 on civilians of German nationality or prisoners of war of the armies of the Axis powers. The MHC's reenactments raise questions from the Estonian side concerning essentially local topics.

In *The March*, violence by the victors remains implicit, but in *Division 45* it is explicitly depicted through the summary execution of a wounded Estonian prisoner of war and hinted at through sexual violence committed by the Revolutionary Guards against the nurses of the Estonian troops. In one of the scenes, the commander of the Czech Revolutionary Guard unit, described in the commentary as *"A little cocky guy... completely insane... None of us could understand a word he was saying, and he just kept yelling at us"*, comments on the presence of an Estonian military nurse, using sexually-loaded gestures, saying *"What do we have here? Such a little flower... take her aside..."*, suggesting a violent continuation of the scene (*Division 45*, Episode 3).[17] In fact, in an unexpected way, the MHC reenactors in Estonian SS uniforms question our own "*limits of humanity*" in historical context in many ways (Mrňka 2019; also Staněk 1996; Staněk 2005; Staněk 2011). How can we (finally) confront the fact that the insurgents, and subsequently the members of the Czechoslovak army (not only) in May 1945 engaged in torture and committed executions without a trial and *"flagrant violations of law and elementary humane principles?"* (Staněk 1996: 11).

The course and context of Czech Hell represent, metaphorically speaking, the main score to settle in Czech history, to which *The March* and *Division 45* draw attention. Presenting Estonians in the uniform of the 20th SS Division in May 1945 as part of a military reenactment in the Czech Republic may seem hard to understand; in fact, it means being able to take a cultural distance from which it is easier to ask very specific questions, potentially conflicting for contemporary military and political culture in the Czech lands. The reenactors, through the Estonian voiceover of *Division 45*, repeatedly show that they understand the context: *"We should have realized that the Czechs won't let us go far... We wear uniforms... of the SS, which the locals hate. For years, these were the executioners of their nation, and now they're looking for revenge... in the eyes of Czechs, we're all Germans... The hatred that... Germans sowed, was now, in May 1945, to be reaped also by Estonians in German uniforms"*, reads the explanatory comment of the Estonian voiceover in the third episode (*Division 45*, Episode 3).

Moreover, *The March* has a deep ritual significance for the MHC reenactors themselves. Based on Dreschke's above-mentioned conceptualization, its middle, liminal

Fig. 6. Division 45: A dramatic reenactment of the Revolutionary Guards' sexualized mistreatment of an Estonian military nurse, May 1945.
© WAR Productions, 2023

phase (i.e., the phase of the reenactment itself) represents a performance of communitas, protecting the reenactors from the sense of ambivalence and historical guilt for the inhuman violence perpetrated against Estonian prisoners of war in the Czech lands in May 1945. We may understand that the main historical-subjective meaning of both *The March* and *Division 45* is the redemption of the MHC reenactors from this historical guilt and the experience of contradictory historical subjectivity (Abrams 2016: 66–67) by regularly ritually performing a version, where the soldiers of Paul Maitla's 45th Regiment experience a counterfactual happy-end. These soldiers, however, in reality fell into Czech Hell near Mělník and Nymburk in May 1945.

The March (longer in existence) implicitly carries the identical sense of what is already made explicit in *Division 45*. To understand the culture of military reenactments typical of the MHC, it was necessary to find a symbolic key to it: both *The March* and *Division 45* are tentative attempts to bring into the public debate again the topic of the "bloody summer of 1945" (Padevět 2016), which is similar to the recent effort of director Jakub Wehrenberg, who introduced his docudrama Postoloprty 1945 – Czech Retribution, depicting the futile 1947 parliamentary investigation of the Postoloprty Massacre (Kalckhoff 2022).

The MHC members point out that in addition to more than 2,000 German civilians murdered and tortured to death in Postoloprty by the Czechoslovak Army forces and Revolutionary Guards (and many tens of thousands more in other places, during the massacre at Švédské šance, the massacre at Rovensko pod Troskami, or the Brno Death March), there were many other victims, including Estonian soldiers.

In his 2006 review of Tomáš Staňek's book (Staněk 2005), historian Jaroslav Cuhra stressed that for *"a significant part of historians and the public"* the tens of thousands of dead from the "bloody summer of 1945" were *"an anonymous mass that probably died God knows how, but certainly has little to do with our past"* and expressed regret at the prevailing *"angry and ostrich-like"* domestic reactions (Cuhra 2006). Thus, the MHC's members, indirectly in the case of *The March* and directly in the case of *Division 45*, turn our attention in this direction: that many insurgents, Revolutionary Guard members, and legendary figures of "our own" military culture, that is, fighters from Sokolovo and Dukla as well as those from the May barricades often turned into torturers and murderers in the summer of 1945, committing crimes against humanity comparable to Nazi atrocities, which is a phenomenon

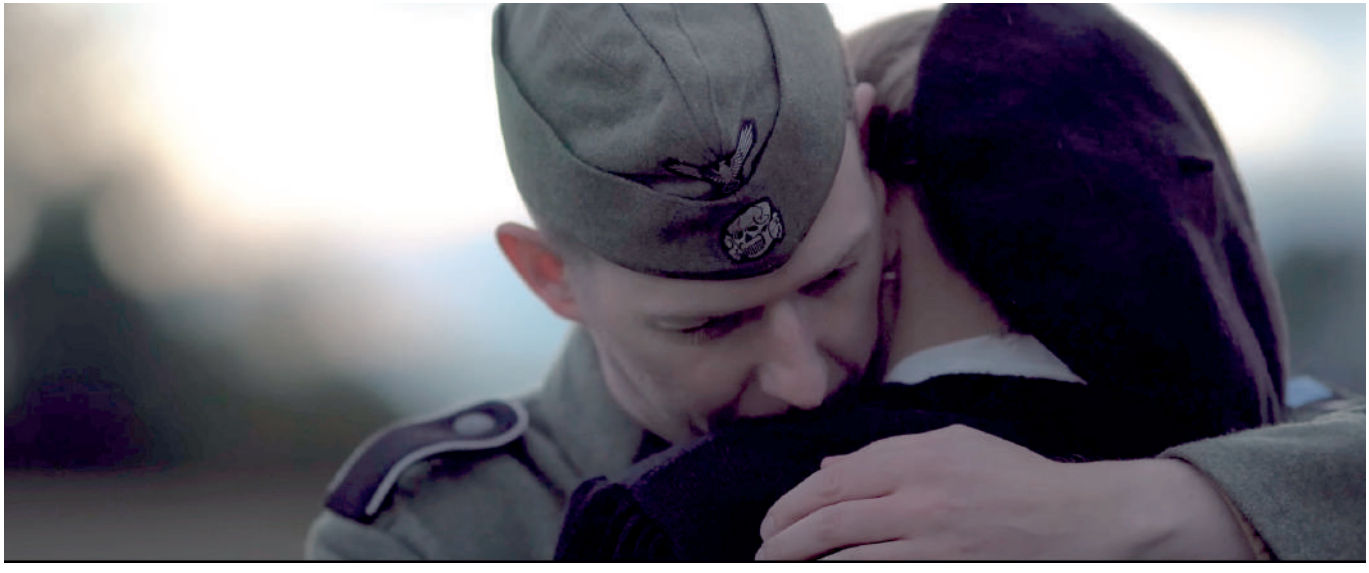


Fig. 7. Jüri says goodbye to his fiancée in an emotional scene from Division 45. © WAR Productions, 2023

unwelcome to any hegemonic military narrative. According to the MHC, a reflection of this is necessary, and its members are essentially the only ones seeking to do so through military reenactment in the present time.

The military reenactment of the 20th Waffen Grenadier Division of the SS (1st Estonian) is thus only seemingly exotic in relation to contemporary Central European history. Its ultimate level of meaning can be interpreted as a kind of meta-commentary on the current ongoing reflection of the "crimes of the victors" of the summer of 1945. The MHC's reenactors suggest that the (still only partial) reflection of the crimes associated with the expulsion of the German civilian population in 1945–1946 is not sufficient, as there are other victims whom we have hardly even begun to take into account: slaughtered prisoners of war, for the MHC mainly from the Estonian 20th Division. Historians' interest in this group of victims is negligible, with the most extensive text so far being Tomáš Staněk's recent monograph (Staněk 2011), dealing with prisoners of war from the Axis German armies in general. Narrator Paul sees a future oriented even more intensely towards the Estonian narrative of loneliness, resistance, defeat, and reconciliation: *"I can imagine... a closer cooperation with the Estonians... We will see... what the future brings"* (Paul 2022b). In this sense, the reenactments under study are not representations of a Lost Cause-type ideology, influential in the US reenactment community of the Confederate Army (Blight 2001). They do not revive a historical authoritarian ethos (Verdery 1999) but aim to reflect on our own contemporary military culture and contemporary history. In the last sentence of his review mentioned above, Jaroslav Cuhra calls such an act *"an uncomfortable but necessary way to truly come to terms with one of the painful aspects of our national history"* (Cuhra 2006).

This study represents the outcome of the project supported by the Czech Science Foundation (GA ČR) 22-07058S, "History and culture of contemporary Czech military re-enactment in an interdisciplinary perspective".

NOTES:

1. In addition to Lenka Hadarová's text, the author has published two studies thematically related to military reenactment (Wohlmuth 2014; Wohlmuth 2020). Currently, a study by Přemysl Vacek on the early medieval reenactment of Viking warriors (Vacek 2023) and a study by Jiří Hlaváček on the reenactment of the post-1968 Czechoslovak People's Army (Hlaváček 2023) are being published. Hadarová, Hlaváček, and Vacek are members of the same project research team as the author.
2. Some authors in the OH field use the term *identity* instead of *historical subjectivity*. However, it conveys many other meanings, e.g., from the field of social and cultural anthropology, which is why I use only the term *historical subjectivity*.
3. Post-positivist OH refers to the paradigmatic texts of Alessandro Portelli, Luisa Passerini, Alistair Thomson, Lynn Abrams, and Daniel James, among others. It is still a less favoured choice in Czech academia, which until recently was methodologically dominated by the Oral History Centre (COH) at the Institute of Contemporary History of the Czech Academy of Sciences. However, one can already refer to a number of texts that subscribe to the post-positivist paradigm (Wohlmuth 2020; Wohlmuth 2021a; Wohlmuth 2021b; Wohlmuth 2022; Vacek 2021; Vacek 2023; or Jiřičková 2021 and Jiřičková 2023).
4. The name of the MHC is anonymized and so are the names of the reenactments and the names of the reenactors. Other sources included textual representations from the MHC's social media profile and its website, as well as film reenactments of its productions made available on the Internet.
5. Moreover, the annual reenactments of the Battle of White Mountain, which are important in the community, are ironically presented as inauthentic theatrical performances for the audience (Koldinská – Šedivý 2008: 389).
6. I understand the five-part miniseries *Division 45* as a reenactment because it performs a reconstruction of events, has the same cultural logic as the MHC's reenactment events, and exhibits the same production of historical meaning, affectivity, type of experience, and performance. I am referring to the methodological position of Chandler, Bezanquen-Gautier, Boerman, and Noordenbos, expressed in *Reenactment Case Studies* (Agnew – Stach – Tomann 2022), analysing, for example, Paul Greeengrass's docudrama *United 93* (2006) or the animated *Waltz with Bashir* by Ari Folman (2008).
7. For example, Matthias contrasts mimetic credibility (mere "similarity") with authenticity (Matthias 2022b).
8. Some episodes have over 100,000 online views.
9. A common part of the websites of the vast majority of Czech World War II reenactor groups of the Axis powers are warnings that they have no interest to cooperate with ideologically explicit reenacting groups.
10. On the German reenactors from Valga 2018: *"They had horrible outfits... They set up a nylon tent, they put up a nylon flag with a swastika... They were sieg heiling all weekend and acting like total idiots... That's extreme"* (Jorg 2022a). Paul also sees the "nylon flag with a swastika" as a symbol of the neo-Nazis among the reenactors (Paul 2022b). The MHC is also distinguishable from neo-Nazi reenactors by its high reputation among foreign film

productions, such as the series *Das Boot* (2018–2022) or the anti--Nazi comedy *Jojo Rabbit* (2019) starring Scarlett Johansson. Film productions naturally test the reliability and integrity of the hired extras. The MHC then uses the income from royalties to finance its own activities.

11. Out of a population of 1.1 million people. A further 32,000 Estonians were deported to Siberia in March and April 1949 (Salo et al. 2005: 20). More recent research indicates that the number of victims of the Soviet occupation was five times higher than that of the Nazi occupation (Mertelsmann – Rahi-Tamm 2009).
12. The mobilization was approved over the radio by the leader of the illegal Estonian National Committee, former Prime Minister Jüri Uluots, who had hoped that the Soviet advance would be halted, and that the 20th Division would become the nucleus of a national army that would enable the restoration of Estonian statehood with the support of the Western powers. Earlier in 1943, there had already been a forced conscription of men of several grades into the 3rd Estonian SS Brigade (3. Estnische SS-Freiwilligen-Brigade). The brigade had the word *volunteer* in its title, but it was notably short of volunteers.
13. Anton used the same figure of narrative: *"They just got landed with it, and it was the worst situation they could have got landed with. They were in it from both sides, they were in the middle of it all, and that's how they ended... in quotes they got screwed really hard"* (Anton 2022b).
14. Some 8,500 Jewish citizens from various European countries and at least 20,000 Soviet prisoners of war and other prisoners perished in the camps (Weiss-Wendt 2008: 476). A detailed study of the Holocaust in Estonia is found in the work of, among others, Bruchfeld and Levine (Bruchfeld – Levine 2003), which has been published in Estonian translation. The first extensive domestic work on this subject appeared in 2006 (Hiio 2006).
15. *"They joined Waffen-SS for a variety of reasons — from adventurism and opportunism…"*, noted Böhler and Gerwarth in their recent authoritative history of the European SS (Böhler – Gerwarth 2017: 3).
16. Soviet tanks are typically referred to as *steel monsters* (*Division 45*, Episode 1) or *steel creatures* (*Division 45*, Episode 2).
17. According to Jörg, it was an improvisation, which he perceives as identical in meaning.

PRIMARY SOURCES:

Interview with Alfred conducted by Petr Wohlmuth, 3 August 2022.*
Interview with Alfred conducted by Petr Wohlmuth, 16 September 2022.
Interview with Anton conducted by Petr Wohlmuth, 22 July 2022.
Interview with Anton conducted by Petr Wohlmuth, 22 October 2022.
Interview with Jörg conducted by Petr Wohlmuth, 24 June 2022.
Interview with Jörg conducted by Petr Wohlmuth, 14 July 2022.
Interview with Julia conducted by Lenka Hadarová, 22 September 2022.
Interview with Julia conducted by Lenka Hadarová, 1 November 2022.
Interview with Matthias conducted by Petr Wohlmuth, 26 July 2022.
Interview with Matthias conducted by Petr Wohlmuth, 9 September 2022.
Interview with M. M. conducted by Petr Wohlmuth, 19 July 2022.
Interview with Paul conducted by Petr Wohlmuth, 14 July 2022.
Interview with Paul conducted by Petr Wohlmuth, 14 September 2022.

* All OH interviews are stored in the digital collection at Charles University, Faculty of Humanities, study programme Oral History – Contemporary History.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Abrams, Lynn. 2016. *Oral History Theory (2nd Edition)*. London – New York: Routledge.

Agnew, Vanessa – Lamb, Jonathan – Tomann, Juliane (eds.). 2020. *The Routledge Handbook of Reenactment Studies. Key Terms in the Field.* London – New York: Routledge.

Agnew, Vanessa – Stach, Sabine – Tomann, Juliane (eds.). 2022. *Reenactment Case Studies. Global Perspectives on Experiential History.* London – New York: Routledge.

Åse, Cecilia – Wendt, Maria. 2019. *Gendering Military Sacrifice. A Feminist Comparative Analysis*. London – New York: Routledge.

Banghard, Karl. 2009. Unter dem Häkelkreuz. Germanische Living History und rechte Affekte: Ein historischer Überblick in drei Schlaglichtern. In Kilguss, Hans-Peter (ed.). *Die Erfindung der Deutschen. Rezeption der Varusschlacht und die Mystifizierung der Germanen*. Köln: Verlag NS-Dokumentationszentrum. 29–35.

Bell, Catherine. 2009. *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice.* Oxford – New York: Oxford University Press.

Birn, Ruth Bettina. 2001. Collaboration with Nazi Germany in Eastern Europe: The Case of the Estonian Security Police. *Contemporary European History* 10 (2): 181–198.

Blight, David W. 2001. *Race and Reunion. The Civil War in American Memory.* Cambrige-Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Böhler, Jochen – Gerwarth, Robert (eds.). 2017. *The Waffen SS. A European History.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bruchfeld, Stéphane – Levine, Paul A. 2003. *Jutustage sellest oma lastele...: raamat holokaustist Euroopas aastatel 1933–1945.* Tartu: Iisraeli Sõbrad.

Brüggemann, Karsten – Kasekamp, Andres. 2008. The Politics of History and the "War of Monuments" in Estonia. *Nationalities papers* 36 (3): 425–448.

Cielecki, Jacek. 2015. *Nadzieja wdeptana w błoto — tom II — wspomnienia żołnierzy 20. Dywizji Grenadierów SS.* Wroclaw: Pomost.

Cuhra, Jaroslav. 2006. Tomáš Staněk – Poválečné "excesy" v českých zemích v roce 1945 a jejich vyšetřování. *Dějiny a současnost* 2006 (5): 44.

Daugbjerg, Mads. 2020. Battle. In Agnew, Vanessa – Lamb, Jonathan – Tomann, Juliane (eds.). *The Routledge Handbook of Reenactment Studies.* London – New York: Routledge. 25–29.

Daugbjerg, Mads. 2017. Being There: Time Travel, Experience and Experiment in Re-enactment and ‚Living History' Performances.

In Petersson, Bodil – Holtorf, Cornelius (eds.). *The Archaeology of Time Travel: Experiencing the Past in the 21st Century.* Oxford: Archaeopress. 159–176.
Dreschke, Anja. 2020. Ritual. In Agnew, Vanessa – Lamb, Jonathan – Juliane Tomann (eds.). *The Routledge Handbook of Reenactment Studies.* London – New York: Routledge. 202–205.
Ginzburg, Carlo. 1991. "Checking the Evidence": The Judge and the Historian. *Critical Inquiry* 18 (1): 79–92.
Hadarová, Lenka. 2019. Za oponou autenticity minulosti: Vytváranie dobových historických ukážok druhej svetovej vojny. *Cargo* 2019 (1–2): 75–95.
Handler, Richard – Saxton, William. 1988. Dyssimulation: Reflexivity, Narrative, and the Quest for Authenticity in "Living History". *Cultural Anthropology* 3 (3): 242–260.
Hiio, Tomas. 2006. Combat in Estonia in 1944. In Hiio, Tomas – Maripuu, Meelis – Paavle, Indrek (eds.). *Estonia 1940–1945.* Tallinn: Estonian International Commission for the Investigation of Crimes Against Humanity. 1035–1094.
Hlaváček, Jiří. 2023. Hraní na socialistické vojáčky? Reenactment Československé lidové armády v aktérské perspektivě současné mladé generace. *Český lid* 110 (4): 407–428. Dostupné z: <https://doi.org/10.21104/CL.2023.4.01>.
Hoppadietz, Ralf – Reichenbach, Karin. 2022. In Honor of the Forefathers. Archaeological Reenactment between History Appropriation and Ideological Mission. The Case of Ulfhednar. In Agnew, Vanessa – Stach, Sabine – Tomann, Juliane (eds.). *Reenactment Case Studies. Global Perspectives on Experiential History.* London – New York: Routledge. 77–104.
Hoppadietz, Ralf – Reichenbach, Karin. 2019. Nationalist Appropriations of Open-Air Museums and Prehistory Re-Enactment in Germany and Poland: Past and Current Trends of the Politicization of Archaeological Heritage. In Kusek, Robert – Purchla, Jacek (eds.). *Heritage and Society*. Krakow: International Culture Center. 207–232.
Horwitz, Tony. 1999. *Confederates in the Attic: Dispatches from the Unfinished Civil War*. New York: Knopf Doubleday.
Hunt, Stephen J. 2008. But We're Men Aren't We! Living History as a Site of Mascul ne Identity Construction. *Men and Masculinities* 10 (4): 460–483.
Hurd, Madeleine – Werther, Steffen. 2017. Waffen-SS veterans and their sites of memory today. In Böhler, Jochen – Gerwarth, Robert (eds.). *The Waffen SS. A European History.* Oxford: Oxford University Press. 331–356.
Kalckhoff, Andreas. 2022. *Was geschah in Saaz und Postelberg im Juni 1945? / Co se stalo v Žatci a Postoloprtech v červnu 1945?* Leipzig: Tschirner & Kosová.
Kirss, Tiina Ann. 2011. When is the War Over? Ylo-Vesse Velvet's Life Story and Surviving the 'Czech Hell'. In Kõresaar, Ene (ed.). *Soldiers of Memory. World War II and Its Aftermath in Estonian Post-Soviet Life Stories*. Amsterdam – New York: Rodopi.
Koldinská, Marie – Šedivý, Ivan. 2008. *Válka a armáda v českých dějinách. Sociohistorické črty*. Praha: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny.
Kõresaar, Ene. 2010. *Soldiers of Memory. World War II and its Aftermath in Estonian Post-Soviet Life Stories*. Amsterdam – New York: Rodopi.
Kõresaar, Ene. 2018. World War II Remembrance and the Politics of Recognition: An Outline of the Post-1989 Mnemohistory of Estonian "Freedom Fighters". In Fleishman, Lazar – Weiner, Amir (eds.). *War, Revolution and Governance. The Baltic Countries in the Twentieth Century*. Boston: Academic Studies Press. 165–193.
Magelssen, Scott. 2020. Production of historical meaning. In Angew, Vanessa – Lamb, Jonathan – Tomann, Juliane (eds.). *The Routledge Handbook of Reenactment Studies.* London – New York: Routledge. 191–194.
Mertelsmann, Olaf – Rahi-Tamm, Aigi. 2009. Soviet mass violence in Estonia revisited. *Journal of Genocide Research* 11 (2–3): 307–322.
McCalman, Iain – Pickering, Paul A. (eds.). 2010. *Historical Re-Enactment – From Realism to the Affective Turn.* Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan.
Misiunas, Romuald J. – Taagepera, Rein. 1993. *The Baltic States. Years of Independence 1940–1993. Expanded and Updated Edition*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
Mrňka, Jaromír. 2019. *Limity lidskosti. Politika a sociální praxe kolektivního násilí v českých zemích 1944–1946*. Praha: Ústav pro studium totalitních režimů.
Padevět, Jiří. 2016. *Krvavé léto 1945: Poválečné násilí v českých zemích*. Praha: Academia.
Plavec, Michal – Rosenthal, Reigo. 2006. Nymburská poprava. Pokus o rekonstrukci jedné historické události. *Historie a vojenství* 55 (3): 64–70.
Portelli, Alessandro. 1990. *The Death of Luigi Trastulli and Other Stories. Form and Meaning in Oral History*. Albany: SUNY Press.
Portelli, Alessandro. 1997. Philosophy and the Facts: Subjectivity and the Narrative Form in Autobiography and Oral History. In Portelli, Alessandro. *The Battle of Valle Giulia: Oral History and the Art of Dialogue.* Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press. 79–88.
Runia, Elco. 2006. Spots of Time. *History and Theory* 45 (3): 305–316.
Salo, Velo – Ennuste, Ülo – Parmasto, Erast – Tarvel, Enn – Varju, Peep (eds.). 2005. *Estonian State Comission on Examination of the Policies of Repression. The White Book. Losses Inflicted on the Estonian Nation by Occupation Regimes 1940–1941*. Tallinn: Estonian Encyclopaedia Publishers.
Schneider, Rebecca. 2011. *Performing Remains. Art and war in times of theatrical reenactment*. London – New York: Routledge.
Schroeder, Jonathan D. S. 2020. Nostalgia. In Angew, Vanessa – Lamb, Jonathan – Tomann, Juliane (eds.). *The Routledge Handbook of Reenactment Studies.* London – New York: Routledge. 156–159.
Staněk, Tomáš. 2011. *Němečtí váleční zajatci v českých zemích v letech 1945–1950: Nástin vybraných problémů*. Opava: Slezské zemské muzeum.
Staněk, Tomáš. 1996. *Perzekuce 1945. Perzekuce tzv. státně nespolehlivého obyvatelstva v českých zemích (mimo tábory a věznice) v květnu – srpnu 1945*. Praha: Institut pro středoevropskou kulturu a politiku.
Staněk, Tomáš. 2005. *Poválečné „excesy" v českých zemích v roce 1945 a jejich vyšetřování*. Praha: Ústav pro soudobé dějiny Akademie věd České republiky.
Tomann, Juliane. 2022. "You can´t just put men in the field and be accurate." Women in American Revolutionary War Reenactment. In Agnew, Vanessa – Stach, Sabine – Tomann, Juliane (eds.). *Reenactment Case Studies. Global Perspectives on Experiential History.* London – New York: Routledge. 217–234.
Thomson, Alistair. 2013. *ANZAC Memories. Living with the Legend. New Edition.* Clayton: Monash University Publishing.

Vacek, Přemysl. 2023. Czech Historical Reenactment of the Early Middle Ages: Initial Research Problems and Concepts. *Národopisná revue* 23 (5):19–29.
Vacek, Přemysl. 2021. *Barokáři. Historicky poučená interpretace staré hudby v Česku očima jejích aktérů*. Praha: Scriptorium.
Weber, Max. 2009. *Metodologie, sociologie a politika*. Praha: Oikoymenh.
Weiss-Wendt, Anton. 2008. Why the Holocaust Does Not Matter to Estonians. *Journal of Baltic Studies* 39 (4): 475–497.
Verdery, Katherine. 1999. *The Political Lives of Dead Bodies. Reburial and Postsocialist Change*. New York: Columbia University Press.
Wohlmuth, Petr. 2014. Heterotopická mimočasovost pevnostního města Josefov. Teoretické a výzkumné podněty. *Historická sociologie* 2014 (2): 43–62.
Wohlmuth, Petr. 2020. Konflikt dvojí vojenské loajality ve zkušenosti základní vojenské služby a pozdějších militárních aktivit. *Národopisný věstník* 37/79 (2): 27–43.
Wohlmuth, Petr. 2021a. Zoufalství, jaderné rakety a magické hory. Uchronický příběh bývalého vojáka základní služby. *Český lid* 108 (2): 131–150.
Wohlmuth, Petr. 2021b. Armádní disciplinační řád v historické subjektivitě bývalých vojáků základní služby. In Hlaváček, Jiří (ed.). *Mezi pakárnou a službou vlasti. Základní vojenská služba (1968–2004) v aktérské perspektivě*. Praha: Academia. 200–282.
Wohlmuth, Petr. 2022. "Byly to strašný dva roky… cítil jsem se jako vězeň." Aktérské úniky z paměti a zkušenosti povinné základní vojenské služby. In Wohlmuth, Petr (ed.). *Vojenská služba v interdisciplinární perspektivě*. Praha, Scriptorium a Společnost pro výzkum dějin vojenství. 123–151.
Wulf, Meike 2016. *Shadowlands: Memory and History in Post-Soviet Estonia*. New York: Berghahn.

THESES:

Bervidová, Michaela. 2017. *Reenactment na Plzeňsku: Studium autenticity*. Plzeň: FF ZCU.
Hadarová, Lenka. 2016. *Reenactment and Authenticity: Cultural Biography of Uniform*. Brno: FSS MUNI.
Jiřičková, Marie. 2021. *Dopady „Akce P" pohledem rodiny řeckokatolického kněze*. Praha: FHS UK.
Jiřičková, Marie. 2023. *„Noví lidé na starých horách". Novousedlíci v Krkonoších po roce 1945*. Praha: FHS UK.
Procházka, Filip. 2013. *Historie českého (československého) reenactingu*. Praha: FHS UK.
Svoboda, Ondřej. 2020. *Publicistický dokument Reenactment a historická rekonstrukce jako kulturní fenomén*. Praha: FSV UK.

ELECTRONIC SOURCES:

Hrabica, Pavel. 2010. "Bitva u Slavkova: Jen idioti oslavují masakr." *iDnes.cz/Blog* [online]. 5. 12. Formerly available at <http://hrabica.blog.idnes.cz/c/166768/Bitva-u-Slavkova-Jen-idioti-oslavuji-masakr.html> [not available].

Summary

This study explores several military reenactor performances through the optics of reenactment studies after the affective turn and post-positivist oral history. These are co-organized or independently produced by a Czech military history reenactment club, which is specific for its unique affectivity, experience, and production of historical meaning. In action and film reenactment performances, which we refer to as *The West*, *The March*, and *Division 45*, the reenactors focus on the reconstruction of the final phase of the 20th Waffen Grenadier Division of the SS (1st Estonian) combat journey in the Czech lands in May 1945. In doing so, they produce meanings that conflict with contemporary Czech military culture and official memory, but they avoid historical revisionism. In this sense, the reenactor performances touch upon, among other things, the still highly conflicting local issues of the politics of memory – the so-called crimes of the victors of the summer of 1945, especially the crimes committed against prisoners of war of various types of the German armed forces, subjected to highly inhumane treatment. Until now, these crimes have been debated in the Czech historical community more or less only in relation to German civilians.

Key words: Military reenactment, oral history; contemporary history; Czech lands; Estonia.

CZECH HISTORICAL REENACTMENT OF THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES: INITIAL RESEARCH PROBLEMS AND CONCEPTS

***Přemysl Vacek** (Department of Historical Sciences, Faculty of Humanities, Charles University)*

Surrounded by freezing air, I extend my hand, holding a recording device, trying to record the thunder of a medieval battle to get a soundtrack for a documentary. It is winter of 2016, and I am standing among the trees in a peri-urban forest near Prague, estimating the path of a spear that one of the warriors is currently wielding. On opposite sides of a temporary earthwork, two groups of figures dressed in quilted coats and trousers are on the attack. The spear has finally found its target above the eye of a rival, and the battle is interrupted while he is treated. The badly bleeding warrior is laid on a forest path, and several minutes later he is looking for a camera to document his injuries. The battle resumes, and I feel a little out of place in my outsider's position of a "mouflon"[1] with a microphone close to a fighting group. Even though I cannot get rid of the feeling that the desire not to hurt each other overpowers their fighting zeal, I soon retreat to safety.

I witnessed a non-public encounter[2] of "Vikings", military reenactors of the early Middle Ages, who symbolically adopted the name of Berserker − a furious warrior from Norse sagas. The evocation of a strong combat experience of the participants was a reflected attempt to suppress the staged nature of military reenactment, which has moved away from historical authenticity in favour of the scrupulously respected safety of fighters and visual attractiveness for spectators. It is this emphasis on the performance of violent physical fights (Curry 2007; Filipowiak – Bogacki – Kokora 2021 and others) that is typical of historical reenactment of mediaeval Vikings (Brink – Price 2008).

I remembered this event years after having witnessed it as part of the oral history project "History and Culture of Contemporary Czech Military Re-Enactment in an Interdisciplinary Perspective". I asked an old friend of mine to give me the first contacts to kindred reenactors. I assessed an independent group of the legendary Norse raiders recreating forgotten martial arts in "full-contact" mode to be a suitable environment to address narrators whose narration would make it possible to outline the contours of the extreme limits of the "subjective projection of imaginable experience" which defines the "horizon of interpretive possibilities" of Czech military reenactment in terms of culture (Portelli 1997: 79–88).

My opinions on military reenactment were significantly skewed by the aforementioned experience and simplified references I was given as an outsider showing a superficial interest in the world of mediaeval warfare. After I had conducted several introductory interviews, the lived reality of reenactment opened up to me in a fully different light. The initially straightforward theme of deepening the authenticity of the experience through a realistically conceived battle took on an unexpected dynamic, and my original intention was largely redirected and extended. Although the ability to physically fight is highly prestigious for the actors, their statements also showed the importance of their experience of historical reenactment as craftsmen, farmers, selfless researchers, and experimental archaeologists revealing the "marginalia" of the everyday life of people who lived more than ten centuries ago.

