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The fifth issue of the *Slovak Ethnology* 2013, Volume 61, dedicated to the questions of intangible cultural heritage, is published in English. In this way the publisher and the authors would like to contribute to the dialogue with their colleagues abroad and to make accessible for them some topics current in ethnology and other social sciences in Slovakia. The present issue also offers the texts of two renowned foreign authors – Martin Reeve and Joe Grim Feinberg.

At the 32nd Session of the General Conference that took place in October 2003 in Paris UNESCO adopted *The Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*. The goal of the Convention was not limited to the safeguarding: it also aimed at ensuring respect for and acknowledgement of the intangible cultural heritage and its bearers who enhance cultural diversity and human creativity. The present issue of the *Slovak Ethnology* contributes to the 10th anniversary of the adoption of the Convention by bringing articles of Slovak scientists as well as a description of activities of the relevant cultural, academic, and social institutions in Slovakia.

My introduction provides an outline of the topic of intangible cultural heritage in relation to the mentioned Convention. This document significantly contributes to the safeguarding and recognition of the intangible cultural heritage in an international context. However, since the adoption of the Convention its text and the process of its implementation have been an object of criticism in the Party States of the Convention (157 states), in particular by professionals – ethnologists, anthropologists, sociologists, and other academics. The author provides a brief historical overview of the important UNESCO documents related to intangible cultural heritage and presents some critical notes to its terminology and the process of implementation of the Convention.

The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland have not joined *The Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* yet. The more interesting is a study of an English ethnologist Martin Reeve titled *Punch and Judy: whose show is it anyway*. Traditional glove puppet comedy “Punch & Judy show” belongs to cultural icons of England. This kind of traditional puppet theatre presents a live tradition and enjoys a great popularity in England. At the end of the 20th century puppeteers as bearers of this tradition as well as various non-governmental organizations and academics began to pay attention to documentation and propagation of this part of intangible cultural heritage to make it accessible for professionals and the public.

Ivan Murin’s study describes an initiative aimed at safeguarding of the intangible
cultural heritage in the European Research Area; it offers an overview of the activities of the Slovak research team working on programming and realising research in cultural heritage within Horizon 2020. The research reports *The Tradition of the Salamander Parade* by Jolana Darulová and *Traditional Čičmany Ornaments* by Olga Danglová present a scientific perspective on two elements included in the *Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Slovakia* in 2013.

Although in 1989 the General Conference of UNESCO at its 25th Session adopted the document *Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore*, the term “folklore” is not present in the text of the Convention adopted by UNESCO in 2003. Has the international community been frightened by this word? Or is it just a terminological ambiguity, similar to the case of intangible cultural heritage? Joe Grim Feinberg considers these questions in an inspirational (also for Slovak folklorists) essay *Who’s Afraid of the Big, Bad Folklore?*

The UNESCO Convention has been visible in an institutional context as well as in the mass media primarily due to the *Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity*. In his article Vladimír Kysel presents a current national *Representative list of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Slovakia*. In the next part we offer to readers a short overview of the most important academic, scientific, and state institutions participating in implementation of the UNESCO Convention; some of those institutions have had a longer tradition in Slovakia than the Convention itself.

We conclude the issue with the reviews of selected publications and news about happenings related to the anniversary of the Convention and also about the activities of the Institute of Ethnology of Slovak Academy of Sciences.

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*Can UNESCO help local cultural traditions around the world survive and even flourish in the face of globalization? No one really knows, but with a new International Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage it may be better equipped to do so.*

RICHARD KURIN

Intangible cultural heritage is a term that has been frequent in various contexts – ethnological, socio-cultural, institutional, as well as political. However, it still has not been fully adapted in the academic discourse and its meaning is not entirely clear. The term was introduced into international cultural politics by UNESCO when this organization adopted the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage in 2003. Although tangible and intangible properties (as well as folk cultural property) were mentioned already in the document *Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties* (1950), the first official definition of the intangible cultural heritage was espoused at the international meeting of experts on the intangible cultural heritage in Paris on 10 – 12 June 2002.

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2 For the better understanding of the present article it is better to see the text of the Convention. The author refers to the last printed version of the text: UNESCO (2012). The text could be found online at http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0013/001325/132540e.pdf; for the Slovak version see http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?lg=en&pg=00102#slovak.
4 van Zanten (2002).
In 1972 UNESCO adopted the Convention for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage that was oriented on restoration, conservation, and preservation of tangible monuments, sites and landscapes, but did not mention such things as oral traditions, festivals, customs, or folk art. The Convention did not make any reference to the intangible cultural heritage, traditional culture, folk culture, or folklore.

In 1989 UNESCO issued a Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore. This document did not refer to the term “intangible cultural heritage” either. The Recommendation mentioned primarily identification, conservation, dissemination and protection of folklore; folklore was defined as follows: “Folklore (or traditional and popular culture) is the totality of tradition-based creations of a cultural community, expressed by a group or individuals and recognized as reflecting the expectations of a community in so far as they reflect its cultural and social identity; its standards and values are transmitted orally, by imitation or by other means. Its forms are, among others, language, literature, music, dance, games, mythology, rituals, customs, handicrafts, architecture and other arts.” However, this definition might refer to the intangible cultural heritage as well.

UNESCO adopted a Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity (2001) at the 31st Session of the General Conference. The Declaration was a reaction to the current processes of globalization and dynamic development of new informational technologies which might endanger cultural diversity. The document was also aimed at contributing to open dialogue between different cultures. Participants of the Conference discussed several aspects of the intangible cultural heritage – for instance, preparation of a new international standard-setting instrument for the safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage; safeguarding and revitalization of the tangible and intangible cultural heritage, or the aim to promote to the United Nations the idea of a year for the common cultural heritage, and contribute to its implementation by adopting a global approach that embraces the world natural and cultural heritage, both tangible and intangible.

Yet the text of the Declaration mentions the intangible cultural heritage only once, in relation to the main lines of an action plan for the implementation of the Declaration (point 13): “Formulating policies and strategies for the preservation and enhancement of the cultural and natural heritage, notably the oral and intangible cultural heritage, and combating illicit traffic in cultural goods and services.” Despite this the 31st Session of the UNESCO’s General Conference was crucial, because it established the basis for two parallel projects aimed at the safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage. The first was the Proclamation of Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity (2001), and the second was the proposal of an international convention that was adopted by UNESCO in 2003 as the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage.

The creation of the text of the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cul-

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7 UNESCO (2001b).
8 UNESCO (2001a: 13).
10 UNESCO (2001a: 54).
12 UNESCO (2001c).
13 UNESCO (2012).
**Intangible Heritage** (2013) was preceded by several meetings of experts on terminology of the intangible cultural heritage. In March 2001 at the meeting in Turin a group of experts defined the intangible cultural heritage as follows: “people’s learned processes along with the knowledge, skills and creativity that inform and are developed by them, the products they create and the resources, spaces and other aspects of social and natural context necessary to their sustainability: these processes provide living communities with a sense of continuity with previous generations and are important to cultural identity, as well as to the safeguarding of cultural diversity and creativity of humanity.”

The next meeting took place in Paris in June 2002. The International Meeting of Experts on Intangible Cultural Heritage resulted in establishment of a Glossary. Intangible Cultural Heritage, edited by this group between June and August 2002. According to the Glossary, “intangible cultural heritage means the practices and representations – together with their necessary knowledge, skills, instruments, objects, artefacts and places – that are recognized as such by communities and individuals, and are consistent with universally accepted principles of human rights, equity, sustainability, and mutual respect between cultural communities. This heritage is constantly recreated by communities in response to their environment and historical conditions of existence, and provides them with a sense of continuity and identity, thus promoting cultural diversity and the creativity of humankind.” According to the Glossary, intangible cultural heritage covers the following domains:

(i) Oral expressions
(ii) Performing arts
(iii) Social practices, rituals and festive events
(iv) Knowledge and practices about nature.

This delineation is the basis for the definition of intangible cultural heritage in the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003): “For the purposes of this Convention, 1. The “intangible cultural heritage” means the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage. This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity. For the purposes of this Convention, consideration will be given solely to such intangible cultural heritage as is compatible with existing international human rights instruments, as well as with the requirements of mutual respect among communities, groups and individuals, and of sustainable development.

2. The “intangible cultural heritage”, as defined in paragraph 1 above, is manifested interalia in the following domains:

(a) oral traditions and expressions, including language as a vehicle of the intangible cultural heritage;
(b) performing arts;

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14 UNESCO (2001c: 5).
16 UNESCO (2002: 3).
17 UNESCO (2002: 3).
(c) social practices, rituals and festive events;
(d) knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe;
(e) traditional craftsmanship.”

The problem of terminological and institutional differentiation of two categories of cultural heritage—tangible and intangible—is not so much the problem of the text of the Convention, but rather of its implementation into practice. It is clearly reflected in the process of formation of the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity that we will discuss later. The Glossary created in 2002 does not mention traditional crafts, but the Convention adopted in 2003 does. Of course, craftsman’s knowledge of technology or materials used in production of artefacts is intangible equipment. But artefacts themselves and materials used in their creation are tangible, as well as craftsman’s tools. For instance, some aspects of traditional puppet theatre of many Asian people, such as plays, texts, mythologies, typology of characters, traditional occasions and festivals linked to theatrical production, belong to the intangible cultural heritage; but puppets, scene, costumes, or musical instruments that are part of theatrical performance, belong to tangible cultural heritage. “For many people, separating the tangible and the intangible seems quite artificial and makes little sense. For example, among many local and indigenous communities, particular land, mountains, volcanoes, caves and other tangible physical features are endowed with intangible meanings that are thought to be inherently tied to their physicality.” Similarly, Slovak folklore embraces many songs, fairy tales, and other folk creations that mention local names, mountains, and rivers.

All the components of culture—science, philosophy, mythology, art, knowledge of universe and nature, beliefs—are an inherent part of the human mind, but also of human material existence. Almost always they are fixed in material things and refer to the material side of the world. On the other hand, there is no cultural object, whether we speak of architecture, handicraft products, tools, instruments, or ritual objects, that would exist without intangible spiritual equipment and knowledge of its creator.

In the process of implementation of the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage the state parties of the Convention are encouraged to carry out protection, identification, documentation, and propagation of sustainable intangible cultural heritage. This should be the main aim and the main meaning of the Convention. However, the international practice during recent years has indicated that the most visible result of implementation of the Convention at international and national levels has been the formation of the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity mentioned in the Article 16 of the Convention: “In order to ensure better visibility of the intangible cultural heritage and awareness of its significance, and to encourage dialogue which respects cultural diversity, the Committee, upon the proposal of the State Parties concerned, shall establish, keep up to date and publish a Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity.”

On one hand, the creation of the national and then international “representative” lists helps to propagate ideas and goals of the Convention; on the other hand, it opens doors for political and institutional manipulation that might result, for instance, in...

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18 UNESCO (2012: 5).
21 At present the List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding, the Representative list of the intangible cultural heritage of humanity, and The Register of Best Safeguarding Practices.
commercialization of the elements of the intangible cultural heritage; deformation of their presentation and representation outside local communities; concealment of real forms of the elements’ existence; changes of authentic norms, values, and functions; and misuse of the elements in order to achieve political, personal, or group goals at the expense of interests and aims related to safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage.

The Convention stipulates that one of the functions of the Committee is to prepare and submit to the General Assembly for approval operational directives for the implementation of the Convention.\(^{22}\) The document *Operational Directives for the Implementation of the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*\(^{23}\) was adopted by the General Assembly of the State Parties to the Convention at its 2nd ordinary session (2008), amended at its 3rd session (2010) and at its fourth session (2012). The *Operational Directives* are an important instrument for the implementation of the Convention. They explain and modify nominations of the elements and direct the state parties in the process of preparation of nominations for inclusion of the elements in particular lists. They are aimed at supporting the safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage at the international level, cooperation and international assistance; to ensure the participation of state parties in the implementation of the Convention; to raise awareness about intangible cultural heritage and use of the emblem of the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage; to provide the reports by state parties on the implementation of the Convention, etc.

Relatively frequent changes of the *Operational Directives* (every two years) might hamper expeditious implementation of the Convention. Translating the texts into national languages, professional proofreading, providing access, publishing, propagating, and highlighting changes – in other words, introducing the texts to academics and the public – is a relatively long and financially demanding process. The *Operational Directives* regulate the process of submitting the applications for the national lists of the intangible cultural heritage; evaluation of the nominated elements; announcement, selection and nomination of the national elements for the international list; and, finally, inclusion of the elements into the *Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity* or other international documents. Thus the frequent changes of the *Operational Directives* might result in a change of nomination criteria at the time when the nominated element should be included in the World List.

Article 12 of the Convention describes the creation of inventories as follows: “To ensure identification with a view to safeguarding, each State Party shall draw up, in a manner geared to its own situation, one or more inventories of the intangible cultural heritage present in its territory. These inventories shall be regularly updated.”\(^{24}\) However, the Convention and the *Operational Directives* do not define criteria for the national lists. Moreover, the Convention mentions the inventories, but not the lists, and thus many state parties approach the inventories/lists in different ways. For instance, inventory is described as a result of the process of identification and inventorying of intangible cultural heritage on the local territory. Usually it is a process that starts at the top and proceeds downwards: the experts try to create a list of existing living elements of the intangible cultural heritage on the basis of their knowledge, long-

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\(^{22}\) Article 7 of the Convention.


\(^{24}\) UNESCO (2012: 9).
term research and questionnaires; in the process they use predetermined criteria. However, the creation of the national lists should imply an opposite process in which local communities would try to express their identity by means of the elements of cultural heritage presenting their ever-lasting values. If the Convention acknowledges the existence of “one or more inventories of the intangible cultural heritage present in... territory” and at the same time does not state what should be an independent expert body guarantying the quality of those inventories, the process creates a space for power manipulation by political groups with certain interests.

At present one state party can annually nominate one element for inclusion into one of the UNESCO lists. In the case of a multinational nomination (as stated in the Operational Directives, chapter I.5) the number of the elements is not limited. This procedure brings at least two major problems. Firstly, if one state can nominate one element situated in its territory, there is a danger that in the case of multi-ethnical states the official nomination would prefer an element representing the majority, but not minorities. Secondly, the element included in one of the UNESCO world lists might meet the criteria only by means of camouflage (that has already happened in the implementation practice).

No educated ethnologist, historian, anthropologist, or sociologist would agree that elements separated by vast geographical distances and belonging to different cultures with different religions would meet the same criteria defined by the Operational Directives. For instance, the element Falconry, a living human heritage was included into the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity in 2012 as a multinational nomination of the United Arab Emirates, Austria, Belgium, the Czech Republic, France, Hungary, the Republic of Korea, Mongolia, Morocco, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Spain, and the Syrian Arab Republic. However, falconry in the United Arab Emirates, Mongolia or Morocco is a different phenomenon in comparison with falconry in the Czech Republic or in Slovakia. The Slovak Committee for the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity did not approve inclusion of the element Sokoliarstvo – umenie chovu dravcov, ich ochrany, výcviku a lovu s nimi (Falconry: the art of breeding birds of prey, their protection, training and hunting with them) into the List because the element does not create or confirm cultural identity of national or regional communities; it does not enforce connections between people or communities and thus it could not be designated as a manifestation of the intangible cultural heritage that has continually existed over a long time period. Moreover, Slovak legislation does not allow hunting with the use of birds of prey. Another important argument is that the training of birds of prey implies inhumane methods, and UNESCO as well as its Convention should consider moral aspects of the nominated elements. For example, “UNESCO does not want to support or encourage practices inimical to human rights such as slavery, infanticide, or torture. Yet the standard is not without controversy. Is female genital mutilation a legitimate part of intangible cultural heritage to be recognized by the Convention or not? Is a religious tradition that includes Brahmins, but excludes non-Brahmins disqualified as intangible cultural heritage because of its discriminatory quality? Is a musical tradition where only men play instruments and only

26 My personal experience confirms this statement: at the time when the national list still did not exist in Slovakia, registration of an element in any list/inventory was a sufficient reason for multinational nomination.
women sing inequitable, and thus contrary to human rights accords? Determining what is allowable or not as intangible cultural heritage under the Convention will be a difficult task.”27

At present in Slovakia the element *Falconry* is represented mainly in exhibition presentations of breeding of birds of prey, often accompanied by performance of historical sword fighting. Should historical sword fighting be included in the national list as well? Then many other elements should be included into the national lists and the World List: hunting, fishing, animal husbandry, cattle breeding, but also traditional food gathering, cultivation and harvesting of fruits and vegetables, and picking berries and mushrooms. I am convinced that some of these elements meet the criteria for inclusion into the *Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity* much better than sword fighting.