This text presents an introductory discussion about three analytical concepts and research problems associated with them. These are, first, the paradoxes of the "authentic" reenactment of Viking combat; second, the contradictions of different ways of negotiating authenticity; and third, the application of Koselleck's concept of "multiple temporalities" to understand the experiential "travelling" of reenactors between the past and the present. This is primary research in the Czech environment.

This research is not aimed at revealing the structure and practical functioning of (military) reenactment of the Early Middle Ages in the Czech lands as a whole, but at conducting an initial probe into the subjective perception and experiences of the members of a significant stream inside this movement. Thanks to the personal preferences of my gatekeeper, who accentuates strict material and possible experiential authenticity, I conducted oral history interviews with a narrow circle of narrators who had a similar focus. They are long-practising current and

former commanders of groups, organizers of reenactment events, and individuals whose desire for experiencing the early-mediaeval world mingles with scholarly research. Last but not least, they are capable and trained warriors and people who enjoy extraordinary authority and respect among other members of the movement. Their deep immersion in the historical theme and atmosphere has resulted in the fact that many of them have professions associated with reenactment activities, which provide a substantial part of their incomes. In addition, reenactment consumes virtually all their leisure time and has a fundamental influence on their personal lives.

Following Pierre Bourdieu, it is possible to characterize them as people with leading positions in the structure of their social field[3] who have developed their privileged status based on high symbolical capital structured by their extensive knowledge and ownership of equipment (incorporated and objectified cultural capital), the long duration of their active reenacting and organization activities (social capital), personal combat capabilities, and possibly by their workmanship (physical capital; Bourdieu 2010). In their case, the willingness and ability to learn and conduct experiments based on acquired knowledge are wedded with high demands on the material component of authenticity (here rather "true in substance", see Agnew – Toman 2020: 20).

For my work among reenactors, I chose the oral history method in its post-positivist paradigm. This focusses on getting representations of various contents and forms out of memories modulated by own life experience, the entirety of which allows us to take a look at the historical subjectivity (identity) of the actors. The importance of these representations does not consist in getting factual references, but it offers "a way by which people articulate subjective experiences about the past through the prism of the present" (Abrams 2010). Answers received in the interviews appear on the dynamic interface of individual and collective memory. I consider oral history − "an independent boundary discipline between the history of culture, memory studies, ethnology, and historical anthropology" (Wohlmuth 2021: 132) − to be a highly effective interdisciplinary method for understanding the internal life of diverse groups and communities, of which the community of modern mediaeval warriors and craftsmen is one.

The Paradoxes of "Authentic" Battle

Military as well as "civil" reenactments of the early Middle Ages (the sixth to eleventh centuries) occupy a specific position among other historical reconstructions. The lack, or even absence, of source materials (mainly written ones) opens an extraordinarily wide space for experimentation, creative approaches, and the application of historical cultural transfer from geographically and temporally different locations. Until recently (before the massive use of the internet), most information about that period was inaccessible due to the mutual mistrust between reenactors and academics. This situation is currently changing as several academics have begun to cooperate with prominent and respected figures in the reenactment community. However, the former situation persists among a significant group of reenactors.

Today, about 400 or 500 actors participate in reenacting the early Middle Ages (mostly Viking military culture) in the Czech Republic. As resulting from the answers provided by several informants, this group is highly complex, each of the local groups have their own approach to combat practices, and each individual expresses his own preferences that only partially depend on the strategy of his group. The fluctuation of actors (even between particular groups) is frequent, and solitary activity is not exceptional in the case of non-collective activities, such as crafts or some activities linked to everyday life (Vlasatý 2022a; Floriánek 2022; Pavlišta 2022):

Basically, reenactment is today informally divided into two main hobbies that meet in one place out of necessity. This is a group of those who I would really call a reenactor, that means a man who researches and builds his research on books and reconstructs what he has researched. That means that these people are very close to academics; they visit museums, own quite a large quantity of books, and their costumes are the result of their research about them. These people do not forcibly feel like warriors, or they don't feel such a need to fight on the battlefield. However, they also do that and achieve quite good or very good results. And this is the most stable part of the whole community because reconstructing history is a long-term passion for them; one can say in general that they spend much higher amounts of money on it. These are people who mostly have higher education and are very engaged. And against them stand people who have an opposite approach in a certain sense.

That means their interest is rather superficial, they want to deal primarily with fighting, or solely with fighting, they are ready to spend less money, or they search for possibilities how to save money. The reconstruction is not important for them. These people don't at all have access to books, or they don´t want to have it, and they just copy what they see from others, on the internet, or at physical events. On average their education is lower, and they are less engaged. (Vlasatý 2022a)

This characteristic results from the principal dilemma that splits the reenactment movement today, and not only in its early-medieval line – that is, whether to adapt the way of fighting to the equipment, or the equipment to the fighting. A thousand years ago, the armour protecting warriors was very simple from the perspective of today's actors; gloves, wristbands, and shin guards were not used, and the acquisition of metal helmets or chainmail was a luxury for the elite. Nothing is known about the way of training and fighting in those days; everything is construed based on archaeological finds of guns and equipment, sometimes based on not fully trustworthy and reliable iconographic sources. The energy of a warrior was focussed on the elimination of the opponent, while the current imperative says not to harm the opponent.

Most actors are attracted to the contemporary reenactment movement by their desire to seemingly experience fighting to its fullest. The adept, however, is generally not willing to give up his original idea about historical ferocity, and so the only way how to cope with this situation is to a-historically increase the effectiveness of the protective elements of his armour. Giving up on armour authenticity is usually completed with the realization that fighting with spears or with axes and shields without any other cover (the most often combination of historical fights) requires arduous, long-term training in order to preserve the reenactors' and others' health and lives. For this reason, a paradoxical situation arises where the main reason and purpose of the early medieval military reenactment, meaning the reconstruction of combat, is physically unfeasible in practice today:

Today everybody beats on their chests here, what fighters they are, frankly said, the combat component of this whole hobby is absolutely over-dimensioned. It is a huge part of the community that fights, about seventy per cent at least. […] *The preference is to fight, so when I ask a man what he presents in this event, he tells me –¨I'm here like a warrior. And this is nicely evident from the fact that the culmination of these festivals is a battle, not anything else. Everybody comes there for the only purpose to fight a battle, and everything is subordinated to that.* […] *And this is simply what I am talking about, that there is indeed no fondness or love for history, but rather the main motivation is to mutually compare with sword and shield, and then to wash it all down with some alcohol, mostly with a lot of alcohol.* (Vlasatý 2022a)

How to Negotiate Authenticity

This leads to the differentiation between different combat approaches whose antagonisms are hard to perceive for a directly uninvolved person and insignificant for a "beater",[4] but a thorn in the side of the fundamentally disposed reenactors. More or less modern sporting ways of combat conceptions, where the affiliation to this movement can be successfully questioned, are singled out.[5] Combat styles of particular streams become mutually incompatible, which forces the organizers of events to set down rules for the equipment, weaponry, and conducting combat (so-called "watchable minimum", or request for so-called costume passports). The attractiveness of public shows for audiences still remains an important factor:

So authenticity is one thing. The combat – we are in Bohemia, so full contact is usual here, but it is needful to balance that. Virtually all our events we perform are for the audience. We do this in such ways that there must always be a staged element, and the "sport approach", the struggle to win and such things, are balanced by the fact how the audience perceives that, so a kind of compromise must always be found there. (Tomič 2022)

The narrator is one of the leading members of the stream that pays attention to the "truthfulness" of the historical reconstruction. He cooperates with academics, has a good overview of contemporary research into the tangible culture of the Early Middle Ages, and his work in the field of experimental archaeology is highly regarded. Yet he sacrifices a part of his demands for historical accuracy to make the reenactment attractive to the audience. He is aware of the performative principle of reenactment, without which this movement would lose an important part of its magic. He also owns a reconstructed manor house from the twelfth century in the foothills of the Jizerské Mountains, which is used as a venue for reenactment events; his interest is thus pragmatic.[6]

Without staged performances, sharing with the audience, and subsequent commodification, his building activities would progress at a much slower pace, or would completely stop at some time.

Nevertheless, it is these compromises that discourage some reenactors from participating in public events, leading to the separation of a portion of reenactor activities into a narrow circle of those like-minded. In their effort to come closer to the truthful historical experience, they reject the strategies of "entertainment" and choose a path without limiting requirements to meet the simplifying general ideas and expectations of the audience (Brauer – Lücke 2020). This solution offers them broader options to deal with tangible authenticity, which is independent of superficial staged attractiveness, but more in harmony with the results of historical scholarly research and archaeological findings.

The organization of rather intimate non-public combat events according to a tactic agreement and without an audience is a sought-after trend in recent years. However, the narrations of the narrators preferring the non-public form of reenactment show that even they respect the performative essence of this activity dividing their reenactor activity between both coexisting ways of historical reconstruction. Nevertheless, this does not mean that the setting is free of internal tensions in this sense. One must not lose sight of the fact

Fig. 1. Hvítr Ulfr battle in Kunratický Forest, 19 November 2022. Photo Přemysl Vacek

that at least this portion of the reenactment culture is carried by individuals and their conscious [*efforts*] *in the sense that somebody organizes an event and tightens up the rules there. He wants to have a higher quality of the reconstruction there and puts pressure on the participants by making the conditions more difficult for them. In fact, he wants more from them* (Floriánek 2022).

People for whom their hobby has become an important component of their lifestyle can be expected to pursue their ambitious version of authenticity even outside their closest like-minded circle. Their prestigious position and high symbolic capital offer them the possibility to transform the wider structure of reenactment gradually, in the sense of increasing tangible authenticity, and to provide a more significant space for the authenticity of one's own experience:

Well, to come somewhere and expect that the organizer would entertain you, this can work sometimes, but it also depends on what you would bring and what you would pass on, or what you are able to demonstrate. That it is you who comes with the Middle Ages, not that you join the Middle Ages. (Král 2022a)

Educational work and personal example are irreplaceable. The idea of a reenactment with unclear rules (or even without them) is difficult for the narrator to accept. He is the one who is an authority among reenactors, and he feels committed to direct them towards greater historical accuracy, at least within the sphere of his influence – he is an elite protagonist of authenticity based on the act of power (Daugbjerg 2020: 20). After he finds out that it is impossible only through education (the passing-on of information), he creates rules the compliance with which he emphatically requests from those applying for participation in "his" events. However, pressure on the harmony of the equipment with the rules is usually not absolute as *"some people would otherwise not work on themselves, but because they want to come, they like that, this forces them to improve their costume a little bit again"* (Pavlišta 2022). The dissatisfaction of the representatives of this stream results mainly from the slow tempo of the changes and from the ignorance of the reenactor spectrum's part that is more difficult to reform:[7]

I think that the gap between the qualities widens much, that the upper part slowly pulls the average upwards, and there is a certain dissatisfaction of the upper part of the gap that it is running very slowly. And so I think

that there is a certain possibility that the hobby will split into things that will be not closely connected, which is happening now to a certain degree. I think that there will be one part of historical reconstruction and then there will be something where people will pretend to fight in a medieval style. […] *And this division will probably not be obvious at first glance because there will be many people who will do both things and accept different roles according to where they are or where they go. And indeed, there is a question what of this will be called reenactment.* (Floriánek 2022)

The theme of creating reenactor authenticity is dealt with by Vanessa Agnew and Juliane Tomann. They come to the opinion that, in the absence of transparent criteria for authenticity, the reenactors mutually negotiate these items, or they enter a dialogue with the audience for this purpose. This negotiating strategy highlights the constructivist nature of the representations, and such objects and behaviours that are exclusively imitations creating the semblance of historical coherence are deemed authentic. It is paramount to the staged or visual relevance of reenactment to create the "semblance" of truthfulness. The authors mean that it is the representation of the truthfulness by construct and the authenticity adoptable through bodily experience that cause reenactors' mistrust of and scepticism towards scholarly professional knowledge. What can be adopted in a practical and bodily way, thus formed and manipulated, is understood as a key factor of authenticity (Agnew – Tomann 2020).

Military reenactment of the Early Middle Ages differs from other historical reconstructions mainly in the limited number and fragmentary nature of trustworthy sources from archaeological findings, even as far as crafts and everyday life in general are concerned. Academic and non-academic researchers and experimenters worldwide try to reveal, with varying success, at least a hint of a kind of cultural continuity among the found fragments. Thanks to available literature and the results of archaeological research, the reenactors focussed on authenticity usually have a good overview about findings related to the period of their interest. They are used to following news from the field, informing each other about them, and discussing, whether personally or through electronic communication channels. Their relation to their own experimentation and searching for the boundaries of authenticity can be expressed by a sentence of one of the narrators: "*At the moment you are experimenting, you can never say – this is how it was."* (Tomič 2022)

This certainly does not contradict the concepts of researchers in the field of reenactment studies that the nature of reenactment is substantially constructivist − after all, what else has been left for those who want to deal with the reconstruction of the Middle Ages in the present day? The interviews that I conducted with the actors focussed on authenticity in the Czech Republic in the second half of 2022 do not suggest at all that they would make any claim to the historical truthfulness of the results of their experimental practices, whether combat ones or those associated with crafts or everyday life.

It would not be correct to ascribe exaggerated claims to the reenactment of the early Middle Ages, nor to attribute them to it. Like in every discipline, even here actors can appear who are unwaveringly convinced about the correctness (beneficial effect, value, aestheticism, authenticity, etc.) of their acting. These are for sure provocative opinions the importance of which depends both on their frequency and on the fact who articulates them.

Stephen Gapps brings a more factual spirit into his contemplations about authenticity and authentication, while reflecting the changing position of reenactment in the eyes of the conservative academic historiography in the USA. Since the 1960s, a substantial change has taken place there, which results from the utilization

Fig. 2. Hvítr Ulfr battle in Kunratický Forest, 19 November 2022. Photo Přemysl Vacek

of experimental archaeology by reenactors. Due to the production and use of many artefacts, the "authority of authenticate" spread to a wider space as reenactors acquired new knowledge about the often-ignored marginalia of everyday life (Gapps 2020).

Military reenactment (of the Early Middle Ages) has lasted for a significantly shorter period in the Czech lands, and even though its beginnings were uninformed and, with hindsight, a little ridiculous, it can stand, in its top manifestations, in the same ranks as reenactment from countries with a considerably longer tradition. The same can be said about the quality of the craftsmanship of Bohemian and Moravian craftsmen, the scope of whose activity is European-wide now.

I, when I order a product or when I try to make one, always spend hours and hours scouring many files, and I look for various documents about that because I don't want to build that on sand. (Pavlišta 2022)

If we're talking about a historical replica, so in the period I'm dealing with, there's a certain ability to reconstruct the object to what it looked like when it wasn't rotting in the ground for a thousand years. That means you have to see hundreds of these swords, either physically or in photos, to understand how the morphology was running. For example, someone might come to you that he wants to reconstruct a sword that has no preserved pommel, which is quite common, or has no preserved point, as this has corroded. And you have to comprehend how the morphology, the typology works. (Floriánek 2022)

Even though they speak with self-confidence about *the "typology, morphology, decorative style or technological approximation"* (Floriánek 2022) of their products, their statements do not include claims that they are saviours or donors of authenticity.

Multiple Temporalities

An actor making replica weapons for early medieval reenactment, dealing with a long-disappeared craft, and searching for its technologies and cultural connections, draws his knowledge predominantly from archaeological findings, mostly based on their photo-documentation and sketches; only sometimes is he allowed to touch the objects and get unmediated experience. His interest must be wide-ranging in order to see the links between artefacts whose condition, when found on site, only seldom provides a coherent image of their typology and morphology. The better he reveals techniques applied by the original producers, the less often he has to apply his own invention, meaning to resort to fiction. In order to make contact with the past, however, he has to learn to master its tools, whether these are weapons or items of everyday use. Practice then becomes a means of communication with ancient producers, a corridor in which layers of historical time, *"of different duration and different origin, which yet are simultaneously present and effective"*, mingle (Koselleck 2003: 9).

Reinhart Koselleck's theory of multiple temporalities works with the dynamic understanding of sedimented historical layers. Every moment is permanently present in them − its place in the timeline is given, but its meaning for a particular moment differs − it is variable. For example, at the moment of a reenactor's order for the production of a sword from the tenth century from the area of present-day Lithuania, the armourer charged with producing it embarks on a journey into the past. From his place in linear time, he opens historical layers that contain information about this type of weapon in the period and location mentioned. The present and the time when the weapon was made are interconnected through a diachronic historical motion that is caused by the tension between the lived experience and the expectations resulting from the temporal location of the order. Due to this, experiences from many layers of the past meet in the present, and they become, through the armourer's invention, a component of the same historical horizon. None of archaeological finds is complete, and it is necessary to see several weapons, optimally to touch them, and assess their material, production technology, and ornamentation to get as precise an idea as possible. This means to know the reasons leading ancient armourers to a certain technological solution that is reflected in the properties of their products and to learn rules how to handle weapons. In his effort to get information about different aspects of early medieval people's lives, the reenactor penetrates through the related study to further layers, the diachronic motion becomes dynamic and the historical relevance (speed) of information for the present accelerates. The substantification of a particular object of interest, albeit this is firmly set in temporal linearity, essentially changes the dynamics of history as we currently perceive it (see Koselleck 2004: 9–25; Jordheim 2012: 151–171).

Where and using what strategies do reenactors place their thinking in historical time? Does this place create for them a horizon of expectations or an uchronian[8] (Portelli 1991: 99–100, 107) asylum to which the excited phantasy of the actors retires in its need to escape from the currently inconvenient lived reality? Is the early-medieval alternative reality more attractive for them than the irreversible stay here and now in their space of experience? Are their expectations really fixed on a distant and mainly significantly culturally different temporal layer at the turn of the first and second millennium?

And on the other hand, frankly said, there are things in which I don't want to be closer to them. I'm glad my kids will not die from smallpox. And that my husband comes home from work every day, and not in four years, and who knows if he does. (Kučerová 2022)

I wouldn't say I want to do that for one hundred per cent the way it was, and it's not even possible. I don't have so much time, and indeed I don't want that, because if we took that to its ultimate consequences, that would mean all of you just put in intestinal parasites. Let's reduce our chance of living by thirty years. Let's stop eating sugar. […] *And I am often, when they ask me why I am doing that, not able to answer them properly as to what I find fantastic in the Early Middle Ages. Perhaps I can find something interesting in it, but on the other hand, I can find many things there which are absolutely repulsive and which I don't want to bring back to life. That's just that these things, evolutionally or by themselves, have sorted themselves out of the process, so I would be stupid to bring them back to life.* (Vlasatý 2022a)

Also, many other responses show that the current space of experience is convenient for the narrators. Nothing prevents them from organizing their lives in the liminal field between the comfort of the civilization of the Central-European twenty-first century and the voluntarily diachronic observation of the chosen historical period. Of course, with an option to take refuge, in an emergency situation, where the space of experience does not face cultural conflicts that really endanger life, health, or cultural customs. The privilege to move ad libitum between two (or more) temporal anchors with all the advantages the narrators perceive is tempting − and mainly possible. The length of their stay in a partially fictive Early Middle Ages is limited by the degree of subjectively acceptable hardship associated with it; it can be continuously regulated and left at any time. The temporal threshold is crossed over in one or another direction according to the ongoing horizon of expectations, either to the space of a reenactor's promise of adventure and unique experience, or to the safe space of the current lived reality. The tolerable level of hardship is defined by this awareness, and the boundaries of the comfort zone move subjectively. The thing is that real hardship without civilizational catharsis is really not imminent. It is controlled by the limits of tolerability of a twenty-first-century human with all his securities and conveniences that are today within reach even in quite isolated locations.

Like any other component of reenactor practice, hardship, be it the harsh natural environment during "wargames"[9] or injuries in skirmishes and battles, can be regulated. It is possible to say that the phenomenon of historical reenactment is implementable precisely because of the possibility to control its intensity based on how the actor sets the limits, where the boundaries of his subjective tolerability lie, and how his devotion within reenactors' interest is distributed, as well as what form of negotiating authenticity prevails in his circle. It is possible to reject participation in an event, and the adjustment of combat intensity, weapons' sharpness, and equipment quality depend on each participant. A settlement or a medical facility, which can be used if needed,

Fig. 3. The conquest of Curia Vítkov, 22 July 2023. Photo Přemysl Vacek

is always within reach. Trust in the reciprocal permeability of the temporal threshold is essential for reenactor activity to be considered successful.

For this reason, the reflections of "wargames" in oral-historical interviews are usually positive; some narrators represent their experiences even as dominating and extraordinarily beneficial. The implicit acceptance of hardships as an inseparable accompanying phenomenon of reenactment of the Early Middle Ages is perceived as the price of attempts to penetrate the human habitus in a distant historical era. Anja Schwarz views bodily experiences of the hardship associated with reenactment through concepts of testimony and witnessing. The actors relate these feelings to bridging the gap between the past and the present, and through their suffering they become participants in the "immediate" experience by means of which they document the veracity of their actions (Schwarz: 2020). Schwarz deconstructs the category of experience in connection with the authenticity of reenactor experiences − after all, we still do not know much about the forms of hardship of a human in the sixth through eleventh centuries. In the subjective sense, this experience contains further categories that defy the deconstruction:

For example, I am not a man who is keen on long hiking, on walking, but also such early medieval wargames were organized, a march 20 kilometres long, we had to take with us what we were able to carry, including items for sleeping and eating. And also a weapon, and let's say a helmet. It was uncomfortable, it was very uncomfortable, but it was a great adventure. It was simply an experience I will never forget. And this is one of the smaller and more intimate events where you can really experience the medieval period, so you try to experience the medieval period. Of course, you cannot mostly avoid civilization, but it's like… For the feeling, definitely. (Král 2022a)

Fig. 4. Rogar, 26 August 2023. Photo Přemysl Vacek

Even though the narrator describes an event to the historical experiential potential of which the abovementioned deconstruction relates, the unforgettable adventure and recreation survive. In actors' experiences, hardship is perceived not only as the price for penetrating the temporal layer of the ancient past, but also as the price for the feeling of freedom, liberty, and unrestraint, which they associate in their minds with this period. The specific recreation value based on the stark contrast between the perceived comfortable present and the harsh past is also important:

It is also done by people who deal with any period and have a fully different entry brain that would need a sort of rewrite. But they at least attempt that. It's awfully hard, these motivations at all … why people, indeed, go to an event in the early Middle Ages. It's not about going to play someone else, but to relax and forget, to take a break from work. […] *These motivations are exactly the same as those of bikers, simply; the people do want to be unbound by rules; they want to be absolutely free.* (Vlasatý 2022a)

The vision of not being bounded by rules is based not only on the idealization and low awareness of life in the early Middle Ages, but also on a superficial idea of conducting reenactment as a costumed sports-leisure activity. However, a subjective sense cannot be denied to any leisure activity operated at any stage of maturity. During wargames and marches in nature, most actors are aware of the indefensibility of this experience as something that is close to a historical model, but they consider it to be beneficial within an experiment (experimental archaeology), that is, an important category of material and experiential authenticity. In Koselleck's sense, they set in motion (dynamize) the culturally sedimented layers of the past and affect the present through fragments of forgotten experience. Other subjective categories, such as adventure, discovering, and the general beneficial effect of the results of their research efforts come into play as well.

And this is another great theme that I wanted to open up, because this is a huge problem. This is why we organize our early medieval events outdoors, somewhere in the forest. Which is absolute nonsense from the historical point of view as the people didn't live in the forest, the people were not tourists or hikers, and so on, how people try to imagine that today. The people simply lived normally in a cultural world. They lived in houses, rode their horses, or went on waggons. And they didn't carry heavy burdens in some backpacks and didn't walk somewhere in nature, and didn't bring tents, when they did not have to. (Vlasatý 2022a)

The quality of an experience depends on the potential of the environment surrounding the historical reconstruction. This is why archaeological open-air museums, former battlefields, and places of memory related to the reconstructed period, where the experiences of early medieval men and present-day men are expected to be interconnected, are sought-after places of gathering. The experience of early medieval men is approached based on the platform of negotiating material authenticity with a different degree of categoricity, as required by one's own equipment, co-reenactors' equipment, and the materiality of the environment. Nature or the forest as a hypothetically minimally transformed space, as compared to the period of one thousand years ago, is suitable for quick use. This hopeful precondition is disproven by the thousand-year-long economic exploitation of the landscape (including the forests), which has left deep and omnipresent traces on its face. The last remnants of the relevance of thinking like this then end at the moment when twenty-first-century man appears in this environment. The "immediate" experience is then gained in the utopian space of the forest, which not only was not the historical biotope of man living in the sixth through eleventh centuries,[10] but which is viewed through the prism of the cultural affiliation of an inhabitant of the cotemporary world.

Typical is the contradiction in terms of authenticity, pronounced by a professional musician performing historically informed pieces, who has reached his current job through reenactment:

One sometimes makes concessions of what is asked of you. And that's why we do this authentic medievalism, through which we compensate this.

[…]

All medieval music that is played today is stylization. (Závada 2022)

The two narratives exemplify very well the conscious split between essential and negotiated authenticity, but they mostly reveal the internal unresolvedness of the relationship between what is really attainable and what is subjectively attainable in mind, and between the lived reality and the horizon of expectations. The narrator is a university-educated musician (Faculty of Arts of Masaryk University, Janáček Academy of Music and Performing Arts), and the performance of medieval music is the predominant source of his livelihood. He has extensive knowledge about this discipline, he observes the state of research, and maintains numerous contacts with musicians and musicologists worldwide. He is rationally clear about the issues of authenticity − this is testified by the second part of his seemingly inconsistent statement. He knows well that his lack of auditory experience precludes the possibility to classify any interpretation (including his own) as ultimately corresponding to the invention of the author and the period musician. He returns repeatedly to this theme during the interview. He knows that it is impossible to achieve this objective, that everything he will hear in his life from the historically informed performance of old music will be a mere modern derivate of the original intention, an unclear echo from beyond the unbridgeable abyss of time. Yet he sometimes puts on a neat black suit instead of his medieval costume, and, together with his colleagues, performs a concert

Fig. 5. Palace interior, Curia Vítkov, 22 July 2023. Photo Přemysl Vacek

of medieval music in an "authentic" manner. However, where is the difference, except for a side stage, a coat hanger in an adjacent wardrobe, and a few extra musical technical devices, between these two performances in terms of the proclaimed authenticity?

The accepted fact that the essential authenticity of sound/artefacts/fight is unachievable for a present-day musician/craftsman/warrior is confronted with the awareness that it exists nonetheless. More precisely said, it existed, but the reenactor just missed it in time. The crust of contemporary constructivist fictional notions built on the knowledge of the "typology, morphology, style of decorations, and approximation of technologies", which is a result of long-term sensitive, informed extraction of meanings from culturally sedimented layers of time from the early Middle Ages, is forever an interchangeable module in the interpretation of fighting, crafts, and music. It is an imaginary plastic makeshift of a window in the façade of a Gothic cathedral − its provisional nature, despite its functionality, is disturbing; it is unconditionally necessary to replace the window preferably with an original one. The reenactor knows that he is not able to carry out such a replacement from his cultural and historical layer; this, however, does not disprove the subjective necessity of such an action. It is impossible for him to reconcile himself with the status quo, and the oppressiveness of this enforced patience presses him to a contradiction in favour of the horizon of expectations. The accepted/negotiated narrative of his statement is a rejection of his own helplessness to reach an agreement with essential authenticity, and an expression of the permanent incompleteness and openness of this searching (Daugbjerg 2020: 27) that fills the lives of those who responsibly try to revive the past.

*The study was funded by the Czech Science Foundation (GA ČR), project No. 22-07058S "History and culture of contemporary Czech military re-enactment in an interdisciplinary perspective".

PRIMARY SOURCES:

Interview with Petr Floriánek conducted by Přemysl Vacek, 2 September 2022, Úvaly.

Interview with Roman Král conducted by Přemysl Vacek, 18 August 2022, Česká Třebová.

Interview with Roman Král conducted by Přemysl Vacek, 17 October 2022, Česká Třebová.

Interview with Roman Král and Michal Pavlišta conducted by Přemysl Vacek, 17 October 2022, Česká Třebová.

Interview with Jitka and Martin Kučeras conducted by Přemysl Vacek, 13 June 2022, Čerčany.

Interview with Michal Pavlišta conducted by Přemysl Vacek, 18 August 2022, Česká Třebová.

Interview with Ladislav Tomič conducted by Přemysl Vacek, 29 July 2022, Curia Vítkov.

Interview with David Tůma conducted by Přemysl Vacek, 21 November 2022, Prague.

Interview with Tomáš Vlasatý conducted by Přemysl Vacek, 13 July 2022, Prague.

Interview with Tomáš Vlasatý conducted by Přemysl Vacek, 21 November 2022, Prague.

Interview with Richard Závada conducted by Přemysl Vacek, 12 May 2022, Prague.

NOTES:

1. *Mouflon* is an internal professional term to define an onlooker who does not take an active part in a reenactment event.
2. I distinguish between public actions based on a scenario and non-public actions based on a tactical agreement (see Daugbjerg 2020: 28).
3. Here the reenactment movement of the early Middle Ages in the Czech Republic in 2022.
4. In reenactment, the term *beater* is used for individuals with significant or solely fight preferences, who have surrendered armour authenticity.
5. See e.g. the reflections of Jan Bartošek on Tomáš Vlasatý's website *Projekt Forlǫg: Reenactment a věda / Forlog Project: Re-Enactment and Science* (Vlasatý 2021).
6. See Curia Vítkov [online].
7. *"For this reason, believe that if I can't convince them as thinking beings, it will be possible through the equipment. If I can influence what they wear, I can influence how they fight. And in the end, they'll come to it on their own, but in their own way."* (Vlasatý 2022b)
8. *Uchronia* (a word formed by analogy with utopia, replacing the Greek *topos* with *chronos*) is a word denoting the narrative rejection of the existing order that for the respondent mediates the replacement of an unsatisfactory lived reality with a more acceptable version of it. For the purpose of oral history, the term has been transmitted by Alessandro Portelli from sci-fi literature.
9. "Wargames" are reenactor marches in nature, which include not only managing the prepared route, but also building a camp, spending the night there, an assault by another group, and fulfilling of other tasks.
10. Not in the sense of the current use by reenactors.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Agnew, Vanessa – Tomann, Juliane. 2020. Authenticity. In Agnew, Vanessa – Lamb, Jonathan – Tomann, Juliane (eds.). *The Routledge Handbook of Reenactment Studies – Key Terms in the Field.* London – New York: Routledge. 20–24.

Abrams, Lynn. 2010. *Oral History Theory*. London: Routledge.

Brauer, Juliane – Lücke, Martin. 2020. Emotion. In Agnew, Vanessa – Lamb, Jonathan – Tomann, Juliane (eds.). *The Routledge Handbook of Reenactment Studies – Key Terms in the Field.* London – New York: Routledge. 53–56.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 2010. *Distinction. A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste.* London – New York: Routledge.

Brink, Stephan – Price, Neil. 2008. *The Viking World*. London – New York: Routledge.

Curry, Andrew. 2007. The Viking Experiment. *Archaeology* 60 (3): 45–49.

Daugbjerg, Mads. 2020. Battle. In Agnew, Vanessa – Lamb, Jonathan – Tomann, Juliane (eds.). *The Routledge Handbook of Reenactment Studies – Key Terms in the Field.* London – New York: Routledge. 25–29.

Filipowiak, Wojciech – Bogacki, Michał – Kokora, Karolina. 2021. The Center of Slavs and Vikings in Wolin, Poland. History, scenography, story and effect. *Studia Slavica et Balcanica Petropolitana* 29 (1): 89–113.

Gapps, Stephen. 2020. Practices of Authenticity. In Agnew, Vanessa – Lamb, Jonathan – Tomann, Juliane (eds.). *The Routledge Handbook of Reenactment Studies – Key Terms in the Field.* London – New York: Routledge. 183–186.

Jordheim, Helge. 2012. Against Periodization: Koselleck's Theory of Multiple Temporalities. *History and Theory* 51 (2): 151–171.