Another deformation of implementation of the Convention has been caused by technical and economic factors related to the criterion 1:1 (one state can nominate one element, but the number of multi-national nominations is not limited): lack of time, financial means, and personal capacities for evaluation of the nominated elements. Naturally, all the state parties of the Convention make efforts to increase the number of the elements from their territory in the UNESCO world lists. Instead of solving the problem at the national level this situation creates a flourishing “business” related to the multi-national nominations.

The element *Mediterranean diet*, nominated by Cyprus, Croatia, Spain, Greece, Italy, Morocco and Portugal, was included in the *Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity* at the Eighth Session of the Intergovernmental Committee for the Intangible Cultural Heritage (December 2013). Does it mean that various regions, local communities, or ethnic groups in Cyprus, Croatia, Spain, Greece, Italy, Morocco and Portugal do not have their own typical diet? Is not this act an expression of political strategy aimed to make those states visible in UNESCO? Is not local diet of each of those states specific? Or the local diet is characteristic for the whole country, even for several countries? What kind of cultural heritage then should be safeguarded by UNESCO?

There are many elements of the intangible cultural heritage at national level that should be included into the National List. Is not it better then to create local lists of the elements serving as signs of identification for people, the elements that are sustainable and are manifesting historical continuity? Creation of such local lists and subsequent formation of the national list would be a more effective and objective tool for implementation of the Convention. The national list would be a formal and statistical summary of (1) the phenomena considered by local communities as important; they might be named by common terms (for instance, *kraslice* – painted Easter eggs, *obradové pečivo* – traditional ritual cakes, or *modrotlač* – traditional blueprint cloth); and (2) the phenomena that are really unique, that are connected to the limited territory and certain local community (such as fujara, the Čičmanian ornaments, the Radvaň fair, the Salamander, the Music of Terchová, and other).

And what to do with the elements whose variations are common in the broader geographical space, in many ethnics, societies, and religions, such as traditional dresses, dialects of languages, traditional diet, or festivals? Those elements present striking signs of local identities; they are still living and are transmitted from generation to

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generation; they imply historical continuity; and they are resilient. In what way should we include such elements as folk songs, folk music, oral tradition, traditional costumes, or festivals into the representative lists? And what to do, for instance, with ways of drinking water conditioned by knowledge and practices linked to symbols, folk beliefs, religion of majority, and traditional medicine? Do not water and associated intangible cultural heritage? Which community or which state should nominate them for inclusion into the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity? Wouldn’t this nomination be justified from the perspective of the Convention?

The next problem is the question: what kind of contribution would an element make? Would the nomination make the public aware of the element of the intangible heritage of a certain community and ensure its safeguarding, protection, and resilience? Or is the community interested in profiting from the nomination of the element, for instance, due to its potential touristic value, or other economic aspects that could be used by the community?

Furthermore, there is a problem of selection of the elements that would be included in the Representative List. Obviously, they should be representative and should possess special value. Should therefore the state nominate the elements that are valued by “us” or by local communities, or should the nominated elements be attractive for people from other countries, should be exotic or singular in the international context, and thus would have more chances to succeed in the process of nomination?

Involvement of non-governmental organisations in the implementation of the Convention is another frequently discussed topic. On one hand, non-governmental organisations help to achieve the goals of the Convention; on the other hand, they present a certain danger, because their representatives often are not professionals and their activities might be aimed at fulfilling rather limited interests. For instance, in Slovakia establishment of a non-governmental organisation requires at least three adult persons. It is important also because their activities are conditioned by subsidies and grants. Non-governmental organisations could be established, for example, by groups interested in folklore performance (organizers of festivals, folklore ensembles, or certain persons); they usually try to support their own folklore ensemble, local folklore festival, or local craftsmen. These associations are often represented by non-professionals. The non-governmental organisations therefore can significantly contribute to the safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage at the level of local space and local community they represent; the problem is that they might try to achieve their limited local goals at national or even at international level. This might be an obstacle for objective evaluation of the elements that are nominated for inclusion in the Representative List.

The last problem of implementation discourse related to the Convention is a question of institutions involved. What kind of institutions should execute, regulate, and control the process of implementation at the national level? According to the Operational Directives, “State Parties are encouraged to create a consultative body or a coordination mechanism to facilitate the participation of communities, groups and, where applicable, individuals, as well as experts, centres of expertise and research institutes.” An ideal solution therefore would be to create an independent body commissioned by implementation of the Convention, but also by elaboration and achievement

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of the goals of the Convention. At present this task is performed by the Slovak Intangible Cultural Heritage Centre 29 established by the Ministry of Culture of the Slovak Republic. This department is commissioned by the implementation of the Convention, but the official agenda is regulated also by the Ministry of Culture (Department for Cultural Heritage and Department for International Cooperation) as well as the Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs (Slovak Commission for UNESCO, Permanent Delegation of the Slovak Republic to UNESCO). Specialized institutional bodies participating in the process of implementation (for example, institutes of the Slovak Academy of Sciences and other academic bodies) are within the sphere of competence of the Ministry of Education, Science, Research and Sport of the Slovak Republic.

In spite of all the critical reflections on implementation of the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage I would like to emphasize that due to UNESCO’s enterprise, individuals as well as local communities have become aware of the fact that their knowledge and practices in the area of the intangible cultural heritage are valuable and important within the society and in an international context. Generational transfer is crucial for sustainable elements of the intangible cultural heritage and their reflection in public awareness. Institutions, politicians, and mass media become aware of the issues of the intangible cultural heritage through implementation of the Convention; their interest in this process is naturally accompanied by publicity of traditional and folk culture representing values of local identity and by corresponding propagation and support of the intangible cultural heritage.

JURAJ HAMAR,
Faculty of Art, Comenius University of Bratislava

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29 Centrum pre tradičnú a ľudovú kultúru pri SLUK-u (Slovak Intangible Heritage Centre, Slovak State Traditional Dance Company).
Towards the end of the 20th century performers of the traditional British glove puppet show, Punch and Judy, began to document, to organize and to celebrate their own tradition in response to a number of perceived threats to it. In doing so, they produced tangible and intangible artefacts (texts and films) and experiences (festivals and meetings). These tangible and intangible products stand in contrast to much of the documentation about the tradition which has been produced by non-performers. Taking the recent making of a DVD of Punch and Judy performers as its starting point, this paper considers this trend and suggests that Punch and Judy performers have regained control of their tradition through the production of these artefacts. The paper also points to the problems of terms such as ‘tangible’ and ‘intangible’.

This paper is a slightly amended version of a paper given at the Anderle Radvan conference and puppet festival in Banska Bystrica, Slovakia, on the 6th September 2013.

**Key words:** puppet show, tangible heritage, intangible heritage, tradition, Punch and Judy

This paper is concerned with the traditional British glove puppet show *Punch and Judy* and how its dual existence, both as a performance with material objects, and as a cultural reference point, frequently appropriated by commentators, journalists and historians, allows us to think about the complexities and possible shortcomings of the terms ‘tangible’ and ‘intangible cultural inheritance’. I argue that, whilst the show exists in a material form, its cultural status and meaning is an area of contestation mediated by those who have access to the means of documenting the show. I suggest that in recent years performers themselves have put considerable effort into speaking on behalf of the show and hence taking control of its ‘intangible’ existence. (The most recent example of this, a DVD which I made with Punch performers, was the starting point for this paper.) I suggest also that commentators, writers and documentary makers have produced their own ‘tangible’ artefacts in the form of texts, photographs and film, and that these have had an impact on the reception of the show, in other words, on its ‘intangible’ existence.
The Punch and Judy show is performed by one person in a small booth, usually outdoors. There is only one story: Punch’s wife, Judy, leaves Punch to look after their Baby; like many fathers, he is unable to cope with this. Unlike most fathers, however, he throws the baby out of the window or down the stairs. When Judy discovers this she is distraught and angry. Punch and Judy fight and Punch dispatches her. A Policeman arrives and tries to arrest Punch, Punch dispatches him; finally Punch fights with the Devil who he usually also dispatches. All of this is done in a very exaggerated and comical way. (I use the term ‘dispatches’ because it is deliberately ambiguous. Does Punch kill Judy, Baby, Policeman, Devil? Or does he simply send them backstage ready for the next show? It is a metatheatrical question and is open to interpretation.) There may also be a variety of other episodes; these might include a fight with a Crocodile over some sausages, an encounter with a doctor and perhaps some trick puppets. The performer decides what to include. There is often a lot of audience interaction and British audiences seem to know as if by instinct how to respond to the show. Most people in Britain claim to have seen a show at some point in their childhood. Some say they find it very disturbing, though for most it is extremely funny. It often leaves a powerful impression of one sort or another.

The show has been around more or less in its present form since the end of the 18th century and was probably introduced to Britain by an Italian puppeteer, Giovanni Piccini, though the central character, Punch, was already popular there. Judging by references to it in paintings and literature Punch and Judy very quickly became a popular form of alfresco entertainment in the streets of London in particular and in other big towns (Leach, 1985: 30-48). It was originally an urban form. Performers went where the audiences, and so the money, were to be found. Later the show took up residence at the seaside and has since become very strongly associated with the beach, though it
is nowadays less often to be found there (Reeve, 2010: 58-63). It is very difficult to say precisely how many performers are operating nowadays, but it is probable that there are more in existence now than at any other time in its history. Punch and Judy performers often adopt the title ‘Professor’. Punch and Judy is part of a wider group of traditional folk puppets forms – Gašparko in Slovakia, Pulcinella in Italy, Polichinelle in France, Jan Klaasen in Holland, Kasperle in Germany, among others (Speaight, 1970: 142-145).

In January and February 2013, myself, Punchman Clive Chandler and puppeteer and film maker Melvyn Rawlinson went to three small theatres across England – in Exeter, Birmingham and London – and met with three groups of Punch and Judy performers, all of them members of the Punch and Judy College of Professors. In those theatres we filmed conversations and interviews with them, we filmed parts of their shows and we filmed them discussing their work and their tradition. We called this DVD, ‘Punch and Judy, a Living Tradition’. This was the Punch and Judy College of Professors’ contribution to a collection of DVDs to commemorate the 350th birthday celebrations of Mr Punch. These celebrations were called ‘The Big Grin’ and were supported by a grant of £350,000 from the Heritage Lottery Fund. Later on I will say a little bit more about how the DVD came to be made.

But first, I need to locate the story of the College, the Big Grin and the making of the DVD within a bigger story. And this story answers a central question: ‘Whose show is it anyway?’ In other words, who owns the show? As an ethnographer and a documentary maker I am very interested in how things are recorded and what that process of recording does to the things which are recorded. This is a particularly interesting question when it comes to traditional or oral forms which are not usually written down by the performers or practitioners themselves. It becomes an even more interesting question, I believe, when those traditions exist in what we might call a ‘post-traditional’ setting, a place where almost everybody has the ability and the technology to record things, to write about them, to film them and to photograph them, and to have what they record published or broadcast.

Punch and Judy is a very small show; it lasts perhaps 20 or 30 minutes and, unlike films and TV shows which are seen by millions, it is witnessed by relatively few people. More people probably watch one episode of one of the big TV soaps in Britain in one evening than have ever watched a Punch and Judy show in its entire history. And yet the Punch and Judy show has a considerable resonance far beyond actual performance. In Britain it is part of the fabric of the culture. It is frequently written about and referenced both in public discourse and in private conversation. It is a convenient metaphor for domestic and even political arguments. In effect it is public property. The show seems to exist in two separate but sometimes overlapping spheres: on the one hand in reality, that is to say in the performances themselves, in the actual puppets and the objects, in the experience of the audience watching the show; and on the other hand in how the show has been written and talked about. We might view this other existence as a kind of appropriation.

This dual existence can present a tension, even an anxiety, for performers. On the one hand performers are pleased when the show gets good publicity, when people speak positively of it – in fact part of its capital is that it is well known and discussed – and on the other hand performers can be annoyed when it is spoken badly about, when it is misrepresented, when people say they hate the show, often without ever having seen one. This tension exists for a number of reasons. It exists for economic reasons:
being a Punch and Judy performer is a precarious existence, there is never enough work and anything which stops people wanting to see the show or book the show makes this livelihood even more precarious. The tension exists for *emotional* reasons: performers are often very deeply attached to what they do, it takes a lot of time to become proficient puppeteer, it requires a lot of effort to perform the show, to publicise it, to travel with it, to operate the puppets, to put up the booth, to take it down, to build relationships with audiences and bookers and so on. Moreover, there is an intimacy between the puppeteer and the glove puppet; it is a very personal relationship. The glove puppet is virtually an extension of the puppeteer’s body. This is especially strongly felt with Mr Punch himself who has a very powerful identity and presence. Puppeteers have a great deal of emotional investment in the show. Naturally, then, they jealously guard the tradition.

The tension exists also for a third reason, I believe, and this is the one I am principally concerned with. It exists because of what happens to oral or folk traditions when they are written about or recorded. Traditions are most often written about by people who are not performers, largely because performers are good at performing, not at writing. Inevitably, two things happen in the process of recording. A process of selection and of shaping occurs: some things are included, other things are left out. The person writing about the show or the tradition may have a particular audience in mind, an audience they are writing for, an audience to appeal to, to keep interested; they may have an agenda to meet. The other thing that happens is that what was *fluid* becomes *fixed* - in a photograph, a drawing, a piece of writing - even in a film; the lively becomes inert; what was moving, changing, evolving, is set in stone; it becomes authoritative, it becomes definitive. Let me give you two famous historical examples of documentation of Punch and Judy where this has happened.

There is a very well-known and influential book called simply ‘Punch and Judy’ (Collier, 1828). This book was commissioned by a publisher, S. Prowett, to make a quick buck and was written by a hack journalist, John Payne Collier. Published in 1828 it has never been out of print. It contains a lengthy *Preface* with a supposed ‘history’ of Punch and Judy. Much of this *Preface* is fabricated and intended to amuse more than to inform its audience. The book also contains what has come to be regarded by many as the definitive text of the show and has in fact become the basis of many subsequent shows. This text is a transcription of a specially commissioned private performance by Giovanni Piccini who was brought out of retirement to do it. The book has many beautiful illustrations by caricaturist George Cruikshank, themselves the basis for the design of many later puppets. Cruikshank had to stop the show at various points to draw the action. The accuracy of this recording of the show has often been contested and it is likely to be an amalgam of several shows, some remembered from childhood by Collier. It is virtually unperformable (at one point there are four puppets on stage, an impossibility with a two-handed performer), and the dialogue is too elaborate to speak using a swazzle (the traditional voice modifier of the Punchman). George Speaight, who wrote extensively about Punch and Judy, calls it a ‘literary creation’ more than a factual account (*ibid* Speaight).

The other example is an interview with a Punchman printed in Henry Mayhew’s monumental 1851 work, ‘London Labour and the London Poor’, a quasi-documentary account of the underclasses in 19th century London (Mayhew, 1949 [1848]). The Punchman is not afforded a name, he is not individuated. We are to think of him as simply typical of his group, along with the ‘Fantocinni man’, the ‘rat catcher, the ‘mud lark’,

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the ‘tanner’ and the ‘prostitute’ among many others (ibid). The Punchman is reported describing in very colourful language where and how and to whom he performs the show. We know that in the process of writing the account Mayhew changed and added to some of the details. For example, he exaggerated the Punchman’s slightly comical working class way of speaking, perhaps to confirm the class orientation implicit in Mayhew’s larger project (Himmelfarh, 1971: 316). Mayhew was writing for a particular audience to satisfy a particular appetite and to have a particular effect. Neither Collier nor Mayhew is entirely reliable, they each had their own agenda, and yet they are regarded by many as authorities.