Koselleck, Reinhart. 2003. *Zeitschichten: Studien zur Historik.* Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp.

Koselleck, Reinhart. 2004. *Futures Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Portelli, Alessandro. 1991. *The Death of Luigi Trastulli and Other Stories: Form and Meaning in Oral History.* Albany: State University of New York Press.

Portelli, Alessandro. 1997. *The Battle of Valle Giulia: Oral History and the Art of Dialogue.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Schwarz, Anja. 2020. Experience. In Agnew, Vanessa – Lamb, Jonathan – Tomann, Juliane (eds.). *The Routledge Handbook of Reenactment Studies – Key Terms in the Field.* London – New York: Routledge. 63–66.

Wohlmuth, Petr. 2021. Zoufalství, jaderné rakety a magické hory. Uchronický příběh bývalého vojáka základní služby. *Český lid* 108 (2): 131–150.

ELECTRONIC SOURCES:

Curia Vítkov [online]. Available at <https://curiavitkov.cz/> [accessed December 29, 2022].

Vlasatý, Tomáš. 2021. "O reensctmentu aneb jsme reenactoři nebo sportovci?" *Projekt Forlǫg: Reenactment a věda* [online]. Available at <https://sagy.vikingove.cz/o-reenactmentu-aneb-jsme-reenactori-nebo-sportovci/> [accessed December 13, 2022].

Summary

Military reenactment of the early Middle Ages is a hobby in which participants (re)construct and bring back to life technology and events related to the military culture of this period. In recent years, the interest of reenactors has broadened to encompass rituals, crafts, construction, farming, and trade, and could be more aptly described by the broader term of living history. This article, one of the first to examine the situation in the Czech Republic, presents a group of reenactors of the early Middle Ages with an emphasis on high material and experiential authenticity. Oral history in its post-positivist paradigm was the dominating method to reveal their subjective experiences. The representations contained in the interviews are a source for modulated personal experience that express the role, perceived by the actors, inside the reenactment movement as well as for the formulation of their self-concept in history. The text focusses on three analytic schemes – the paradoxes of "authenticity" in current reconstructions of medieval combat, the circumstances of negotiating authenticity, and the concept of Reinhart Koselleck's "multiple temporalities" that is used here to explain the experiential "mental travelling" of the reenactors between the present and the past.

Key words: Military reenactment; early Middle Ages; Viking; oral history; authenticity; multiple temporalities.

THE PAST IN AN UNCERTAIN PRESENT: THE PLACE OF COLLECTIVE MEMORY AT DEMONSTRATIONS FOR AN INDEPENDENT JUDICIARY IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC

Eva Šipöczová ***(The Institute of Ethnology of the Czech Academy of Sciences)***

In 2019, the Czech Republic experienced a wave of anti-government protests supported by the Million Moments for Democracy initiative [in Czech: Milion chvilek pro demokracii].[1] The first demonstration took place at the end of April 2019, and the reason for convening it was former Prime Minister Andrej Babiš's response to the police's decision to charge all those suspected in the Čapí hnízdo case, including the prime minister, and to bring them to justice. Babiš claimed this was a conspiracy, and he also replaced the minister of justice. The organizers of the protests perceived this step to be arbitrary and self-serving so that the prime minister could create an opportunity to affect the investigation (Million Moments for Democracy 2019). The For an Independent Judiciary protests were held repeatedly in many Czech municipalities. Most demonstrators − the organizers mention almost 300,000 (Horáčková 2019) − took part in a rally held on the eve of the thirtieth anniversary of the Velvet Revolution.

Some demonstrators summarized the attitudes, opinions, and emotions that accompanied the For an Independent Judiciary protests on banners. While creating the banners, some of the demonstrators addressed history, through which they commented on the ongoing events. The following text analyses how the banners worked with what was preserved in the social memory, which events and figures were linked to the ongoing political situation, and which values, ideas, and feelings were expressed through them. The analysis is based on the understanding of folkloristics as an interpretative science, and it is also enriched by the theoretical approaches of memory studies.

Protests and Banners from the Perspective of Folkloristics

Folkloristics perceives demonstrations, manifestations, and similar types of activities as a specific type of festivity − they have their own history and are conditioned by culture (Santino 1999: 515–528; Saltzman 2012: 3–15; Saltzman 2020: xi–xxiv). Festivities that reflected the discord between the ruling classes and those over whom the power held its patronage have been documented from the earliest sources. The principle of defiance can be identified in ancient Saturnalia, during which the differences between social layers were removed (Frazer 2012: 644). The critique of power as one of the fundamental components of mediaeval town festivals was described by Mikhail Bakhtin in his analyses of carnival and popular laughter cultures in Early Modern times (Bakhtin 1984). Parades called *sharivari* are considered to be the precursors of modern protests during which defiance of power is openly manifested. These parades were documented already in the Middle Ages, and people used them to speak out against particular social problems (Saltzman 2020).

In recent years, we have witnessed a wave of protests which are − in contrast to previous ones − global and significantly influenced by social media. According to Ivan Krastev, today's protests feature a wide range of various motivations; however, all of them spring from the globally spread mistrust towards institutions and systems of governing (Krastev 2014: 7–11).

David Graeber (2009) has submitted an anthropological view of activities coming from the inside of protests movements. Protests, however, consist of various participants who occupy different positions during the event (Rybníčková 2015), including participants on stage (organizers, invited speakers, artists), participants forming the crowd below the stage, those who supervise the safe course of the demonstration (volunteers, organizing team, medical staff, police), occasional bystanders, the mass media and its audiences, and even the politicians who are addressed by the demonstration. It is primarily the organizers and active participants forming a crowd who enrich the event with carnival elements, such as music, dance, singing, chanting, masks, performances, and so forth. Various types of text and visual content are also included – banners, graffiti, posters, leaflets, and stickers that are usually understood as part of tangible culture (Santino 1999; Drozdowski 2017: 21–26) and serve as communication media (Hymes 2016 [1975]: 79–141; Sirovátka 1991: 5–8; Peteet 1996: 139–159).

The relationship between space, protests, and various types of inscriptions was studied by several experts who point out their mutual interconnection and conditioning. In his study dealing with the symbolic meaning of wall inscriptions as an expression of political self-representation, Jack Santino points out the interconnection of national, religious, and political identity, history, and collective memory[2] with the selection of spaces where manifestations in the public space are organized. This interconnection also becomes evident in inscriptions, graffiti, and street art that appear in the corresponding space (Santino 1999: 515–528). Examining the Intifada, that is, the Palestinian fight against Israeli occupation, Julie Peteet points out how history and the collective memory of different parties condition the "reading" of inscriptions reflecting ongoing political events (Peteet 1996: 140–141). Following her treatise, I assume that identical principles are applicable to banners brought by demonstrators to public space and to the static, quite permanent inscriptions in public space, although these banners are only temporary and they disappear from the public space alongside the protesting crowd.

In his study, Drozdowski points out that the tensions in society and the emotions that society experiences are directly reflected in the visual image of protests (Drozdowski 2017: 21–26), and therefore also in the banners that appear there. The media image of demonstrations has been studied by Nicholas Mirzoeff (2018), a visual culture theorist, who links the attractiveness of banners to the influence of the internet on the visualization of culture. Photos from protests, published online, including those with banners, increase the global reach of the movement (Mirzoeff 2018).

Now we will look at research on written folklore that was initiated by the folklorist Alan Dundes in the 1960s. In his study dealing with "latrinalia", he pointed out the necessity of and possibilities for researching graffiti and folk epigraphics, which, in his opinion, include a wide spectrum of phenomena (Dundes 1966: 91). In his understanding of folkloristics as an interpretative science, he pointed out that inscriptions need to be researched in wide cultural contexts − in the context of space, the background of their emergence, and their authors (Dundes 1966: 93–94).

In Czech folkloristics, interest in written folk expressions has always been marginal. The theme began to penetrate folkloristics after 1989 and was closely associated with the political situation at the time. After the Velvet Revolution, Oldřich Sirovátka, Bohuslav Beneš, and Václav Hrníčko devoted several studies to wall inscriptions. These were handwritten or printed texts, occasionally supplemented with pictures, which reflected the ongoing political affairs related to the Velvet Revolution and which appeared in public spaces (statue pedestals, shop windows, walls of buildings, etc.).

The above-mentioned folklorists also "defended" written folklore and identified the typical elements of verbal folk art, with Beneš mentioning the way of formation, syncretic character, aesthetical efforts, collectiveness, dialogicness, and variability (Beneš 1990; Beneš – Hrníčko 1993). He associated wall inscriptions with phenomena such as oral history (Beneš – Hrníčko 1993; Beneš 2005) and public opinion (Beneš 1990; 2005). Sirovátka paid attention to the communication and information functions of inscriptions. He pointed out that street newspapers, which added new information about, criticized, and commented on current political affairs form readers' worldview similarly to traditional prosaic verbal art (Sirovátka 1991: 6).

Banners used at demonstrations and protests belong to the same category as wall inscriptions, and for this reason, they have identical properties and functions. They also come into being[3] as part of public mass expressions of displeasure. They are involved in the formation of solidarity and contribute to individuals' or small social groups' feelings of participation in an event. They serve as a medium for communicating with other participants at a demonstration, speakers on the stage, bystanders, and, vicariously, with people watching television at home and those reading newspapers. Banners are distinguished from inscriptions by their formal (technical) aspect. While wall inscriptions are fixed in a single place, banners move together with those participating in a rally. Therefore, we can use the texts by the above-mentioned folklorists as a base and further develop research on inscription folklore in association with protest culture.

Folklore as Part of Social Memory, the Past as Part of Folklore

History is a fundamental factor in identity, and therefore it has a strong political potential. Political regimes and governments legitimize their existence through it and possess the power to "write" history (Assmann 2001: 65–67; Havelka 2010: 142, 147). Political, social, and revolutionary movements have always searched for their legitimacy in history; their objective was to transform

the status quo and oppose the governing power (Hroch 2009: 173). Due to its strong emotional potential, shared history serves as an element of identity (Hroch 2009: 233–236), which contributes to the creation of the narrative of protest movements. This narrative is used as a central motif that mobilizes the crowd, describes the conflict, conditions the form of activities, maintains the dynamics, and takes part in the formation of the demonstrators' identity and feeling of solidarity (Santino 2009: 13; Saltzman 2012: 20–21; Gadinger – Smith Ochoa – Yildiz 2019: 90–91).

While searching for the answer to the question of how movements draw on collective memory, I rely on the theory of Jan Assmann, who defines categories of cultural and communication memories. Assmann's categorization is built on the opposition between the officiality/formality and the unofficiality/informality of memory, which are central to the analysis of the material addressed in this study. Due to its abilities to vary, adapt itself, and be passed down by oral tradition, traditional culture, including verbal art, is also included by Assmann and Czaplicka in communication memory, which is characterized *"*[...] *by a high degree of nonspecialization, reciprocity of roles, thematic instability, and disorganization"* (Assmann – Czaplicka 1995: 126). Unlike communication memory, cultural memory is codified as a doctrine and is part of holidays and rituals; it is "created" by power and preserved by specialists (Assmann 2001: 50–53) and its parts tend to stand for symbols (Assmann 2001: 38).

In the context of this case study, it is important to explain the theoretical understanding of remembering as a practise that works with the contents of memory. It is in the process of remembering that it is noticeable how the boundaries of cultural and communication memories are blurred. Alessandro Portelli, a pioneer in *oral history*, points out the interweaving of collective and individual remembering that draws on historical, poetic, and legendary narratives, whereby the form of stories that are remembered depends on the needs of a given society, or part of it (Portelli 2020: 67–68; 92–93). Astrid Erll speaks about different modes of remembering, one of them being the informal sharing of narratives. This can, to a different extent, contain contents resulting from personal experience and codified history, and their interpretations and re-interpretations from a variety of perspectives (Erll 2008: 6–7). Jeffrey O. Olick, another memory studies theorist, follows Maurice Halbwachs's basic premise that the individual memory is dependent on the collective memory (Halbwachs 2009). The social frames within which an individual moves influence what becomes part of his or her memory. The basic structures of memory (likewise the symbols) become real only if individuals (or small social groups) handle them and put them into practice, for example, by creating monuments or memorial ceremonies (Olick 1999: 338). In the context of protests, this practice becomes evident in the selection of places for demonstrations, in the integration of history in the narrative of movements, and − as the following text will show − in the production of banners. Following up on the interpretative anthropology of Clifford Geertz (2000), the analysis focusses on the relationships, interactions, and wider context of the selected components of protests, whereby, during the protests, history becomes a symbol.

Symbols are a result of abstract thinking, they are supposed to express emotions and communication and to remind people of common knowledge, and they bear power aspects (Firth, as cited in Turner 1975: 145–146). Victor Turner sees their political potential in the fact that they bear generally shared meanings, and those who have the possibility of changing the contents of symbols are given an opportunity to manipulate the masses (Turner 1975: 146). During protests, symbols created by the ruling class are usurped by the masses, which − in the spirit of Pierre Bourdieu's theory − utilize their symbolic power in the collective effort to enforce a new construction of reality (Bourdieu 2010: 9–11).

Methodology

This case study is based on Dundes's understanding of folkloristics as an interpretative science (Dundes 1980). The banners used during the observed demonstrations are analysed based on their content and put in the broader context of the protest events and the particular movement that initiated the protests, and, above all, in the context of cultural memory that relates to Czech national history. The interpretation of material does not include the perspective of the banners' creators as no interviews were conducted with them.

The material was collected during participant observation at selected For an Independent Judiciary demonstrations held in Brno (6 May, 28 May, and 11 June) and Prague (21 May) in 2019. The research aimed at documenting the banners. One hundred and thirty-nine banners from a total number of 606 were chosen. They

were selected based on content related to Czech history, ranging from its mythic history to the dissolution of Czechoslovakia and the formation of the independent Czech Republic in 1993. Text or text-visual contents were primarily included in the set. Banners bearing state symbols, the national emblem, the tricolour, or symbols of the Communist regime were included in the set only if they were used as symbols expressing a particular idea (for example, they were in juxtaposition to the text or visual component of the banner). Additionally, such banners were included if their creators used the the Communist regime's popular culture and anti-regime works. I decided to include them because I understand them as part of the (inter-)generational memory.

This case study rests on the assumption that banners working with the contents of collective memory are part of informal remembering in a specific context, and the past is expressed on them in a way that is typical of the folk environment. I consider banners to be a phenomenon of a folklore nature at protests representing the ongoing (re)interpretation of history, which directly depends on the specific political and social situation.

The interpretation of the past is based on the individual knowledge of specific individuals and/or small social groups. At the same time, banners as a set represent supra-personal, collective, and informal images of the past. The analysis of the material aims at answering the following questions: Which parts of Czech history were used in the creation of the banners, and why? What place did the official/codified interpretation of history occupy in the creation? What values and properties were discussed through the banners?

Taking into account the political level of the theme researched, I think it is important to comment on my own position from which I entered the settings under study. Despite the fact that I have been living and working in the Czech Republic for a long time, I consider myself to be an outsider. My different nationality and citizenship are reasons for that. I do not have a status that would entitle me to get involved in Czech elections at the regional or national level. I do not take part in political events, not even informal activities (activism, working in the third sector).

The Past in an Uncertain Present

The Million Moments for Democracy movement, which organized the protests, used certain historical figures, periods, and events in its communications with the public for their symbolic potential. For example, the movement's homepage displays a quote from Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk, the first Czechoslovak president. His portrait is also used on a banner, intended to be freely downloaded and printed. Although the movement does not openly advocate the "legacy of November 1989" on its homepage, the fight against the former political regime and the fall of this system were often mentioned in speeches and other activities (the relation of the events to commemoration days associated with the fight against the non-democratic regime, the transfer of the protests to Letná Plain). This context influenced the nature of demonstrations and addressed a certain sector of society. We can also assume that it partially determined which contents from cultural memory were used on the banners.

Historical figures mentioned on the studied banner include former presidents Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk and Václav Havel. Both occupy a significant position in Czech history. Masaryk became the first president of the Czechoslovak Republic, which was established at the end of World War I, in 1918. Václav Havel was an important dissident during the Communist regime. After the Velvet Revolution, he became president of Czechoslovakia, and he remained president of the Czech Republic after the federal republic was split into two independent countries. In cultural memory, Masaryk is projected as a mythical figure: the Father of the Nation, the President Liberator, who was behind the formation of the modern state, gained independence and liberty for the nation, and built democracy. Simultaneously, his personal qualities, merits, and wisdom were highlighted. Havel, who fought against the totalitarian regime and who eventually restored independence and democracy, occupies the position of Masaryk's follower in the cultural memory. Both are moral authorities in the national mythology, bearing attributes such as fairness, wisdom, deliberation, truth, liberty, humanism, democracy, and education. Sociologist Ladislav Holý, who dealt with the symbolical level of the Velvet Revolution, mentions that in November 1989, Masaryk was primarily referred to as the "Father of the Nation" who gained independence and democracy for the nation (Holý 2001: 57). As we will see in the following section, banners from For an Independent Judiciary protests referred to Masaryk primarily as a moral authority who represents fairness, deliberation, wisdom, responsibility, honour, and truth.

Highlighting positive qualities, the protestors primarily appealed to Babiš to adhere to the legacy and values that Masaryk and Havel represent. Through them, those demonstrating pointed out the distorted and questionable nature of the self-images of the current highest political representatives. In an interview for the magazine *Týden* [The Week], Babiš, speaking about himself, said: *"I am like Masaryk."* (Musil 2019) One of the banners bore a brief response to this statement: *"You are not Masaryk."*[4] Another one was ironic, comprising five photos of Masaryk supplemented with his quotes about greed, morals, morality, and democracy as well as with his most popular quote *"Don't be afraid and don't steal."* The sixth photo in the group presented Babiš wearing a red cap, put on askew, with his thumbs in the pockets of his trousers, and the above-mentioned statement for *Týden*, in which he identified himself with Masaryk.[5] One protester remembered Václav Havel by bringing an official period presidential portrait.[6] Another one used a less known quote from Havel: *"It makes sense"*[7], which encouraged and legitimized the demonstrators' presence in the squares.

Quotes from Masaryk and Havel were the most frequent sources of inspiration referring to the former presidents. Banner creators often worked with Masaryk's statement *"Don't be afraid and don't steal!"* and with Havel's *"Truth and love must triumph over lies and hatred".* These were paraphrased or referred to (e.g., *"Truth and love will triumph over Bureš's lies and Zeman's hatred"*[8]). In one case, a banner referred to the slogan on the presidential standard of the Czech Republic, *"Truth prevails"*,[9] in the form of a rhetorical question, *"When will the truth again prevail at the Castle and below it?"*[10] that expressed the loss of trust in the current political authorities.

A banner with a quote from another person associated with national mythology – the Czech mediaeval religious reformer Jan Hus – appealed to preferring the truth over personal benefit: *"Accursed is he who leaves truth for a crust of bread."*[11] Simultaneously, the banner implicitly and with a hint of sarcasm referred to one of Babiš's cases in which he might have ensured subsidies for the production of bread for a bakery that is a member of Agrofert Holding (ČTK, pak 2019).[12]

The interpretation of the banner bearing only one word − *Defenestration*[13]– is not unambiguous and can elicit a variety of associations. Three Prague defenestrations (1419, 1483, and 1618) are accentuated in Czech history as being key ones. However, the author could have been refering only to the "practice" and not to a particular historical event.

Another banner related to the legend of the Blaník knights *("The Blaník knights have a wake-up call"*[14]), which is related to the tradition of St. Wenceslas. The legend is based on the worldwide widespread motif of an army resting inside a hill (ATU 766), which wakes up and sets off against enemies to help a troubled nation at its darkest moment.

The Velvet Revolution is among the most frequently remembered positive events from the second half of the twentieth century. The events of late 1989 are constructed, within the official interpretation of modern Czech history, as symbolizing democracy, freedom (of movement, speech, access to information), and the ability to change the situation "from below". Current affairs were identified with the Velvet Revolution on the banners ("*1989 = 2019 / TRUTH and* [heart]*"*[15]). Also, the renewed mocking slogan *"Jakeš to the rubbish bin!"*[16] (Beneš – Hrníčko 1993: 145) was associated with the year 1989, and it was updated to the version *"Bureš to the rubbish bin; Babiš to the rubbish bin."*[17]

Fig. 1. The poster was provided for free download by the Million Moments for Democracy movement. Brno, 11 June 2019. Photo Eva Šipöczová

Only one documented banner bore a critical view of the legacy of 17 November 1989 and the post-revolutionary years (*"Velvet does not work, next time* [picture of fire]*"*[18]).

The Communist era is the part of modern history which was most often reflected on the banners. Those protesting followed the formalized interpretation of history. The past political regime symbolically represented negative phenomena on the banners, such as lack of freedom, unenforceability of the law, the arrogance and misuse of power, utilitarianism, cheating, stealing, intimidation, and corruption.

In its introduction, a long text, untypical of banners, articulated the conflict between the post-revolutionary narrative about the country's future and the present day: *"It is unacceptable for a prosecuted person registered as an agent of the State Secret Police to be prime minister of our country 71 years after the Communist putsch and 30 years after the Velvet Revolution."*[19]

Babiš's alleged cooperation with the State Secret Police (hereinafter StB)[20] as an agent shows the importance of the personal history of a publicly active person in conflict with the official democratic narrative, which is based on the clear rejection of the Communist era. According to archival documents administered by the Nation's Memory Institute, Babiš was registered as a StB agent under the code name Bureš. However, the former prime minister has been litigating about the authenticity of this information for ten years (for more, see Čemusová 2022). On the banners Babiš's association with the StB was mentioned fifty times. His agent evidence number (see Fig. 3) was used twice. Other banners were more general, speaking about the StB, an agent/s (*"It is true, it is a fact that a thief, liar, and a StB agent rules here!!! I don't want a StBabiš to be my prime minister"*[21]), or a comrade ("Let's elect new faces instead of the comrade and liar!!!"[22]). The alleged cooperation stripped Babiš of the moral right to hold the post of prime minister. He was designated a representative of the former regime and what it stood for (*"ANDREJ BABIŠ personifleS EVERYTHING that we spurned on 17 November 1989: STB / Dictatorship / Manipulation / Bureaucracy of state / Oppression of speech / Corruption / Blackmail / Intimidation"*[23]).

The red five-pointed star and the hammer and sickle frequently appeared on the banners as embellishments supplementing the text. To a lesser extent, they were the main motif of the banner:

"Never [the hammer-and-sickle symbol] *more."*[24]

"Zeman, / Babiš, [the hammer-and-sickle symbol placed in the dial of an alarm clock and crossed with a diagonal] *your final bell."*[25]

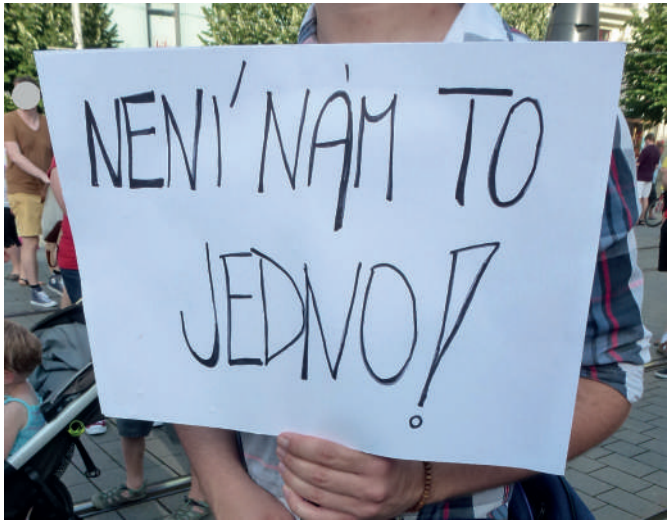


Fig. 2. This slogan was also used during the Velvet Revolution. Brno, 11 June 2019. Photo Eva Šipöczová

Fig. 3. This poster combines caricature, the agent number of Bureš, a nest containing eggs with Communist symbols on them, red underwear, and a call for resignation. Brno, 11 June 2019. Photo Eva Šipöczová

Another category of banners refers to forbidden culture during the Communist regime. The reason for their inclusion in the selection is their tie to generational identity and their symbolic meaning as a protest against power, which they still stand for in the eyes of a part of society. Most often (six times) these banners' creators worked with texts by the anti-regime songwriter Karel Kryl. Passages from one of his songs were completed with pictures putting the text into the present-day context,[26] or the texts were modified (see Fig. 4). In one case, a text by the songwriter Pavel Dobeš was used.[27] Inspiration also came from British writer George Orwell and his books *1984* and *Animal Farm*, which were forbidden under the regime (*"Welcome to the animal farm; All animals are equal, but some animals are more equal than others* [caricature of Babiš and Zeman]."[28; Fig 5).

A common past and language are basic national-identification elements that identify what is "ours" and what is "strange". For this reason, several banners remembered the origin of the former prime minister. Despite the shared history of Czechs and Slovaks and the still-living mutual realtions between the nations (the myth of a fraternal nation), Babiš was identified as a foreign

Fig. 4. Modified lyrics to Karel Kryl's song "Balada Manoně". Brno, 11 June 2019. Photo Eva Šipöczová
Fig. 5. Modified slogan from G. Orwell's book 1984. Photo Eva Šipöczová

element (*"Babiš go home"*[29]). Other banners remembered, in a more conciliatory manner, the mutual relations between both countries, speaking out just against Babiš *("I don't have a problem with a Slovak. I have a problem with an StB guy, liar, and thief"*[30]; *"Brothers!!! Stop sending* [your] *waste here to us"*[31]). To speak out against Babiš and to confirm that he does not belong to the Czech nation, several banners referred to his Slovakisms, that is, mistakes made when speaking Czech as a result of Slovak being his native tongue. His slips of the tongue were ridiculed (*motýl**e***, whereby *motýli* is the correct Czech word), and one banner parodied the way he speaks (*"Andrej, are you not afraid?"* [*nemáš strache* in Czech, whereby *strach* is the correct version][32]; Fig. 4).

Discussion and Conclusion

This thorough analysis of the selected banners has shown that − like other inscriptions relating to protest movements − banners are also influenced by cultural, ethnic, religious, and political identity, and collective memory (Peteet 1996; Santino 1999). This is confirmed by the themes chosen by these banners' creators when commenting on and criticizing political affairs. Common history and national identity on the banners contribute to the narrative of the movement by determining the roots of its values, strengthening the sense of togetherness, and legitimizing the protest (Saltzman 2012; Santino 2009).

The banner creators found inspiration primarily in official/codified history, and they chose subject matters that were symbolic and generally understandable, thus providing an opportunity to confront current political representatives using values anchored in a historical figure or a historical event. In the production of banners we can see the mechanism described by Olick (1999) where an individual or a small social group works with the contents of the collective memory. The creators (re)interpreted the contents based on their own perception of the political situation, and on the feelings that this situation has evoked in them. For this reason, banners as a communication medium can be integrated into an informal collective mode of remembering (Erll 2008). Among complex symbols, the creators highlighted the values that were important for them (the image of Masaryk in 1989 vs. in 2019). The past was stylized on the banners, and − alongside political themes − it was presented through mottoes, slogans, and quasi-proverbs whose function and aesthetics match those of a banner used as a communication medium (Sirovátka 1991).

We can identify two basic levels at which historical figures, events, and periods were used. The first group contains ones that feature a *positive* symbolical aspect of cultural memory and that are pillars in the narrative of modern Czech history and the national myth (Masaryk, Havel, Hus, the Velvet Revolution, the Blaník knights). They were an appeal, a call, and a reproach primarily aimed at former Prime Minister Babiš. Another group of banners used symbols that are attributed negative values.

Positive symbols were openly questioned only exceptionally (*"Velvet does not work…"*). This one example is an important exclamation point in the interpretation of the analysed collection. It reminds us that outside the For an Independent Judiciary movement there are still opinion and value groups, which, based on their persuasions and if they would organize demonstrations and produce banners, could work with the same parts of history in a different manner and interpret the contents of the collective memory based on their own needs.

Banners relating to Babiš's alleged cooperation with the StB show how the past of an individual politician becomes a public matter and how Czech society uses it to cope with its Communist past. Their creators come back to the official state narrative, which rejects the Communist regime, teaches "how the regime has to be remembered", and determines value approaches to this part of history. Those demonstrating represent the part of society that identifies with this narrative, reminding his Communist past and rejecting him as a representative in the present-day political sphere, despite the fact that Babiš was elected in democratic elections and became the prime minister. This indicates that the Communist past is not a key issue for a part of society.

Popular and underground publications from the period of Communism were another source of inspiration. From the perspective of memory studies, they are part of the "little history", that is, the history of everyday life, and contribute to generational identity (Daniel – Kavka – Machek 2013). In the context of demonstrations against Babiš, the use of anti-regime and forbidden artistic works can be interpreted as a symbolic return to the anti-Communist struggle. The works that stood for a silenced voice against the omnipresent dictatorship were openly used to remind people of Babiš's past, which the

former prime minister tries to silence through legal disputes with memory institutions. Official popular culture from the Communist period was a source of satire and irony.

A common past and language are basic national-identification elements. Their sharing determines who belongs to the category of "we" and who is "strange" (Hroch 2009). For this reason, the national identity of the former prime minister, who comes from Slovakia, became a theme for some protestors. Babiš was identified as the "Other", who does not share the Czech language and past and does not come from Czechia, despite the narrow interconnection between Czech and Slovak history and the myth of a "brother nation". His "otherness" was most often remembered by ridiculing his oral skills in the Czech language.

Memory and the practice of remembering also include what is not talked about. The analysed set of banners shows that authors referred to a thematically narrow part of history. Several crucial events of modern history, which are still actively remembered, did not appear at all on the banners (e.g., World War II, the Soviet invasion of 1968). The choice of themes was selective, based on associations, similarity, and values that the creators wished to accentuate.

As mentioned above, banners as spontaneously created and unofficial products are part of communication memory. However, the analysed collection showed that even within it, banners creators reach into only a certain section of this memory in the case of this type of material. Individual and family histories were not a source of inspiration for the banners. The reason for that could be the weak potential of personal stories to address a crowd and the effort to share "the common" that contributes to the creation of togetherness.

This case study demonstrates the crucial importance of the official/formal interpretation of history contained in the cultural memory. Historical figures and events were chosen based on their generally established symbolic importance. Only certain parts of history and their symbolic signifigance were selected. This selection was spontaneous and influenced by particular circumstances (political affairs, the past of a particular politician, the narrative of a protest movement, and individual feelings). These demonstrations are thus a specific situation during which a part of society usurped history, interpreting and re-interpreting it, and they reveal one of the possible levels of memory and the practice of remembering.

In the context of folkloristic research in the field of inscription folklore, this study has pointed out several realms that can be developed as a follow-up to works by Sirovátka, Beneš, and Hrníčko. This concerns, for example, a more detailed view of the origin of written messages (including banners) and their development and passing-on within protest movements over time as well as across movements, and their spread across the globalized world, whereby the variety of themes offers the opportunity to gain a deeper insight into the interpretations of the world from the perspective of the crowd.

The strong Million Moments for Democracy movement, able to rouse a segment of society to protest, did not compel the criticized group of politicians to accept its demands. At the time of finalizing this text, the Czech Republic has a new, democratically elected government. The view of banners using contents from history made it possible to better understand the demonstrating crowd. Its opinions, attitudes, needs, and emotions determined the way of working with memory within which the past was not presented only as a memento, but also as a reproach, an appeal, criticism, and a way to legitimize the protests. Memory became moral support squeezed into slogans so that the content could be easily legible and could aptly express the current situation. History became, as it is still repeatedly becoming, an active part of the interpretation of what is uncertain and confusing today, and it brings hope for a just future.

*This study was written with the institutional support of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Strategy AV 21, No. 23.

NOTES:

1. The initiative was established in 2017.
2. In the text, I use the term *collective memory* as an umbrella term.
3. In their texts, Sirovátka, Beneš, and Hrníčko did not deal with the creation of banners. Due to the possible volume of the text, I will mention brief observations from my research. Banners are made as individual works, or within small social groups. They are made at home or at organized workshops before a demonstration, or even only at a demonstration. They are a result of an individual or collective creative process.
4. Prague, 21 May.
5. Prague, 21 May.
6. Prague, 21 May.
7. Brno, 11 June.
8. Brno, 6 May.
9. Brno, 11 June.
10. Prague, 21 May.
11. Brno, 11 June.
12. Babiš was an owner of Agrofert.
13. Prague, 21 May.
14. Prague, 21 May.
15. Prague, 21 May.
16. Miloš Jakeš, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in 1987–1989.
17. Brno, 28 May.
18. Brno, 28 May.
19. Prague, 21 May.
20. State political secret service of the Communist regime in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.
21. Prague, 21 May.
22. Prague, 21 May.
23. Brno, 28 May.
24. Prague, 21 May.
25. Prague, 21 May.
26. The passages from the following songs: *Nevidomá dívka* [A Sightless Girl]*, Divný kníže* [A Strange Prince]*, Bratříčku, zavírej vrátka* [Brother, Close the Backdoor]*, Rakovina* [Cancer], and *Balada Manoně* [Ballad for Manon].
27. Tha passage from the song *Calvera.*
28. Prague, 21 May.
29. Brno, 11 June.
30. Brno, 11 June.
31. Prague, 21 May.
32. Prague, 21 May.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Assmann, Jan. 2001. *Kultura a paměť. Písmo, vzpomínka a politická identita v rozvinutých kulturách starověku*. Praha: Prostor.

Assmann, Jan – Czaplicka, John. 1995. Collective Memory and Cultural Identity. *New German Critique* 65: 125–133. DOI:10.2307/488538.

Bakhtin, Mikhail. 1984. *Rabelais and His World*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Beneš, Bohuslav. 2005. Hesla a nápisy na zdi – folklor, nebo odraz veřejného mínění? In Profantová, Zuzana (ed.). *Malé dejiny veľkých udalostí I. v Česko(a)Slovensku po roku 1948, 1868, 1989.* Bratislava: Ústav etnológie SAV – Ústav pamäti národa. 74–81.

Beneš, Bohuslav – Hrníčko, Václav. 1993. *Nápisy v ulicích*. Brno: Masarykova univerzita.

Beneš, Bohuslav. 1990. Folklor a protofolklór v politické renesanci. *Národopisné aktuality* 27 (2): 73–79.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 2010. Sociální prostor a symbolická moc. In Mayer, Françoise – Hubinger, Václav – Bazac-Billaud, Laurent (eds.). Cahiers du CEFRES N° 8. *Antologie francouzských společenských věd: Antropologie, Sociologie, Historie* [online]. Available at <http://www.cefres.cz/IMG/pdf/bourdieu_1995_socialni_prostor_symbolicka_moc.pdf> [accessed April 13, 2023].

Drozdowski, Rafał. 2017. Jak i po co badać wizualność protestów społecznych? *Czas Kultury* 33 (4): 21–26.

Daniel, Ondřej – Kavka, Tomáš – Machek, Jakub. 2013. *Populární kultura v českém prostoru.* Praha: Karolinum.

Dundes, Alan. 1966. Here I sit – A Study of American Latrinalia. *Kroeber Anthropological Society Papers* 34: 91–105.

Dundes, Alan. 1980. *Interpreting Folklore*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Erll, Astrid. 2008. Cultural Memory Studies: An Introduction. In Erll, Astrid – Nünning, Ansgar (eds.). *Cultura Memory Studies: An international and Interdisciplinary Handbook*. Berlin – New York: de Gruyter. 1–15.

Frazer, James George. 2012. *Zlatá ratolest*. Praha: Československý spisovatel.

Gadinger, Frank – Smith Ochoa, Christopher – Yildiz Taylan. 2019. Resistance or Thuggery? Political Narratives of Urban Riots. *Narrative Culture* 6 (1): 88–111.

Geertz, Clifford. 2000. *Interpretace kultur.* Praha: Sociologické nakladatelství.

Graeber, David. 2009. *Direct Action. An Ethnography*. Oakland: AK Press.

Halbwachs, Maurice. 2009. *Kolektivní paměť*. Praha: Sociologické nakladatelství.

Havelka, Miloš. 2010. *Ideje – dějiny – společnost. Studie k historické sociologii vědění*. Brno: Centrum pro studium demokracie a kultury.

Holý, Ladislav. 2001. *Malý český člověk a skvělý český národ.* Praha: Sociologické nakladatelství.

Hroch, Miroslav. 2009. *Národy nejsou dílem náhody. Příčiny a předpoklady utváření moderních evropských národů.* Praha: Sociologické nakladatelství.

Hymes, Dell. 2016. Breakthrough into performance. In Hymes, Dell (ed.). *'In Vain I Tried to Tell you.' Essays in Native American Ethnopoetics*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania. 79–141.

Krastev, Ivan. 2014. *Democracy Disrupted. The Global Politics of Protest*. Philadelphia: University od Pennsylvania Press.

Mirzoeff, Nicholas. 2018. *Jak vidět svět.* Praha: ArtMap.

Olick, Jeffrey K. 1999. Collective Memory: The Two Cultures. *Sociological Theory* 17 (3): 333–348.

Peteet, Julie. 1996. The Writing on the Walls: The Graffiti of the Intifada. *Cultural Anthropology* 11 (2): 139–159.
Portelli, Alessandro. 2020. *Smrt Luigiho Trastulliho a jiné příběhy. Forma a význam v orální historii.* Praha: Karolinum.
Rybníčková, Alena. 2015. Happening. In Rybničková, Alena – Chlup, Radek – Pehal, Martin – Koubkova, Evelyne (eds.). *Happening. Mezi záměrem a hrou*. Praha: Akademie múzických umění. 17–37.
Saltzman, Rachelle Hope. 2012. *Lark for the Sake of Their Country: The 1926 General Strike Volunteers in Folklore and Memory*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
Saltzman, Rachelle Hope. 2020. Introduction. In Saltzman, Rachelle Hope (ed.). *Pussy Hats, Politics, and Public Protest*. Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, xi–xxiv.
Santino, Jack. 1999. Public Protest and Popular Style: Resistance from the Right in Northern Ireland and South Boston. *American Anthropologist* 101 (3): 515–528.
Santino, Jack. 2009. The Ritualesque: Festival, Politics, and Popular Culture. *Western Folklore* 68 (1): 9–26.
Sirovátka, Oldřich 1991: Pouliční noviny neboli nápisy na zdi. *Národopisná revue* 1 (1): 5–8.
Turner, Victor. 1975. Symbolic Studies. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 4: 145–161.

ELECTRONIC SOURCES:

Aarne – Thompson – Uther (ATU). "766 – The Seven Sleepers." *Types of Folktales* [online]. Available at <http://www.mftd.org/index.php?action=atu&src=atu&id=766> [accessed February 2, 2022].
Čemusová, Tereza. 2022. "Nový důkaz o Babišově spolupráci s StB soudce neřešil. Co stojí v rozsudku, který vrací spor na začátek?" *iRozhlas.cz* [online] 22. 7. Available at <https://www.irozhlas.cz/zpravy-domov/andrej-babis-soud-evidence-stb-rozsudek-odvolani_2207220500_tec> [accessed January 24, 2023].
ČTK, pak. 2019. "Vraťte dotaci na linku pro toastový chleba, vyzvalo Babiše hnutí STAN. Peníze šly ze státního rozpočtu." *iRozhlas.cz* [online] 28. 9. Available at <https://www.irozhlas.cz/zpravy-domov/agrofert-dotace-andrej-babis-penam-toastovy-chleb-poslanci_1905281306_jgr> [accessed July 12, 2022].
Horáčková, Anna. 2019. "Spolek Milion chvilek v roce 2019: dvě zaplněné Letné a další desítky demonstrací po celém Česku." *iRozhlas.cz* [online] 31. 12. Available at <irozhlas.cz/zpravy-domov/praha-milion-chvilek-pro-demokracii-demonstrace-demokracie-andrej-babis-ceska_1912311029_vtk> [accessed July 12, 2022].
Musil, Petr. 2019. "Rozhovor TÝDNE. Babiš: Jsem jako Masaryk." Týden.cz [online] 20. 5. Available at <https://www.tyden.cz/rubriky/domaci/babis-jsem-jako-masaryk_522471.html> [accessed March 3, 2022].

Summary

This case study focusses on an analysis of the place of collective memory at the For an Independent Judiciary (in Czech: *Za nezávislou justici*) demonstrations that took place in the Czech Republic in 2019. It combines the folkloristic approach of inscription folklore research with the theoretical approaches of memory studies. During participant observation of the protests, banners were documented, which the study understands as a specific verbal expression of a folklore nature, anchored in a text and balancing on the borderline between individually and collectively shared opinions regarding particular events. Frequent themes presented on the banners included references to historical events, prominent people, and periods. The past was put into a new context, as it became part of ongoing events and was thus (re)interpreted. This study observes which historical events, people, and periods appeared on the banners, how they were contextualized within ongoing political events, and what symbolic value was assigned to them. The secondary goal of the study is to continue the discussion about the place of research on written expressions of a spontaneous/situational nature in folkloristics, which was opened by Czech folklorists in the 1990s. Memory is seen as a multilayere phenomenon that is permanently living, present, and re-formulated based on current needs. While analysing the materials, I considered the relationship between formal and non-formal components of memory and their political potential.

Key words: Banners; collective memory; demonstrations; political protest; inscription folklore.

CONTEMPORARY RESEARCH ON THE CZECH COMPATRIOTS IN SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE

Lenka Jakoubková Budilová

(Department of Social and Cultural Anthropology, Faculty of Humanities, Charles University)

Introduction: Czech Villages in the Balkans on the Double Periphery of European Ethnological Research

Czech ethnology, and later also socio-cultural anthropology, has long featured a strong idea about the Balkans as an "ethnographic museum of Europe", a kind of repository of traditional cultural forms that no longer exist elsewhere in Europe and the research of which gives us an idea about our own past (Bočková 2017). This was one of the reasons research in this region was of great interest to ethnologists. Moreover, the region of south-eastern Europe[1] is close to Czech scholars in geographical, linguistic, and cultural respects, and before 1989, it was − alongside Czechoslovakia − part of the Eastern Bloc; for this reason there were no political barriers to conducting research in that area. When Czech ethnologists paid their attention to Czech compatriot communities in the Balkans, this was motivated by many factors. After 1918, these factors were mostly nationalistic, when "Czechs abroad" were understood to be a valuable offshoot of the national "body", which needed to be cared for in terms of economics, culture and ideology, and whose "denationalization" should be prevented. In this respect, the Czech discourse undoubtedly reflected the German-language discourse of the interest in "language islands" (Lozoviuk 1998). This "nationalistic" line of thinking, which was reflected in the increased interest in Czechs (and Slovaks) in the Balkans after the formation of Czechoslovakia in 1918, undoubtedly contributed to huge population movements after 1945, called "remigrations" and carried out under the slogan of the "return of compatriots to their homeland" (Vaculík 1993, 1995, 2002a; Nosková – Váchová 2000). In the course of these migrations, tens of thousands of Czechs and Slovaks living abroad resettled in Czechoslovakia, settling in the borderlands from which German (or Hungarian) residents had been expelled. Further factors contributing to the popularity of research on Czech compatriot communities in south-eastern Europe included the easy accessibility of the field for Czech researchers (from the perspective of geography and political geography before 1989) and the absence of a language barrier (the research was focussed on a Czech-speaking community). It was probably also the anachronistic approach of a certain sector of Czech ethnology, which understood the remote villages and inaccessible mountains of the Balkans as a kind of "survivals" of traditional Czech culture (cf., e.g., Skalníková – Scheufler 1963; Jech – Secká – Scheufler – Skalníková 1992), that contributed to the popularity of research on Czechs abroad. In rural Czech communities in Croatian Slavonia, Romanian Banat, and Bosnia, residues of tangible, oral and religious culture, an archetype of the "Czech village one hundred years ago", were searched for. It could be said that Balkan Czech compatriot communities were doubly marginalized: on the one hand, they existed in the space of the Balkans as an ethnographic museum of Europe, and on the other hand, they were perceived as an ethnographic museum of the traditional Czech village. It could be argued that Czech ethnology chose the Czech compatriot communities in the Balkans as optimal representatives of a "remote area", meaning a place that is abundant in events and stacked full of cultural importance, thus an ideal space for field research (Ardener 2012: 523).

This paper aims at assessing how the Czech ethnological and cultural anthropological research on Czech compatriot communities in the Balkans has developed after 1989. In the Czech academic environment, this period featured a massive expansion of the Anglophone discourse of socio-cultural anthropology with its emphasis on theoretical grounding, methods of field research, and a certain withdrawal from defining ethnology as a historical science (Nešpor – Jakoubek 2004; Skalník 2002). This also entails the abandonment of primordial and often evolutionistic positions that were based on the tradition of Soviet ethnology (Jakoubek 2012). The latest research also includes several continuities relating to old research traditions and areas of interest. The following text's aim is to summarize the research over the last thirty years and

to show to what extent it introduces new research themes and new perspectives, to what extent it draws from the older ethnological discourse, and to what extent it creates a new discourse. Czech researchers' texts dealing with Czech communities in south-eastern Europe after 1989 are quite numerous. My choice is largely subjective and is certainly affected by my biases. I pay the most attention to disciplines of cultural anthropology and ethnology; however, I also peripherally follow other lines of research, such as historical and linguistic ones. My focus on south-eastern Europe was motivated by the fact that the rich discourse dealing with that region, which developed after 1945, continued in Czech ethnology after 1989. In general, the interest of Czech ethnology in that region can be inferred from the political division of Europe in the second half of the twentieth century as well as from economic factors. Communities in the Eastern Bloc were more easily accessible than (also large) compatriot communities, for example, in the USA and South America.

On the Czech Settlement of South-Eastern Europe, Compatriot Communities, and Remigration

The first part of my paper will focus on the summarizing texts offering a general outline of the various Czech communities in south-eastern Europe. Czech villages in the region came into being mostly during the 18th and 19th century, often as a part of the settlement of the Military Frontier between the Austrian and Ottoman Empire. From the nineteenth century onwards, quite large Czech communities were settled in Bulgaria (the village of Voyvodovo in north-western Bulgaria and urban settlements of craftsmen, industrialists, teachers, and scholars), Romania (Banat), and the former Yugoslavia – the present-day Serbia (Banat), Croatia (Slavonia), and Bosnia and Herzegovina (an urban settlement and three villages near Prnjavor).

These minorities were paid significant attention after the formation of Czechoslovakia (1918), when Czechs living outside the new republic were seen as "Czech colonies abroad". The academic discourse came into being in parallel with the politically motivated "compatriot care", concentrated especially around the Czechoslovak Foreign Institute (cf. Brouček 1985) and the Comenius School Association, which was supposed to strengthen the maintenance of the Czech language and national consciousness in these communities. Many overview publications were published, which summarized the condition of the "Czech colonies abroad" and focussed on the history of settlement, education, compatriot associations, and national consciousness in individual Czech enclaves (e.g., Auerhan 1921, 1930; Folprecht 1937, 1947; Klíma 1925, to name but a few). In addition to this First Republic (1918–1938) tradition, another historical sediment of the scholarly interest in Czech enclaves in south-eastern Europe includes the ethnological tradition that focussed both on Czech settlements in the Balkans (e.g., Heroldová 1985, 1986) and on the groups of "re-migrants" who settled in the Czechoslovak borderlands after World War II (e.g., Heroldová 1974, 1975, 1978). In this sense, there was clearly much to build on after 1989.

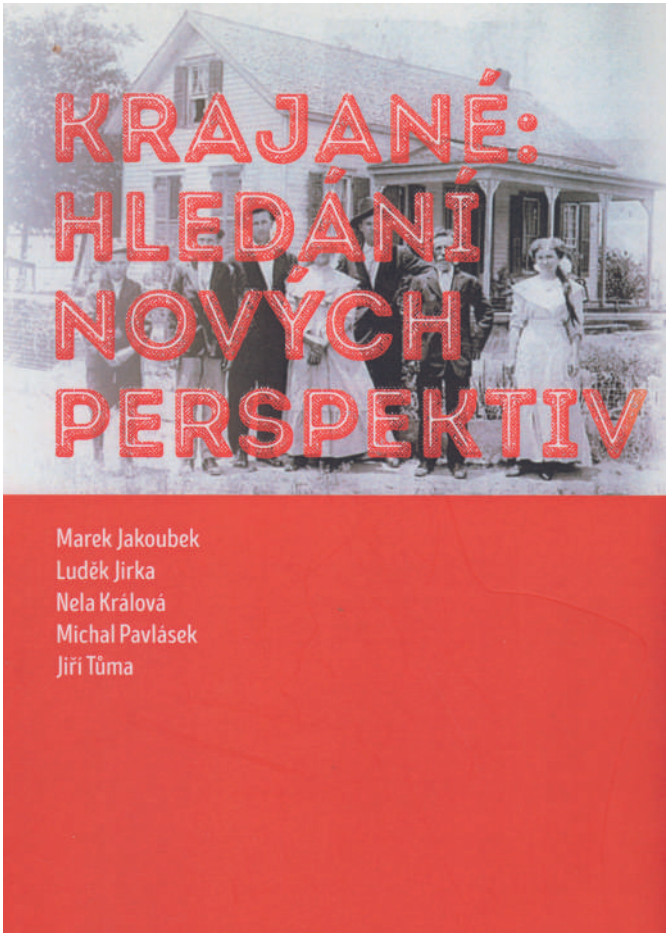
As far as "overview publications" dealing with Czech settlement in south-eastern Europe are concerned, several books in Czech have been published since 1989 that address the theme in an "encyclopaedical" fashion similar to Auerhan's and Folprecht's pre-war publications. The theme of "Czechness" and the definition of terms such as *ethnicity* and *ethnic minority* are not subjects of interest in these books; the authors treat these terms in a positivistic-primordial way as actually existing and unchangeable entities. This category could include, for example, a popular-science book by the Brno historian Jaroslav Vaculík, which summarizes religious, economic, and political emigrations from the Czech lands in the past and also touches on emigration to south-eastern Europe (2002b: 24–26).

Jaroslav Vaculík intensively dealt with another theme popular amongst Czech researchers, namely, the remigration of Czechs living abroad after 1945. Due to the large inflow of remigrants from Romania, remigration from the Balkan countries was the largest. In the already-mentioned popular-science publication, the author also pays attention to Czechs who came to the Czechoslovak borderlands from Bulgaria, Romania, and Yugoslavia (Vaculík 2002b: 35–64). Like in other publications dealing with remigration (Vaculík 1993, 1995, 2002a, 2006), Vaculík drew data mainly from his study of archival sources. He has comprehensively mapped the issue of remigration in terms of legal regulations and international agreements. His historical work has been supplemented by a book by Helena Nosková and Jana Váchová (2000), which puts the theme of post-1945 remigrations in the wider context of the controlled resettlement of people in the twentieth century, and especially of the political

arrangement of Europe after World War II. The authors monitor the displacement of German residents after 1945 and the subsequent remigration operation mainly through their study of archival sources on the remigration of Czechs from Yugoslavia, Romania, and Bulgaria. The book provides an overview of the resettlement of the borderlands by Czech compatriots from particular countries, but its focus is on making accessible the archive documents about remigration.

As far as overview publications about Czech compatriot communities in south-eastern Europe are concerned, we can mention the edited volume *Krajané: hledání nových perspektiv* [Compatriots: The Search for New Perspectives] (Jakoubek – Jirka – Králová – Pavlásek – Tůma 2015), which contains three treatises dealing with south-eastern Europe: Jakoubek's (2015a) study about the transformations in the collective identities of residents of Voyvodovo, a former Czech village in Bulgaria; a text by Michal Pavlásek (2015c) about the collective memory of the community of Czech-speaking Protestants from the Serbian village of Veliko Srediště; and a study by Jiří Tůma (2015) dealing with the Czech community in the Daruvar area in Croatian Slavonia. Recently, several texts have been published that summarize research on Czech compatriots in the Balkans: an excellent study by Václav Štěpánek (2016); the newest initiative by Tereza Lančová (2021), trying to create a chronological overview of approaches to the theme; and possibly also a study by the author of this text, which focusses on research on Czech compatriots in the Serbian part of Banat (Jakoubková Budilová 2022). A study by Zdeněk Nešpor (2005) might also be included in this section, even though it deals with Czech emigration in general and does not focus just on south-eastern Europe.

Because "Czech compatriot communities" are quite an attractive theme for student field trips organized by Czech universities, several publications based on these fieldworks have been published recently. This category includes the outcome of the project *Krajané – Po stopách Čechů v jihovýchodní Evropě* [Compatriots − In the Footsteps of Czechs in South-Eastern Europe], which was conducted by researchers and students from the Czech University of Life Sciences in Prague in cooperation with Charles University and Masaryk University in Brno (Kokaisl et al. 2009). The scope of this project was very wide − it included the whole of Eastern Europe from Russia to Bosnia and Herzegovina − and it tried to capture the present-day situation of Czech communities, including depopulation, migration, activities of the Czech state, and transnational ties. The quality of individual chapters fluctuates, depending on the quality of available sources, the length of the stay in the field, and the quality of treatment; however, one can appreciate the efforts to involve students in fieldwork and to inspire the young generation to study ethnological topics. A similar project, focussed solely on Czech compatriots in Croatian Slavonia, was carried out in 2016 under the leadership of Ivo Barteček from Palacký University in Olomouc. Its results, including also chapters dealing with language, the history of settlement, and identity, was published one year later (Barteček et al. 2017). The latest publication



České vesnice v srbském Banátu: etnologický výzkum [Czech Villages in Serbian Banat: Ethnological Research] (Jakoubková Budilová – Havel 2022) can be included in a similar category; this publication is the result of field research conducted by students and teachers from the Institute of Ethnology of the Faculty of Arts at Charles University, which was carried out in 2021 and 2022 in Bela Crkva, Kruščica, and Češko Selo. In addition to students' reflections on the research, the publication contains several scholarly chapters. The topics covered traditional areas of Czech ethnological interest, such as vernacular architecture, food, and wedding rituals.

Czechs in the Balkans from Romania through Yugoslavia to Bulgaria

Romanian Banat

Besides Auerhan's overviews from between 1918 and 1938, modern research on Czech compatriots in south-eastern Europe is a follow-up to an "ethnological sediment", i.e, the research conducted by Czech ethnologists in Czech-speaking communities in the region from the late 1960s onwards. This research focussed on tangible culture, folklore, and vernacular architecture, mainly in high-altitude areas in Romanian Banat (Svatá Helena, Gernik, Rovensko, Bígr, Eibentál, and Šumice), Croatian Slavonia (Daruvar), Serbian Banat (Bela Crkva, Češko Selo, and Kruščica), Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Bulgaria (Czech Voyvodovo and Slovak villages in the Pleven region). For example, Iva Heroldová and Josef Vařeka, ethnologists from the Institute of Ethnography and Folkloristics of the Czech Academy of Sciences, carried out field research in Romanian Banat in 1967, and a short fieldtrip also in Bela Crkva and Vršac in Serbia (Heroldová 1969). In the 1970s, they continued their research mainly in Romanian Banat and Croatian Slavonia, where the largest and most viable Czech community in south-eastern Europe can still be found.

Many of this research's outcomes were published only after 1989. Iva Heroldová, who was a key person in this ethnological research and who dealt with, in addition to emigration to south-eastern Europe, the adaptation of remigrants to the Czechoslovak borderlands, summarized the results of her work in the 1990s, for example, in a text about Czech emigration to south-eastern Europe (Heroldová 1996), which was a follow-up to her older works from the 1980s (Heroldová 1985, 1986). The series Češi v cizině [Czechs Abroad] included key ethnological studies dealing with Czechs in Romanian Banat (Jech – Secká – Scheufler – Skalníková 1992; Secká 1995, 1996) in the early 1990s, which was by far the most explored region among those settled by Czechs abroad. The series Češi v cizině [Czechs Abroad] (1986–2004) was published under Stanislav Brouček's leadership at the Institute of Ethnology of the Czech Academy of Sciences, initially with financial support from the Czechoslovak Foreign Institute. It comprised scholarly studies dealing with Czech compatriot communities in general, including those in south-eastern Europe (Češi v cizině 1986–2004).

After the publication boom of the 1990s (cf., e.g., Salzmann 1993), Czech villages in Romanian Banat became the focus of agro-tourism and non-profit organizations (e.g., People in Need). This field, once popular with Czech social scientists, has recently also experienced a resurgence of research interest (Hanus 2009, 2011; Pavlásek 2015a; Kresl – Freidingerová 2016; Lozoviuk 2022). Present-day research, as well as the present-day situation of particular compatriot communities, is regularly presented at a biennial conference held in the Senate of the Parliament of the Czech Republic (by the Standing Senate Commission on Compatriots Living Abroad). The event, co-organized by the International Coordination Committee of Foreign Czechs (Konference 2021) founded by the ethnologist Ivan Dubovický, is held under the auspices of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic.

Serbian Banat

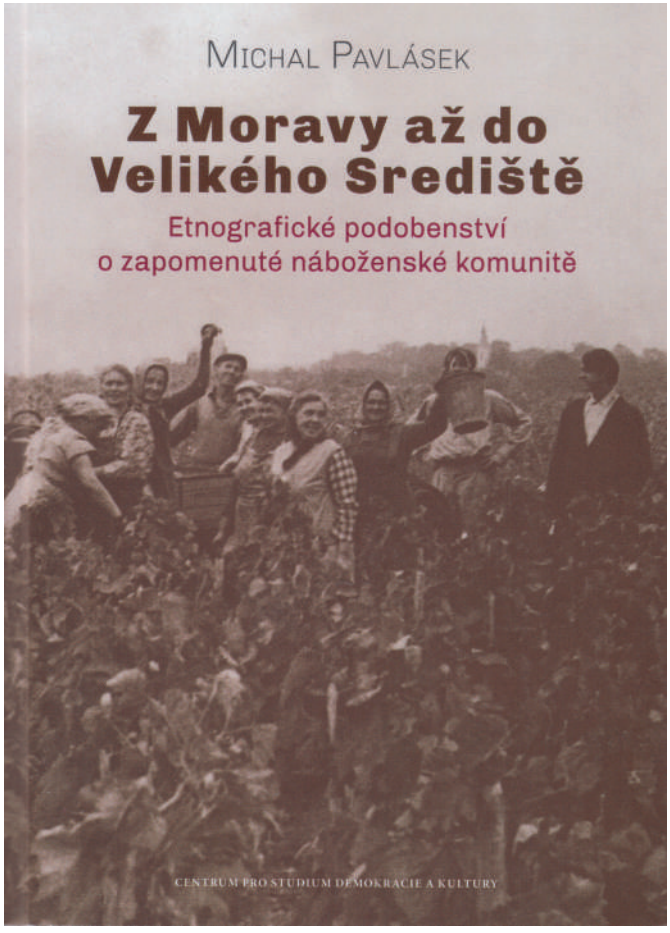
Compared to Romanian Banat, scholarly interest in Czech villages in Serbian Banat was rather marginal in the past. Yet several interesting studies were written, which dealt, for example, with a traditional ethnological theme − vernacular architecture. Ethnologist Josef Vařeka mapped the architecture of Czech villages in south-eastern Europe. He described vernacular architecture not only in the Czech villages in southern Banat (present-day Serbia), but he also focussed on the broader space of the former Yugoslavia, including Croatian Slavonia and Bosnia. The author thoroughly dealt with all aspects of vernacular architecture, from the materials used to interior decorations. He takes a comparative approach, comparing Czech villages with the local architectural tradition, for example, with zadruga houses

in Slavonia. These ethnological studies were aimed at the overlap of tangible culture into the study of family systems, when Vařeka notes, for example, that the original institution of "výměnek" [*Altenteil*, *Ausgedinge* in German][2], which was brought by the colonists from the Czech lands and which was unknown in their new homeland, was transformed under the influence of the environs and even sidelined to a certain extent (Vařeka 1987). Although Vařeka conducted his research in the late 1960s and early 1970s (Vařeka 1974, 1987), its results were published again after the Velvet Revolution in the form of a monograph of his selected publications (Bahenská – Woitsch 2007).

However, the scholarly neglect of Serbian Banat has been made up for to a certain extent in the last two decades (most recently, e.g., in Jakoubková Budilová – Havel 2022). The Brno-based balkanologist Václav Štěpánek has done substantial work in this respect; based on archival and field research, he analyses particular colonizing waves in the southern Banat, which ended with the arrival of Czech-speaking residents in the 1820s (Štěpánek 2002, 2003, 2005). Štěpánek monitors the development of the Banat Military Frontier and maps secondary migration from mountainous regions of Romanian Banat, which led to the formation of Czech settlements in the villages of Češko Selo and Kruščica and in the town of Bela Crkva (Štěpánek 2005). Another Brno-based researcher, ethnologist Michal Pavlásek, carried out field research among Czech-speaking Protestants in the village of Veliko Srediště near the town of Vršac in Serbia from 2007 to 2014. His long-term interest in this region has resulted in several studies focussed on the history of settlement and migration movements (Pavlásek 2010b) and two monographs (Pavlásek 2015b, 2020). Besides the village of Veliko Srediště, Pavlásek also dealt with the more general theme of Czech settlement in the region (2010a), and he conducted research in the "forgotten" village of Clopodia, located in what is now the Romanian part of Banat (2013), which was connected by kinship to other Czech enclaves in the region.

Bosnia

Since 1989 there has also been a less pronounced resurgence of interest in the third Czech-populated region in the former Yugoslavia – Bosnia. In the Bosnian region close to Prnjavor, secondary migration gave rise in the late nineteenth century to three Czech villages − Maćino Brdo, Nová Ves, and Vranduk near Doboj. At the same time, we also encounter Czech artists, industrialists, teachers, and engineers in Bosnia, who lived mostly in towns. However, this is the smallest and most marginalized Czech minority, which was moreover affected by the wars of the 1990s accompanying the breakup of Yugoslavia, and which suffered most from assimilation in their new environment and emigration to the Czech Republic. Around 2000, more systematic field research began to be carried out also in this region; it mostly focussed on "traditional" themes, such as the history of settlement, integration into mainstream society, the activities of compatriot associations, and ethnic identity (Uherek 2011). Several authors also reflected the fates of Czech villages



during the Yugoslav wars in the 1990s, in addition to ethnological themes, such as vernacular architecture, mixed marriages, and the safeguarding of "Czech" traditions (Kužel – Haluzík 2000; Plochová 2001).

Croatian Slavonia

The clearly largest and most viable "Czech enclaves" in the territory of the former Yugoslavia can be found in Croatian Slavonia. This is demonstrated, among other things, by the well-preserved Czech language, rich community activities, developed educational system, and publication activities of local Czech compatriots. Lively cultural exchange with Czechoslovakia (1918) and then with the Czech Republic (1993) might have led to the fact that the compatriot community in the Daruvar area soon split into a Czech and Slovak community after the dissolution of Czechoslovakia in 1993. This never happened in Bulgaria, for example (Jakoubek – Penčev 2022), which might demonstrate a certain isolation of the Bulgarian Czech compatriot community and its obsession with the past.

The most recent summary dealing with the Czech minority in Croatia was written by Helena Stranjik (2022), who sums up data from research carried out amongst Czech compatriots in Czech and mixed Czech–Croatian families between 2010 and 2016. Stranjik (2022) presents, among other things, an overview of the rich publication activities of researchers coming from this minority (e.g., Matušek 1994; Herout 2010), whose works are published in Croatia. This is also what makes the Czech minority in Croatia exceptional compared with other "Czech compatriot communities" in south-eastern Europe. Nowhere else do we see a minority producing such a wealth of publications, including periodicals, prose, poetry, and academic studies.

Researchers from the Czech Republic (Pavlásek 2019; Pavlásek – Kreisslová – Nosková 2019) dealt with the remigration of Croatian Czechs to Czechoslovakia after World War II. One can also find musicological studies focussed on compatriots' folk songs (Císař 2001) and linguistic studies mapping the Czech language in the compatriot community in Croatia (e.g., Stranjik 2017). The already-mentioned Tůma (2015), who also published a study about the position of Czechs in Croatia during the wars of the 1990s (Tůma 2006), dealt with quite new themes, such as the present-day position of Czechs as an ethnic minority and identity politics. Andrea Preissová Krejčí (2020) addressed the interesting issue of the transport of children from the Czech compatriot community in Croatia to Czechoslovakia during the Yugoslav wars, and she took part in a comprehensive study of Czech education in Croatia and its influence on the preservation of the Czech identity (Preissová Krejčí – Stanja Brdar – Kočí 2020).