I suggested earlier that Punch performers are ambivalent about documentation. In the case of Mayhew and Collier they welcomed the visibility and the legitimacy it gave them: both accounts celebrate the form, despite their inaccuracies. Some have even tried to incorporate parts or all of the Collier and Mayhew versions of the show into their own performances. This should not surprise us, performers are pragmatists, they use what is useful and ignore or even reject what isn’t. However, because of the performers’ acute sense of ownership of the tradition, when they reject what is said about them, that rejection can be quite vehement. I discovered this when I raised the question of ownership of the tradition with Glyn Edwards. Edwards is a Punch and Judy man who perhaps more than anybody else alive has made it his resolve, his life’s work, to promote the Punch and Judy tradition (he calls himself a ‘Punch and Judy activist’). One day he declared to me,

‘If anyone is going to talk about Punch and Judy, it’s going to be Punch and Judy performers; if anyone is going to claim cultural rights over the Punch tradition, it’s going to be the lineal descendants of Piccini and Mayhew showmen. We ain’t giving it up, we ain’t having it taken off us by other bodies, be they cultural bodies, or government bodies or other art forms, we, us swazzling with Mr Punch is the direct lineal tradition... we’re the stone in the water from which all the other ripples have spread’.

The tension between the way performers control perceptions of the show and how perceptions are controlled by others became even stronger in the last decades of the 20th century; and so did the ability of performers to do something about it, to speak on their own behalf. A number of developments were taking place in the last quarter of the last century which prompted Punch performers to organize and to speak for themselves, to take charge of their own story, as it were. I will mention three of them briefly.

One was a feeling amongst some Punch and Judy performers that standards of performance were in decline and needed to be managed. For the show to survive it needed to prove its worth, to be performed with skill, with rigour and with passion. It was in danger of becoming a mere adjunct to children’s parties and it because of this, its power was being lost.

Another was that with the advent of what was called ‘Political Correctness’, certain ways of speaking and thinking in Britain became unacceptable. ‘Political Correctness’ was a reaction against much implicit and explicit racism and sexism particularly in popular culture. The Punch and Judy show with its apparent violence towards women and its apparent treatment of ethnic minorities was an easy target and began to be regarded by journalists in particular as politically incorrect. Reports started to appear in the papers that the Punch and Judy show had been banned by some town councils (though this was never in fact the case). It made a good headline in a local paper on a quiet news day. The show was coming under attack and performers started to defend it.
The third thing that happened was the emergence of more elite or what might be called ‘highbrow’ forms of puppetry and the emergence of puppetry as a subject for academic discussion and research. University departments started to teach puppetry, the Puppet Centre in London came into existence. Punch performers with their populist, some might say ‘low brow’, tradition felt themselves to be both looked down upon by more ‘serious’ puppetry and puppeteers and to be written and spoken about by academics who didn’t understand the show and who also looked down on it.

Punch and Judy performers reacted against these developments in a number of ways. They began to form associations, firstly in 1980 as the Punch and Judy Fellowship (PJF), an association of performers and enthusiasts; and then in 1985 with the establishment of the Punch and Judy College of Professors, a group composed exclusively of performers. Membership of the College is by peer-invitation only. College performers are characterised by high levels of performance skill and, importantly, by a genuine passion for the tradition. This passion expresses itself in the way each performer interprets the show, how he or she *individuates* it. More than anything else, the College argues, this individuation is what keeps the tradition alive. College shows are not mere photocopies of other shows.

The PJF and the College started to produce and encourage positive promulgations of the show in the form of a journal, ‘The Swazzle’, and through other outlets, notably a website, and by organizing a number of events and activities in which Punch and Judy featured centrally. My own PhD research, for example, was sponsored and supported by the Punch and Judy College. A number of major festivals took place in Covent Garden in London and elsewhere, organized by Punch performers, which celebrated the tradition. There was the tercentenary in 1962 marking 300 years of Punch, the ‘325’ in 1987 and the ‘350th’ in 2012 (Fig 2). These activities and events were intended both to keep Punch on the agenda, and to give opportunities for performers to represent the tradition in their own way.

In producing these writings, documentations and festivals, performers have started

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Fig 2 ‘350’ celebrations Covent Garden 2012, author: Martin Reeve
to construct their own narrative of the tradition. Whilst this narrative usually seeks to be accurate, it also contains its own mythologies. It has its own agenda. For example, although Punch’s official birthday dates from a moment when, on the 9th of May 1662, diarist Samuel Pepys saw a Punch show in Covent Garden and wrote about it in his diary, this was not in fact a Punch and Judy show as we know it now, but a marionette show with Punch in it. And of course Punch was not actually ‘born’ on the 9th of May 1662, he existed long before that. But it is a convenient half-truth, useful for performers to organize celebrations around and to help them talk about the longevity of the tradition. It is a date that can be cited for journalists and that gives the tradition an historic authenticity. The date is literally set in stone since there is a plaque in Covent Garden to commemorate it.

The DVD ‘Punch and Judy a Living Tradition’ is part of the recent project by performers themselves to take charge of those tangible aspects of the tradition which lie outside of the puppets and the booths. As I mentioned above, the DVD was part of the College’s contribution to the ‘Big Grin’, the year-long celebrations of Punch’s 350th birthday. Clive Chandler and myself decided we wanted to make a record of the College and its performers at this moment. Aware as we were of the issues which I have outlined in this paper surrounding documentation, we wanted to make a film which was as unmediated as possible, a film which honoured the performers, and which allowed them to speak for themselves. We also wanted to capture something of their shows, something of how they thought about the tradition and something of how they might discuss it amongst themselves. We wanted to do all of this on a budget of £1200 (although this figure does not reflect the amount of time that went into the making of the film – the preparation, and especially the weeks of editing that followed it, and I want to give a special thanks to Melvyn Rawlinson for his largely unpaid work in this respect).

It would have been impractical to bring all the members of the College together in the same place; as it was we managed to get 16 out of the total of 20 members. Each meeting was arranged around roughly the same structure: we wanted to see the per-
formers introduce themselves, to capture parts of their shows and to hear them discussing some of the same questions, questions which arose partly from my own research: what does the tradition mean to you? what does being a member of the College mean to you? what makes a good show? how is it to perform abroad? and so on (Fig 3).

As I have suggested, the production of any document is a process of selection and shaping and I am sure we have left out things which on reflection we would like to include; however, our feeling was that with Clive Chandler’s expertise from the inside and my, hopefully, impartial researcher’s perspective, we would be able to produce something which gives an accurate flavour and picture of the College in 2013. One thing that is missing is an audience. Because of the budget and the time constraints, it was impossible to film performances in situ, as it were, at the beach or in the street; so the performances have a slightly ‘studio’ feeling, as if we are seeing the blueprint rather than the show (which of course only exists fully in performance), but it was a sacrifice we had to make.

As an ethnographer and a historian I often lament the lack of hard evidence, of primary material: how performers speak, how they look, how they dress, how they move, what their routines look like, how the puppets move, what the swazzle sounds like. The DVD goes some way to filling in the gaps for the future historian from the perspective of the performers. It is their tangible evidence of an intangible cultural heritage. I hope that we have produced a film which will be watched for many years to come and which will provide a valuable picture of some of the best Punch and Judy performers working in the world in 2013.

REFERENCES


ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Dr Martin Reeve (BA – Drama - University of Manchester, 1980; PGCE Manchester Polytechnic, 1988; MA – Theatre Studies – University of Manchester, 2000) is an independent theatre researcher and documentary maker, actor, puppeteer and teacher. In 2010 he was awarded a PhD from Royal Holloway College, University of London. His thesis was an ethnographic study of contemporary Punch and Judy performers. His research interests are in performance ethnography and material culture. As a puppeteer he has performed in Britain and abroad, including at the Anderle Radvan festival in Banska Bystrica in 2013 and 2011. As an actor he has worked extensively on TV, radio and in the theatre in Britain. He has taught at the University of Manchester and Manchester Metropolitan University. He continues to publish articles and reviews, mostly about Punch and Judy. He lives on Dartmoor in Devon, south west England, with his wife and three daughters.
This paper presents an initiative in the European Research Area in jointly programming and realising research in cultural heritage within Horizon 2020. The Slovak research team participating in this activity is composed of ethnologists, cultural and social anthropologists with an affiliation to intangible cultural heritage. Naturally the scientific questions of this team towards living culture and cooperation in Europe are attentively perceived. A survey of defining research priorities is actually one of the unique findings about the state of cultural heritage research, phenomena, context and research needs. This text includes methods of survey, results of intangible heritage, comparison with the Slovak situation in traditional culture and what is rare – some assumption and assessment to develop intangible heritage in Europe.

Key words: intangible culture heritage, joint programming, survey Real-Time Delphi, context study, research priorities

Generational transmission, globalisation, migrations, etc. of intangible heritage forms is of exceptional importance in the contemporary world. However, this heritage is being challenged in all its forms and from every side. Customs and practices are being lost and new heritage that is being created every day is in danger of being overlooked or ignored. The European Union – Joint Programming Initiative, Cultural Heritage and Global Change is an innovative and collaborative research initiative that will streamline and coordinate national research programmes to enable more efficient and effective use of scarce financial resources, exploit synergies and avoid duplication. The Slovak research institutions came to an agreement in 2010 with other European stakeholders and prepared two strategic research documents for tangible, intangible and digital cultural heritage research – Strategic Research Agenda (SRA) and Action Plan (AP). The SRA has been developed purposely with the aim to present cultural heritage as a holistic, integrated research area. The SRA declares that different types of cultural heritage cannot be seen as separate entities and intangible heritage is a crucial part of

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METHODS OF DEFINING RESEARCH PRIORITIES

The fundamental method for finding actual phenomena and indicators to problems of intangible heritage was a survey distributed in EU countries among experts and stakeholders (practitioners, organizers, consumers, ...). This survey was completed using the Real Time Delphi method. Delphi studies are used to capture judgements on possible future developments. Originally developed in the 1960s, Delphi studies have been used to explore the possible trajectories of a wide range of topics. Real-Time Delphi uses the same principles as ‘standard’ Delphi – of collecting judgements, providing feedback, seeking explanations for variations in judgements, and so on. The main difference is that Real-Time Delphi is done in one, open round – rather than through several rounds (Rhisiart, 2012a). Target participants were identified through the JPI consortium. From Slovakia participants were selected from a round table initiative in cultural heritage and global change held by Matej Bel University in Banská Bystrica. Participants from Slovakia comprised 3 per cent from all representatives from European countries. A total of 208 invitations were sent to complete the survey. The maximum number of respondents for an individual question was 99 (on this basis a return of 48 per cent). Other individuals had registered on the system but had not submitted any responses. A small number of individuals reported technical difficulties and were not able to complete the survey. The survey was run using the Millennium Project’s Real-Time Delphi system. It was open from 26 October 2012 to 3 December 2012. Two-thirds of the questions addressed economic, technological, social and environmental drivers. From the intangible heritage point of view participants were lower in representation – the primary area in intangible heritage was 17 per cent to 15 in digital and 68 per cent in tangible heritage. Against that we can express some main results in intangible heritage generally in Europe.

The format used for these questions were:

- Judgement on impact for cultural heritage (Likert scale)
- Time horizon where this would be most significant (ranking of time horizons)
- Implications for cultural heritage research (free text)
- Participant’s level of expertise in this area (Likert scale)

The remaining questions addressed factors shaping the cultural heritage research environment. In many of these questions, participants were asked to distinguish between the recent or current situation and the anticipated future environment.

Real-Time Delphi Study

In 17 European countries (including Slovakia) from 2010 to 2012 data collection was realised for the Real-Time Delphi Study: Future of Cultural Heritage Research. The Slovak group of experts for collecting data was from Matej Bel University, Banská Bystrica.
(Kanianská, Darulová, Bitušíková, Koštialová, Krišková, Luther, Murin) and selected stakeholders as practitioners was a random participant from the Slovak list (Murin). The participants were drawn from the three main dimensions of cultural heritage generally recognised in the field (tangible, intangible, and digital). The main aim of the Real Time Delphi Survey was to elicit the judgements of these experts on a range of possible drivers and changes that might impact the field over the coming years, and factors shaping the cultural heritage research environment. Participants were presented with a series of questions to probe areas of significance for cultural heritage research – with a horizon of 10-20 years. Both numerical (Likert scale) and textual responses were included within the survey.

Foresight Study on Cultural Heritage

Foresight and futures methods are widely used to support the process of developing research policies and strategies (Rhisiart, 2012b). In the development of Strategic Research Agenda a major role in describing future factors for intangible culture heritage influences was played by the Centre for Research in Futures and Innovation, University of Glamorgan (UK). The output from this study: Foresight Study: Report on Drivers of Change and the Future of Cultural Heritage was an analytical material for future decisions in cultural heritage research. This report analyses a range of drivers of change (‘drivers’) across several thematic areas: People, culture, values and society, Science and technology, Environmental change, Economy. These drivers were identified through a meta-analysis of foresight literature and exchanges with experts in cultural heritage research.

Futures Literacy Scenarios Workshop

This is a learning-by-doing scenario method that enables participants to explore critically assumptions and changes in framework conditions. The workshop was realised in Paris, from 19 to 20 November 2012. The methodology was used to structure and facilitate a 2-day workshop, with a strong emphasis on a learning-by-doing approach. Workshop participants are taken through a three-stage process: current assumptions and norms; rigorous imagination of an alternative scenario – with disruptive changes – and decision-making in context. The aim of the workshop was to elicit strategic and policy choices in the area of cultural heritage emerging from the process of reflecting critically on current (ex-ante) expectations and those brought to the surface by the rigorous imagination of alternatives (Rhisiart, 2012c).

RESULTS

The highest level of expertise registered was for Digitisation of Society (6.31) followed by Tourism and Transport (6.03). The top 2 drivers were the same both for impact and level of expertise. This begs the question whether participants provide greater impact scores for drivers where they have higher levels of expertise. The results suggest that there is some association; participants gave lower impact ratings to driver themes in which they had lower levels of expertise.
From these indicators 4 drivers are significant to intangible culture heritage—Tourism and Transport; Global Migration, Mobility; Ageing Populations and Generation Y. This phenomenon reflects findings of Slovak folklorists and ethnologists\(^2\) that generation change in living traditional culture actually periodically loses functions from utility to representative and grows the new functions in Generation Y, today which is hard to recognise (Klobušická, 2009). Tourism and contemporary forms of folklore are in intimately dichotomy, risks from this connection are evident today generally in Europe.

\(\text{Fig.1 Average impact and expertise scores}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Impact</th>
<th>Expertise</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Tourism and transport</td>
<td>7.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Digitisation of Society</td>
<td>7.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Social capital</td>
<td>7.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Global migration, mobility</td>
<td>7.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Climate Change</td>
<td>6.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Ageing Populations</td>
<td>6.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Internet of Things</td>
<td>6.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Big Data</td>
<td>6.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Virtual reality</td>
<td>6.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Global Shift West to East</td>
<td>6.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Superfast Broadband</td>
<td>5.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Generation Y</td>
<td>5.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Changes in energy production and consumption</td>
<td>5.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Digital inter-operability</td>
<td>5.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Nanotechnology</td>
<td>5.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Crowdsourcing</td>
<td>5.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Security technologies</td>
<td>5.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Biosciences</td>
<td>5.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Gamification</td>
<td>4.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Cyber security</td>
<td>4.47</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

\(\text{Fig.2 Comparison and ranking of significant phenomena for intangible heritage in Real-Time Delphi Study through the groups of survey.}\)

\(^2\) For example see Milan Leščák texts (Milan Leščák bibliography, 2000).
Global migration could have a very significant impact in setting agendas for intangible cultural heritage research (Bitušíková, Luther, 2010). More international focus in cultural heritage research: respondents identified this as one of the key implications for the research agenda. Diversity and the interface between different cultures and peoples are likely to alter the meaning and practice of cultural heritage. Migration and mobility will eventually change everything! The global becomes local and vice versa, so that dichotomy will need to be reviewed, and issues of ‘ownership/belonging’ and identity will need review: not only national but possibly sub-national claims of particular heritages will fade. Intangible cultural heritage has been discussed as a social integrator – functioning as a bridge between cultures and traditions (Feglová, 2008).