Bulgaria

Ethnological research among Czechs in Bulgaria also had its own pre-1989 tradition (Vaculík 1983), which could be built on and which, as in the case of Romania, overlapped to the 1990s (Vařeka 1990). Over the last thirty years, the Czech presence in Bulgaria has drawn quite significant attention. Czech researchers have focussed mainly on the activities of the Czech intellectuals,

entrepreneurs, artists, and industrialists who settled in Bulgaria after 1878 when the country became independent. This "Czech invasion of Bulgaria" still very positively resonates in the collective memory of this Balkan country (cf., e.g., Strohsová 2012) and comprises, for example, the Czech community around the sugar factory in Gorna Oryahovitsa, the foundation of which was underpinned by Czech capital and which gave rise to a Czech workers' colony (Lančová 2017). Activities of Czech secondary-school teachers in what was then Eastern Rumelia and their influence on the development of the education system in the young state was analysed by Pavel Zeman (2014a), who also focussed on the contribution these teachers made to the creation of new textbooks (2016). As far as the members of the Czech intelligentsia that migrated to Bulgaria after 1878 are concerned, attention is paid to their everyday life and various aspects of life in a different cultural environment as well as to their influence on the country's economic, social, and cultural development (Zeman 2013, 2014b; Minčev 2016). Klára Strohsová (2014) dealt with mixed Czech–Bulgarian marriages in various periods of the twentieth century, with a focus on the socialist period, and she proposes classifying these marriages as student, work, and beach marriages. The edited volume Češi a Slováci v Bulharsku [Czechs and Slovaks in Bulgaria] (Jakoubek – Penčev 2022) is the most recent culmination of this scholarly interest.

Voyvodovo in north-western Bulgaria, formerly the only Czech village in Bulgaria, has been the focus of intense scholarly interest. As a rural settlement, founded by secondary migration of Czech-speaking Protestants from the village of Svatá Helena in Romanian Banat, Voyvodovo presented an exception in the Czech presence in Bulgaria. Some publications on Voyvodovo have dealt with "traditional" ethnological themes, such as clothing (Maglia 2013), architecture (Kňourek – Budilová 2015), and diet and farming (Štrbka 2013). Several Czech-language monographs (Jakoubek 2010a, 2011) and one English-language publication (Budilová – Jakoubek 2017) are devoted to Voyvodovo. The research on Voyvodovo is to some extent exceptional as it has resonated quite significantly in Bulgaria as well, with many works published in the Bulgarian language, including three monographs (Budilová – Jakoubek 2014; Jakoubek 2013b, 2016).

Kinship and family forms among Voyvodovo Czechs have been the focus of a monograph (Budilová 2011). Much space has been devoted to the transformations of collective identities, taking into account the originally religiously oriented identification of Voyvodovo residents, which has been − only gradually and under external influences − transformed into ethnic identification (Jakoubek 2010b, 2015a, 2018a, 2018b, 2022). The issue of the origins of the founders of Voyvodovo, or better put, the inhabitants of the Banat village of St. Helena, from which the Voyvodovo founders came to Bulgaria at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, has also provoked rather lively discussion (Nešpor 1999; Nešpor – Hornofová – Jakoubek 1999; Pavlásek 2010c, 2011a, 2011c).

Compatriots in the Twenty-First Century: A Search for New Perspectives?

In this chapter I will try to outline what was innovative in the research and publications after 1989 dealing with Czech settlement in south-eastern Europe. Did the political thaw and the arrival of the cultural-anthropological discourse lead to the adoption of new approaches and the discovery of new themes that could open new perspectives in research on Czech enclaves in south-eastern Europe? Were new methodological approaches applied? Did new theories bring a change to the "compatriot discourse"?

Right at the beginning, it should be said that although the theme under study is still a very popular topic of diploma theses, student research, and fieldwork conducted by researchers, most works do not apply innovative approaches. This could be because research on "compatriots" is so established in the Czech discourse that few authors are able to cross the mental boundaries of "traditional" themes, such as the history of migration, identity, adaptation, integration, and community activities. The "Czech nation" is still understood primordially in many texts and "Czech compatriot communities" as natural parts of it. The loss of identification with the Czech nation is perceived in an unambiguously negative way and attempts to reverse the "language shift" as an unequivocally positive goal. For this reason, we encounter the unchanged efforts to prevent "de-nationalization", which we could observe at the beginning of the last century. Research on Czech villages in south-eastern Europe still includes many stereotypes about authentic and pure "traditional Czech culture", as well as an evolutionary perspective that considers Czech compatriots in the Balkans to be a kind of survivals fossilized in time and acting as a reminder of the "Czech village one hundred years ago".

With Johannes Fabian (1983) we could say that this discourse "denies the coevalness" for Czech compatriots in the Balkans, placing them in another timeline than the one from which the researchers emerge (for a more detailed analysis of this point see Pavlásek 2015a). The activities of non-profit organizations and the development of tourism sometimes contribute to the strengthening of these stereotypes. The latter attracts thousands of visitors from the Czech Republic to the attractive environment of picturesque mountainous villages in Romanian Banat every year. The entire region has stepped into the limelight for ordinary Czechs and has become a kind of "living open-air museum" (cf. Pavlásek 2015a on the issue of "denying the coevalness", allochronism, and orientalism in relation to the Czech compatriots from Banat).

Yet certain shifts have occurred in the academic discourse. In the field of compatriot issues in south-eastern Europe, a scholarly thaw after 1989 can be seen, for example, in the fact that attention has begun to be paid to religiosity, which was one of the factors that were often intentionally sidelined before 1989 due to the conflict with Marxist theory. At the turn of the millennium, there were discussions about the ancestors of the residents of Svatá Helena in Romanian Banat, who migrated from the Czech lands. In this connection, a "sectarian hypothesis" was formulated, according to which these ancestors were descendants of so-called toleration sectarians (i.e. denominations that did not fit into any of the denominations that were guaranteed the free practice after the edition of the Patent of Toleration in 1781), who left the Czech lands for Banat to gain religious freedom, or who were forcibly moved to the borderlands of the Habsburg Empire (Nešpor 1999; Nešpor – Hornofová – Jakoubek 1999; Nešpor – Jakoubek 2011). This hypothesis was later questioned by Michal Pavlásek (2010c, 2011a, 2011c), who pointed out that, based on the analysis of sources, there is no conclusive evidence that Svatá Helena was founded by eastern-Bohemian "visionaries" searching for religious freedom, or descendants of forcibly moved sectarians. Pavlásek points out that the expressions of intensive religiosity and the ascetic morality of a part of the Protestant congregation in Svatá Helena are of a later date and came, in his opinion, to Svatá Helena only in the 1890s under the influence of pastors associated with Protestant revival movements (Pavlásek 2010c). He argues that these attributes were not a manifestation of the original intensive piousness of local Protestants, and the schism within the Protestant congregation and the mutual endogamy of Protestants and Catholics, which led to the departure of a part of the Protestant congregation to Bulgaria and to the foundation of Voyvodovo, were rather a modern reaction to contemporary religious influences than a "traditional" feature of the local Protestant communities. According to Václav Štěpánek (2016), discussions of the "sectarian hypothesis" had one indisputable effect: they returned the theme of Czech compatriot communities to scholarly journals

and brought renewed interest in the religious dimension of these communities.

The above-mentioned works actually offer a new approach to researching compatriot communities; this approach could be called an intersectional analysis that also includes a religious factor, in addition to the economic and national (ethnic) perspectives that had predominated until that time. This religious factor turns out to be very important in south-eastern Europe, possibly due to the region's Ottoman heritage. Within the already-mentioned discussion about the possible religious background of Czech settlement in south-eastern Europe, Michal Pavlásek also focussed on Czech colonists of Protestant denomination in Serbian Banat (Pavlásek 2011a, 2011b). He observed the historical development of Protestant and Catholic Czech communities in Veliko Srediště in Serbian Banat, where the Catholics assimilated with the local German minority due to their shared religion (Pavlásek 2010b: 14–15).

Using the example of residents in Bulgarian Voyvodovo, Jakoubek (2018a, 2018b, 2022), in turn, demonstrates that the ancestors of this village's inhabitants left the Czech lands before the National Revival period, and for this reason national identity was not included in the spectrum of their collective identities. Differentiating between "us" and "them" in this group thus did not take place at the national level but at the religious one. In other words, the members of this group perceived themselves primarily as believers (and not as "Czechs"). According to Jakoubek, to perceive the inhabitants of Voyvodovo as Czechs abroad overlooks their own self-perception. Instead of the usual understanding of this group within a priori national coordinates, Jakoubek suggests a re-conceptualization, namely within the concept of ethnic indifference. The author of the present text (Jakoubková Budilová 2020) also demonstrates in a similar vein, based on an analysis of records in registers of births, marriages, and deaths and genealogy, that traditional endogamy in the village of Voyvodovo in Bulgaria corroborates that the boundaries of the (endogamous) community were based on religiosity and not ethnicity at least until the 1930s.

In several texts, the conceptualization of the Czech-speaking population abroad as "Czechs abroad" or "Czech compatriots" is no longer understood as a natural starting point of research, but instead is the research subject matter. Thus, the focus is, for example, on the historical national and minority policies of Czechoslovakia (Pavlásek 2012), or on identity politics in modern Croatia, which has an impact on the identity of the local Czech-speaking minority (Tůma 2015). Michal Pavlásek (2011b) speaks about the so-called principle of a "double rescue", when the Czechoslovak state's interwar care for compatriots consisted in sending not only teachers, but also Evangelic pastors to compatriot villages in south-eastern Europe with the aim to build a Protestant national identity combining national and religious principles.

The issue of "Czech compatriot communities" underwent a significant theoretical shift through the adoption of the modern theoretical schemes and methodological approaches of socio-cultural anthropology. In terms of methodology, this concerns the application of the "multisited ethnography" (Marcus 1995) approach that not only questions the older idea about the possibility of researching in a single location understood as an isolated and self-sufficient community, but at the same time also points out the necessity of combining various layers of reality in the research – beginning with the national and global levels to, for example, the level of media presentation. It might propose, for instance, to follow social media, and the flow of subjects, things, and thoughts. Following this approach, Michal Pavlásek, who originally studied the Serbian village of Veliko Srediště, noticed the "inter-local interconnectivity" and discovered the "forgotten" Czech community in the village of Clopodia in (the present-day Romanian part of) Banat (Pavlásek 2013). Similarly, other researchers noted the interconnectivity between various colonized villages based on religious and kinship ties (Jakoubek 2013a, 2015b).

The perspective of mutual interconnectivity was most noticeably reflected in texts inspired by the discourse of transnationalism, which strives to better understand social relations in the globalized world through overcoming methodological nationalism (Wimmer – Glick Schiller 2002). This perspective was applied, for example, by the anthropologist Lukáš Hanus, who built on his field research in Romanian Gernik between 2009 and 2011. Hanus considers the ways of approaching the situation of Czech villages in Romanian Banat and that of re-settlers who return to the "country of their forefathers". He rejects the use of the term *remigration*, as it is anchored in the nationalistic discourse and does not aptly depict the situation of these people, and tries to apply the term

diaspora to these communities (Hanus 2009). As one of few authors he does not focus on post-war remigration (i.e., after 1945), but on a newer phenomenon – the mass departure of many inhabitants of Czech villages in Romanian Banat in search of a better life in the Czech Republic since the 1990s. He demonstrates that most of the working-age population left the aforementioned small Romanian villages in Banat at that time to settle in the economically stronger region of western Bohemia. At the same time, according to Hanus, the Czech compatriot community in Banat does not cease to exist despite the decline in the local village population and the assimilation of the "remigrants" in the Czech Republic: on the contrary, it is still a viable cultural network, whose members have remodelled their relations within the transnational space (in which people, remittances, information, and stories circulate) to adapt themselves to the reality of a globalized world (Hanus 2011). The research conducted by Zdeněk Kresl and Tereza Freidingerová (2016) both in Romania and in the Czech Republic had a similar focus. In their analysis of present-day migration, they pointed out, for example, the frequent narrative among informants about ancestral return.

The presentation of Czech enclaves in the Balkans has been increasingly ciriticized that shows them as romantic destinations safeguarding authentic and unspoilt "traditional Czech culture", a kind of image of the nineteenth-century Czech village (Štěpánek 2016: 129). Current agro-tourism, or ethno-tourism, is concentrated mostly in Romanian Banat, which offers beautiful natural scenery and a quite viable local Czech community, which is able to provide guests from the Czech Republic with accommodation, catering, and an illusion of contact with authentic Czech culture, all in their mother tongue. Several authors have tried to apply the concept of authenticity from the discourse of the anthropology of tourism to this issue (see Klvač – Hoření – Krylová 2009, in English Hoření – Krylová – Ulčák – Klvač 2010[3]). They show how the advertisements of travel agencies that attract Czechs to Romanian Banat use references to traditions and authenticity, creating an idea about a "noble villager". In these authors' opinion, this contributes to the creation and reproduction of the myth of "Czech Banat". Using the example of Czechs in Romanian Banat, Michal Pavlásek (2015a) also identifies several forms of constructing otherness in the Czech compatriot discourse, which we could describe as "authentic original Czech culture", "a fossilized form of Czechness", and an "example of noble natives/villagers". In all these approaches, including the approach of non-profit organizations striving to develop local communities through development cooperation, he finds a common denominator, the power inequality in the relationship to the homeland. To analyse these approaches, he applies the concepts of allochronism, orientalism, and balkanism.

The discussed topic is given a certain impetus from the discourse of memory and memory studies. This discourse brings a shift from the positivist historical descriptions of migrations, settlement, and the transformation of compatriot communities, to the analysis of ways to preserve some events in the collective memory and of their impact on identity. For example, Pavlásek (2015c) shows how narratives about the ancestral arrival constitute an important source for the identification of Czech-speaking Protestants from the Serbian village of Veliko Srediště because they represent the cultural memory of this community. The focus on memory studies is often accompanied by the use of the oral history method, which is applied in the study of recent history. The remigration of Czechs from south-eastern Europe after World War II and their settlement in the Czechoslovak borderlands are well-suited for the application of this methodology. There are, for example, works focussed on the mechanisms of remembering and the narrative strategy of Czechs from Croatia, who settled in the Czechoslovak borderlands after World War II (Pavlásek 2019), or on the memory of several generations from families of various origin that were affected by post-war migrations (cf. Kreisslová – Nosková – Pavlásek 2019). For the first time, the post-1945 fates of two different groups from the Czechoslovak borderlands are involved in a direct dialogue: the fate of displaced Germans on the one hand and that of Czechs re-settled from various corners of south-eastern Europe on the other. Pavlásek (2022) observes, for example, how re-settlers from Croatian Daruvar who, after the remigration to southern Moravia, settled in empty houses formerly belonging to displaced Germans, or those who even lived with the Germans in their houses for some time, came to terms with the difficult past of the local region. He also shows how resettlers' narratives about the events after World War II concern the question of who will be given the status of war victims (Germans vs. remigrants).

Conclusion

Should we summarize the changes in the research on Czech "compatriots" in south-eastern Europe after 1989, it must be said that we encounter both continuity and the application of new approaches. Continuity can be seen in the fact that Czechs abroad continue to be a popular subject of interest for Czech researchers and university teams of teachers and students. The communities in Romanian Banat and Croatian Slavonia are the most investigated Czech enclaves in south-eastern Europe. Even recently, many authors (Vaculík 2002a, 2002b, 2009; Kokaisl et al. 2009) followed up the tradition of the overview publications of the type published from 1918 to 1938, which dealt with the history and condition of various Czech enclaves abroad. These texts often implicitly retell ideas about "compatriots" as forming primordial islands of Czechness beyond the national borders. In works written by several contemporary authors, we can see continuity in their relations to former ethnological research, not only based on the selection of the field, but also based on particular themes, such as migration and history of settlement (Heroldová 1996; Jakoubek 2010a; Pavlásek 2010a, 2010b; Štěpánek 2002, 2003, 2005), the educational system (Zeman 2014a, 2016; Preissová Krejčí – Stanja Brdar – Kočí 2020), adaptation and identity (Uherek 2011, Jakoubek 2015a), and folk culture, tradition, and life-cycle rituals (Secká 1995, 1996; Císař 2001; Lozoviuk 2022).

Although several texts choose compatriots as a well-tried subject of interest, they proceed from the reflection of new research discourses, methods, and concepts. This category could include, for example, texts that address religiosity as a relevant identification frame and determinant of historical migrations, or which work with intersectionality, perceiving identity as an intersection of various perspectives (Nešpor 1999; Nešpor – Jakoubek 2011; Jakoubek 2013a, 2015a; Pavlásek 2010c, 2011a, 2011c).

At the same time, many authors have recently relinquished the nationalistic idea about "compatriots" as a primordial offshoot of the Czech nation. They analyse identity as constructed and created under the influence of compatriot politics and the nationalistic discourse, but also revival movements in Protestantism. The focus is on the politics of compatriot care, identity politics, and the ethnic indifference of some communities in the Balkans (Pavlásek 2011b, 2012; Jakoubek 2018a, 2018b, 2022). In connection with the development of tourism, primarily in Romanian Banat, social scientists note concepts of authenticity and power inequality in creating ideas about "the Other" (see Hoření – Krylová – Ulčák – Klvač 2010; Pavlásek 2015a). Modern memory studies and the oral history method have also brought a breath of fresh air into research on compatriots and in particular on post-war remigrations after 1945. The inclusion of expelled Germans in the general image of migration movements in the Czechoslovak borderlands after World War II was a significant shift, among other things (Kreisslová – Noskova – Pavlásek 2019; Pavlásek 2022). In turn, the perspective of transnationalism has made it possible to take compatriots away from a certain timelessness and to show that there continues to be a viable culture, even in the current globalized world, which is, however, no longer located (for example) in the Romanian mountains but is present in the transnational space everywhere around us (Hanus 2009, 2011; Kresl – Freidingerová 2016). In this context, the innovative potential of a new discourse that was lacking before 1989, that is, social and cultural anthropology, has manifested itself unambiguously. This has brought approaches and concepts, such as "multi-sited ethnography", ethnic indifference, transnationalism, and authenticity, into the discussion.

Finally, we can suggest some possibilities of further research in the field of Czech "compatriot communities" in south-eastern Europe. One of the fields that has barely been addressed in Czech villages in the region is, for example, a historical-demographic analysis of the forms of family and family household formation. To what extent did ideas about kinship, the size and structure of family households, or the commonality of life-cycle service (or in general the presence of unrelated persons in a household) differ between Czechs and the surrounding population? And to what extent is identity maintained or transformed in current mixed marriages? These are indeed questions that permeate almost every contemporary study. Similarly, no systematic attention has been paid to the issue of demographic characteristics or, for example, demographic transition. The ongoing interest in "care", specifically, transnational care, for example, among families of "Romanian Czechs", the younger generations of which are leaving for the Czech Republic while their ageing parents remain in the rural environment of Banat, is also a theme that has been ignored to date. Similarly,

the consequences of demographic trends, such as depopulation, the ageing of the population, and relative depopulation in the form of increasing abandonment of the countryside can be observed. As a follow-up to these trends, "lifestyle migrants" can be found in many parts of Europe (and the situation in south-eastern Europe is not different), that is, people leaving for the "good life" in remote regions, where they search for authentic and genuine life in harmony with nature. How does the meeting of these "old" and "new" migrations manifest itself, for example, in the original "Czech" villages in the Balkans?

Even though we know many things about migrations, identity, and ethnic indifference, we begin to face the issue of new forms of "Czechness" abroad. What does it mean to be a Czech in contemporary Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia, or Bulgaria? Are there still discussions in these communities of whether "Czechness" is passed on biologically (by birth) or whether identity is given by one's country of origin? Who are the modern "Czechs" active in Czech compatriot associations and other compatriot organizations in these countries? Can we consider the descendants of Bosnian Muslims, whose parents found asylum in the Czech Republic in the 1990s and whose children now, in the country of their ancestors, claim their allegiance to the Czech Republic as their second home, to be Czechs? The theme of "cultural heritage", bound primarily to language (but not only to that), is for sure a very fruitful field. Contemporary anthropology produces studies that deal with de-globalization and the establishment of new borders in Europe, with the emergence and spread of disinformation, the loss of trust in expert knowledge, and − mainly in the post- socialist space − with the spread of the lack of confidence in institutions and state administration. All these themes could be applied to Czech compatriot communities in south-eastern Europe, because − in addition to the fact that they maintain (in some cases) their specific identity − they are part of the post-socialist space in (eastern) Europe and the contemporary globalized world.

* The research was supported by the project Heritage in Depopulated European Areas (HerInDep, No 9F23001), The Joint Programming Initiative on Cultural Heritage and Global Change (JPI CH).

NOTES:

1. In the text I use the terms "the Balkans" and "south-eastern Europe" as mutually interchangeable geographical terms to describe a region including Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Romania, republics of the former Yugoslavia, and European Turkey. I follow the use which according to Maria Todorova (2019: 85) predominates among most authors after the Second World War. However, I am aware that Todorova (2019: 83-92) herself uses the term "the Balkans" (as a metaphor or cultural heritage) in some contexts in a narrower meaning to specify countries with shared Ottoman heritage. I will not use the term "the Balkans" in this narrower meaning here, because Czech settlements in the region often occurred on the border between the Austrian and Ottoman empires.
2. A retirement house, that is, life tenancy with bed and board for retired farm/house owners who spent the rest of their life on the property with guaranteed bed and board after they had transferred their property to a new owner (mostly a family member).
3. I would like to thank an anonymous reviewer from the *Journal of Ethnology* for pointing out the English version of this text.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Ardener, Edwin. 2012 [1987]. "Remote areas". Some theoretical considerations. *HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory* 2: 519–533.

Auerhan, Jan. 1921. *Čechoslováci v Jugoslávii, v Rumunsku, v Maďarsku a v Bulharsku.* Praha: Melantrich.

Auerhan, Jan. 1930. *Československá větev v Jugoslávii.* Praha: Československý ústav zahraniční.

Bahenská, Marie – Woitsch, Jiří (eds.). 2007. *Josef Vařeka české etnologii (výbor studií vydaných k 80. narozeninám)*. Praha: Etnologický ústav AVČR.

Barteček, Ivo et al. 2017. *Po českých stopách na Daruvarsku*. Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého.

Bočková, Helena. 2017. Balkán jako etnografické muzeum Evropy. Aneb hledání ztraceného času. *Porta Balkanica* 9: 19–28.

Brouček, Stanislav. 1985. *Krajané a domov. Nástin dějin československého ústavu zahraničního (1928–1939).* Praha: Československý ústav zahraniční, Ústav pro etnografii a folkloristiku ČSAV v Praze.

Budilová, Lenka J. 2011. *Dědická praxe, sňatkové strategie a pojmenovávání u bulharských Čechů v letech 1900–1950*. Brno: CDK.

Budilova, Lenka J. – Jakoubek, Marek. 2014. *Blgarskite čechi. Slučajat Vojvodovo. Socialnoantropoložki eskizi.* Sofija: Paradigma. [Будилова, Ленка Я. – Якоубек Марек. 2014. *Българските чехи. Случаят Войводово. Социалноантроположки ескизи*. София: Парадигма.]

Budilová, Lenka, J. – Jakoubek, Marek. 2017. *Bulgarian Protestants and the Czech Village of Voyvodovo*. Sofia: New Bulgarian University.

Císař, Miroslav. 2001. *Písničky Čechů v Chorvatsku*. Daruvar: Svaz Čechů v Republice Chorvatsko.

Fabian, Johannes. 1983. *Time and the Other: How anthropology makes its object*. Columbia University Press.
Folprecht, Josef. 1937. *Československé školské obce v evropském zahraničí*. Praha: Československý ústav zahraniční.
Folprecht, Josef. 1947. *Studie o povaze zahraničních krajanů*. Praha: Československý ústav zahraniční.
Hanus, Lukáš. 2009. „Nové diaspory" – diaspora jako transnacionální moment. *AntropoWebzin* (2–3): 13–17.
Hanus, Lukáš. 2011. Přechod české krajanské komunity z obce Gerník (Rumunsko) do transnacionálního momentu. In Budilová, Lenka et al. *Balkán a migrace. Na křižovatce antropologických perspektiv*. Plzeň: Antropoweb, Západočeská univerzita. 60–89.
Heroldová, Iva. 1969. Výzkum české menšiny v Jugoslávii 1965–1967. *Český lid* 56 (2): 79–86.
Heroldová, Iva. 1974. Etnografický výzkum reemigrantských osad na jižní Moravě. In Frolec, Václav – Krejčí, Miroslav (eds.). *Tradice lidové kultury v životě socialistické společnosti*. Brno: Jihomoravský krajský národní výbor. 120–124.
Heroldová, Iva. 1975. Adaptace a akulturace reemigrantů z Jugoslávie a Bulharska v jihomoravském pohraničí. In *VI. Mikulovské sympozium: Osvobození a nové osídlení jižní Moravy*. Mikulov: Tisková, ediční a propagační služba místního hospodářství. 112–120.
Heroldová, Iva. 1978. Národopisná problematika novoosídleneckého pohraničí. *Český lid* 65 (4): 195–206.
Heroldová, Iva. 1985. Vystěhovalectví z českých zemí (Balkán I. – Jugoslávie). *Český lid* 72 (2): 45–51.
Heroldová, Iva. 1986. Vystěhovalectví z českých zemí (Balkán II. – Rumunsko, Bulharsko). *Český lid* 73 (1): 45–51.
Heroldová, Iva. 1996. Vystěhovalectví do jihovýchodní Evropy. In Češi v cizině 9. Praha: Ústav pro etnografii a folkloristiku AVČR. 67–95.
Herout, Václav. 2010. *Reemigrace Čechů z Chorvatska 1945–1949*. Daruvar: Jednota.
Hoření, Karina – Krylová, Radoslava, Ulčák, Zbyněk – Klvač, Pavel. 2010. Tourism and Authenticity in the Czech Villages of the Romanian Banat. *Revija za geografijo – Journal for Geography* 5 (2): 141–147. Available at: <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/154402361.pdf> [accessed March 8, 2023].
Jakoubek, Marek. 2010a. *Vojvodovo – etnologie krajanské obce v Bulharsku*. Brno: Centrum pro studium demokracie a kultury.
Jakoubek, Marek. 2010b. From Believers to Compatriots: The case of Voyvodovo – 'Czech' village in Bulgaria. *Nations and Nationalism* 16 (4): 675–695.
Jakoubek, Marek. 2011. *Vojvodovo: kus česko-bulharské historie. Tentokrát převážně očima jeho obyvatel*. Brno: Centrum pro studium demokracie a kultury.
Jakoubek, Marek. 2012. Antropologie mezi pozitivizmem a konstruktivizmem *aneb* Krátký diskurz na téma jedné věty Ivy Heroldové. *Dějiny – teorie – kritika* 2012 (1): 69–100.
Jakoubek, Marek. 2013a. Zastavení nad vztahem kultury, víry a konfese u vojvodovských Čechů. *Slovanský přehled* 99 (3–4): 371–384.
Jakoubek, Marek. 2013b. *Vojvodovo – edno nepoznato češko selo v Blgarija*. Sofija. Paradigma. [Якоубек, Марек. 2013b. *Войводово – едно непознато чешко село в България*. София: Парадигма.]
Jakoubek, Marek. 2015a. Po stopách transformací vojvodovských kolektivních identit. In Jakoubek, Marek et al. *Krajané: hledání nových perspektiv*. Praha: Pavel Mervart. 25–48.
Jakoubek, Marek. 2015b. Vojvodovští Paulikiáni (banátští Bulhaři). *The Journal of Culture* 4 (1): 32–36.
Jakoubek, Marek. 2016. *Vojvodovo. Istorijata na edno češko selo v Blgarija prez pogleda (ne samo) na negovite žiteli*. Sofija. Paradigma. [Якоубек, Марек. 2016. *Войводово. Историята на едно чешко село в България през погледа (не само) на неговите жители*. София: Парадигма.]
Jakoubek, Marek. 2018a. On the Process of National Indifferentiation. The case of Bulgarian 'Czechs'. *Nations and Nationalism* 24 (2): 369–389.
Jakoubek, Marek. 2018b. Zur ethnischen Indifferenz in Nordwestbulgarien in der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts oder Die Abhandlung darüber, warum die Protestanten von Vojvodovo in einer unerwarteten Zahl die Katholiken aus Bărdarski Geran heirateten. *Zeitschrift Für Balkanologie* 54 (1): 7–29.
Jakoubek, Marek. 2022. National Indifference in Post-Ottoman Space: A case from Northwest Bulgaria. *Nationalities Papers* 50 (2): 395–416. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1017/nps.2021.5
Jakoubek, Marek – Jirka, Luděk – Králová, Nela – Pavlásek, Michal – Tůma, Jiří. 2015. *Krajané: hledání nových perspektiv*. Praha: Pavel Mervart.
Jakoubek, Marek – Penčev, Vladimir. 2022. *Češi a Slováci v Bulharsku. Příspěvky ke studiu české, slovenské a československé krajanské přítomnosti v bulharských zemích*. Brno: CDK.
Jakoubková Budilová, Lenka. 2020. Endogamy between ethnicity and religion. Marriage and boundary construction in Voyvodovo (Bulgaria), 1900–1950. *The History of the Family* 25 (1): 46–69.
Jakoubková Budilová, Lenka. 2022. Výzkum českých vesnic v srbském Banátu v kontextu krajanského diskurzu. In Jakoubková Budilová, Lenka – Havel, Stanislav (eds.). *České vesnice v srbském Banátu: etnologický výzkum*. Kruščica: Česká beseda Kruščica. 71–94.
Jakoubková Budilová, Lenka – Havel, Stanislav (eds.). 2022. *České vesnice v srbském Banátu: etnologický výzkum.* Kruščica: Česká beseda Kruščica.
Jech, Jaromír – Secká, Milena – Scheufler, Vladimír – Skalníková, Olga. 1992. *České vesnice v rumunském Banátě* (*Češi v cizině* 5). Praha: Ústav pro etnografii a folkloristiku ČSAV.
Klíma, Stanislav. 1925. *Čechové a Slováci za hranicemi*. Praha: Nakladatelství J. Otto, spol. s.r.o.
Klvač, Pavel – Hoření, Karina – Krylová, Radoslava. 2009. Turismus a autenticita v českých vesnicích v rumunském Banátu. In *Venkovská krajina. Sborník ze 7. ročníku mezinárodní mezioborové konference*. Kostelec nad Černými lesy: Česká společnost pro krajinnou ekologii, regionální organizace CZ-IALE. 46–50.
Kňourek, Bořivoj – Budilová, Lenka J. 2015. *Dům ve Vojvodovu. Stavebně-historický vývoj, kulturní a sociální rozměr*. Brno: CDK.
Kokaisl, Petr et al. 2009. *Krajané: Po stopách Čechů ve východní Evropě*. Praha: Za hranice – Společnost pro rozvojovou spolupráci při PEF ČZU v Praze, o. s.
Kresl, Zdeněk – Freidingerová, Tereza. 2016. Transnacionální praktiky, ´ancestral return´ a adaptace rumunských Čechů přesídlených do Česka po roce 1989. *Český lid* 103 (2): 217–238.
Kužel, Stanislav – Haluzík, Radan. 2000. Čeští obyvatelé severobosenských vesnic ve světle archivních a terénních výzkumů. In Hrubý, Karel – Brouček, Stanislav (eds.). *Češi za hranicemi na přelomu 20. a 21. století*. Praha: Karolinum. 74–80.