Some suggested avenues for research include:

- New skills needed to understand the role cultural heritage could play in intercultural relationships and to understand how migration affects valuation of heritage.
- Need to become much more aware of the value and significance of cultural heritage for „new“ citizens.
- New research fields will open up looking at migration of culture across lands.
- Challenge to develop research into different cultural uses and interpretations of heritage and different ways to make heritage available.
- Need for better heritage policies for ‘new’ groups in societies.

The older population’s interest in cultural heritage pointed to the tendency for older people to have a greater interest in heritage and cultural heritage than younger people.

We already see a greater interest in the past on the part of the older elements of the population and the increase in older people will presumably serve to further emphasise this. Ageing populations therefore could mean more demand for cultural heritage. Several participants suggested that older people would still have more time (compared with younger people) to enjoy cultural heritage and cultural tourism – even if they have to work longer.

We can include the point of view from Slovak conditions where subjects fostered an interest for example to folklore, with the growing age of members with the evident phenomenon of differentiation of generation groups. The economics of these activities is relevantly misleading about the financial sustainability of activities. Would older people have the financial means to pursue interests in cultural heritage in the future? Several responses pointed to the assumption that there would be sufficient disposable income available to older people – even if there are pressures and uncertainties. In short, the common view was that a combination of these elements would generate interest in/demand for cultural heritage: interests + time + financial resources.

Many findings lead to values of culture heritage contents between older and younger populations. The ageing of societies presents some interesting questions regarding values and cultural heritage. Responses indicated some distance between the values of older and younger cohorts – in a more generic sense – which may be relevant for intangible cultural heritage.
• The younger generations will have an important impact on cultural heritage.
• They will redefine the definitions and enforce new practices.
• The younger generation will be the driving force and will have a more significant impact.
• The impact is unpredictable, but will surely exist.

Cultural heritage is socially constructed therefore all types of demographic change will modify attitudes to culture heritage, on what is valued and why, on the balance between new and old.

‘Generation Y’ (Millennial Generation) will have a significant impact on cultural heritage especially in living culture (Lenovský, 2005), although in Slovak traditional culture we can register significance to different generations in 20th century. Renaissance of folklore in Slovak culture we associate mainly with post-war generation and the 70-ties. Most respondents commented that Generation Y differs from others; the living style is dramatically different to perceived tradition and culture convention. This driver showed variability of inputs, and present personal attitudes to the perception of the Millennial Generation.

For example there were contrasting views on the values of Generation Y:

I’m not convinced that Generation Y has different values; they do have different skills.

Several respondents were keen to point out that there were indeed differences in values and behaviours for Generation Y:

Gen Y is more technologically advanced and expects more digitalised forms of „heritage entertainment“, on the other hand, there is growth. No people of this generation will want to go back to their roots and explore the „purest“ forms of heritage. Both ways will be influential in very different ways.

There were maybe two sides which participants of this survey took into consideration: Generation Y as a participant of culture and Generation Y as professionals, performers, volunteers in tradition culture. Research in the Slovak ethnographic field indicates that differentiation in participation on tradition culture is generally active or passive.

Developments in tourism (and transport) will have a significant impact on cultural heritage (Darulová, Koštialová, 2012). Tourism is the highest-ranked driver for its anticipated future impact. Cultural heritage has been viewed as an economic driver of tourism and travel. It is anticipated that this will continue to be the case over the coming years. One of the assumptions underpinning most of the responses is that travel will remain relatively cheap and affordable, mainly in the West European context. Intangible heritage which is localised to a concrete locality is endangered by mass tourism and degradation of living form to tourist attraction. In Slovak ethnographical terrain we have many festivals with long continuity, and there is evidence of degradation as the downside of tourism. Although the aggregate view of the participants was that tourism and transport would have a very significant impact on cultural heritage, some alternatives were presented.

Implications for intangible cultural heritage research:
• More understanding of the tourism and transport sector is needed to develop sustainable cultural heritage strategies.
• Research on empowering local communities in dealing with heritage, not necessarily having „profit“ from tourism is needed.³

CONCLUSION

These findings are incorporated into the priorities of intangible cultural heritage research in Matej Bel University in Banská Bystrica. The main current themes are – cultural heritage ethics and identity, dissemination of cultural heritage knowledge, understanding values, global change adaptation in social and cultural specification. European Research in Joint Programming integrates these themes into the Strategic Research Agenda. The multidisciplinary character of cultural heritage studies (Drdácky, 2006) demanded synthesis of inputs not only from different disciplines, but equally from tradition of sciences, geopolitical and cultural diversity of Europe. For the action programme of research calls we have prepared four priorities where research consortiums can apply their research work. These have been grouped into themes which reflect the broader issues of the cultural research landscape. The four priority research areas represent the research areas, gaps and needs:

1. Developing a reflective society. This is broadly based on the recognition that the world is changing and that research questions, approaches, methods and reporting need to reflect this change.

2. Connecting people with heritage. This concentrates on exploring access by addressing themes and issues that enable people and communities to connect with heritage, underpinned by sustainable management plans.

3. Creating knowledge. This involves deepening our understanding of the context in which cultural heritage exists and is formed, and developing innovative approaches, applications and tools that will create added value for society from cultural heritage.

4. Safeguarding our cultural heritage resource. This explores how we can protect our heritage and the research that is required to support protection.

For intangible heritage the first two research priorities are important, where Slovak institutions participating at the round table and Slovak National Consulting Panel place emphasis on their solution in European research.

³ For example see Zdena Krišková (Krišková, 2008).
REFERENCES


ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Ivan Murin, PhD. (*1967) is a lecturer and researcher at Matej Bel University. He is interested in communication study of man as a field researcher and ethnographer. Significant themes of his scientific research are generational transmission of culture heritage contents, especially traditional culture. Since 2005 he has led field research and practice in an exploratory model of locality (Central Slovakia) as a case study in generational transmission. The author is a member of the Governing Board Joint Programming Initiative – Cultural Heritage and Global Change.
The paper is devoted to ornamental tradition that in a historical perspective became a characteristic part of local architecture, clothing and decorations in Čičmany. The author formally analyses the ornamental motives and draws attention to particularities of the local ornamental style. She pays attention to social and environmental contexts. The paper describes the history of interest in Čičmany ornament and highlights the individuals and institutions that contributed to its continual development. The author examines contemporary visual aspects of ornamental tradition that has crossed boundaries of the local context and entered into the wider coordinates of global cultural circulation. It became a characteristic cultural component valued by experts as well as public, a cultural element transformed into the national representative symbol.

Key words: ornament, Čičmany, identification symbol, clothing, log houses, Dušan Jurkovič

“Whatever our eyes see, – the buildings, the traditional dresses, the instruments – along with primitive and simple motives we would find everywhere the tasteful original decorations indicating a profound and decent sense for beauty. These motives are precious inheritance of ancestors; we will find them at whatever human hands adorn – from cradle to coffin” (Jurkovič, 1897: 123).

“A Čičmany house is notable in Slovak folk architecture for three main reasons: first, we find here a wooden storeyed house; second, extended family lived in such a house in one common room with a furnace where they burned an open fire; and then, in particular, because only there people decorated outer walls of log houses by very elaborated paintings, in a unique way, which is not documented anywhere else” (Pražák, 1963: 9).

1 This article was written as an informative text for the purpose of evaluation by the committee qualifying the inscription of Čičmany ornaments as an element of the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Slovakia.
A well-known architect, art historian and an admirer of visual aspects of folk culture Václav Mencl described his impression of ornaments on walls of houses in Čičmany when he visited the village in the 1930s: “In this way they created the surfaces written by suggestive magic signs, filled with geometrical patterns – some protective wall against anxiety of the magic world, behind which they could live in safety” (Mencl, 1980: 456).

“Luxury is manifested in amazingly embellished clothing: even a girl who has twenty dresses in her hope chest might lack the most precious things” (Jurkovič, 1897: 123).

I presented the mosaic of quotations as an introduction to my paper with a certain intention. The citations show how authorities and experts – in particular architects and ethnographers – perceived and evaluated the elements of traditional material culture in Čičmany; and how these experts were captivated, regardless of their profession, by a relict character of the village, by its striking specific features of architecture and clothing, and in particular by the unique local decorations on buildings and dresses. In the local chronicle we will find a self-identification similar to those sentiments. Needless to say, we cannot ignore the possibility that this self-evaluation might have been influenced by the opinions of reputable experts. Introductory pages of the chronicle include the following statement: “Čičmany is a unique village... Painted houses, richly embroidered traditional costumes, and exquisite folk songs are particularly remarkable. Many of our artists drew from this well of the beautiful folk art” (Chronicle of the village Čičmany).

THE HISTORY OF INTEREST IN ČIČMANY ORNAMENT

Čičmany with its unique ornaments on the buildings and costumes attracted public attention, mainly the attention of elites – educated people and artists – in the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. Its “discovery” was part of raising interest in folk culture related to the national awareness of the bourgeoisie from Central Europe. Elements of material culture and art including unique folk ornaments were in the centre of this attention. The ornaments were perceived as a symbolic expression of the national Slovak (or Slavic) identity. In accordance to the contemporary romanticizing ideas the decorative ornaments on any object, costume, or building were considered as a manifestation of the national soul.2

The oldest image documenting the local forms of Čičmany folk costume is a Josef Mánes’ watercolour painted in 1854. It is a portrait of Mária Kurincová from the village of Valaská Belá belonging to the same micro-region as Čičmany, Zliechov, Košecké Rovné and Čavoj – the localities characterized by the specific cultural features.

2 In 1893 a German art historian Alois Riegl published a detailed study on Eurasian ornamental forms (Riegl A.: Stilfragen: Grundlegungen zu einer Geschichte der Ornamentik, Berlin 1893). In the same period in Hungary Jozef Huszka published a book on Hungarian ornaments (Huszka, J., Magyar díszítőstil, Budapest, 1885). At that time distinctive so-called national ornaments were cultivated in schools and inspired artistic industry (i.e., the Industry School in Vienna). The ornaments were part of teaching courses and were propagated by pattern books.
Architect Jan Koula was the first Czech ethnographer-amateur interested in folk culture who highlighted Čičmany’s traditional costumes and their decorative aspects; he published their images in the journal Český Lid in 1891 (Koula, 1891: 182, 275, 277, 376, 475). Čičmany needlework was displayed in the ground-breaking exhibition of Slovak embroidery organized by the organization Živena in 1887 in Martin.

However, the actual discoverer of Čičmany as a notable ethnographic site was an architect Dušan Jurkovič (1868 – 1947). He was a protagonist of an architectural part of the mentioned exhibition; he also designed a replica of Čičmany homestead with a storeyed house at the Czechoslovakian Ethnographic Exhibition in Prague in 1895. He visited Čičmany in 1894 for the first time. He was enthralled by the village and repeatedly returned to these impressions in his architectural work.3 Jurkovič became an enthusiastic propagator of Čičmany. It was his credit that Čičmany became a live museum of folk architecture, housing, costumes, and related ornamental forms, and that the village attracted public attention. Čičmany became a popular place visited by experts and admirers of folk art (Baranovič, 1992: 22). Due to this promotion the drawings from Čičmany were included in a well-known representative book Österreichisch - ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild (Austro-Hungarian Empire in words and pictures) published in Vienna in 1898. They showed a balcony log house of a village mayor Gašpar Jokl built in 1714, as well as girls and women in Čičmany traditional costumes.

In 1937 Jokl’s house was dismantled and moved to Prague. It was to become a part of a museum in nature. The transfer happened despite protest of the Slovak institutions – the Regional Office in Bratislava, the Slovak Museum Association, and the Slovak National Museum in Turčiansky Sv. Martin. These organizations pleaded for preservation of the precious object in situ. During the turbulent pre-war period the planned exhibition of the museum in nature was not realized. To this day it is not known what happened to the object (Dudáš, 2004: 7).

DUŠAN JURKOVIC AND REVITALIZATION OF TRADITIONAL LOG HOUSES

The lives of inhabitants of Čičmany and its physical environment were devastated by three fires that broke out in the wooden village during the last century. In 1905 a school as well as central and lower parts of the village were burned to ashes; 45 families lost their lodgings. In 1921 fire destroyed the lower part of the village and ruined houses of 49 families. In 1945 the village was burnt by withdrawing German army that destroyed 25 houses and 10 build grounds. Each fire was followed by a migration of inhabitants.

After the second fire Dušan Jurkovič enthusiastically contributed to renewal of the burnt lower part, taking into account authentic architectural aspects of the buildings and their decorations. Thanks to him the Heritage Institute granted the state subsidy for afflicted families only to those people who built new houses as traditional log houses decorated by local authentic ornamental paintings. Thus in 1927 people built 66 painted wooden houses in the burnt parts of the village.4 A competition on the most

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3 Dušan Jurkovič was inspired by houses from Filipovce (part of Čičmany) when he was designing the hotel Mamenka in the tourist centre Pustovne in the Moravian town Frenštát pod Radhoštěm.

4 Miloš Dudáš and Viliam Pražák provided a detailed description of the renovation of the burnt part of the village (Dudáš, 2004: 7-13; Pražák, 1963: 55).
embellished house was organized to support preservation of the decorative painting that gradually started to decline: it required skills, efforts and time. Prizes were handed over to the painters by Alica Masaryková. In 1934 she also handed over prizes in the form of natural products to women who won a competition on the most authentic embroidered traditional costume. Today we would consider the choice of prizes as bizarre: the first prize was a heifer, then followed two geese, two rams, and two turkeys (Kaňová, 1980: 128; Praženicová, 1992: 182).

THE VILLAGE ATTRACTIVE FOR EXPERTS AS WELL AS FOR PUBLIC

Apart from the painted houses, Čičmany’s basic attraction was enhanced by a local folk costume decorated by embroidered geometrical patterns. For some ethnographers an archaic white woman’s dress with two aprons was a model for reconstruction of old Slavic clothing. Its admired ornamentation was made by demanding embroidery techniques of openwork and cutwork, keeping traces of Renaissance needlework. All these aspects attracted attention of the renowned photographers Pavol Sochaň and Karol Plicka. Their images of Čičmany and portraits of local inhabitants were used in a design of artistic cards and in films. The artists Martin Benka, Janko Alexy, Miloš A. Bazovský, and Matilda Čechová also paid significant attention to Čičmany. And furthermore, during the 20th century the village as a “living museum” was interesting for ethnographers, folklorists and museologists who repeatedly came to Čičmany and the nearby villages located in Strážov Hills to collect vast amounts of empirical data. Thus Čičmany became a popular location for native as well as foreign tourists, first of all during the interwar period. A long publicity of the village and growing tourist interest enhanced the inhabitants’ belief in the uniqueness of their cultural heritage, primarily embodied in folk architecture and folk costumes. The value and quality ascribed to the local cultural phenomena by people from outside influenced local people’s perception and opinions. This process initiated their efforts to present the values of the local culture outward (Danglová, 2006: 138-139). A folk ensemble was created in Čičmany in 1934. During the interwar period it represented the village at folklore festivals and social events in Slovakia and the Czech Republic (Krekovičová, 1992: 212).

Reviving and strengthening awareness of local traditions’ value persisted during the socialist period, even when the life in the village declined and the number of inhabitants was steadily decreasing. Elements of the local cultural tradition were displayed at the regular ethnographic festivals. They influenced activities of the local folk ensemble and embroidery produced by the Centre for Folk Art Production in Bratislava. In the 1970s the sentiments associated with local identity initiated celebration of the 700th anniversary of the village. It became a great memorable event in the life of Čičmany. Commemoration was coupled with a procession of people dressed in traditional costumes that included allegoric carriages. The event was attended by 6000 people, mainly the natives of Čičmany. The celebration was preceded by renewal of the last preserved balcony log house built in 1934 (Raden’s house, Radenov dom). In 1967 the Museum of Považie in Žilina installed in the house a permanent exposition consisting of artefacts coming from Čičmany. In 1977 Čičmany was declared a conservation area of folk architecture.

5 The prizes were handed over in natural products, such as timber, cattle and sheep (Dudáš, 2004:13).
During the socialist period the visual message of Čičmany log houses, folk costumes and their adornment attracted an attention of renowned artists; even the avant-garde yielded. In the 1970s Július Koller, a pioneer of conceptualism, wittingly used it in his fictional photographic project U.F.O.  

**ORNAMENTS ON HOUSE WALLS**

Wall paintings occasionally appeared on log houses in other regions of Slovakia – in Kysuce, in the areas under the Tatra Mountains, and in Spiš region, and they were documented also in Moravia, Poland, and Ukraine. However, in comparison with them paintings from Čičmany are outstanding because of their specific ornamental style, which adapted its ornaments from local embroidery.

Some local people say that the tradition of painting in Čičmany is more than one hundred years old. Viliam Pražák scrupulously analysed related documents and concluded that the paintings originated in the middle of the 18th century. He argued that initially local single storey houses were built from unworked rounded logs; the uneven

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6 Universal folkloristic custom, photo print SNG IM 116; Universal folkloristic ideals, photo print SNG IM 120.

7 See the map of expanding wall paintings on the territory of Slovakia published in the Ethnographic Atlas of Slovakia (Jefábek, 1992: 90).
surface of their exterior walls was not suitable for paintings. Thus exterior walls could be painted only after the logs were made flat: this created an underlying smooth surface allowing painting. Eventually only poor people lived in old single storey houses: from the middle of the 18th century well-to-do farmers began to build storeyed houses with flat exterior walls. Their surface exposed to humidity after some time blackened and for practical reasons was covered by a protective paint coat made from white reddle mixed with water. The reddle was mined from a site nearby the village. Later it was replaced by lime. Those two kinds of paint coats produced slightly different colour effects. Using white reddle resulted in a white-and-yellow tone; the lime coat of paint was in a more intensive contrast with dark wooden background.8

Initially people coated/whitened a continuous surface of the most stressed areas of walls such as corners, lower parts of basement, door cases and window cases. Later they started to decorate their margins by very simple geometrical motives: waves, horizontal crosses, triadic leaves, spiral lines, and zigzag lines arranged in horizontal and vertical stripes. Those simple painted motives were similar to the simplest ornamental motives of the basic embroidery stitches. The décor sectionalized the surface of the front and side walls into regular symmetrical orthogonal fields. They contained dark non-decorated areas of wooden background alternated with decorated whitened areas in a balanced sequence. Ornamental composition contained only a few repeated motives, but the whole image had a great visual effect.

Décor as a social sign

Later, in the beginning of the 19th century, peasants of middle status also used such decorative style to embellish their storeyed houses. Photographic documentation from this period as well as subsequent photos made by Málko and Vavroušek in 1906 and 1919 respectively, demonstrated adaptation of the thin repertoire of older ornamental motives (Pražák, 1963: 62, 66; Kantá, 1992: 108, 109).

Smallholders and peasants without land painted their houses in a slightly different way. In the 19th century they also started to build storeyed houses from trimmed timber; they also whitened and decorated the exposed exterior areas. However, the composition of stripes was simpler. Ornaments started at the whitened corners, door cases and windows cases and continued to the whole length of log. Thus in the end the ornamental stripes covered the whole surface of the wall. Every log was decorated along the whole length with the same patterns; patterns on neighbouring logs differed. It was a simpler, more mechanistic style of painting that could be used even by women who were not very skilled or talented (the ornamental wall paintings in Čičmany have always been a product of women’s creativity). It should be said that the choice of ornamental motives in this case was also related to the existing repertoire. The difference with the wealthier houses was that the individual elements were not linearly connected. They became independent and arranged side by side. This procedure led to some modulations of their shapes. Older motives were supplemented by new patterns, such as symmetrical spiral lines (so-called výkrutky) and twigs with three tips in the shape of bird tracks (so-called dlabky). They can still be seen on the decorations of Čičmany houses.

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8 Viliam Pražák conducted a detailed analysis of the development of ornamental paintings on Čičmany log houses (Pražák, 1963: 9-87).
Ornamental paintings after the fire in 1922

At the end of the 19th century – the beginning of the 20th century, concurrently with the mentioned changes in decorating houses, people started to whiten the whole surfaces of log walls. It was a simple way of conservation that was gradually replacing the ornamental paintings. This way of protection was also used in the neighbouring villages – Zliechov and Košecké Rovné. However, in Čičmany the wall paintings had such strong roots that whitening progressed only slowly. People rather preferred a compromise: they whitened continuous surfaces under windows, but painted the rest of the walls. Yet they tended to enlarge the whitened areas. In some cases such an area was extended to the half of the windows’ height, sometimes its height exceeded the windows’ height. Probably this process would have led to extinction of wall paintings. Paradoxically, their revitalization was aided by the fire in 1922 that destroyed the whole lower part of the village. People had to build new houses; they continued the authentic tradition. New houses were decorated by paintings; they were developed by local women into unprecedented diversity and richness. Ornaments incorporated more of the decorative principles and motives commonly used in embroidery. They were still painted in horizontal stripes, but in a freer way and the stripes were widened. Some large motives required the surface of two or three logs. Women always painted by hand, but now in a more precise way, because they replaced coarse straw brushes with softer ones (Pražák, 1963: 34). Women were competitive. The beauty of paintings was especially important when there was a maiden in the house.

Decorating houses today

How are houses decorated today? First of all, it is important to remember that the social and cultural context nowadays is very different from the situation during the interwar period. The number of inhabitants dramatically decreased: today the number of permanent residents in Čičmany is approximately 180, while during the period before the Second World War it was 1649. On the other hand, since the middle of the 20th century there was a strong influx of cottagers related to increasing popularity of spending summer time in cottages as a way of leisure. Attractive log houses in the protected lower part of the village since the 1970s – 1980s have been purchased by outsiders – cottagers from Bratislava, Prievidza, Trenčín, and other towns. From an architectural perspective this part of the village has been homogenous and has preserved marked traces of genius loci with specific cultural and historical characteristics as well as a peculiar rustic atmosphere. During the war there was a fire in the upper part of the village; then it was renovated. There the cottagers are mostly the natives from Čičmany: they are either descendants, or relatives of Čičmany families; today they live and work elsewhere. The upper part does not belong to protected areas. From an architectural perspective it is more heterogeneous and spontaneous. The land-use plan includes construction of new log houses there.

It can be assumed that emotional connections with the village, the relationship with the local history and cultural symbols as manifestations of cultural heritage, and therefore perception of wall paintings are different in cases of cottagers and permanent res-

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9 It was preserved until today in Čičmany only on one house situated on lower end of the village.
idents. However, there are no differences in houses’ embellishment. Dissimilarities are rather manifested in the arrangement of courtyards. Natives as well as cottagers adhere to the inherited ornamental style of painting. They know traditional forms and names of particular patterns; they combine them and configure ornaments according to their own taste. Therefore final paintings differ from house to house. Those who do not have sufficient skills use templates. This way, however, is less valued, as well as the use of latex instead of authentic lime or white reddie. During recent decades some people have made efforts to revitalize the older ways of paintings and to return to the simpler elements known from the old visual documents. Others prefer more decorative way of painting inspired by the richness of embroidery patterns. In summary, both natives and cottagers today contribute to Čičmany’s hallmark of excellence and representativeness.

ORNAMENTS ON FOLK COSTUMES

Technology of embroidery, especially the techniques that were commonly used in Čičmany, have belonged there to the basics of girls’ education from a very young age: it started when they were 4-5 years old. As girls were growing up, they were improving in mastering techniques and were refining a sense for specifics of the local decorative style. At the age of ten girls were skilled to such a degree that they could embroider their first traditional dresses.

Until the middle of the 20th century all Čičmany women could embroider. Embroidery on traditional costumes did not manifest property differences. Rather the final products depended on embroiderers’ skills and talent. A poor woman could have made more beautiful embroidery than a wealthier one. Women’s cooperative participation resulted in creative innovations. They refined the local decorative style that was characteristic not only for Čičmany, but also for the neighbouring villages located in the Strážov Hills – Zliechov, Košecké Rovné, Gápeľ, Valaská Belá, Dolná Poruba, Čavoj, Temėš. Particular details of folk costumes and embroidered ornaments could serve for identification of a locality where one lived.

Supportive initiatives of institutions and individuals

One of the impulses for the development of Čičmany embroidery were initiatives coming from outside. The interest toward embroidery rose at the end of the 19th century – the beginning of the 20th century. Then the village was frequently visited by merchants interested in embroidered textiles. Their interest was positively influenced by a workshop – šijáreň – that has functioned since 1925 under the leadership of a local...
There embroiderers used relatively demanding techniques of cutwork and openwork and produced to order embroidered household textiles – sheets and tablecloths. In 1934 there was a competition of the most beautiful embroidery in Čičmany. Apart from technical aspects, the jury evaluated choice of ornamental elements and their colour composition. Since the 1950s some embroiderers began to cooperate with the Centre for Folk Art Production in Bratislava that established high standards of technical perfectionism, quality of materials and artistic design. Often the embroideries were made according to artists’ drafts.

The cooperation with the Centre was indeed edifying for the local women and contributed to cultivation of local creations. In the 1970s and the 1980s embroidery tended to be applied in the embellishment of household textiles and souvenirs for tourists. Then production of embroideries was supported by the office of the local National Municipal Committee. A local ethnographic exposition organized by the Museum of Považie in Žilina mediated embroideries’ marketing. At present the Municipal Office supports activities and traditional clothing equipment of the Čičmany’s folklore ensemble Lastovienka and cooperates with the local embroiderers. Čičmany embroideries or decorated parts of traditional dresses could be purchased also in the local souvenir shop Folk Art in Čičmany (Ľudovoumelecké Čičmany).

**Colour matching**

Čičmany traditional dress is characterized by whitish tones. This colour tuning was conditioned by materials used for making costumes for men as well as for women. The fabrics included creamy white cloth made from fleece, whitish homemade linen and hemp canvas, and snowy white manufactured cotton chiffon, since the beginning of the 20th century gradually replacing homespun canvas. Even the oldest embroidery yarns initially were made from whitened or non-whitened homespun threads. White coloured compositions eventually were enlivened by red and orange threads. This dominant combination was later diversified by yellowish hues (light yellow – húsiatková, lemon yellow – vrbová), orange hues (light orange – plavožltá, more accentuated – ohnivá), and red hues, from rose pink – mäsová to claret – bordová.

People who visited Čičmany in the beginning of the 20th century were immediately captured by the contrast between women dressed in snowy white embroidered traditional costumes and the appearance of the interior where they moved. The interior was dominated by a room with rough undecorated walls and open fireplace. It was dark, smokey and furnished by simple deck furniture. But the dresses were shiny white and beautifully decorated by compositions arranged in rhythmic waves of repeated geometrical patterns.

**Decorative emphasis on ceremonial clothing**

The most decorated parts of young women’s traditional dresses were ceremonial aprons – so-called záponky. The middle part of apron was dominated by a wide stripe of precious openwork embroidery (so-called žilinské šitie – Žilina stitch work) displaying large motives of roosters, lilies, and chalices. On both sides it was framed by repeated motives of flowers and twigs. After an apron wore out the inlay embroidery was moved to a new apron. Rectangular decorative areas of holes for sewing sleeves on women’s dresses (prieramky) were covered by repeated abstract motives of rhombs,
stars and hearts. Rims of young woman’s ceremonial wrapping shawl (podvika) were decorated by a similar kind of ornaments in recurrently repeated stripes embroidered with silk threads. Folds of ceremonial skirt (rubáče) were embellished with stripes embroidered with striking colourful rhythmic ornaments.

The most decorative part of a man’s traditional costume was his shirt. Its cuffs and bib were rimmed by a characteristic Čičmany décor – rhomboid ornaments arranged in continuous stripes.

The link between technology and ornaments

From a technological point of view Čičmany embroidery belongs to the so-called counted-threads needle work techniques: stitching corresponds to the structure of fabric, and stitches are made by counting fibres. This kind of needlework includes a number of techniques: the oldest utility stitches, demanding openwork and cutwork, openwork insertion, network embroidery, the most common cross stitch, and fill stitch “thread by thread” (poniti). All of them were used in Čičmany embroidery.

Technically, counted-threads techniques require rather thick and structured fabrics. In Čičmany it was homespun hemp canvas or linen that was common even in the beginning of the 20th century. Probably it was one of the factors that contributed to the long preservation of the counted-threads embroidery as well as geometrical ornaments that were most frequently used in such needlework. Many women memorized them and knew their names in the local dialect. The ornaments became part of the local identity and later were used also in needlework on finer manufactured fabrics.

The technique that is almost forgotten today is needlework “overfolds” (viberanie po riasoch) that decorated stripes on women’s skirts, so-called rubáče. It was made on the base material that was pretreated and organized into regular small folds. This old technique was known already in antiquity and was popular during the Middle Age period. It implies horizontal drawn stitches of different colours alternated with recurring rectangular patterns.

The openwork technique – so-called Žilina needlework (žilinské šitie) – determines the local profile of embroidery tradition in Čičmany. The name indicates that initially it was used in the embroidery centres near Žilina. It probably was brought to Čičmany and other villages in the Strážov Hills by merchants. Any skilled woman in Čičmany tried to learn the technical secrets of openwork. Its basic element is a transparent network that is created by pulling out or cutting out fibres of the base fabric in both directions – vertical as well as horizontal. The fibres then are sewn around; that creates transparent eyeholes alternated with non-transparent eyeholes. The network serves as a background for drawing ornaments. Needlework corresponding to the fibres’ naturally implied geometrical patterns: eight pointed stars and rosettes. Apart from these, the most common motive was a stylized rooster with varied patterns of its tail – indications of feathers, flowers, or stars (kohútkovia s kaľichami, kohútkovia s vetvičkú).

Since the beginning of the 20th century, in the time of expansion of openwork, in the villages in the Strážov Hills the techniques started to vary. The changes were manifested in different choices of the old motives and creation of new ornaments, as well as different combinations of colours. In Čičmany the dominating colour was yellow, while in

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14 The canvas first was put into water; then it was placed on board and arranged by nails in narrow folds. After it was dried the folds were stitched and fasten by a simple running stitch.
the villages of Zliechov and Košecké Rovné embroiderers preferred more diverse and colourful solutions.

Another common popular embroidery technique in Čičmany is cutwork. Its name implies that the basic method of this Renaissance technique is cutting: either embroiderers cut out spots from the base fabric, or – similarly to openwork – they pull out fibres from the base fabric in both directions. Cutting and pulling out could also be combined. Openwork somewhat differs from cutwork: openwork implies creating a network base for patterns formed by areas of intact canvas; cutwork means that ornaments include transparent areas of network or cut holes (Pražák, 1963: 153). In Čičmany cutwork became an inherent part of local embroidery. In new stylization the laborious cutwork patterns were replaced by the simpler technique of stitching “thread by thread”. But even then the characteristic visual form of rectangular and heart motives was transferred to ornaments embroidered by fill stitches in counted-threads needlework.

The fill stitch in counted-threads needlework or so-called fill needlework (poniti) is another technique that belongs to the common methods in Čičmany embroidery. Its main principle is parallel, dense, regular stitches put one by one; the embroiderer takes into account the structure of the base fabric. She puts stitches in horizontal, vertical and diagonal directions and thus creates small geometrical patterns – rhombs, triangles, stars, and stripes. The patterns made by fill stitch are rarely independent. They are combined with patterns formed by cutwork, openwork, or cross stitch, and are complemented by decorative stitches. In reduced form they sometimes repeat patterns used in different techniques: counted-threads needlework allows relatively easy reproduction of patterns.