Lančová, Tereza. 2017. České stopy v Gorné Orjachovici. *Porta Balkanica* 9 (1–2): 39–50.
Lančová, Tereza. 2021. Krajanské skupiny na Balkáně jako téma české etnologie/antropologie. *Studia Ethnologica Pragensia* 2021 (2): 57–81.
Lozoviuk, Petr. 1998. Němečtí vystěhovalci v českých zemích a jejich jazykové ostrovy v Jihovýchodní Evropě. *Češi v cizině* 10: 39–87.
Lozoviuk, Petr. 2022. Veselka v Šumici. Komunitní aktivita zanikajícího světa české enklávy (část 1). *Národopisný věstník* 39/81 (1): 24–41.
Maglia, Radka. 2013. Oděv vojvodovských Čechů. In Fatková, Gabriela – Budilová, J. Lenka – Jakoubek, Marek – Močičková, Jitka – Močička, Roman – Maglia, Radka: *Vojvodovo: historicko-etnologická ohlédnutí*. Plzeň: Vydavatelství ZČU v Plzni. 153–187.
Marcus, George. 1995. Ethnography in/of the World System: The Emergence of Multi-Sited Ethnography. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24: 95–117.
Matušek, Josef. 1994. *Češi v Chorvatsku*. Daruvar: NIU Jednota.
Minčev, Emil. 2016. Z každodennosti Čechů v Bulharsku v letech 1878–1904. *Slovanský přehled* 102 (1): 31–51.
Nešpor, Zdeněk R. 1999. Banátští Češi jako potomci tolerančních sektářů. *Religio, revue pro religionistiku* 7 (2): 129–144.
Nešpor, Zdeněk R. 2005. České migrace 19. a 20. století a jejich dosavadní studium. *Soudobé dějiny* 12 (2): 245–284.
Nešpor, Zdeněk R. – Hornofová, Martina – Jakoubek, Marek. 1999. Čeští nekatolíci v rumunském Banátu a v Bulharsku. Část první – Počátky Svaté Heleny. *Lidé města* 1 (2): 66–88.
Nešpor, Zdeněk, R. – Jakoubek, Marek. 2004. Co je a co není kulturní/sociální antropologie? Námět k diskusi. *Český lid* 93 (1): 53–79.
Nešpor, Zdeněk, R. – Jakoubek, Marek. 2011. Dvě hypotézy o původu nekatolíků z řad banátských a bulharských Čechů. *Český lid* 98 (1): 73–79.
Nosková, Helena – Váchová, Jana. 2000. *Reemigrace Čechů a Slováků z Jugoslávie, Rumunska a Bulharska (1945–1954)*. Praha: Ústav pro soudobé dějiny AVČR.
Pavlásek, Michal. 2010a. Exkurs do historie vojenské Banátské hranice s přihlédnutím k vzniku českých enkláv na jejím území. *Slovanský přehled* 96 (3–4): 243–262.
Pavlásek, Michal. 2010b. Česká menšina v jihobanátské obci Veliké Středište. Její počátky a etnické procesy. *Národopisná revue* 20 (1): 3–19.
Pavlásek, Michal. 2010c. Případ Svatá Helena. (Re)interpretace náboženských dějin české obce v Rumunsku. *Český lid* 97 (4): 363–382.
Pavlásek, Michal. 2011a. Minulost svatohelenských nekatolíků v zajetí výkladových schémat a povahy porozumění. *Český lid* 98 (1): 81–88.
Pavlásek, Michal. 2011b. Meziválečná krajanská péče jako „záchranná akce". K utváření kolektivní identity českých evangelíků v jihovýchodní Evropě. *Český lid* 98 (2): 113–134.
Pavlásek, Michal. 2011c. Hledání vojvodovské Pravdy ve světle probuzeneckých hnutí. *Lidé města* 13 (1): 27–49.
Pavlásek, Michal. 2012. „Příští stanice Národní: Nastupovat". Studie o politice krajanství. In Fatková, Gabriela et al. *Balkán a nacionalismus. Labyrintem nacionální ideologie*. Plzeň: Západočeská univerzita a Porta Balkanica. 104–133.
Pavlásek, Michal. 2013. Clopodia česky zvaná Klopotín. Zapomenutá moravská kolonizace Banátu v multilokálním etnografickém bádání. *Český lid* 100 (2): 149–172.
Pavlásek, Michal. 2015a. Allochronismus, orientalismus a balkanismus: produkce koloniálních praktik ve vztahu ke krajanům v rumunském Banátu. In Tumis, Stanislav – Nykl, Hanuš (eds.), *Prekolonialismus, kolonialismus a postkolonialismus. Impéria a ti ostatní ve východní a jihovýchodní Evropě.* Praha: FF UK. 85–108.
Pavlásek, Michal. 2015b. *S motykou a Pánem Bohem: Po stopách českých evangelíků ve Vojvodině*. Brno: Etnologický ústav AVČR.
Pavlásek, Michal. 2015c. Konec velkých vyprávění v nedohlednu: (meta)narativ migrace z Moravy do dnešního Srbska. In Jakoubek, Marek et al. *Krajané: hledání nových perspektiv.* Praha: Pavel Mervart. 49–75.
Pavlásek, Michal. 2019. „Don´t Allow History and Memory To Be Forgotten!": Re-emigrants from Yugoslavia as a Memory Community of an Alternative Collective Memory. *Národopisná revue* 29 (5): 29–40.
Pavlásek, Michal. 2020. *Z Moravy až do Velikého Středíště: Etnografické podobenství o zapomenuté náboženské komunitě*. Brno: CDK.
Pavlásek, Michal. 2022. Nepohodlné vzpomínky a ozvuky ticha. Problematické implikace reemigrace Čechů z Jugoslávie a odsunu Němců z Československa. *Slovenský národopis* 70 (1): 69–91.
Pavlásek, Michal – Kreisslová, Sandra – Nosková, Jana. 2019. *„Takové normální rodinné historky". Obrazy migrace a migrující obrazy v rodinné paměti*. Praha: Argo.
Plochová, Kateřina. 2001. Nova Ves. Integrace české migrační skupiny do bosenského prostředí. *Český lid* 88 (4): 335–360.
Preissová Krejčí, Andrea. 2020. Příběh 1340 dětí evakuovaných do České republiky za války v Chorvatsku (1991–1995). *Slovanský přehled* 106 (2): 282–306.
Preissová Krejčí, Andrea – Stanja Brdar, Jitka – Kočí, Jana. 2020. *Češství v nás: české školství a jeho vliv na zachování české národní identity v Chorvatsku*. Praha: Národohospodářský ústav Josefa Hlávky.
Salzmann, Zdeněk. 1993. Přezdívky v Bigăru: příspěvek k antroponymii česky mluvící vesnice v jihorumunském Banátu. *Naše řeč* 76: 146–156.
Secká, Milena. 1995. Češi v rumunském Banátu. In *Češi v cizině* 8. Praha: Ústav pro etnografii a folkloristiku AVČR. 92–115.
Secká, Milena. 1996. Češi v Rumunsku. In Brouček, Stanislav (ed.). *Češi v cizině* 9. Praha: Ústav pro etnografii a folkloristiku AVČR. 96–104.
Skalník, Petr. 2002. Politika sociální antropologie na české akademické scéně po roce 1989: Zpráva pozorujícího účastníka. *Sociologický časopis* 38 (1–2): 101–115.
Skalníková, Olga – Scheufler, Vladimír. 1963. Základy hmotné a duchovní kultury českých kovozemědělských obcí v rumunském Banátě. *Český lid* 50 (6): 332–342.
Stranjik, Helena. 2017. Kvantita krátkých českých vokálů uvnitř slova v mluvě příslušníků české menšiny v Chorvatsku. In Štěpánek, Václav – Mitáček, Jiří. *Studia Balkanica Bohemo-slovaca VII*. Brno: Moravské zemské muzeum, Ústav slavistiky MU. 675–690.
Stranjik, Helena. 2022. *Krajané v Chorvatsku a jejich jazykové biografie*. Praha: Karolinum.
Strohsová, Klára. 2012. Migrace Čechů do Bulharska – tzv. „Česká invaze". *AntropoWebzin* 2012 (1): 33–37.
Strohsová, Klára. 2014. *Česko-bulharská manželství v etnologické perspektivě*. Plzeň: Západočeská univerzita.
Štěpánek, Václav. 2002. K historii české kolonizace banátské vojenské hranice. In Dorovský, Ivan (ed.). *Studia Balkanica Bohemoslovaca V.* Brno: Masarykova univerzita. 27–36.

Štěpánek, Václav. 2003. Mizející menšina. Historie a současnost českého osídlení v srbském Banátě. *Národopisná revue* 13 (1): 3–10.
Štěpánek, Václav. 2005. Česká kolonizace Banátské vojenské hranice na území srbsko-banátského hraničářského pluku. In Hladký, Ladislav – Štěpánek, Václav – Chocholáč, Bronislav – Jan, Libor (eds.). *Od Moravy k Moravě: z historie česko-srbských vztahů v 19. a 20. století*. Brno: Matice moravská ve spolupráci s Maticí srbskou. 73–101.
Štěpánek, Václav. 2016. Bádání o českých menšinách na Balkáně – staronové téma české slavistiky. *Slavica Litteraria* 19 (2): 121–133.
Štrbka, Miroslav. 2013. Kusé vzpomínky na Vojvodovo. In Fatková, Gabriela – Budilová, J. Lenka – Jakoubek, Marek – Močičková, Jitka – Močička, Roman – Maglia, Radka. *Vojvodovo: historicko-etnologická ohlédnutí*. Plzeň: Vydavatelství ZČU v Plzni. 82–151.
Todorova, Maria 2019. *Scaling the Balkans. Essays on Eastern European Entanglements*. Leiden – Boston: Brill.
Tůma, Jiří. 2006. Češi v kontextu srbo-chorvatské občanské války v letech 1991–1995. In *Argonauti za obzorem západu*. Plzeň: Vydavatelství Vlasty Králové. 205–219.
Tůma, Jiří. 2015. Češi pohledem cizince. In Jakoubek, Marek et al. *Krajané: hledání nových perspektiv.* Praha: Pavel Mervart. 131–157.
Uherek, Zdeněk. 2011. *Češi v Bosně a Hercegovině: antropologické pohledy na společenský život české menšiny v zahraničí.* Praha: Etnologický ústav AVČR.
Vaculík, Jaroslav. 1983. Bulharští Češi a jejich reemigrace v letech 1949–1950. *Český lid* 70 (2): 82–85.
Vaculík, Jaroslav. 1993. *Reemigrace a usídlování zahraničních Čechů a Slováků v letech 1945–1950*. Brno: Masarykova univerzita.
Vaculík, Jaroslav. 1995. Poválečná reemigrace balkánských Čechů. In Dorovský, Ivan (ed.). *Studia Balkanica Bohemoslovaca IV*. Brno: Masarykova univerzita v Brně. 207–213.
Vaculík, Jaroslav. 2002a. *Poválečná reemigrace a usídlování zahraničních krajanů*. Brno: Masarykova univerzita v Brně.
Vaculík, Jaroslav. 2002b. *Češi v cizině – emigrace a návrat do vlasti*. Brno: Masarykova univerzita v Brně.
Vaculík, Jaroslav. 2006. Balkánští Češi v 19. a 20. století. In Štěpánek, Václav (ed.). *Studia Balkanica Bohemoslovaca VI (sv. 1)*. Brno: Matice moravská. 457–467.
Vaculík, Jaroslav. 2009. *České menšiny v Evropě a ve světě*. Praha: Libri.
Vařeka, Josef. 1974. Kulturní společenství a diferenciace v lidovém stavitelství českého jazykového ostrova na území jižního Banátu. *Národopisný věstník československý* 8–9: 53–80.
Vařeka, Josef. 1987. Proces akulturace v lidovém stavitelství českých vesnic na území Jugoslávie. In *Češi v cizině* 2 (Národopisná knižnice). Praha: Ústav pro etnografii a folkloristiku AVČR. 233–280.
Vařeka, Josef. 1990. Češi v Bulharsku. *Český lid* 77 (2): 81–87.
Wimmer, Andreas – Glick Schiller, Nina. 2002. Methodological nationalism and beyond: nation-state building, migration and the social sciences. *Global Networks* 2 (4): 301–334.
Zeman, Pavel. 2013. „Cítím se býti v Orientu“. Pohled Čechů na život v bulharských městech na konci 19. století. In *Podoby a proměny města ve slovanských a vybraných neslovanských kulturách, literaturách a jazycích*. Brno: Masarykova univerzita. 91–106.
Zeman, Pavel. 2014a. Čeští učitelé na gymnáziích v Bulharsku v letech 1878–1912. In Przybylski, Michal – Šaur, Josef et al. *Mladá slavistika*. Brno: Masarykova univerzita. 147–162.
Zeman, Pavel. 2014b. Religiozita českých migrantů v Bulharsku z řad inteligence. *Porta Balkanica* 6 (2): 26–33.
Zeman, Pavel. 2016. Učebnice českých učitelů v Bulharsku: 80. a 90. léta 19. století. *Studia Ethnologica Pragensia* 2016 (2): 11–25.

ELECTRONIC SOURCES:

“Češi v cizině. 1986–2004.” *Etnologický ústav AV ČR* [online]. Available at <https://cvc.eu.cas.cz/uvod_podrobne.html > [accessed March 8, 2023].
“Konference Úloha a místo zahraničních Čechů v bilaterálních vztazích a aktuální potřeby české diaspory, Senát, Praha 7.–8. října 2021.” *Mezinárodní koordinační výbor zahraničních Čechů.* [online]. Available at <zahranicnicesi.com> [accessed March 8, 2023].

Summary

The text summarizes results of contemporary research (after 1989) on Czech villages in south-eastern Europe. It analyses research lines that follow the former scholarly interest in Czech communities in south-eastern Europe, and presents new themes, theoretical approaches and conceptualization of this issue that have emerged since 1990s. It indicates how latest theoretical and methodological approaches have changed the “Czech compatriot discourse”. Although the author focuses mainly on ethnological and cultural-anthropological works, she also pays attention to historical, linguistic, and political-science research. An overview of the Czech language scholarly texts on Czech communities and Czech cultural heritage in the Balkans is presented. The influence of concepts like multisited ethnography, national indifference, memory studies or transnationalism is emphasized.

Key words: Czechs abroad; Czech communities in south-eastern Europe; Czech compatriot discourse; Czech cultural heritage; Czech ethnology and cultural anthropology

THE CZECH ETHNOLOGICAL SOCIETY

The Czech Ethnological Society is an association of experts working in the fields of ethnology, cultural anthropology, and related disciplines. Its history is closely connected to the establishment of ethnology as an academic discipline in the Czech lands. The idea for an association of those interested in folk culture first emerged in 1891, and in 1893 the Czechoslavic Ethnographical Society was founded. Its primary goal was to organize a large ethnographic exhibition in Prague, focussed on traditional culture and vernacular architecture in the Czech lands, Slovakia, and other Slavic countries, and to publish an ethnographic encyclopaedia. After the Ethnographical Museum was opened in 1904, the association was renamed the Czechoslavic Ethnographical Museum Society. In 1922, the Ethnographical Museum's collections were transferred to the National Museum and the Agricultural Museum in Prague. This change allowed the members of the Society to develop mainly their research and publication activities. In the interwar period, the Society focussed on gathering materials for an ethnographic encyclopaedia and an ethnographic atlas of the Czech lands. The members of the Society published regional monographs and methodological literature, organized courses for local amateur ethnographers, and carried out research work. At that time, members of the Society included not only ethnographers and folklorists, but all leading figures in Czechoslovakia's academic and cultural life.

In the late 1950s, the development of the Society was hindered by the politically motivated foundation of the Society of Czechoslovak Ethnographers at the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, which took over most research activities in the field. In 1963, the Society of Czechoslovak Ethnographers swallowed up the Ethnological Society, whose original name and structure ceased to exist. A new stage in the Society's development began only after the fall of the Communist regime in 1989. The Society returned to its original democratic principles of membership, threw off its ideological shackles, and opened up to professionals and partially also to amateurs interested in ethnology. After 2000, the association was registered at the Ministry of Interior under the name the Czech Ethnological Society and integrated into the Council of Scientific Societies of the Czech Republic, which works at the Czech Academy of Sciences. In 2014, due to a change in legislation, the legal form of the Czech Ethnological Society was further modified, and, in accordance with the new Civil Code, it became a registered association.

The Society currently has 210 members of different ages, professions, and specializations; it is very diverse in gender and regional respects. Membership in the Society can be regular, extraordinary, honorary, and collective; all key academic, university, and museum institutions in the Czech Republic are collective members.

The Society is an independent, voluntary non-governmental organization of scholars; research, pedagogical, and professional workers; students of ethnology; and those interested in this discipline from other related fields. Its mission is to support the development of ethnology and the implementation, promotion, and popularization of this discipline, and to contribute to the improvement of the professional quality of its members. The Czech Ethnological Society is a representative and supporter of a wide range of activities related to ethnology. These are mainly scholarly (theoretical and research) activities; publishing, documentary and presentation work (e.g., in museum institutions); the provision of peer reviews and expert opinions; and the promotion and popularization of results in the field of ethnology and folkloristics. The Society also organizes surveys and competitions to assess research, collecting, lecturing, exhibition, and publishing activities, and contributes to enhancing the professional competence of its members through seminars, conferences, and lectures. All these activities are carried out in accordance with the Code of Ethics of the Czech Ethnological Society, which articulates the basic principles of ethnologists' professional responsibilities in relation to research objects, ethnology as a discipline, and research partners.

The highest body of the Society is the General Assembly, which meets every three years and sets the principles of the Society's activity. In the meantime, between General Assembly meetings, the Society is managed by the nine-member Main Committee, headed by a chairperson who is elected in a ballot by the members of the Society at the General Assembly. In addition to the chairperson and vice-chairperson, the Committee includes a secretary for science, a treasurer, and five members. The vice-chairperson is responsible for international relations; the other members are in charge of specific areas (e.g., digitization of the Society's archival collections, cooperation with correspondents, website administration).

The publication activity of the Czech Ethnological Society and its predecessors has included several journals and dozens of books whose texts contributed to the development of Czech ethnology in the previous decades. The Society has made these specialized printed materials, published from 1897 onwards, accessible on its homepage (www.narodopisnaspolecnost.cz) in a so-called virtual reading room. Twice a year, the Czech Ethnological Society publishes the *Ethnographic Journal* as its major periodical. This peer-reviewed journal focusses on the study of traditional folk culture in the Central European region, current cultural forms developing from folk traditions, and themes in the field of historical ethnology. The *Ethnographic Journal* is the second-longest-running Czech ethnological periodical; the first issue came out in 1906. The journal is published in printed

form, but its contents are freely accessible online in accordance with the BOAI's definition of open access.

Since the mid-twentieth century, the Society has been systematically working on bibliographical inventories mapping the production of ethnological periodicals in the Czech lands and papers with ethnological themes published in regional periodicals. The items of bibliographical inventories are accessible as an electronic database in the Society's virtual reading room. There are currently more than 16,500 records there.

Since 2018, the Society has administrated a donor fund, named after Alena Plessingerová and Josef Vařeka, the purpose of which is to fund students' ethnographic field work in the Czech Republic, both in the realm of tangible culture and intangible cultural expressions.

For more than fifty years, the Czech Ethnological Society and its predecessors have been dealing with questionnaire surveys that are implemented through a network of correspondents, which in some periods has included hundreds of collaborators. The texts of the questionnaires, focussed on sub-topics from the field of tangible and intangible culture, are prepared by leading figures in Czech ethnology, and even today they are valuable support to field research and other documentation of traditional folk culture.

In its effort to raise the awareness about events within the Society and the discipline, the Czech Ethnological Society publishes for its members two to three issues of a newsletter each year, through which it also organizes a survey for the most significant accomplishment in the field of ethnology in the last year. The survey covers the following categories: academic publication, exhibition, conference, and ethnographic event. An honorary prize, awarded by the Main Committee of the Society for an extraordinary achievement, goes across these categories.

According to the statutes, the Society's Main Committee may establish commissions responsible for coordination and cooperation with other scientific societies and scientific and research institutions. Only regular Society members may become members of these commissions. Currently, two commissions exist within the Society: The Commission for Folk Customs and the Commission for Vernacular Architecture, Settlements, and Habitation.

In the area of international cooperation, the Czech Ethnological Society maintains regular contacts with the Ethnographic Society of Slovakia, Polskie Towarzystwo Ludoznawczne from Poland, and the Folklore Society from the United Kingdom. Since 2010, the Czech Ethnological Society has been accredited to the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage and fulfils advisory functions for the Intergovernmental Committee of this Convention. It is also a member of an NGO forum made up of accredited organizations in order to implement the Convention and the work of the Intergovernmental Committee. In 2011, the Czech Ethnological Society became an affiliate member of the ICCN − the Inter-City Intangible Cultural Cooperation Network – an international organization working in the field of the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage, and is a member of the WCAA − the World Council of Anthropological Associations (since 2014).

Martin Novotný
(National Institute of Folk Culture)

THE COMMISSION FOR FOLK CUSTOMS OF THE CZECH ETHNOLOGICAL SOCIETY – SUB-COMMISSION FOR FOLK CUSTOMS OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION FOR THE STUDY OF FOLK CULTURE IN THE CARPATHIANS

The International Commission for the Study of Folk Culture in the Carpathians and the Balkans (ICCCB), which brought together ethnographers and folklorists from the countries of the Eastern-European socialist bloc (except for the German Democratic Republic) and Yugoslavia, was founded in Krakow in 1959. The Czechoslovak Sub-Commission for Folk Customs, established in 1971 and headed by Josef Tomeš also participated in the fulfilment of scholarly and research tasks in folk culture in the region of the Carpathian Mountains as well as in their good scholarly results. The Sub-Commission presented not only a wealth of material from the field but also solutions to methodological and terminological issues. An international conference held in Smolenice in 1977 called "The Social Function and the Interethnic Context of Folk Customs in the Carpathians and the Balkans" can be considered the first successful conference organized by the Sub-Commission. In February 1979, when the Sub-Commission began to work under the leadership of Andrej Sulitka, preparations for a symposium in Strážnice began; the symposium addressed the issue of the contemporary state and transformations of folk customs. The proceedings of the conference held in 1980 were published in a book titled *Výroční obyčeje – současný stav a proměny* [Annual Customs – Current State and Transformations]. Subsequently, Sub-Commission members started to work on the classification of folk customs (1980 meeting in Nový Jičín, 1981 meeting in Rožnov pod Radhoštěm). In 1981, the Sub-Commission organized a conference titled "The Wedding Ceremony – Current State and Transformations", in which participants from Poland, Hungary, and the Soviet Union took part for the first time. Another theme – "The Time of Life – Family and Social Feasts in a Man's Life" – was addressed at a conference held in 1983. At that time, Jan Krist began to act as a chairman of the Sub-Commission; he was replaced by Magda Sigmundová for a short time, and in 1985 Jan Rychlík took over the chairmanship. In that

period, other conferences resulted in publications: *Obřadní obchůzky* [Ceremonial Door-to-Door Processions] in 1988 and *Bibliografie lidových obyčejů I* [The Bibliography of Folk Customs I] in 1989. The latter was the Sub-Commission's final act for some time.

The Sub-Commission was revived under the leadership of Ludmila Tarcalová in 1992, when the management of the Section for Folk Customs of the ICCCB agreed with the management of the Commission for Folk Customs of the Ethnological Society in Prague to fuse both commissions and to leave out "the Balkans" from the name of the Sub-Commission for Folk Customs. The method of the Commission's expert work was also defined; this followed the previous well-tested method for determining the main theme of the research programme on folk culture. In 1993, the Commission introduced a system of two-year cycles for the solution of research tasks, with a working meeting, held in even years, and an international conference, the results of which were always published in a proceedings, in odd years. The system of the two-year working cycle has continued without interruption to the present day. Although the first thematic proceedings titled *Slavnostní průvody* [Festive Parades] was published only in 1994, a year later the Sub-Commission published, in addition to the *Bibliografie lidových obyčejů II* [The Bibliography of Folk Customs II], the proceedings *Světci* v *lidovém kalendáři* [Saints in Folk Traditions] (1995). Another thirteen publications followed: *Magie a náboženství* [Black Magic and Religion] (1997), *Kult a živly* [Cult and Elements] (1999), *Obyčejové právo* [Equity Law] (2001), *Zeleň* v *lidových obyčejích* [Greenery in Folk Traditions] (2003), *Zvyky a obyčeje socioprofesních skupin* [Customs and Traditions of Socio-Professional Groups] (2005), *Dary a obdarování* [Gifts and Bestowment] (2007), *Tělo jako kulturní fenomén* [Human Body as a Cultural Phenomenon] (2009), *Svět mužů a* žen. *Muž a* žena *ve svědectvích lidových tradic* [The World of Men and Woman] (2011), *Zoomorfní tematika* v *lidové tradici* [Zoomorphic Themes in Folk Tradition] (2013), *Léčení a léčitelství* v *lidové tradici* [Treatment and Healing in Folk Tradition] (2015), *Erotika* v *lidové kultuře* [Eroticism in Folk Culture] (2017), *My a oni. Domácí a cizí* v *lidové tradici* [Us and Them. Familiar and Unfamiliar in Folk Traditions] (2019), and *Tradiční kulturní kontexty pití alkoholu a kouření* [Traditional Cultural Contexts of Drinking Alcohol and Smoking] (2021).

The published papers not only presented a wealth of material from the field, but also contributed to the solution of methodological and terminological issues. Working meetings and conferences, always with international participants, were patronized and co-organized by institutions whose employees cooperated with the Commission. Very close collaboration was established with Slovak colleagues, which can be confirmed by a 2001 international conference held in Martin – Vrútky. Since 1992, the patronage, organization of events, and mainly publication outcomes have been provided for by the Slovácko Region Museum in Uherské Hradiště, thanks to which the Commission was able to publish all the fifteen publications mentioned above.

The Sub-Commission for Folk Customs has for years worked also thanks to mutual professional but above all friendly relations between its members. The administration, including the organization of particular meetings as well as communication between members, is arranged for by its chairwoman. The two-year research programme is suggested by all partaking members of the Sub-Commission, due to which the addressed themes are selected and approved by the majority of members. The editorial work on edited volumes is undertaken by the Slovácko Region Museum in Uherské Hradiště, namely by Petr Číhal. Although the structure of the Czech Ethnological Society's Commission members has changed over the last thirty years, it is still built on the pillars of the professional work of several significant persons who determine the current academic focus of the Sub-Commission and who thoroughly fulfil the set tasks through the scholarly texts they publish. The most prominent collaborators have included Ludmila Tarcalová, Alexandra Navrátilová, Kornélia Jakubíková, Eva Večerková, Alena Kalinová, Jana Poláková, Markéta Holubová, Kateřina Sedlická, Dana Motyčková, and Vanda Jiřikovská. In addition to ethnographers – museum workers, research fellows at the Institute of Ethnology of the Czech Academy of Sciences, and university teachers – many experts from other scientific and academic disciplines, who specialize in the topic being focussed on, have joined the ethnographic Sub-Commission. For example, theologians (Vladimír Teťhal), physicians (Eva Králíková), psychiatrists (Tamara Tošnerová), botanists (Jarmila Skružná), and philologists (Marta Šimečková) have been involved. Over the last ten years, during which Ludmila Tarcalová passed on leadership to Romana Habartová in 2012 and then to Gabriela Směřičková in 2013, it was possible to establish cooperation with the Department of Slavic Studies at the Faculty of Arts of the University of Ostrava, namely with Jana Raclavská and Vítězslav Vilímek, who both take an active part mainly in the ethnological activity of the Sub-Commission as well in searching for professional international contacts.

The cooperation with the Slovak Faculty of Arts of the University of Ss. Cyril and Methodius in Trnava, namely with ethnologist and current rector Katarína Slobodová-Nováková, is a significant asset. Due to the active cooperation with this faculty, it was possible to involve students in the work of the Sub-Commission, who attend the meetings and some of whom have become regular researchers involved in the scholarly and research tasks of the Sub-Commission. Currently, the Czech Ethnological

Society's Commission has more than sixty permanent members, from whom eleven members come from Slovakia, three from Croatia, and two from Poland.

The multiple awards conferred on the Sub-Commission by the Czech Ethnological Society indisputably prove the success of the Sub-Commission. In 2003, its conference "Greenery in Folk Traditions" was recognized by the Czech Ethnological Society as the most important one in the field. Two years later, in 2005, the Sub-Commission received the same award for the conference "Customs and Traditions of Socio-Professional Groups", and in 2007 for the conference "Gifts and Bestowment". The latest award is from 2015, when the Society awarded the Sub-Commission for the conference "Treatment and Healing in Folk Tradition". In 2003, Ludmila Tarcalová was awarded the honorary Five Red Roses prize by the Czech Ethnological Society, namely for the organization of the whole conference cycle of the International Commission for the Study of Folk Culture in the Carpathians, the Sub-Commission for Folk Customs.

Currently, the Sub-Commission for Folk Customs is working on a research task concerning colours and their symbolism and reflection in folk customs. An international conference titled "The Colour in Traditional Culture" was held in Uherské Hradiště in May 2023. A proceedings from this conference is now being prepared for publication.

Gabriela Směřičková
(The Slovácko Region Museum in Uherské Hradiště)

THE COMMISSION FOR VERNACULAR ARCHITECTURE, SETTLEMENTS, AND HABITATION OF THE CZECH ETHNOLOGICAL SOCIETY

According to the Statutes of the Czech Ethnological Society, its Main Committee is entitled to establish commissions responsible for coordination and cooperation with other scientific societies and scientific and research institutions. Only regular Society members may become members of these commissions. Since its foundation in 1991, the Commission for Vernacular Architecture, Settlements, and Habitation has continued the activity of the Commission for Vernacular Architecture of the Czechoslovak Ethnological Society of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, which fused with a commission of the same name working at the Czechoslovak Section of the International Commission for the Study of Folk Culture in the Carpathians and the Balkans (ICCCB) and dealing with theoretical, methodological, and terminological issues related to vernacular architecture.

After the re-establishment of the Commission, its members mainly compiled inventories of endangered vernacular buildings in the regions of their activity, prepared proposals to inscribe selected buildings on the National List of Intangible Cultural Monuments of the Czech Republic, and organized exhibitions focussed on vernacular architecture. Currently, Commission members predominantly participate in (field and archival) research of vernacular (rural) architecture in the Czech Republic and the presentation of its achievements in professional and popular periodicals or separate publications.

Since 2005, the Commission, in cooperation with the Department of European Ethnology of Masaryk University and another chosen institution, has every year organized a seminar or a conference that also includes an expert excursion focussed on a selected theme from the field of vernacular architecture. This regular annual event provides an opportunity for members and other participants dealing with vernacular architecture (employees of open-air museums and heritage institutions) not only to address professional issues, but also to meet. The papers presented there are published in printed proceedings or peer-reviewed edited volumes. The following working seminars have been organized to date: *Osobnosti historické fotografické dokumentace lidové architektury* [Personalities of Historical Photographic Documentation of Vernacular Architecture] (2005); *Venkovské sídlo a krajina* [The Rural Settlement and the Countryside] (2006), *Současná výstavba a tradiční lidová architektura* [Contemporary Constructions and Traditional Vernacular Architecture] (2007), *Vliv pozemkových reforem na stavební vývoj venkovských sídel* [The Influence of Land Reforms on the Constructional Development of Rural Settlements] (2010), *Slohové ohlasy ve venkovské architektuře* [Echoes of Styles in Vernacular Architecture] (2011), *Tradiční hliněné stavitelství* [Traditional Earth Architecture] (2012), *Sýpky venkovských usedlostí a problematika „špýcharového domu"* [Granaries as Part of Farmsteads and the Granary-Style House] (2013), *Dřevěné a polodřevěné sakrální stavby* [Wooden and Semi-Wooden Sacral Buildings] (2014), *120 let výzkumu, dokumentace a prezentace lidové architektury – k výročí Národopisné výstavy* československé v *Praze roku 1895* [One Hundred and Twenty Years of Research, Documentation, and Presentation of Vernacular Architecture – the Anniversary of the Czechoslavic Ethnographic Exhibition in Prague in 1895] (2015), *Prezentace venkovského stavitelství* v *muzeích* v *přírodě a muzejních expozicích* [Presentation of Vernacular Architecture in Open-Air Museums and Museum Exhibitions] (2016), *Kresebná, fotografická a plánová dokumentace venkovského stavitelství v muzejních sbírkách a v archivních fondech* [Drawing, Photographic, and Project Documentation of Vernacular Architecture in Museum Collections and Archival Fonds] (2017), *Výzkumy, dokumentace a prezentace venkovského stavitelství v Československu* [Research,

Documentation, and Presentation of Vernacular Architecture in Czechoslovakia] (2018), *Venkovské stavitelství* v *oblastech osídlených národnostními menšinami* [Rural Architecture in Regions Settled by Ethnic Minorities] (2019), *Muzea v přírodě a jejich role při záchraně lidové architektury* [Open-Air Museums and Their Role in the Safeguarding of Vernacular Architecture] (2021), *Objekty venkovského stavitelství na původních místech s muzejními či jinými expozicemi* [Vernacular Buildings in Their Original Places with Museum and Other Exhibitions] (2022), and *Výzdoba a nápisové datace venkovských staveb* [Decoration and Inscription Dating of Rural Buildings] (2023).

Currently, the Commission has about thirty members from a variety of research institutes (universities, scientific institutes) and memory institutions (archives, museums). Even though the Commission is not involved in international structures, it keeps close contacts with Slovak colleagues who regularly attend its events and publish in the Commission Bulletin that the Commission issues once a year. The Bulletin includes studies, information, and bibliography from the realm of vernacular architecture. Since 2015, it has been issued as a supplement to the *Ethnographic Journal*, a peer-reviewed ethnological journal of the Czech Ethnological Society. In addition, the Commission has published proceedings containing papers from its seminars: *Osobnosti historické fotografické dokumentace lidové architektury* [Personalities of Historical Photographic Documentation of Vernacular Architecture] in 2006; *Venkovské sídlo a krajina* [The Rural Settlement and the Countryside] in 2007; and *Vliv pozemkových reforem na stavební vývoj venkovských sídel* [The Influence of Land Reforms on the Constructional Development of Rural Settlements] in 2011.

Roman Tykal
(The Czech Ethnological Society)

THE ETHNOGRAPHIC COMMISSION OF THE CZECH ASSOCIATION OF MUSEUMS AND GALLERIES

The Ethnographic Commission is one of fourteen commissions working under the Association of Museums and Galleries (AMG). It brings together ethnographers and collection managers from museums that are AMG members. In addition, about one-fifth of its membership is made up of individual and honorary members. The Ethnographic Commission is not a legal entity in relation to the AMG, and the AMG Statutes define the Commission as a voluntary association of members with a common professional interest. The Commission therefore organizes its activities in accordance with the AMG Statutes and on the basis of its own Rules of Procedure. The supreme body of the Commission is the Plenary Session, convened by the chairman, who chairs a four-member committee and who is also a member of the AMG Senate.

The Ethnographic Commission was established in 1990. At a plenary meeting of museum ethnographers, held in Boskovice in October of the same year, the management of the former ethnographic commission (working at the Central Museological Cabinet) relinquished leadership, and on 27 July, a new ethnographic commission was established under the newly founded Association of Czech and Moravian-Silesian Museums and Galleries. In the first years, the Ethnographic Commission focussed its activities mainly on preparation for the centennial celebrations of the Czechoslavic Ethnographic Exhibition held in Prague in 1895. At that time, preparatory work on compiling much-needed terminology for ethnographic collections began; this work was managed by the Wallachian Open-Air Museum in Rožnov pod Radhoštěm. In addition, the Ethnographic Commission also took a significant part in preparing the “Ethnography” module in the *Demus* electronic registration system.

Currently, the Ethnographic Commission includes 113 representatives from regular AMG members, and 18 individual members. The regular members’ representatives, whose number is not limited for any AMG member institution, are mostly managers of ethnographic collections at museums of regional history and geography, or − in several cases − employees of the ethnographic departments at such institutions. To a lesser extent, members include employees of Regional Authorized Departments for Traditional Folk Culture.

Those interested can become acquainted with the activities of the Ethnographic Commission on the AMG website (https://www.cz-museums.cz/web/amg/organy-amg/komise/etnograficka-komise), where they can find an updated list of members and member institutions as well as minutes from sessions of the Commission Committee, and information about publications under preparation and regular expert seminars. These are organized by the Ethnographic Commission twice a year, always in spring and autumn.

Each year, the seminars are hosted by two of the AMG member institutions, which provide a complete programme for the participants in cooperation with the Committee. The spring seminar is usually an expert conference with a principal theme specified in advance. The autumn seminar, on the other hand, is supposed to inform Commission members about what is happening in the AMG as well as about forthcoming legislation, and also to exchange experience from the field of ethnographic museology and information about achievements in the branch.

The crucial and only hardly measurable task of the AMG Ethnographic Commission is to bring together both active and emeritus employees of memory institutions who administer ethnographic collections and to provide a platform for the mutual exchange of experience.

Through particular members, the Ethnographic Commission cooperates, for example, with the Czech Ethnological Society and its sub-commissions for vernacular architecture, settlements and habitation, and folk customs (Sub-Commission for Folk Customs of the International Commission for the Study of Folk Culture in the Carpathians.)

In 2018, the Committee of the Ethnographic Commission again addressed one of the former projects of the Commission, and in cooperation with the National Open-Air Museum − the Wallachian Open-Air Museum in Rožnov pod Radhoštěm − resumed work on the series *Názvosloví etnografických sbírek* [The Terminology for Ethnographic Collections]. Since 2019, one volume of this series has been published every year, both in printed and electronic form, at AMG's cost, always in cooperation with a partner institution − usually the home institution of the author of the texts. Martin Slaba was the author of the first volume in the series, which dealt with game keeping and hunting. In 2020, the second volume, focussed on the education system, was published; Jarmila Klímová was the author. A year later, Tomáš Hamrlík published within this series the terminology for neutering, and as the last volume, the AMG published, in cooperation with the Regional Museum in Mikulov, the terminology complied by Vilém Křeček and Josef Šuba focussed on viticulture and winemaking. In cooperation with the National Institute of Folk Culture in Strážnice, the Ethnographic Commission is currently preparing the long-awaited fifth volume focussed on men's folk clothing. The AMG distributes individual volumes to its member institutions every year, and the volumes are also freely available for study and downloading in PDF format on the AMG website.

Michal Chmelenský
(Museum of West Bohemia in Pilsen)

THE CZECH ASSOCIATION FOR SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY

The Czech Association for Social Anthropology (CASA) celebrated its fifteenth anniversary in 2022. Over these years, it has become an established organization that brings together more than one hundred active members and develops a number of activities with national and international dimensions.

CASA is a professional association of social anthropologists, students of this and relative disciplines, and fans, who strive for the development of anthropology in the academic and public spheres. CASA's purpose is to support the development of social anthropology in research and education, to represent Czech social anthropology in dealings with governmental, public, and non-governmental organizations and in the international scientific field, to popularize the achievements of social anthropology among the general public, to create ties between social anthropologists and experts from related disciplines in the Czech Republic and internationally, and to maintain contacts and establish cooperation with similar professional organizations in the Czech Republic and abroad. Since the very beginning, CASA has considered ethical issues in anthropological research to be crucial, and for this reason it has created its own Code of Ethics and directives governing its activities.

CASA offers two types of membership: regular and institutional. Each person/legal entity that is interested in the discipline and undertakes to respect the Statutes and the Code of Ethics can become a member of CASA. Its highest body is the General Assembly. The Presidium acts as a statutory body and is elected for two years; it consists of six members: a chairperson, two vice-chairpersons, a treasurer, and two members. CASA is funded predominantly by membership contributions and subsidies from the Council of Scientific Societies of the Czech Republic at the Czech Academy of Sciences, of which CASA has been a member since 2010. CASA's organizational structure also includes expert sections − the Section for Medical Anthropology and the Section for the Anthropology of Religion, Magic and the Supernatural, which hold their own seminars and meetings. CASA also offers its members the option to set up an ad hoc ethical board to audit/assess their research.

CASA was founded at the Prague restaurant U Parlamentu (At the Parliament) in December 2007, and in July 2008 it was officially registered. The immediate impetus for founding CASA was debates amongst the wider Czech academic community about ethical practice and, in particular, about citation conventions in historical and social sciences. These debates resonated strongly among social anthropologists at the time and led to the need for establishing a professional association to serve as a platform for such discussions. Efforts to entrench social anthropology, which was a quite new discipline in the Czech academic environment, were also a motivating factor for CASA's foundation. For this reason, the first activity of the newly founded association was the creation of its ethical guidelines.

Although CASA is a national organization, its activities have been oriented internationally since the very beginning. The first biennale conference of CASA was organized in cooperation with the Slovak Association of Social Anthropology (SASA) in Pezinok in 2009 (theme of the conference: What Is Capitalism and What Comes Next?). In 2012, CASA became a member of the World Council of Anthropological Associations (WCAA). Currently, CASA has its strongest links to the European Association of Social Anthropologists (EASA) and its networks, in which many CASA members are active. In 2020, CASA co-organized a three-day conference about applied anthropology and social movements called "Why the World Needs Anthropologists" with the Applied Anthropology Network of

EASA in Prague. Similarly, CASA members have ties to the International Society for Ethnology and Folklore (SIEF).

Today, in 2023, CASA has 107 regular members, a large part of whom work at Czech academic institutions − universities and institutes of the Czech Academy of Sciences − in the fields of social and cultural anthropology, ethnology, sociology, and related disciplines. An important portion of the membership base is made up of students of master's and doctoral programmes.

CASA communicates with its members and the wider academic community using several channels. CASA operates a website (www.casaonline.cz) on which important information for members are available, such as the Statues, invitations to events, contact information about its sections, the Code of Ethics and ethical guidelines, minutes from Presidium sessions, CASA declarations concerning current affairs in the discipline and outside it, and a list of members. Those interested in CASA membership can find documents with information about joining on the website. For effective communication with its members, CASA has a mailing list that is used for disseminating information about current affairs (conferences, scholarships, employment opportunities, etc.). The CASA Facebook page, which has eight hundred followers, has proven to be a very useful instrument for communicating with the wider academic community. CASA also runs a YouTube channel, mainly to publish recordings of organized lectures.

CASA publishes the journal *Cargo* (http://cargojournal.org). *Cargo*, originally "a journal (not only) about ethnology," came into being as an initiative of several students at the Department of Ethnology of Charles University, who tried, using the journal, to create a space for discussions about socio-cultural anthropology and to mediate current affairs in the discipline, which they were lacking during their study. The first edition was published in 1998 in a print run of 200 pieces. Although it was a student journal, in subsequent years *Cargo: A Journal for Cultural/social Anthropology* became a significant platform for shaping anthropology in the Czech and Slovak academic environments, namely because it published peer-reviewed articles written by domestic and foreign anthropologists, and shorter treatises, discussions, interviews, reports from workshops and conferences, and reviews. The last number of the "student *Cargo*," published by the civil association Cargo Publishers, was issued in 2009. In the subsequent year, the newly founded CASA continued to publish the journal as a reply to the membership's demand for an own journal, clearly profiled with respect to the discipline. The journal is published twice a year with contributions in English, Czech, and Slovak, and focusses on the theory and practice of ethnographic research, critical discussion of anthropological theory, and ethical issues of conducting anthropological knowledge.

Since 2009, CASA has organized biennale conferences with international attendance, some of which have been held in cooperation with SASA. In 2023 (the date of the conference was shifted as a consequence of the COVID-19 pandemic) *the seventh CASA biennale conference* on the subject off "Solidarity" was held with a keynote lecture by Professor João de Pina-Cabral. In the past, CASA also organized workshops on the topic of ethics in anthropological research.

CASA also organizes an annual *Ladislav Holý Lecture* (LHL), accompanying the annual General Assembly. The LHL is a memorial lecture established in 2009 to commemorate Czech anthropologist Ladislav Holý (1933–1997). Its purpose is to invite anthropologists who made significant contributions to the discipline. Among the lecturers have been Robert Parkin (2019), David B. Edwards (2018), Ghassan Hage (2014), and Piers Vitebski (2009). Throughout the academic year, CASA in collaboration with the Czech Sociological Society organizes the *Gellner Seminar*, which will celebrate its bicentennial in 2023. It was originally founded by Petr Skalník and Jiří Musil in honour of Ernest Gellner (1925–1995) in 1998. The seminar provides a platform for the members of our anthropological community to present their research and offers a space for debate where they can meet anthropologists from abroad who are shaping the current state of the field. The seminar's guests have included Nancy Scheper-Hughes, Michael Winkelman, Thomas Hyland Eriksen, and David Henig.

The annual *Contest for the CASA Award for the Best Bachelor's and Master's Theses* is an important tool to create a wider anthropological community. The contest is intended for students who have defended a qualification thesis concerning anthropology in Czech, Slovak, or English. The selected jury assesses about twelve theses, and the winners can look forward to an award ceremony during the General Assembly, free-of-charge one-year membership, a financial award, and an opportunity to present their research at a Gellner Seminar. The award is supposed to encourage talented researchers at the beginning of their careers and to motivate them for their future development.

Markéta Zandlová
(Department of Social and Cultural Anthropology, Faculty of Humanities, Charles University)

Jakub Grygar
(Department of Sociology, Faculty of Social Sciences, Charles University)

Nikola Balaš
(The Institute of Ethnology, Czech Academy of Sciences)

Jaroslav Klepal
(Department of Social and Cultural Anthropology, Faculty of Humanities, Charles University)

Barbora Stehlíková
(The Institute of Ethnology, Czech Academy of Sciences)

Michal Lehečka
(Department of Social and Cultural Anthropology, Faculty of Humanities, Charles University)

THE 16th INTERNATIONAL SIEF CONGRESS "LIVING UNCERTAINTY" IN BRNO, CZECH REPUBLIC

In June 2023, the 16th SIEF (Société Internationale d´Ethnologie et de Folklore) Congress was held in the Czech Republic. This international conference of ethnologists and socio-cultural anthropologists was organized by three Czech academic institutions: the Institute of Ethnology of the Czech Academy of Sciences, the Department of European Ethnology of the Faculty of Arts at Masaryk University, and the National Institute of Folk Culture. The event took place at the Faculty of Arts of Masaryk University in Brno, which on 7 through 10 June offered almost a thousand participating researchers its renovated premises including all the facilities.

The Congress was opened by SIEF President Marie Sandberg, by representatives of the co-organizing Czech institutions, and also by a lecture given by the English social anthropologist Marylin Strathern (professor emeritus at the University of Cambridge) titled "Uncertain Relations: Limits and Possibilities". All this opened up and heralded several-day deliberations of the world ethnological community, which overarched the principal topic of the Congress: living uncertainty.

The topic was not chosen by accident. Although the uncertainty of the everyday world, which is the main research space for ethnology, enters human lives sometimes with overly strong force, it was reflected by human existence even in the historical perspective. Similarly, also the scholarly disciplines that study uncertainty have to cope with it − beginning with the collection or generation of data, the application of methods (often new and experimental ones) to the interpretation of the studied material that often has ties to various conflicts, crises, and sudden situations, as, for example, the worldwide COVID-19 pandemic confirmed. The Scientific Committee of SIEF offered researchers a spectrum of other

Plenary of the SIEF Congress in Brno, 9 June 2023.
Photo courtsey of the Department of European Ethnology

possible questions that could relate to the topic − how do we talk about uncertainty (in common or exceptional ways), how do we behave in the transforming world, how do we shape and understand society, how do we understand our identities, what are the rites of passage in a world with an uncertain future, how do we understand frontiers in an uncertain time, and many others. However, in the end these questions were a small sample of what the theme of "uncertainty" has brought up in various research projects. The conference programme (which was accessible online – www.siefhome.org/congresses/sief2023/) included more than 130 panels and other congress formats − plenary sessions, roundtables, workshops, audiovisual programmes, and others. It showed again the enormous variety that we can observe in present-day ethnology and related disciplines: not only the variety of the world under study, but also the wide spectrum of approaches, methodological tools, and subsequent analyses and interpretations. However, this does not mean an open-ended nature − the purpose is to get to know the present in the wake of the past, but it is also man in a cultural and social context who is of major concern.

The organizers of the Brno SIEF congress tried to provide the participants with an interesting programme even outside of the professional meetings. The excursions to local museums, galleries, and monuments, such as the functionalist Villa Tugendhat by the German architect Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, were supplemented with thematic trips around Brno, which is not only the second-largest city in the Czech Republic, but also a significant historical and university centre.

The world ethnological forum will be hosted by Romania in 2025, so it is possible to look forward to further academic discussions that will not only strengthen the participating researchers, but mainly develop the discipline, which is one of the most thought-provoking in the field of the humanities and social sciences.

Martina Pavlicová
(Department of European Ethnology, Faculty of Arts, Masaryk University)

The courtyard of the Masaryk University Faculty of Arts in Brno during the SIEF Congress. Photo courtesy of the Department of European Ethnology

THE 26th ICOM GENERAL CONFERENCE "THE POWER OF MUSEUMS" IN PRAGUE, CZECH REPUBLIC

"The Power of Museums" was the name of a general conference organized by the International Council of Museums (ICOM), a professional association of experts from museums and galleries all over the world, in Prague between 20 and 28 August 2022. The themes of civil society, sustainability, new technologies, and the much-discussed heritage of colonialism attracted about 3,000 professionals from the museum sphere to Prague. The meeting took place in a situation full of dynamic social changes, which museums cannot stand aside from. The conviction about the necessity to take an active role in society was logically reflected in the new definition of the museum, which was among the crucial and strongly discussed programme points of the Conference. The main argument for changing the definition was the lack of everyday life reflection in society in the twenty-first century and the need to search for updated answers to "old" questions, that is, *what is a museum and why do we have it, for whom is it intended, and how and for what purpose does it function*? (See the museum definition below.) The need for a new formulation is illustrated by, among other things, the fact that at the previous ICOM meeting in Kyoto in 2019, the submitted formulation of the new definition provoked a wave of comments leading to its rejection. The vote on the adoption of a completely new proposal, which came into being through many debates among thousands of museum professionals from all over the world, became the crucial point of the agenda in Prague. The new definition, adopted by most participants (92.4 percent of those voting), is based on the original mission of memory institutions, taking into account the shift in the needs of present-day society:

"*A museum is a not-for-profit, permanent institution in the service of society that researches, collects, conserves, interprets and exhibits tangible and intangible heritage. Open to the public, accessible and inclusive, museums foster diversity and sustainability. They operate and communicate ethically, professionally and with the participation of communities, offering varied experiences for education, enjoyment, reflection and knowledge sharing." (*https://icom.museum/en/resources/standards-guidelines/museum-definition/)

Memory institutions at all levels thus keep their original task of collecting documents on tangible and intangible cultural heritage and safeguarding and interpreting it for a wide spectrum of those interested, however, highlighting an active and open approach to what happens in society. The role of museums as ivory towers accessible only to those chosen is definitely over. In contrast, societal crises (e.g., migration waves), in whose solution museums take an active part, refer to the forgotten potential of our institutions and offer answers to questions about their existence. This is exemplified by the presentation of the Ukrainian delegate who spoke about the necessity to archive and document war events in museums. Her paper in relation to the present-day events in Ukraine illustrated the need to update the concept of the neutrality/apolitical character of museums. The lecturers also spoke about the possibility of scholarly work at memory institutions in the programmes of science and research, where participation in research projects is an income item, important in many cases, within the budget of the organizations. The Conference programme in Prague was followed by excursions to regions, which allowed the participants to see the museum and gallery scene outside the capital. Some participants were transported by a historical train, which was more than welcomed.

Moreover, the organization of the General Conference had a symbolic dimension for Czech museum practice, connected with the work of Jan Jelínek (1926–2004), an anthropologist and museologist and the director of the Moravian Museum in Brno, who became president of the world ICOM in 1971. During his tenure (1971–1978), the international institution, whose members had been up to that time only museum directors, opened, through newly founded professional committees, to the wider museum community. At the same time (in 1974), a museum definition was adopted, which was in force, albeit with some small changes, until 24 August 2022. At the end of his chairmanship, in 1977, 18 May was declared International Museum Day with the goal to draw the general public's attention to the role of museums in the life of society. This goal is still current, as confirmed by the ICOM 2022 programme, thanks to which the Czech Republic finally became, after six decades of unsuccessful candidacies, the venue of the ICOM members' world meeting.

The official part of the Conference was observed by mass media and discussed among specialists. Somewhat detached remained the portion of preparations resulting in the festive closing ceremony, where the Czech organizers passed the "flag" to the organizers of the next 27th ICOM General Conference, which will take place in Dubai in 2028. The ICOM National Committee Czech Republic took over the symbolic "flag" from Japanese colleagues at the 25th ICOM General Conference in Kyoto in September 2019. In Asia, the flag was symbolically made of silk. The Czech Committee members adopted that idea and, according to executive director Martina Lehmannová, decided to make the flag in "a traditional Czech way". The "Czech" tradition was represented by embroidery as part of traditional folk culture. The aim was to apply the simplest cross-stitch for the hand embroidery of the inscription "ICOM" in the centre of the flag. Colleagues in all working positions, from directors to cashiers, from museums throughout Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia joined the work on the embroidery. After a part of the inscription

Project Manager Maryam Mudhaffar Ahli took over the flag of the ICOM National Committee Czech Republic. Photo web ICOM

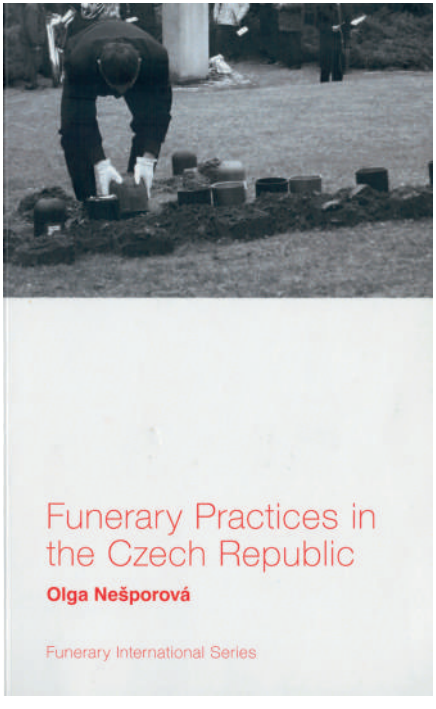
was embroidered and documented, the flag travelled to another institution. The Czech museum employees created a collective work of the ICOM National Committee Czech Republic. The first stitch was symbolically made at the Moravian Museum in Brno, whose Ethnographic Institute was a guarantor of the event and where the flag and the accompanying documentation have been stored. On the occasion of the world Conference, cultural stereotypes resulting from expressions of seemingly long disappeared rural culture were manifested through traditional embroidery even in the third millennium.

Hana Dvořáková
(The Moravian Museum)

OLGA NEŠPOROVÁ: FUNERARY PRACTICES IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC. Bingley: Emerald Publishing, 2021. 160 pp.

In 2018, the British publishing house Emerald Publishing created a thematic series called *Funerary International* that focussed on funerary practices in different European countries. After publications informing about the situation in England and Wales (2018), the Netherlands (2019), and Serbia (2021), this series was in 2021 extended with Olga Nešporová's book dedicated to the situation in the Czech Republic. The author deals with the twentieth-century relationship to death, burials, and funeral ceremonies on a long-term basis, and her book is based, among other things, on a research project, funded by the Czech Science Foundation, which she has recently implemented at the Institute of Ethnology of the Czech Academy of Sciences. While partial scholarly studies published in academic journals allowed her to make deeper research probes into particular research areas, her book published in English naturally had to be conceived in a somewhat more general way. This is, in fact, the first comprehensive scholarly text that presents the specific situation in the Czech Republic and former Czechoslovakia during the twentieth century to a foreign readership.

For this reason, the book – in addition to a brief historical excursion into funerary practices in the Czech lands between the eighteenth and the early twentieth centuries – also describes demographic development and the legislative standards associated with funerary services. A quite large space is devoted to the phenomenon of cremations. The popularity of this form of handling human remains increased mainly after the formation of the independent Czechoslovak Republic in 1918, being also quite largely supported by the Communist regime in the second half of the twentieth century. The democratic republican state system in the interwar period (1918–1938) and Communist totalitarianism (1948–1989), in fact, made use of the support for cremations and so-called civil (secular) funerals to intentionally speak out against the attitudes and practices of the dominating Catholic Church and religious funeral ceremonies in general. For the foreign readership, these sections will be a very valuable source of information about the situation in Central Europe. Nevertheless, when reading these sections, we must always be aware of the fact that, despite noticeable progression, cremations (despite the ideological support and the building of a network of crematoria and secular funeral homes) still amounted to less than 40 percent of all funeral ceremonies in Czechoslovakia in the 1970s.



However, at the core of the book is the description and interpretation of funerary practices in the second half of the twentieth and the early twenty-first centuries. Although the small scope of the book limited Olga Nešporová in the amount of information that she can present to the readers, the publication gives a very dense and qualified view of this theme. She not only observes the issue from the cultural and ideological perspective, but also pays attention to socio-economic factors (costs associated with funeral ceremonies and the final placement of human remains in public burial sites, and so-called social funerals paid from public funds), the legislation associated with funerary services, and related technology (building of crematoria and their geographical layout and equipment). The author then focuses on cemeteries, the phenomenon of scattering ashes, and alternative forms of handling ashes. The chapter dealing with commemorative practices, visits to cemeteries, and maintenance of graves serves as a full stop to the theme. The text about the phenomenon of roadside memorials for victims of traffic accidents is a kind of appendix, somewhat distant from funerary practices. Although the Czech Republic is not very large, throughout the book, the author rightly points out the differences in approaches

between urban and rural areas, and also between individual regions.

On 160 pages, the anthropologist Olga Nešporová managed to create a comprehensive introduction to the study of funerary practices in the Czech Republic and the former Czechoslovakia. Nevertheless, if a researcher wants to gain a deeper understanding of the issue in the Czech lands, this is not possible without the study of smaller studies written in Czech and Slovak, including ethnological works the author did not work with (Zdeněk Hanzl, Margita Jágerová, and others). In addition to the explanation of the situation in the Czech lands, the inclusion of the book *Funerary Practices in the Czech Republic* into a wider international series is of another indisputable importance. The publication in English provides foreign researchers with valuable information that can be used for wider comparative research on funeral practices in different parts of Europe.

Daniel Drápala
(Department of European Ethnology, Faculty of Arts, Masaryk University)

HELENA BERÁNKOVÁ – HANA DVOŘÁKOVÁ (eds.). LIDOVÁ KULTURA NA MORAVĚ V ZRCADLE ČASU [Traditional Culture in Moravia in the Mirror of Ages]. Brno: Moravské zemské muzeum, 2021. 327 pp.

Folk culture has been an inexhaustible and inspiring theme for amateur and professional researchers for many decades. The results of their leisure and research activities are presented to the public using a variety of presentation forms – exhibitions, life examples, video and audio materials, and mainly publications. This is also the case of a collective work called *Lidová kultura na Moravě v zrcadle času [Traditional Culture in Moravia in the Mirror of Ages],* published by the Moravian Museum in Brno under the leadership of Helena Beránková and Hana Dvořáková, experienced authors and editors, at the end of 2021. The book in the form of a catalogue preceded the long-awaited permanent exhibition *Traditional Culture in Moravia in the Mirror of Time* installed in the premises of the Ethnographic Institute of the Moravian Museum. The publication is closely linked to the exhibition, not only in terms of personnel, as a similar team of authors participated in its realisation. The introductory passages of the publication and the exhibition are also similar in structure, that is, they attempt to explain the early beginnings and professionalization of interest in the documentation and presentation of folk culture. The essence of both works, however, lies in the presentation of a selected large set of exhibits, through which the diversity, maturity, and context of the manifestations of the culture of inhabitants of rural areas and small towns in Moravia are communicated.

The visual contact with original exhibits is an advantage of the exhibition. On the other hand, the publication offers, in addition to colour photographs, a voluminous verbal commentary, whose volume could only hardly be acceptable in exhibition premises. However, a simultaneous familiarization with both the publication and the exhibition is not a precondition for understanding the examined theme. Both outcomes fulfil well their mission independently, passing a sufficient image of the issue under study using their own means.

The publication was compiled by a team of ten authors, mostly employees of the Ethnographic Institute of the Moravian Museum. In accordance with their specializations, they prepared the introductory chapters and dealt with the sequence of descriptive essays presenting a varied kaleidoscope of selected collection items.

The introductory section of the monograph, which describes the birth of interest in documenting, safeguarding, and presenting tangible and intangible elements of Moravian folk culture, seems to be very useful. It explains the circumstances of the foundation of the Francis Museum with its seat in Brno as an institution intended to create collections and to support educational and scientific activities. The text describes the gradual transformation of the museum and the search for the optimal academic content to comply with its mission and approaches to the creation of collections, including the efforts to systematize them, while the history of the museum is brought to the current situation represented by the Ethnographic Institute as an integral part of the Moravian Museum.

In the introductory text, the author has also included a timeline of personnel in which she has not forgotten to introduce important figures associated through their activities with the activities of the museum. She pays attention to amateur ethnographers as well as to collaborators and employees of the museum. She assesses their contribution to the foundation and development of the institution, and to the formation of its professional activities, especially in relation to the creation of the collections.

Alongside this theme, the author of the text introduces the reader into the broader context of the development of ethnography, the work of those representing the discipline, and the results of their activities not only in the Czech environment, but virtually in the whole of Europe, evaluating retrospectively the influence of those developments on the formation of the museum.

The chapter is accompanied by a set of period, mostly black-and-white photographs that document the exhibition and documentation activities of museum employees and the museum itself. The apposite presentation of circumstances under which the museum was founded and working for more than 200 years, and especially the summarization of professional activities, including collecting activity, to such a comprehensive extent, as presented in the publication, is not a common standard for similar publications focussed on the presentation of collection items. From the researcher's point of view, the obtaining of information about these developments can be classified as a very demanding discipline, since it was not usual for memory institutions to document themselves. This makes the introductory section of the publication even more valuable, as it brings a thorough insight into this issue.

In comparison with the introductory section, the follow-up part of the monograph, which features the form of a catalogue, is much more voluminous. This has been undoubtedly inspired, among other things, by the publication *Lidová kultura v muzeu* [Traditional Culture in the Museum], published by the same institute in 2013. That publication gives an overview of the rich collections of the Ethnographic Institute, which are thematically divided into groups, whereby the authors selectively pay their attention to significant single items. However, the scope of the book and its conception did not allow the authors to present a greater number of particular collection items, to describe their past and appearance thoroughly, and to assess their informative value.

This intention has been fulfilled only by the presented publication. Its catalogue section provides sufficient space for the presentation of more than 100 artefacts, each being presented through a high-quality photograph with a legend and a text that mentions not only the detailed characteristics of the item itself, but often even the site situation, period contexts, interesting facts, and the production techniques used. Not all these categories are always used in the text, which is completely understandable due to the varied quality of secondary documentation of collection items. However, the work of different authors, who approached the description of the items in their own way, is reflected here too.

All the presented items are associated with traditional culture and were found in different places in Moravia. All of them, without exception, are exhibited at the above-mentioned exhibition in the Ethnographic Institute, whereby the artefacts presented in the book are only a fragment of the total number of exhibits.

It can therefore be concluded that a representative sample has been chosen for the publication, but in this case the monograph lacks any explanation of the criteria according to which this selection was made. The group of items presented in the book shows a strong struggle to present mostly beautiful, well-preserved, and especially decorated items. It is as if the authors returned to the late nineteenth century, when such an approach was typical for the creation of collections, with the "ancientness and decorative character of the items" being the selection criterion. The book includes "common" items only exceptionally, whereby these, however, clearly outnumbered the "beautiful" ones in the households, farm equipment, and possessions of our ancestors. Taking this approach, the authors created a kind of glossy image of the past, which presents tangible expressions of folk culture out of context and in a distorted way.

On the other hand, it is necessary to admit that despite our best efforts to present the widest possible range of types of artefacts from the past, we will always have to make a selection, because no publication is able to include the entire diversity of all elements that are based on folk culture.