Characteristic signature of Čičmany ornamental style

If we compare ornaments painted on houses with ornaments embroidered on textiles, we will notice their similarity at first sight. Of course, they also display some differences related to differences in materials and shapes of objects that require corresponding placement, sizes of motives and their composition. Colours also emphasize the contrast. The visual impression made by colourful ornaments on white fabrics differs from the impression made by the same ornaments painted with white reddle on a dark brown background.

The local decorative style in Čičmany influenced other artistic expressions as well. It could be seen in dense ornamental compositions on knitted stockings (kopytce) or in decorations on slippers. It also influenced embellishment of utility objects and wooden musical instruments produced by a famous local carver Martin Pieš. In the past it marked decorations on Easter eggs where spiral patterns appeared (zákrutky). 15

There are some illustrations of ornamental motives which in various compositional arrays created a basis of Čičmany ornamental style in picture supplement of this issue.

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15 The drawing on the Easter egg decorated with spiral patterns (zákrutky) from Zliechov. It has been preserved in the Archive of Drawings in the Néprajza Museum in Budapest.
ČIČMANY ORNAMENT AS AN IDENTIFICATION SYMBOL TODAY

Local inhabitants and some cottagers consider the visual message of ornaments on Čičmany log houses and traditional costumes a powerful cultural value. The ornaments embody their roots that evoke emotions and a feeling of fellowship. Their symbolic meaning referring to the past still plays an important role in conceiving local identity. On web pages Čičmany is presented as a locality that attracts attention primarily by decorative specifics of folk architecture, clothing and embroidery. We can read there: “The village of Čičmany is known by its ancient unique architecture – painted log houses; local architecture reminds one of gingerbread houses, mainly due to ornamental embellishment of exterior walls”. Furthermore, the village “is known for the famous painted wooden houses. Their decoration was inspired by the ornamental motives of Čičmany embroidery”. Numerous web pages invite tourists to stay in the traditional log houses. Visualization of the local forms of decorative tradition in mass media implies a specific way and quality of representation. By means of the internet communication the elements of traditional local decoration have been incorporated into the broader cultural circulation.

REVITALIZATION OF TRADITION, THE ENTERPRISE AND THE ACTIVITIES OF THE INSTITUTIONS

The web pages associated with Čičmany provide sufficient space for records of folkloristic festivals organized by Mr. and Mrs. Kudjakov. The couple has significantly contributed to the revival of the moribund village with elderly inhabitants since the middle of the first decade of the 21st century. Čičmany with its cultural specifics became an attraction for tourists and visitors. The couple’s activities provide a positive example of possibilities to revitalize local cultural heritage.

I would like to make several remarks on Juraj Kudjak’s life story. He was born and lived in the Orava region. He visited his grandparents in Čičmany only during the summertime. As an adolescent boy he was enchanted by the village with painted houses. After his grandmother died he inherited a log house in Čičmany. He decided to renovate it with the help of his family and to use it as a souvenir shop to support tourism in the village. Later he purchased another log house in Čičmany dated 1760. With the help of family (his father was a builder) and financial support of the fund “Renovate Your House” he managed to renew the house in a sensitive way. The building with preserved open chimney and black room is considered a unique monument. Kudjak made efforts to maximally respect the authentic appearance of the house and its specific qualities. The reconstruction inspired him to broaden his enterprise activities. He

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16 Village Čičmany - Slovakia. online quoted 5.4.2013
Slovakia.travel – Živé tradície Čičmian. online quoted 5.4.2013
Čičmany – ľudový skvost v Rajeckej-doline. online quoted 5.4.2013
Skanzen Čičmany.online quoted 5.4.2013
17 Accommodation Čičmany. Log house Brundzovce. online quoted 5.4.2013
Available on-line: < In http://www.cicmany.info
now reconstructs old log houses and builds new ones in accordance to traditional standards.

In the case of architectural adaptations and decorations of the houses Kudjak tries to preserve the authentic local ornamental style. The painting on his house dated to 1760 was renovated by means of simple ornaments similar to the oldest decorative style. On the other hand, criteria for the choice of souvenirs in his shop are less austere. He offers artefacts with local emblems: miniatures of wooden houses decorated with wall paintings, canvases embellished with characteristic Čičmany embroidery, parts of traditional costumes, dolls in Čičmany folk dresses, slippers produced by local people, but also things from other parts of Slovakia. All the bags, t-shirts, mobile covers, or ceramics (produced in a ceramic workshop in the Orava region) are decorated by some version of Čičmany ornament. Apart from souvenirs referring to Čičmany, the shop offers a mix of other “nostalgic” products. Visitors can always choose something according to their taste.18

It is necessary to say that the souvenir is extended to exterior space where the visitors can have a nice refreshment stop (the couple usually wears traditional dresses there). During the tourist season they can enjoy folklore music and dances performed by small ensembles. They also can meet artisans who produce and display their products there. Thus happenings organized by Kudjakovs create a new dimension of the shop. This place became a new centre of local life and is popular due to its references to the past and tradition. Tourism plays an important role in this. Many happenings offering spectacular performance of tradition aim to attract folklore lovers who are also tourists (Marcinová, 2013: 31-35).

The village mayor perceives tourism as an important factor of the future as well. She includes elements of local tradition to her numerous activities.19 She supposes that they will serve as a powerful identification sign and will contribute to the development of the village. She supports the local folk ensemble Lastovienka and local embroiderers’ activities. She pays attention to local production of slippers as well as to the courses of making folds which are essential for preservation of local traditional clothing. She is making efforts to establish cooperation with representatives of the local institutions as well as the institutions with wider responsibilities: the Self-government of Žilina region, the Cultural Centre in Žilina, the Museum of Považie in Žilina. She is well aware of the importance of local folklore elements for the local development.

ČIČMANY ORNAMENT AS A NATIONAL REPRESENTATIVE ATTRIBUTE

There is yet another dimension of cultural transfer of Čičmany ornaments. Together with embroidery from other parts of Slovakia it could be seen on the souvenirs produced by the company Slovakia gift: embroidery ornaments appear on emblems, t-shirts, caps, mirrors, and cards. Čičmany ornaments also inspired the firm Alpine Pro a. s. that designed clothing for the Slovak Olympians. Their intention was to introduce a typical Slovak element into clothing of sportsmen representing the country. Thus Čičmany ornaments on a blue background evoking blueprint cloth appeared on the

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18 About art production offered in the shop Folk Art Čičmany see also Marcinová, 2013: 33-35.  
19 She often appears in public dressed in a folk costume embellished by Čičmany embroidery.
Olympians’ t-shirts and neckerchiefs and joined other folklore elements: Šariš hats, wind jackets and smocks. The reference to the Slovak nation was enhanced by white-blue-red scale of colours. Propagation of the Olympic collection was preceded by medallization of allegedly precious coins with Čičmany motives found near the village: the information was broadcast by the TV channels Markíza and Joj and appeared in the newspaper Nový Čas. Today it is obvious that the coins were not authentic.20

The Olympic collection probably contributed to a fixation on Čičmany ornaments (or rather its simpler stylized version) in public awareness as something typically national. For instance, Čičmany ornaments are used as a scenic element in the Radio and Television of Slovakia (RTVS) programme “I love Slovakia”. The characteristic geometrical motives even inspired people practicing feng shuei who created Čičmany mandala. They propagate it as “an excellent example of harmonization in the spirit of feng shuei”.21 Thus visual elements inspired by Čičmany embellishment appear in a global space in new and unusual contexts.

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Čičmany ornament as a manifestation of cultural heritage was successful in a long historical perspective. It has been preserved and valued as a product of manual creativity linking the template of tradition with individual inventiveness. Up till today it has been an important part of the local architecture, clothing, and decorations. It was incorporated into surrounding environment and became its natural part. Its meaning, however, was modified due to time and cultural changes. It has crossed the boundaries of the local context and entered into the broader coordinates of cultural circulation. It became a characteristic cultural component valued by experts as well as the public, a cultural element transformed into the national representative symbol.

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20 Čičmany treasure was fiction. It was supposed to propagate the official Olympian collection (photos and video) » HNonline.sk, 24.10.2011 14:25

21 “For example, the interesting elements are rosehip motives that are supposed to direct energy to windows or doors; or wave patterns on lower edges (which probably prolong their life and protect them against moisture); and also various “coupled” symbols or mandala forms evoking love and harmonious human relationships; they alleviate an impression of cumbersome logs by means of vertical decorative lines.” See Čičmany mandala. http://www.mandala-fengshui.eu/index.php?page=slovenske-feng-suej—cicmany


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ABOUT THE AUTHOR

OLGA DANGLOVÁ (*1941) – is an ethnologist working at the Institute of Ethnology of Slovak Academy of Sciences in Bratislava. She published a lot of scientific articles in Slovakia and abroad and she was also editor of various works concerning socio-economic relations, regional development and visual folk arts in Slovak countryside. She is an author of monographs Dekor symbol. Dekoratívna tradícia na Slovensku a európsky kontext (Decor Symbol. Decorative Tradition in Slovakia and its European Context, 2001), Vidiek v procese transformácie (Countryside in the Process of Transformation, 2005), Slovenský vidiek. Bariéry a perspektívy rozvoja (Slovakian Countryside. Barriers and Perspectives of the Development, 2006), Svet mnohých MY a ONI. Kolektívne identity na súčasnom Slovensku (The World of Many “Us and Them”. Collective Identities in Contemporary Slovakia; co-author V. Krivý, 2006), Výšivka na Slovensku (Embroidery in Slovakia, 2009) and also a co-author of such synthetic works as Etnografický atlas Slovenska (Ethnographic Atlas of Slovakia, 1995) or Slovakia. European Context of Folk Culture (Ed. R. Stoličná, 1997) – chapter on Folk Art.
Banská Štiavnica’s technical monuments in their surroundings (registered in The UNESCO World Heritage List in 1993) keep alive many valuable historical traditions. Mining work and customs related to it have been remembered by city inhabitants; they present a powerful factor in the formation of local identity. Preservation, transmission and development of the traditions are guaranteed primarily by the institutions: the Association of Miners, various non-governmental organisations, and the Municipality Office. They use the history of mining and the traditions related to mining to build their images. It was one of the reasons why some elements of miners’ customs and rituals that originated in the Middle Age period were registered in the Representative List of Intangible Cultural Heritage of Slovakia. They include the Salamander Days belonging to the specifics of Banská Štiavnica, and the “Aušus” tradition\(^1\) nominated by the mining association Herrengrund located in the mining settlement Špania Dolina. The latter tradition is also present in Banská Štiavnica.

Key words: Banská Štiavnica, the Salamander Parade, the Representative List of Intangible Cultural Heritage of Slovakia

Mountainous sub-regions belong to the important territories where tangible and intangible culture has been shaped into various forms during many centuries. In Central Slovakia the most important localities were free royal cities, especially the copper site Banská Bystrica, the gold site Kremnica and the silver site Banská Štiavnica. Each of them has had their own cultural specifics and historical achievements that could be used for building an image of a city. In Banská Bystrica – Thurzo-Fugger Corporation; in the second half of the 15\(^{th}\) century it exported copper to Gdansk, Venetia and Munich. In Kremnica it was the mint, one of the oldest factories in the world (existing since 1328). In Banská Štiavnica it is the Academy of Mining (1762-1919), the first technical high school in the world. In my paper I will pay attention to Banská Štiavnica. There the elements of mining traditions have been preserved and transmitted, especially the Salamander Days belonging to the specifics of Banská Štiavnica, and the “Aušus” tradition\(^1\) nominated by the mining association Herrengrund located in the mining settlement Špania Dolina. The latter tradition is also present in Banská Štiavnica.

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\(^1\) The Aušus associations were formed by miners whose main activity was holding lights (candles) during the church services at Christmas and Easter times.
ments of intangible cultural heritage were influenced by the Academy of Mining and Forestry. Many of the students’ customs became part of mining traditions. They include, for instance, the initiation ceremony šachtág and the Salamander Parade.

The aim of the study is to present the intangible cultural heritage that is still alive in Banská Štiavnica, even after the extinction of active mining. It preserves the valuable historical local specifics. In particular I will pay attention to the description and the analysis of a certain element of intangible cultural heritage – the Salamander Parade. I will try to describe its development and the changes of its content, forms and functions, and to evaluate its contemporary meaning for tourism and development of the city.

Knowledge about the Salamander Parade has been broadened by many ethnologists who examined the mining traditions related to Banská Štiavnica. Local organisations that tried to record and popularize the local cultural specifics also contributed to this knowledge. Mária Vozárová (1989) published a study in the journal Slovak Ethnology; she paid attention to the Salamander tradition, but also to miners’ offerings and miners’ processions organized on the occasion of the Feast of Corpus Christi. The most comprehensive work on the Salamander Parade was written and published by D. Štepáneková and J. Novák, natives of Banská Štiavnica. I. Herčko (2010) and R. Lichnerová (2002) examined this topic in relation to the Academy of Mining. The most recent study of the Salamander Days was written by K. Popelková and J. Zajonc (2013). They provided a detailed analysis of the contemporary form of the festival and its function. The Salamander was the subject of a widescreen feature film subsided by the Ministry of Culture of the Slovak Republic (1988). The second abridged representative edition of the mentioned publication from the authors D. Štepáneková and J. Novák (2010) has been used for the propagation of the festival.

I have been following the Salamander parade since 1973 within the framework of my research of mining traditions. I took part in the parade as a participant observer several times, most recently in 2013.

HISTORICAL AND ETHNOGRAPHICAL FEATURES OF THE CITY

The city of Banská Štiavnica has got an epithet “the Silver City”: it was preoccupied with mining and manufacturing silver. The 17th century was its heyday. Silver and gold mining had reached the highest level there in 1690 (605 kg of gold, 29,000 kg of silver). Then the city was one of the most important mining sites in Slovakia and the whole Europe. Its importance has been documented also by the number of inhabitants that in 1777 exceeded 20 thousand. It was the second biggest city in Slovakia and the third biggest city in Hungary (Čelko, 2002: 49). Due to advanced processes of local mining and progressive mining technology Banská Štiavnica became a location of the first mining college in the world. During the existence of the Academy of Mining (1762–1919)² Banská Štiavnica was a centre of academic life embracing diverse students’ social activities, rather peculiar and organized in accordance to the precise rules of the students’ associations.

Moreover, the way of life in Banská Štiavnica and the miners’ traditions acquired a specific local character conditioned by local patriotism of the inhabitants of Banská Štiav

² The school was established in Banská Štiavnica in 1735. Many important professionals studied there. A similar school for the region of eastern Slovakia was established in 1746 in Smolenik.
Apart from advanced artistic creations (painted wooden Bethlehem carvings, large Bethlehem constructions, the models of mines inserted into flasks), the mining tradition includes a peculiar humorous story about a miner named Nácko as well as customs that culminated during the so-called Mining Day (9 September). It comprises of the Salamander Parade – the procession moving like a lizard (so-called “falkcúg” movement, see Darulová, 2009: 123). Banská Štiavnica and technical monuments in its vicinity were registered in the List of the World Cultural Heritage UNESCO in 1993 (the mining region).

Until 1993, when the mining process definitely stopped, almost all social and cultural activities related to the mining traditions had been organised by miners or factories in Banská Štiavnica. The end of mining eventually resulted in the extinction of a socio-professional group of miners. However, it did not mean the end of numerous miners’ social and cultural activities. Since 1992 the continuity of miners’ traditions has been ensured by the Association of Miners in Banská Štiavnica and Hodruša uniting miners from the whole territory of Slovakia (Darulová, 2010: 131).

**CHARACTERISTICS OF THE CULTURAL ELEMENT (WHAT IS THE SALAMANDER?)**

The Salamander Parade has been a local speciality. The name of the procession refers to serpentine movement of a lizard – spotted salamander. Although it is the name of the whole parade (and recently might have referred to other parades organized during the so-called Salamander Days in September), only a particular part of the procession imitates the movement of salamander lizard. The first part of the procession consists of the students from the High School of Mining Industry and Metallurgy in Banská Štiavnica carrying torches and lamps; they move according to a rhythmic pattern from one side of street to another (Vozárová, 1989: 315; Lichnerová, 2002: 187). The Parade always takes place in the evening hours when it is already dark; thus this part of the procession creates a spectacular image of a big crawling lizard with yellow spots – a salamander.

**THE GENESIS AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SALAMANDER PARADE**

In the past, when the Academy of Mining (later the Academy of Mining and Forestry) had been functioning, there were various Salamander processions in Banská Štiavnica. When graduates (valetans) took leave of the school and the city, foresters with torches and miners with lamps paraded through the city moving sinuously like a spotted salamander. The Salamander Parades took place also during funerals of students.

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3 The Bethlehem wood carving from Banská Štiavnica belongs to the biggest moveable Bethlehem carvings in Slovakia. It displays the history and the development of the city as well as the Salamander Parade and šachtág festival.

4 The Association keeps to the traditional rules of the Association of Natural Science and Medicine in Banská Štiavnica created in 1871.

5 According to a legend about the establishment of the city, a shepherd discovered lizards with golden and silver dust on their backs up in the hills, which initiated mining in the area.
officials, or professors, (Darulová, 2010: 133). Those processions were accompanied by clapping sound of knockers that enhanced the atmosphere by acoustic impression.6

An event of the first coming down to mine was an important happening at the Academy. It was a festive ceremony that was opened by the Salamander Parade: students were arranged according to semesters; the oldest walked first and the first year students walked at the end. They stopped in front of a burrow Glanzenberg situated in the city and sang the miners’ hymn; then they entered the mine. After an hour they came out singing miners’ songs and went to a pub where new students went through an initiation: they had to jump over a skin, so-called šachtág; after that they were granted the status of miners.

The basic core of the Salamander Parade always consisted of students. The analysed element of intangible cultural heritage probably originated in similar traditions of the universities in Germany. They had been continued by the academic associations Burschenschafts based on the rules of subordination, obedience, order and fellowship/brotherhood.7 The students’ community Steingruben originated in a strictly outlined area in Banská Štiavnica; it organized social events and entertaining and obeyed different rules. The community had its own self-government that in a certain sense parodied the municipality of Banská Štiavnica and social life in the city.

The Salamander Parade associated with academic life was naturally brought to the end after the Mining Academy was relocated from Banská Štiavnica to the Hungarian city Šopron in 1919. The Parade was renewed in connection to the celebrations of mining work and miners’ community during the Days of Miners. This tradition began in Banská Štiavnica in 1934. The Days started on 5 July (the day of St. Cyril and St. Method) by the Salamander Parade and continued on 6 July (the day of Jan Hus’ burning), when church services and celebration of miners took place. The church services on this occasion were specific and resembled those that took place on the occasion of miners’ offerings.8 Miners participated in them dressed in ceremonial uniforms; “aušuses” carried light. They sang miners’ songs.

In the first Salamander Parade that took place on the Day of Miners there were characters symbolizing discoveries of mining localities, establishment of mines, the heyday of mining in Banská Štiavnica, as well as the present life in the city. In the letter sent by the Municipality of Banská Štiavnica and Banská Belá to the Ministry of Public Work in Prague it was stated that miners’ celebrations “evoked awareness of the social status and pride, they supported unity and cooperation and enhanced interest in culture”. The city was reclaimed at a material as well as a moral level.9 The positive response influenced the Parades that took place in 1935 and 1936. During the last years

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6 It is a clapping tool made from maple wood. It consists of a hanging plate with little channels on both sides and a wooden hammer. Rhythm of clapping and its melody differed from one occasion to another and had a function of clocks. During miners’ festivities or important visits or funerals it emphasized the significance of the event (Lichnerová 2002:186). It could also signalize riots and threats, military or other.
7 The hymns and many language expressions were originally German, as well as the language of teaching. After the year 1867 the academic language was Hungarian.
8 Offering is a ceremony during church services that took place either on the festival of St. Barbora, or on the day of miners’ patron, and on the day of a patron of a particular mine. The ceremony was attended by miners dressed in ceremonial uniforms. They walked from the mine to the church accompanied by music. During the services miners and their families walked around the altar and made money offerings. After the services they came back to the mine entry, where an official made a speech calling for diligent work. The speech was answered by an old miner. The ceremony was followed by entertainment (Vozárová 1989, Lichnerová 2002).
9 ŠÚBA, fund BRŠ, inventory number 458, no. 47/47/1934.
of the Second World War the festival was cancelled. The celebration started again on 10 September 1949.

Thus the tradition of Salamander processions was eventually narrowed: there was only one parade, but a massive one. The time stabilized: it was 9 September, when the celebration took place on the whole territory of Slovakíabe cause the day united all the miners. The festival was supported especially after the Second World War, in accordance with the socialist ideology preferring miners among other workers.

The Salamander Parade organized during the Day of Miners therefore continued during socialism. Apart from the procession of students in uniforms carrying torches it included allegoric carriages celebrating miners – heroes of workers. Eventually the Parade grew: later it included 500 of characters, either in masks or without them, symbolizing miners’ work and life as well as historical events in the city (see more in Štepáneková, Novák). The Miners’ Day was then “an expression of an advanced social awareness and miners’ pride of their profession, beneficial and needed by the society. They manifested cohesion and solidarity, so important for miners’ work...” (Vozárová, 1989: 316). During the Day of Miners the representatives of the state government and miners were welcomed on a tribune. The event included ceremonial speeches and appraisal of miners. The celebration culminated in the Salamander Parade and the following “Miners’

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10 After the Second World War the Miners’ Show was part of the Day of Miners. The shows were prepared by collectives of organizers and actors – miners who were amateur artists, singers, and musicians. Lively programmes included performances related to mining work (for instance, permoníci, supernatural beings living underground) and performances related to the city (for instance, troubadours). The amateurs were eventually replaced by professional collectives of artists. They performed until the shows stopped (see also Darulová, J.: Paměť měst, 2002).
Show” (or Miners’ Academies): music, singing, and shows referring to the mines and the city of Banská Štiavnica. They were performed by miners. Later they were performed by invited artists, folk narrators, and singers.

Initially the period between celebrations of the Days of Miners was two years, but the splendid festivities required detailed preparation; thus the Salamander processions were organized sporadically, according to the socialist ideology: in 1951, 1960, 1961, 1964, 1972, 1974, 1978, and 1988. However, in 1964 on 26 August there was a Salamander Parade on the occasion of the 200th anniversary of the Academy of Mining and Forestry.

In 1991 an artistic agency Andersen organized the Salamander Parade on a commercial basis; that was negatively received by the attendants and performers. In 1992 the annual organization of the Parade became the responsibility of the Municipality Office.

After 1989 the Day of Miners became a specialty of Banská Štiavnica. The actors represent the socio-professional group of miners (a small number of active miners, graduates of mining schools, and representatives of miners’ associations) and the city of Banská Štiavnica. They show historical events (establishment of the city related to discovery of ores, Turkish invasions, and artisans) and important characters of the city (including humorous figures). Gradually new activities have been incorporated into the celebration of the Day of Miners: the so-called Štiavnica Market (since 1991), the Brewery Day (since 1994), and others. These happenings were aimed at extending the celebration of miners to the celebration of the whole city.

Today the celebration of the Miners’ Day is not aimed at uniting miners, but rather to represent the importance of mining for the city. It includes activities that are not related to mining, but are supposed to attract people, including native and foreign tourists.

Since 1997 the Salamander Parade has included performances related to other mining cities. In 2002 it engaged students of all the schools that were successors of the Academy of Mining and Forestry (the schools in Košice, Žvolen, Ostrava, Šopron, Miškolc, and Loeben). Thus the Parade became important not only nationally, but also internationally and began to represent all miners, metallurgists, oilmen, and geologists. The Day of Miners was extended to the Salamander Days characterized as a traditional city festival related to the celebration of the Day of Miners, Metallurgists, Geologists, and Oilmen. Apart from the Salamander Parade, many activities belong to the category of city festival. They include music of many genres, activities for children (theatre, falconers, animation programmes, modelling ceramics, swordsmen, and so on), exhibitions, markets, commodity exchange, and other. The programme sometimes also includes ceremonial initiation (šachtág), the show Miss Salamander (1991), the pilgrimage to the Calvary (2009), the Days of European Cultural Heritage in Slovakia (2010), and other activities.

THE STRUCTURE AND THE COMPOSITION OF THE SALAMANDER PARADE

Actors’ masks and arrangement correspond to a pre-prepared script. The length of the procession is several tens of metres. It consists of two main parts: representative and entertaining.

The representative part starts with a shepherd in traditional folk costume, carrying a big wooden sculpture of lizard, and cow hunters. This group represents the establishment of the city and the beginnings of mining. It is related to the legend about
a lizard with golden and silver dust on its back that drew a shepherd’s attention to a treasure hidden underground. The shepherd is followed by a miner in “aušus” uniform (aušusník) carrying symbols of mining – hammer and mattock – and four “aušus” miners carrying another mining symbol – miners’ clapping tool – a knocker. The next group includes permoníks – guardian spirits who helped miners to find rich ore veins and warned them about dangers. An old miner holding fokoš (a stick decorated by motives related to mining) enjoys pride of place there. This part of the parade is closed by miners in ancient-looking uniforms carrying banners and mining tools, as well as the representatives of mining professions. The next part consists of miners playing music led by a chapel-master, followed by an old forester carrying a bouquet on a long pole. He is followed by the representatives of local factories, enterprises, and municipality, as well as invited guests. As I mentioned above, the first part of the Parade is closed by students carrying torches and lamps, rhythmically moving from one side of street to another to imitate a salamander.

The second part of the Parade can be described as entertaining: most of the masked actors parody various characters and events that took place in Banská Štiavnica during previous centuries. They can be divided into the following categories:
- Representatives of the glorious past (the Count of the Chamber, mayor, judge)
- Turkish invasions (sultan, pasha, female slaves)
- Power structures (pandour, gendarmes, gunners, hangman, prisoners, gallows)
- The students’ community Steingruben (parody of municipality, eternal student, graduates of the Academy /valetants/), female lovers, funeral, and so on)
- Traders and artisans (bartenders, butchers, bakers) and representatives of forgotten professions (ragman, bug-hunter, bird-hunter)
- Humorous characters of the city (i.e., Cirónička, “cheap Jožko”)
- Carnival figures (jesters, watermen, jugglers, mother carrying son in a basket to give him for the levy, nurse, bride, and so on)
- Allegoric carriages, in particular the so-called Anča in Štiavnica – the slow train connecting Banská Štiavnica with “the world”.

Those characters are traditional ones. However, there were efforts to innovate or to modernize the Parade and to show the recent history. For instance, in the end of the procession we can see a folk narrator Štiavnický Nácko (Nácko from Štiavnica) who entertains people by jokes related to mining.

The procession starts in the lower part of the city where historical buildings neighbour with a small housing estate (Križovatka). Then it follows the central road to the Municipality Office on the Saint Trinity Square where there is a tribune in the centre. Big crowds of spectators line the street. The actors talk with them and involve them in performance.

Changes in the processions are related to the important social and political events. The first one is the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the following relocation of the Academy of Mining to Hungary (with pro-Hungarian teachers and mining specialists). The second event is the establishment of the Day of Miners; the third one is an important year 1989. The actors, organizers, and ideological messages of the Parade have changed in accordance with these events:
- Processions of students of the Academy of Mining (1763-1918) on important occasions, mostly as parts of initiation ceremonies: acceptation of new students, weddings, funerals, graduations (valetants);
- Procession as a part of the celebration of the Day of Miners, especially during socialist period;
- Procession as a part of the celebration of the days of the city Banská Štiavnica (at present) connected with the Day of miners, metallurgists, geologists, and oilmen.

The cultural element of Salamander at present does not refer to a fixed cultural heritage, rather to a symbolic construction of tradition. Elements of a wider framework (festival) are socializing. Participants experience reality differing from their daily life (Tesařová, 2010: 197): the festival implies specific meaning, rules and atmosphere and serve as a source for identification. The Salamander Parade referring to the local cultural heritage takes place in the central parts of the historical city Banská Štiavnica; thus the city might serve as a source for identification for local people as well as for representatives of miners from other localities. Collective experience of the past supports this identification.

The Salamander Parade in Banská Štiavnica as part of intangible cultural heritage of Slovakia represents specific unique cultural traditions of miners that formed during 150 years of existence of the Academy of Mining in Banská Štiavnica, during the following 80 years of active mining, and during 20 years following its finishing in 1993. Regular celebrations of the Salamander Days result in ritualization. But the extinction of mining and decreasing socio-professional group of miners mean that the Salamander is a symbolic festival. Ritualized actions are used mostly by municipality officials and public figures (Popelková, Zajonc, 2013: 55). Solemnity and pomp are induced by mining uniforms (including those for invited guests and high state officials). On one side, it is an expression of respect toward symbols of mining; on the other side, it allows anonymity and enhances dramatization, performance, nostalgia and archaic features.

CONCLUSION

The Salamander Parade represents a cultural element related to the particular cultural space – the city of Banská Štiavnica. The urban community, the socio-professional group of miners, the representatives of municipality as well as the inhabitants perceive it as a part of their cultural heritage. It is an instrument for formation of local identity as well as identity of miners and metallurgists. The Salamander Parade has kept its cultural continuity. The content and the form of the procession are transferred from generation to generation by means of communication between individuals and institutions. The processions take place annually on the occasion of the Days of Banská Štiavnica and the Day of Miners. Their form has been only slightly modified (some new elements from city life are added every year), which ensures the continuity of the festival.

The municipality of the city and many non-governmental organizations make efforts to use the mining tradition in Banská Štiavnica to strengthen the development of tourism. The high status of the city supports their efforts. After the registration in the List of UNESCO Banská Štiavnica became important on the world scale from the perspective of tangible cultural heritage. The nomination of its cultural elements for registration in the Representative List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Slovakia continues the propagation of the city. The Municipality Office, regional institutions, non-governmental organizations, and entrepreneurs perceive unique cultural values as a perspective factor for the development of the city due to their attraction for tourists and investors. The Salamander Days became a part of the outward marketing of the city.
ABOUT THE AUTHOR

JOLANA DARULOVÁ (*1951) – an associate professor in ethnology, senior researcher and lecturer. She has broad experience with domestic and international research projects in the field of cultural heritage and urban studies. Her research focuses on problems of transformation of post-socialist Slovak cities, especially cultural and social diversity. She is author of numerous publications, monographs, textbooks and studies, and co-author of several local monographs of Central Slovak villages.
There is some basis to the perennial fear that folklore draws every day nearer to extinction. But this is true not so much because the traditional sources of folklore are disappearing; it is rather because the very idea of folklore has fallen on hard times. Folklore is less popular in the public sphere than it once was, but it is also less popular among scholars, who have been gradually abandoning folkloristics for other fields or have been renaming and redefining folkloristics, with the result that the discipline is decreasingly identifiable as the study of something called “folklore”. This essay takes such criticisms of folklore as its point of departure, offering its own proposal for critically reexamining and reconceptualizing – but not abandoning – the idea of folklore. The author argues that a serious engagement with the idea of “the folk” can serve as an entry point for understanding the symbolic ambiguity as well as the social significance and political power of what scholars call (or used to call) folklore. Scholars should neither uncritically accept the ideology of the folk, nor hastily banish the idea to the safe realm of the “emic” as if it had no bearing on the way we as scholars think. If the study of folklore has relevance in today’s world, it is above all because of the unusual notion that some kinds of expression are conditioned by some kind of social entity that can be called a folk, which continues to provide the most productive basis for a scholarly discipline studying folklore.