However, the presented catalogue section of the publication is an important document of the contents of the collections of the Ethnographic Institute of the Moravian Museum, and the published items often represent the oldest layers of artefacts that are no longer available in the field. At the same time, these collections and their form demonstrate the technological and artistic advancement of our ancestors.

Overall, the presented publication can be considered a very successful outcome. The aim of bringing a selected segment from the field of folk culture to the widest possible circle of those interested in it is supported by the fact that the book is bilingual. This monograph will certainly enrich the libraries of researchers and professionals dealing with the selected theme.

Lenka Drápalová
(National Open Air Museum, Rožnov pod Radhoštěm)

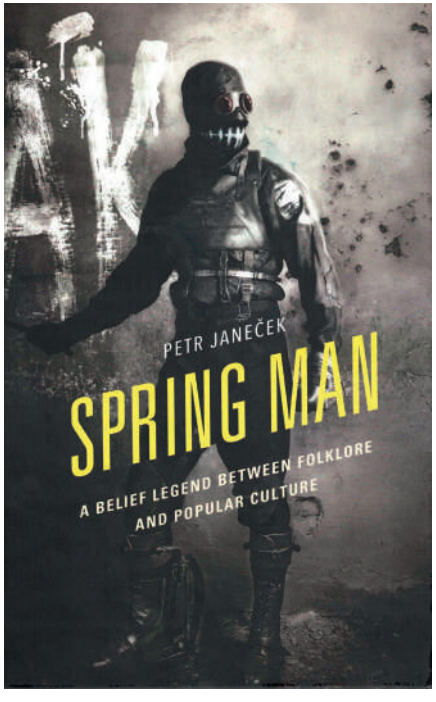
PETR JANEČEK: SPRING MAN: A BELIEF LEGEND BETWEEN FOLKLORE AND POPULAR CULTURE. Lanham: Lexington Books, 2022. 214 pp.

Legends, as a folklore genre, can be often witnessed to circulate between different social strata, countries, or even continents. While the general topic and structure of a legend often remain similar and allow its identification as a part of a narrative complex, its individual manifestations undergo variations based on local context or even the personality of its narrators. Because of this, studying

a legend in its diversity can shed light on many aspects of regional societies or subcultures and can also, for example, provide insight into folk hopes, fears, and expectations experienced during periods of turmoil. The other thing about a legend is that it does not exist in a cultural vacuum. It touches upon the domains of different genres like anecdotes or fairy tales, is both inspired by and reflected in literature, and often bleeds into popular culture, where it is remixed and reinterpreted. For these reasons, we often find that a well-known legend takes different forms in different parts of the world, where it may undergo interesting transformations. However, the international study of a legend as a local phenomenon contrasted with its global life is still somewhat limited both by language and cultural barriers. For example, many historical catalogues and collections that internationalized local folklore by representing it in world languages omitted information about what the legend actually meant to the local populace. For this reason, well-researched local works can still offer new perspectives and open new insights into the study of legends.

Petr Janeček's book *Spring Man: A Belief Legend between Folklore and Popular Culture* is an example of such a work. The author, who focussed on the research of contemporary legends for most of his academic career, shares the results of his long-term exploration of legends about jumping urban phantoms in Czechia (and partly also in Slovakia, Germany, and Russia) with the international public. The book can be seen as an English version of his earlier monograph published in Czech in 2017 (*Mýtus o Pérákovi. Městská legenda mezi folklorem a populární kulturou*. Praha: Argo) but is not just a mere translation; *Spring Man* is streamlined and updated to provide an essential overview of the topic while also representing its regional context.

The core of the research is represented by the Czech urban phantom called *Pérák* [the titular Spring Man], who gained most notoriety in relation to the Nazi occupation of Czechoslovakia during World War II. His characteristic trait was the ability to do long or high jumps that he used both to ambush people and disappear from the scene of where he was sighted. Pérák used to be encountered especially after dark in industrialized urban peripheral areas and was a notable cause of local panics. Explanations of the phantom's origin, motifs, and skills differed; one of the most common was that he had springs attached to his soles. After the war, the notion of Pérák survived and further manifested, for example, as a scary being in the folklore of children or as a specific semi-serious stereotype for a sexual assailant. However, the character was also adopted in post-war media and popular culture, where one of the explanations – that Pérák was actually a resistance fighter – became most widespread. The phantom became the protagonist of an animated movie and several humorous



comics and was rediscovered after 1989 and reinterpreted as a Czech superhero by various authors and even turned into a symbol of a notable Antifa campaign.

Janeček discusses and explains all these developments, but also interprets Pérák in a wider international context as an evolution of the concept of a prowling ghost, a type of character earlier best represented by the British Spring-heeled Jack. As he demonstrates, spring men were present in Czech folklore even before World War II, and there were also other similar less-known characters in continental Europe like *fosforák* [The Phosphorous Man], the Russian *popry-gunchiki*, or the post-war German *Hüpfemännchen*. Janeček considers these to be manifestations of a more general migratory international legend and evaluates the cultural and social functions of both the spring men and the Spring Man as flexible characters connected to wider cultural issues like the need for catharsis during a straining period, the liminality of wartime public spaces, or even sexual aggression. Examples of ostension where real people were impersonating these ghosts or were considered to be one are also taken into account, and the shift from folkloric urban phantom to a social hero fully entrenched in present-day Czech popular culture is documented in detail.

As the manuscript was written in Czech, a translation was required, which was provided by Melinda Reidinger. The translation has no major issues; there are just a few small typos in names (Brdeček/Brdečka), probably caused by uncertainty about the first-person-singular form of a Czech name versus its declined forms.

In general, the book succeeds in its primary objective, which is presenting the results of the author's research to the international public and does this with erudition and clarity. While Janeček focuses primarily on Czech manifestations of this kind of urban phantom, with only some selected excursions into other countries,

the monograph provides a basis for further research into the industrial era or later legends in other parts of the world. It is also valuable as a case study of the relationship between folklore and popular culture, where the evolution of a formerly dangerous folkloric entity is navigated following a notably different course.

Jan Pohunek
(National Museum in Prague)

MARIE HANZELKOVÁ – PATRICIA FUMERTON – PAVEL KOSEK (EDS.). CZECH BROADSIDE BALLADS AS TEXT, ART, AND SONG IN POPULAR CULTURE, C. 1600–1900. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2022. 498 pp.

Research on Czech broadside ballads as unique, regional, and cultural phenomena has been very popular in recent years. Specialized conferences, exhibitions, and workshops have been organized and scholarly texts written. Moreover, various research has been carried out on this phenomenon.

One of the contributions to the research of Czech broadside ballads is the recently published interdisciplinary monograph titled *Czech Broadside Ballads as Text, Art, Song in Popular Culture, c. 1600–1900.* Its publication was supported by the project NAKI II *Kramářské písně* v *brněnských historických fondech* (www.phil.muni.cz/kramarskepisne/en). The project involved experts not only from various institutions and different research fields, but it also features the cooperation of Czech and foreign researchers. The main editors of the monograph are Patricia Fumerton, Pavel Kosek, and Marie Hanzelková.

The monograph itself is exceptional in its examining of a hitherto not very well researched corpus of Czech broadside ballads published from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries, which can be found in several memory institutions – the Moravian Library, the Institute of Ethnology of the Czech Academy of Sciences, the National Museum, and the Moravian Museum. The individual collections are not only described here, but the authors also give us an insight into how the actual acquisitions of the prints took place and is taking place (beginning with the initial amateur attempts through efforts to capture all aspects of printed production to the current form), as well as describing their preservation, cataloguing, accessibility, digitization, and the challenges associated with it. This is an interesting insight into work that is invisible to ordinary users, and we are therefore pleased that the authors have included it in the monograph.

As already mentioned, this is an interdisciplinary monograph, recognizing Czech broadside ballads from several different perspectives, which can be seen in the structure itself. The book is divided into six sections – *introduction*, *general overview*, *topics*, *musicology and transmission*, *language*, and the *wider context*. The titles of the sections themselves show how broadly interdisciplinary the publication is. The text of the publication is further supplemented by the presence of pictorial material and tables, which appropriately complement and clarify the information described.

The introductory chapter focuses on the history, reception, production, and print form of Czech broadside ballads including their placement in local, regional, and global contexts. It draws attention to the specificity of Czech broadside ballads – sewn into a single book, known as a špalíček ("block"). The introduction itself is then followed by a list of terms and their meanings in the Czech context in order to make them understandable to all readers.

The second part focuses on Czech broadside ballads as artefacts and on the forms in which they have survived. Here we find information about the material, length, and types of writing. Furthermore, the social aspects and the influence on folklore and Czech folk songs are discussed. The section also includes previous research on Czech broadside ballads, mainly from a literary point of view. The collective chapter characterizing the collections of the three institutions and their approach to cataloguing and digitization is also very valuable.

The third and most extensive part deals with the topics of the ballads. The majority of the production of Czech broadside ballads is connected with religious themes with an abundant representation of pilgrimage ballads, which are presented in the monograph through pilgrimage songs to the Virgin Mary of Vranov. In these, the means of promotion and presentation of the pilgrimage site are traced. Secular ballads are represented by the theme of crime and punishment. The truth or falsity of the information presented in the Czech broadside ballads is followed by a case study that traces a specific historical event (a quadruple murder) and its manifestations in a number of regional sources.

The depiction of women (emotions, values, problems, women's role in society, etc.) and the devil or demons in general and their depiction are attractive topics as well.

The fourth section is devoted to musicology and transmission. What is typical of (not only) Czech broadside ballads is the absence of musical notation – the contributors to this section therefore question not only how melodies are found, but also whether Czech broadside ballads are closer to oral transmission than to written or printed form. The mutual influence of Czech broadside ballads and folk song culture is pointed out, especially in the repertoire of religious songs. The influence of Czech broadside ballads on Slovak hymnographic production is explored.

The fifth section pays attention to the language of the Czech broadside ballads. The authors refute the previously traditional assumption that it is a low decadent language. On the contrary, authors conclude that the language of the Czech broadside ballads does not differ from other texts of that era (especially hymnals and sermons). What is more, the contributors also reflect orthography. This is the first analysis of the orthography of Czech broadside ballads, and not only the general development of Czech orthography in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is being observed, but also individual phenomena such as phonetic changes or punctuation etc.

The monograph does not focus only on Czech broadside ballads but also looks at the production of broadside ballads outside of Czechia, especially in Poland and Slovakia – the countries that are geographically and linguistically closest to Czechia. The contributions show that in addition to geographical and linguistic affinities, also places of pilgrimage near to the borders (adopting or adapting Marian hymns, songs about Christ or Saints) were important as well as printing houses that often printed bilingually, but there was also a mutual exchange of information or strategies that were adapted in home environments.

In addition to the production of ballads in neighbouring countries, the contributors also draw attention to the more global context. If we approach the phenomenon from a wider perspective and extend the view to more distant countries, such as Britain or Brazil, we can see that Czech broadside ballads are related to British broadside ballads and Brazilian cordels. All of them reflect the concerns of society, but especially those of the poor (through text, song, and the art associated with them) all over the world.

As we have seen, the presented interdisciplinary monograph represents a substantial, unique, and irreplaceable contribution to the research of Czech broadside ballads from their form, production, and collecting activities to linguistics and musicology. In conclusion, we can only wish all researchers that the interest in broadside ballads does not subside and that new research continues to be conducted. Indeed, in the monograph, the mentioned authors outline further prospects for research that can continue to be developed as richly and honestly as it has been so far.

Veronika Jílková
(Department of Czech Literature, Faculty of Arts, Masaryk University)

DANIELA STAVĚLOVÁ (ed.): THE WEIGHT AND WEIGHTLESSNESS OF FOLKLORE: FOLKLORE MOVEMENT OF THE SECOND HALF OF THE 20th CENTURY IN THE CZECH LANDS. Praha: Academia, 2021. 694 pp.

The voluminous ethnological monograph *The Weight and Weightlessness of Folklore* (*Tíha a beztíže folkloru*) with the subtitle " Folklore Revival Movement of the Second Half of the 20th Century in Czech Lands", whose main editor is ethnochoreologist and dance anthropologist Daniela Stavělová, was created as a result of the constructive cooperation of a team of authors as part of a research project conducted at the Institute of Ethnology of the Czech Academy of Sciences in 2021. It is an innovative work in the Czech environment, but also in Central Europe, approximating the metamorphoses of the development of the folklore movement in the most significant period of its formation and expansion. The interdisciplinary approach includes a historical, ethnological, anthropological, choreological, musicological, and sociological perspective. The publication on almost 700 pages presents a syncretic view of the historical and social contexts of the development of especially the scenic form of folklorism in the Czech Republic, revealing the hitherto sporadically named reality of the contemporary political context, which so significantly determined and "directed" this development. In the individual sub-studies, the authors present information about its institutional and personnel representation and support the scholarly argumentation with archival materials that are relatively little published to this day, which represent the conceptual-strategic foundations of the state's cultural policy. At the same time, they present rare information from the field research with informants from the generation active in the folklore movement in the middle of the twentieth century. The publication also includes an extensive and comprehensive register of persons, collectives, institutions, and activities, extremely useful for the practice of the folklore movement.

This ethnological-folkloristic syncretism thus brings original source material (government directives, resolutions, statements in the contemporary press) subjected to a complex scholarly analysis supplemented with fragments of the history of everyday life – micro-history stories, narratives from the lives of the actors of this period of folklorism, which characterize their perception of contemporary

historical reality. Studies include analyses of contemporary choreographic works and compositions reflecting the development of the movement and contemporary social paradigms, as well as informative illustrative photographs from those periods. The diversity of focuses of the authors is also reflected in the not always equal representation, for example, analysis of manifestations of folklorism in the field of music and dance, areas/subjects of research in a geographical sense, or historical context. However, perhaps it is precisely this heterogeneous nature of the publication, with an admirable amount of source material and informant narratives, that is an inspiring springboard and a platform for establishing further research topics and tasks.

In the introduction, D. Stavělová poses the basic research questions of the work – was the agitational-ideological nature of the post-war folklore movement in the former Czechoslovakia a tool of regime propaganda, or a safe island of artistic freedom and the fulfilment of individual dreams of its actors? What was the role of the movement and how is it possible that this complicated phenomenon has survived in such an extensive form to this day? Understanding the ambivalence of the perception of the folklore movement by the contemporary regime and the actors of the movement (kind of "internal exiles") forms the leitmotif of this work.

Ethnomusicologist Vít Zdrálek analyses the position of "insiders" – authors of the monograph in relation to the work based on interviews with them – and historian Miroslav Vaněk subsequently presents the complex historical context based on the analysis of contemporary documents from the national archive and hitherto unknown sources. The studies introduce the reader to the complex issues of the development, determinants, and perception of the folklore movement by institutions and actors. The division of the monograph into three methodological units reflects the points of view on this contradictory and at the same time syncretic topic.

The first unit, "Representation of Ideologies", presents the results of analyses of contemporary official documents and presents the tendencies to "manipulate folklore". D. Stavělová introduces the concept of using folklore as a manifestation of identity or belonging to a group, ethnicity, or nation. It can be a cultural text with a socio-communicative meaning, a cohesive element of the community, but also a servant of a totalitarian regime. She deals with the period of the formation of national identity in the second half of the nineteenth century also through the use of elements of folk culture and identifies the concept of national dance and dance as a national symbol (e.g., *polka, sousedská*).

Choreologist Dorota Gremlicová presents examples of dance-music expressions transferred to the stage (such as the oldest "hanatica" in operas and theatre performances from the seventeenth century) with the aim of a symbolic manifestation of belonging to a certain class. It also presents the staging of folk dance in the context of modern ballet and expressive dance from the interwar period.

Ethnologist Martina Pavlicová presents the developing club movement since the nineteenth century (Sokol, Orel) as a platform of expressions of folk culture (e.g., as part of balls, parades, gatherings, celebrations). She also identifies the development of the use of folklore elements in mass culture within the national Spartakiads (since 1955), which significantly influenced contemporary spatial formations in choreography. D. Stavělová characterizes the influence of the principles of socialist realism and the intentions of the network of educational institutions in connection with the "movement of folklore ensembles". She names the contemporary tendencies of the implementation of Soviet models for creation in folklore ensembles, whose repertoire was supposed to be a political-educational tool. She also presents the ideological concept of the "new creation", identifies the role of festivals as a manifestation of mass support for the ideas of collectivism, and characterizes the selective presentation of folk art as a joyful, happy expression of young, physically fit socialist workers. This part of the monograph has important educational potential for the practice of the folklore movement – it clarifies the reasons for a certain (stereotyped) form of choreographic creation from the middle of the twentieth century. The presentation of the resonating question of the limits of new creations and choreographic stereotyping from the 1950s based on the analysis of programmes is followed by the problem of authenticity and stylization. D. Stavělová also deals with the aesthetic ideology in the musical creation of ensembles and briefly identifies ways of stylizing folk music and the influence of radio and the recording industry. Ethnochoreologist Kateřina Černíčková approaches the phenomenon of ideologically supported free time spent together

– artistic activity of interest and its central organizations. They formed a network of methodical centres that organized training for ensemble leaders, published methodical materials, and organized national competitions, and were gradually specialized and crystallized. It is interesting that the still-living discourse about the relevance of the traditional or scenically recomposed form of folklore material appears in materials as early as the 1970s. The author also deals with the creation or transformation of folklore ensembles (e.g., from village groups), contemporary terminological issues of naming collectives, including a case study of the Prague Ensemble of Songs and Dances by J. Vycpálek. She also presents the birth of children's ensembles, identifies the concept of ensembles as a tool for political agitation, and presents efforts for a kind of rehabilitation of folklore in the 1960s. In connection with the further growth of collectives in the 1970s, she also characterizes the need for the professional training of leaders and the publication of methodological materials. D. Stavělová characterizes research and documentation projects mediating source material for the practice of the folklore movement and methodological approaches to dance research, and presents educational institutions, scientific organizations, and scholars and their published works and methodological materials. She also characterizes the development of dance folkloristics and ethnochoreology. Ethnomusicologist Zdeněk Vejvoda approaches the forms and possibilities of education in folk music and dance in the environment of primary schools as well as secondary and higher art education, and identifies contemporary problems in the approval of pedagogues and so forth. D. Gremlicová presents the reflection of the movement and the activities of ensembles in periodicals and professional magazines and also presents specific topics (normalizing ideological goals for folklore ensembles, forms of material processing, professional and non-professional presentation, etc.). Ethnologist Lucie Uhlíková deals with the influence of mass media – a tool for spreading Communist ideology in the folklore movement in the second half of the twentieth century, starting with Czechoslovak Radio and its professional music ensemble (the Brno Radio Orchestra of Folk Instruments), which became the goal of the work of Moravian cimbalom bands. She also introduces the topic of radio censorship, emphasizes the essential role of radio in the popularization of folk songs, and identifies the breakthrough period of the 1990s (reduction of staff, radio orchestras disappearing, and reorganization of workplaces). Together with ethnomusicologist Matěj Kratochvíl, they present the role of the film medium in the folklore movement. Ethnomusicologist Zita Skořepová presents the propaganda discourse about the "imperialist threat" even within the mass-organized multi-genre World Festival. Its ideological-political background also determined the selection of participants from countries mainly from the Eastern bloc and programme ideas. The author mentions the influence of professional Soviet ensembles on the development of the folklore movement in our country in terms of "political education". L. Uhlíková also characterizes the development stages of this platform for the presentation of the folklore movement from folklore festivals at the turn of the twentieth century. She characterizes the case of the iconic International Folklore Festival Strážnice, conveying rare source materials, and identifies the ideological metamorphoses of the festival as well as political interventions in its organization since the 1950s as well as the creation of a well-thought-out dramaturgical form of the festival by a team of experts. She also gives examples of other festivals in the context of the specific impulses of their creation, contemporary efforts to "ideologize" them, and liberation from it with the aim of prioritizing the presentation of traditional culture.

The second thematic unit of the monograph is opened by D. Gremlicová's analysis of the contemporary discourse on the authenticity (originality) and stylization of the stage production of folklore ensembles and identification of the importance of artistic activity for members of ensembles. She also identifies changes in the perception of artistic creation and the dichotomy of the creative process of the professional ensemble's choreographers (dance-theatre approach) and ethnochoreologists. She also presents the key characters mentioned in the narratives, influencing the form of creation of folklore collectives. M. Pavlicová presents narratives of informants about the impulses of membership in ensembles, the "neuralgic point" of the post-war folklore movement ("new creation"), and active participation in the nationwide Spartakiad. Some narrators identified the influence of Spartakiad on the formation of a unified version of Czech dances. The performances of the ensembles, from local celebrations to competition and festival presentations, were also characterized by ubiquitous regime slogans and political speeches. Based on the principle of "something for something", they had to perform also at various political agitation events. The author identifies the function of folklore ensembles as an effective "representative article" for foreign countries ("strengthening the fraternal relations of the countries of the socialist camp", etc.). International festivals and social exchanges were managed by the state authorities, and the principle of selection was success in competitions, but also the ensemble's loyalty to the regime. Through the narratives of informants, M. Pavlicová analyses the relationship of ensemble members to tradition, the feeling of collective identity, and the phenomenon of self-realization, and also identifies the different motivations of informants from rural and urban environments. Z. Skořepová characterizes the folklore ensemble as a place of interaction of a certain com-

munity with functions similar to those of a family and a place for the creation of friendly, partner relationships, and so forth (a "second life" was lived here). She also presents statements characterizing the impact on the relationship to the real family, identifies different strategies during pregnancy and motherhood, and reveals the less discussed aspects of the folklore group as an intimate community. The ensemble is a platform for socialization, sharing of support and (lifelong) help, and solidarity, which exceeded even potential conflicts conditioned by the diverse political beliefs of the members. The feeling of belonging and the need for self-realization are also factors of activity in senior ("old stars") ensembles. D. Stavělová also identifies the dichotomy between public proclamations and real life in the period of normalization and characterizes the contemporary issue of the political involvement of ensembles as exemplary "socialist collectives". The members themselves prioritized the ensemble's functions as a cultural platform and a micro-world of "their own". However, the saying "something for something" did not only refer to performances at political events, but also the censorship of song lyrics. She also cites cases of demonstrating different attitudes (e.g., Hradišťan) and the prioritization of the scrutiny of the party authorities over the festival in Strážnice. The supervisors appointed by the regime were also present on foreign trips. K. Černíčková presents the reality of folklore events as platforms for meeting and the self-realization of people persecuted by the regime and reveals the function of the folklore movement as a kind of "own world", where, like the slogans on the stage, political events were ignored. Joint trainings, experiences, trips, and relationships made it possible to create a kind of safe and popular micro-world outside of everyday reality. D. Stavělová identifies the balancing attitude of the informants towards their activity in the folklore movement. The positives prevail – the acquisition of experiences, values, skills, relationships and belonging/participation, and self-realization – over the negatives centred around the topic of interference in private/family life.

The third part of the publication, with the symbolic title "A Safe Place in an Uncertain World", is presented by D. Stavělová, raising questions of the motivations and attitudes of the actors of the movement in the context of the contemporary political atmosphere. Z. Skořepová characterizes the movement as a space for personal and collective creativity, identifying the phenomenon of flow in the strategy of choosing activities. She also applies other theoretical concepts (Turin's "cultural cohort" and F. Clark and DeNora's concept of a "biotope" – a common environment created and inhabited by members of the "folk ensemble community") and implements the concept of "technology of the self" (a kind of twenty-first century ideal of *kalokagathia*) and the phenomenon of "cultural immunogen" – the relaxing and therapeutic function of the folklore ensemble. At the end, D. Stavělová presents the factor of nostalgia, collective memory, and romanticizing nationalism in the context of the choice of leisure activities.

This interdisciplinary monograph with a so-called symbolic title is also a diachronic platform reflecting the approach of different generations of researchers with different interests. Based on long-term research, analysis of previously unknown narrative sources, and non-generalizing micro-history research using the oral history method, the ten-member author team created a unique collective work mapping the metamorphoses of the social, cultural, and political contexts of a phenomenon as contradictory and extensive as the folklore movement in Czechoslovakia in the second half of the twentieth century.

Katarína Babčáková
(*National Centre for Culture and Further Education*, *Bratislava)*

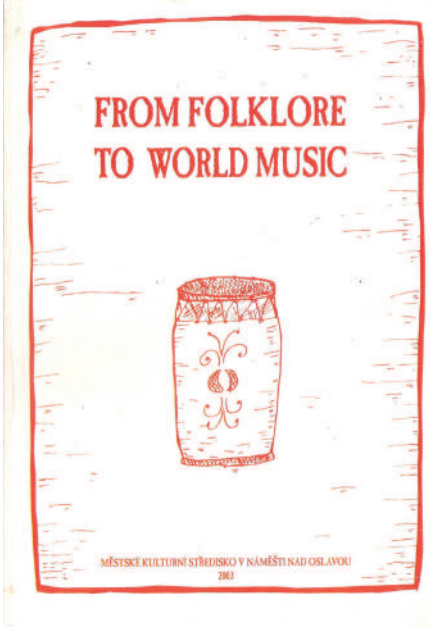
FROM FOLKLORE TO WORLD MUSIC: Twenty Proceedings of the International Colloquy in Náměšť nad Oslavou (2003–2023)

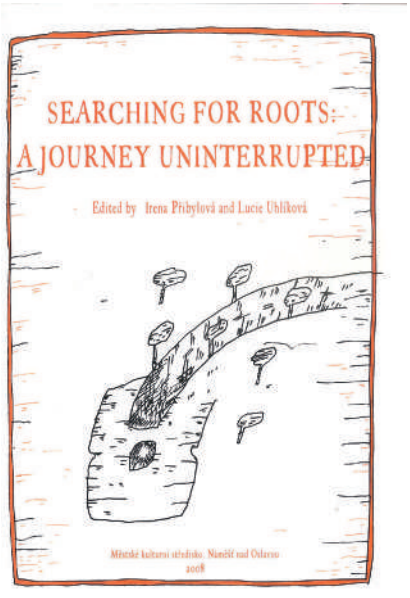
Whenever looking back at many years of continuous activity of people or institutions in any field, one considers the overall significance, contribution, and other possible cultural overlaps that arise in the context of the assessed activities. Naturally, the same "benchmarks" may be taken into consideration when reviewing the international colloquium *From Folklore to World Music*, the twentieth edition of which took place this year traditionally during the Folk Holidays festival in Náměšť nad Oslavou.

Initially conceived as a biennale, the colloquy has been organized every year since 2003, with the exception of 2004. The annual discussion connects those who are interested in various issues in and of ethnic music, traditional folk music, contemporary folk music, and world music. It is not merely the local and international academic community (ethnologists, ethnomusicologists, ethnochoreologists, musicologists, and aestheticians) who are invited, but also performers and music media people who share their opinions on colloquy themes. Furthermore, the colloquy is open to early-career scholars who can present and discuss their current research in a friendly and stimulating environment. Even though the topic differs every year (the colloquy subtitle, to be more specific), all the participants are – as foreshadowed above and by the colloquy title itself – united by the musical field "from folklore to world music" and their willingness to discuss issues that bring new impulses and ideas, not only to the academic discourse. The founders of the colloquy are ethnologists Martina Pavlicová (Department of Ethnology, Masaryk University) and Lucie Uhlíková (Institute of Ethnology, Czech Academy of Sciences), in close cooperation with

Americanist and music journalist Irena Přibylová (Masaryk University). They ensure continuity not only through their research expertise, topic inventiveness, and overall supervision, but also through the editorial preparation of the annual proceedings (2003–2009; available in Czech-English versions), both in printed format and in public online versions on the festival website (https://www.folko-veprazdniny.cz/program/kolokvium).

Regarding the specific themes (hence the colloquy subtitles), individual years have dealt with many challenging terminological questions and definitions, as well as specific intercultural issues related to the development of folk and popular music especially (but not solely) in the Czech Republic (or former Czechoslovakia). Simultaneously, some of the colloquy editions called for broader – and perhaps even more poetic – reflection on the various contexts of the above-mentioned musical genres. The first edition, as well as the 2013 edition subtitled "What Should Be in Encyclopaedias", dealt extensively with various terminological nuances and ambiguities that evolve in parallel with the constantly changing field and its research. Seven editions have directly and explicitly addressed the relationship of music with different phenomena: ritual (2010), memory (2018), spirituality (2019), space (2020), capital (2021), and words (2022). Diverse musical, social, media, linguistic and other approaches to folk material, as well as the scenic perception and reception of the genres discussed, were the focus of the 2015 colloquy subtitled "On and Off Stage", while the connections of musical expression and sadness and joy across multiple interdisciplinary contexts were covered in the 2009 edition subtitled "Laugh and Cry". More philosophical perspectives were offered by the 2008 ("Searching for Roots: A Journey Uninterrupted"), 2011 ("Journeys to Vision"), and 2014 ("The World Is in Us, We Are in the World") editions.





The topics above make it more than apparent that the thematic range of the colloquy has been very broad. However, every volume of proceedings remains quite consistent, despite the varied mosaic of papers ranging from reflections on and of folk and ethnic music through country music, spirituals, bluegrass, blues, and wind music to the most contemporary forms of (popular) music and even classical music. In their variability, some contributions offer detailed academic studies with erudition and precise argumentation, while others enrich the overarching themes with popularizing and original essays, or journalistic, yet solid articles. Furthermore, the variety of chosen themes has been appealing enough to attract an interesting and diverse range of authors, some of whom have become longtime contributors. Variety also defines and specifies the assignment so that the speakers' reflections are directed towards connecting as well as differentiating considerations related to local and global themes and contexts.

In conclusion, it is necessary to emphasize that the colloquy has established thought-provoking questions and enriched the literature on the wide range of music genres in both the academic and non-academic sphere. In that sense, all the twenty published proceedings serve as an initial guide when reflecting on their discussed topics. For the decades to come, it is fitting and proper to wish for unceasing creativity, organizational commitment and – perhaps above all – the continuous interest of both the contributors and attendees.

Jiří Čevela
(Department of Musicology,
Faculty of Arts, Masaryk University)

EDITORIAL

Dear Readers,

The new issue of the *Journal of Ethnology* contains studies presenting the results of research carried out by ethnologists, anthropologists, and historians. All these studies are linked by the fact that their themes come from areas where the interests of several disciplines meet, one of them being always ethnology. The first two studies deal with Czech reenactment. The study by Petr Wohlmuth about Czech reenactors in their roles of Estonian soldiers in World War II demonstrates one of the forms of coping with Czech history. The text by Přemysl Vacek, using the example of Czech historical reenactment of the early Middle Ages, discusses the issues of authenticity and temporality. In her study, Eva Šipöczová enters the sphere of current political life in Czech society. Within the limits of the theoretical approaches of memory studies, she deals with inscriptions on banners used at anti-government demonstrations. These verbal expressions of a folklore nature served those participating at the demonstrations to communicate with each other, and also provided the author with noticeable insights into shared historical memory. The last study was written by Lenka Jakoubková Budilová. In her text, she observes the results of research on Czech communities in south-eastern Europe. This theme is again at the intersection of several disciplines. In the study, the author focusses on how the theoretical and methodological approaches in this area have changed since the 1990s.

Short reports in this issue will introduce you to Czech associations that are active in the fields of ethnology and anthropology. Although these are not the only institutions in these fields, they are crucial. They work on a non-profit basis and bring together experts across universities, research institutes, and memory institutions. Perhaps they can become your research partners in the Czech Republic.

The last two reports discuss important international conferences that have recently taken place in the Czech Republic. This issue also includes reviews of publications by Czech authors, which are available to an international readership or summarize a wider theme.

Roman Doušek

JOURNAL OF ETHNOLOGY 5/2023, Vol. XXXIII

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

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

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

Šéfredaktorka / Editor-in-chief: Lucie Uhlíková
Redaktor anglického čísla / Editor of English volume: Roman Doušek
Překlady / Translated by: Zdeňka Šafaříková
Jazykové korektury / Proofreadings by: Nicholas Orsillo
Tisk / Printed in LELKA, Dolní Bojanovice

Datum vydání / Published: December 29, 2023
ISSN 0862-8351
MK ČR E 18807


NÜLK