Key words: tradition, folklore, folklore studies, reconceptualization, authenticity, the politics of folklore

THE END OF FOLKLORE?

It seems to be true, as people say: folklore draws every day nearer to extinction. But is this because the traditional sources of folklore are disappearing, or is it because the idea of folklore itself has lost favor, entirely independently of the objects to which the idea is applied? If it were only the objects of folklore that needed to be salvaged or revived, folklorists’ task would be relatively simple; we know how to collect and promote old folklore before it’s gone and how to reenact it once it is. But if the idea of folklore...
itself is at issue, then folklorists face the question of whether there is any point in dealing with folklore in the first place. Perhaps all the old lore of the world could be unearthed and enlivened, and yet we would be better off without it. Or at least we might be better off calling it something other than folklore. Or, if folklore is worth something, how can we judge its worth when there is so little agreement over what it means? Is there still any definition of folklore worth using? Is there still some kind of lore associated with something worth calling a “folk” that deserves the attention of scholars known as “folklorists” and deserves to be presented to the public through a practice known as “folklorism”?

If we approach folklore as a set of marketable genres of music, dance, and other arts, we can clearly see that its market share has fallen. It has lost out not only to well-established competitors like pop music or rock and roll, but also to upstarts like “ethno” and “world music”, which appropriate much of folklore’s erstwhile content but package it in non-folkloric forms. Beyond the sphere of the market and sales, the situation may be slightly more favorable, since amateur folklore societies and ensembles still involve hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions of members worldwide. But these associations lack the general social standing they once enjoyed, and they are increasingly seen, at least by non-members, as just one leisure activity among many, with no special claim on the attentions of the public. Or we could point to UNESCO, which a few years ago chose to protect “intangible cultural heritage,” but not under the label of “folklore”. The development is noteworthy, since in 1989 UNESCO had issued a “Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore” (my emphasis).1 By 2001 the word “folklore” dropped out of UNESCO’s “Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity”,2 and when the “Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage” was agreed to in 2003, the word “folklore” appeared only a single time, in reference to the “Recommendation” document of 1989.3 The word “folk” did not appear at all.

The situation is little different in the scholarly field of folklore studies, where one might have expected folklorists to defend their disciplinary turf. In Germany, the process of self-criticism picked up already in the 1960s, when a young generation of scholars sought to recuperate the discipline after its complicity in the Nazi regime (see Bendix, 1997: 160–167). In the United States, similar discussions took place a couple of decades later, and the issue came to a head most strikingly in a 1996 conference panel, which eventually led to a special issue of the Journal of American Folklore (Harlow, 1998) in which it was debated whether the name and concept of “folklore” should be preserved at all. Although some contributors still favored using the term (Ben-Amos, 1998; Oring, 1998), others concluded that because of the word’s semiotic imprecision and the misguided primitivism and political adventurism that had so often been associated with it, the discipline of folklore was overdue for a name change (Bendix, 1998; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998; they of course came on the heels of a wide body of work detailing the problems in which the discipline of folklore studies had been historically embroiled; e.g. Kamenetsky, 1972; Herzfeld, 1982; Abrahams, 1993; Dow and Lixfeld, 1993). In Europe, by that time, many institutions formerly devoted to the study of “the

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folk” and its analogues had already taken just that step. Departments and institutes previously devoted to fields like Volkskunde (German), Folkliv (Swedish), or národopis (Czech and Slovak, as readers of this journal well know) had been turning into institutions for the study of “ethnology,” “ethnography,” and “anthropology.” And even among scholars who remained nominally in institutions of folklore, it has become increasingly difficult to hear about something called “folklore” in their professional work. Alternative terms have gained increasing currency, like the more scientifically precise “artistic communication in small groups” (Ben-Amos, 1972) and “oral tradition” (see e.g. the journal Oral Tradition), or the more general and less contested “verbal art” (Bauman, 1978), “vernacular culture” (Lantis, 1960), “ethno cultural tradition” (Toncrová, 2007; Pavlicová and Uhlíková, 2008), and “ordinary” (Stewart, 2007) or “everyday” life (Abrahams, 2005), in addition to UNESCO’s hefty neologism “intangible cultural heritage”.

The timing of these recent shifts is telling. They are no longer only a reaction to Nazism’s misuse of folklore. They come amidst a far more general shift away from politics based on the idea of the people. UNESCO’s “Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore” was released in Paris on November 15, 1989. Two days later, the revolution against Communist Party rule began in Czechoslovakia, and by the time UNESCO’s “Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity” came out in 2001, with the word “folklore” missing from it, the world had lost a majority of its former “people’s democracies”, which had not only been generous patrons of folklore but had also been great advocates of the idea of “the folk” or “the people” as such. The fall of the Communist Parties was widely hailed as an end of left-populist politics in general, and the study of folklore adjusted to the new discursive regime. While UNESCO’s 1989 document had considered that “folklore forms part of the universal heritage of humanity and that it is a powerful means of bringing together different peoples and social groups”, its 2001 document called for “Building partnerships between the public sector, the private sector and civil society”. And while “the folk” and “the people” were absent from the document, “civil society” and “private sector” each appeared five times. Regina Bendix, for her part, in her call to abandon the concept of folklore, was explicit in her advocacy of market-oriented terminology, which she believed was necessary for folklorists (or people formerly known as folklorists) to survive in an increasingly dominant “marketplace of ideas” (Bendix, 1998: 236–237).

The evident decline of folklore in today’s world is clearly related to changing social conditions. The relevant changes, however, have not come so much in objective conditions that may affect the existence of objects called folklore (such as changes in the relative influence of written and electronic communication versus oral communication, or in the value placed on constant innovation versus ancient tradition, or in the importance of individualism versus sociality and community). Rather, the decline of folklore relates to the changing subjective attitudes of people who may or may not want to keep folklore alive. A shifting social field has combined with a shifting social discourse, in which there is as small a role for the folk in aesthetic expression as there is for the people in politics. There is a mainstream political consensus on the evils of people-related politics. Although the term “democracy” is still used, its advocates have put great semiotic effort into redefining the term so as to avoid invoking the popular concept of demos. As Jacques Rancière has observed, “Today democracy has given up posing as the power of the people.” (Rancière, 1999: 96). Instead, a “managerial state” is made legitimate “through the removal of the demos” from power (1999: 107).
cracy becomes associated with rights, individual freedoms, and the rule of law, and it is opposed to “populism” and “demagogy,” which threaten to unleash the dangers of the people. But it is also worth noting that in some liberal-conservative quarters even the idea of democracy has begun to appear outmoded, and there have been calls, for example, for limiting voting rights, to ensure that the people does not ruin the polity (see Slačálek, 2013 on Czech anti-democrat Stanislav Komárek). In some sense this distrust of the people may be the flipside of Francis Fukuyama’s famous claim that the 1990s brought humanity to the “end of history” (Fukuyama, 1992). Fukuyama presumed that the people would be satisfied with the new state of affairs and stop caring about institutional transformation, thus bringing history to an effective close. In reality, the people has continued to rear its dissatisfied head, and so it has had to be actively opposed and repeatedly reminded that the end of history has arrived.

It should have come as no surprise, therefore, that my colleagues have had difficulty understanding my interest in folklore – my interest not only in something that used to be called folklore, or in something that other people (like my informants) call folklore, but in something that I call folklore myself. I’ve been told that it would be comprehensible if I used “the folk” merely as an etic term, which I could distance myself from and place in my informants’ mouths. And of course I do study what other people think and say about folklore and the folk. But is it so easy for the scholar to separate his own terms from those of the people he studies? Must he, like a respectable demonologist, establish his legitimacy by insisting that he does not believe in the stories he observes? Or can he be more like the “hauntologist” of Jacques Derrida (1994) and withhold judgment for a moment, at least until he completes his work, leaving open the possibility that the specters which haunt his informants also really might haunt him?

THE EPIC OF AUTHENTICITY (TAKING FOLKLORE SERIOUSLY)

If we refused to use any words that had ever been attached to bad and imprecise ideas, we would hardly have any language left to speak. Every concept is socially constructed, and every process of social construction leaves imprecise and competing meanings in its wake. Yet there is something significant in the fact that folklore arouses such concern, while concepts like “ethnology”, “verbal art”, “cultural diversity”, “artistic communication in small groups”, “ethno cultural tradition”, or “civil society” do not. For this very reason it’s worth looking closely at the concept of folklore. It is often the case that the most imprecise concepts are also the most interesting. They are imprecise because they are contested, and they are contested because they contain in them something worth contesting.

What is contained in the idea of folklore that is not contained in its apparently more innocuous alternatives? The problem is evidently not with “lore,” which hardly gets mentioned in criticisms of the concept. What captures the attention of commentators is the idea that certain kinds of lore – or culture, song, dance, poetry, tales – might be associated with the folk. This is indeed a remarkable idea. In the modern age, almost all forms of expression are attributed to individual persons. And even in the pre- and

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early modern ages, the ideas of art and culture and lore (understood as specialized knowledge) were associated \textit{a priori} with specialized classes of performers and the social elites that patronized them. To be cultured was to be a devotee of what we now call the high arts, which were then the only arts worthy of the name. It was occasionally noted that the common people had their own forms of expression, which were of varying aesthetic value, but were not art (Cf. Elias, 1994; Boas, 1969). The idea of folklore fomented a sort of Copernican revolution in aesthetic perception. After Herder denigrated artistic poetry as artificial \textit{Kunstpoesie}, it became possible to imagine that the people, as distinct from elites and from specialized artists, might have its own poetry, culture, and art.

This shift in the attribution of cultural expression, however, would not have been so explosive if it had not taken place in parallel to a shift in the attribution of political power. Previously, politics had been understood fundamentally as a matter of statecraft; it was about how the state of state might best be run, not about how people separately from the state might remake society or force the state to remake society as they wanted it remade. The global wave of revolutions which began in the late 18th century raised the counter-proposal that politics should be founded on the will of the people, and that its fundamental task should be to find the best means of determining and mediating that popular will.

Folklore, by transmitting the people's voice, offered a means of determining the people's will. And if a political movement (in or out of government) could demonstrate an organic connection to a body of folklore, it could claim to be a legitimate mediator of this will. Folklore, in other words, came with a powerful \textit{claim}. The claim of a connection to the people would also be a claim to \textit{rule}, to be a part of the people, which did not merely claim to rule provisionally, to rule as one among many potential rulers, but which claimed to be the absolute ground of politics upon which all else rests. Folklorists who acknowledge the folkness of folklore acknowledge more than the existence of some kind of expression that is "diverse" and "inherited", that exists "in small groups", that is oral in contrast to written, and so on. They also acknowledge folklore's connection to popular power, a power that is as imposing as that of any other leviathan. The work of folklore develops a channel between the people \textit{in potentia}, as a conceptual ground of politics, and the people in power, as \textit{potestas}. Through folklore, the once-hidden people \textit{appear}. The specific appearance of the people may or may not be good. It is quite prudent to hesitate before the people's power, like any other power. But before we confine the people's lore to the dustbin of prehistory or false history, we would do well to understand how central to modern consciousness it has been.

While we note the contemporary decline of folklore, it is important to remember that folklore's higher times were not in an ancient past but in a recent past. In Czechoslovakia, we can look to the popular optimism of the 1950s; in the United States, to the folk revival of the 1960s. We might also go back to the romantics of the nineteenth century, but not much farther back than that. Many people engaged in practices that were later called folklore, but these activities were not recognized as folklore by the people engaged in them. Folklore \textit{understood as folklore} is a modern innovation. Folklore, in this sense, has no golden age. It only has a silver age.

The relative newness of folklore is often taken as an argument against its truthfulness and relevance. If folklore is merely invented tradition (Hobsbawm and Ranger,
1983), the implication is that folklore is nothing but fakelore (Dorson, 1976), a sham. But wouldn’t the opposite conclusion be just as reasonable: that folklore is relevant to us precisely because it is so new, because it responds to a specific conundrum of the modern age? Modern society broke apart traditional communities; a division of labor separated people from creative work, forcing them to sell the products of their own labor and to purchase products produced by others. But the experience of modernity has never been solely an experience of alienation. It has also been an ongoing attempt to address the challenges of modern consciousness and to create forms of life in which alienation would be addressed, made bearable, or even overcome. In the process of community’s initial demolition, people became first aware that there was such a thing as community, and they were motivated to imagine community (or “communism”, as some people began to call it) on a society-wide scale. As more and more of social interaction was subsumed by formal, businesslike exchange, people became aware of the value of sharing and love. And the specialization of creative activity, separating producers from the means of production and separating the whole productive process from masses of consumers, led people to think of the wondrous possibility of collective creation.

Folklore took on its modern form at just this point. The idea of the people had already promised to align political authority with the will of those who had been historically excluded from politics. The idea of folklore then promised to redeem the alienated social experience of the present by bringing it together with those experiences that were in the process of being excluded from contemporary life (community, friendship, collective creation). In some cases, the mobilization of folklore remained on a strictly cultural level, aiming to liberate social experience from the corrupting influences of the modern state (this was more or less anti-political Herder’s position, well described by Barnard, 1969). In other cases, national movements would enroll folklore in efforts to re-make the state and society so that political life would become coextensive with communal life. In other cases, folklore would communicate socialist attempts to infuse all of modern society with the spirit of solidarity, participation, and shared creative expression (for a well-articulated example of this approach, see e.g. Kresánek, 1980).

None of those ambitious promises could be easily fulfilled. The desire for authenticity, it would seem, is inherent to modern consciousness, but the social mechanisms of alienation are also built into the modern social system (for the time being, at least). Folklore emerged out of this tension, as a means of working through it. If folklore persists as an idea in the face of its persistent failure to lead people to a complete resolution of this tension, that is testament to the energy contained in the idea. The idea of authentic folklore serves as a reminder of the desire for authentic society. The study of authentic folklore is also the study of folklore’s continual authentication, an epic narrative woven out of successive attempts to revive folklore and premised on the belief that folklore has not yet definitively failed to rescue modern experience from modern alienation.

Some attempts to achieve authentic societies have ended heroically, suppressed by forces of reaction; other attempts have ended ignominiously, responsible for atrocities against human communal ideals. But if the road to hell is paved with good intentions, it does not necessarily mean that all good intentions pave the road to hell. The contemporary fear of folklore derives from an admirable desire to avoid going down the dangerous, dead-end paths of the past. But it is also symptomatic of an unwillingness to consider taking any alternative paths at all. To reconsider this unwillingness – to see
it as legitimate and understandable when people seek to move beyond their surroundings and transform their social experience (whether this change is ultimately good or bad) – that is what it would mean to take the idea of folklore seriously.

THE TRAGEDY OF INAUTHENTICITY (TAKING FOLKLORISM SERIOUSLY)

Authentic folklore is traditionally imagined as an entity autonomous from modern life. Its foremost characteristics are precisely those which distinguish it from more immediately modern modes of expression: in contrast to the mass electronic and printed media, folklore privileges oral transmission; in contrast to the individualism and expertise of star artists, folklore is collective and communally shared; in contrast to the spectacular separation of consumers from production (cf. Debord, 1994), folklore is participatory. But if folklore is to play a role in addressing problems of modern experience, folklore has to enter modern experience. Folklore, then, comes into contact with the same modern structures that generated the alienated consciousness which folklore is invoked to address. Folkloric material is recorded, broadcast, copied, published. It is adapted to its new media, and in the process it is adapted to the tastes of its new publics. Exceptional folk performers become stars, and exceptional folk performances are separated from their audiences, which view folklore as a spectacle rather than as their own collective creation. Authentic folklore becomes inauthentic folklorism, and the search for authenticity may be begun again.

Nevertheless, it would be too simplistic to see the initial impulse to authenticity as simply hopeless or wrong. What makes folklore a powerful force in the modern world is the tension between authenticity and inauthenticity, which drives folklore enthusiasts toward various, often conflicting attempts at resolution. Some call for a “return to authenticity,” renewing interest in the folkloric forms that appear radically different from familiar modern expressive forms – this has been the approach, for example, of a major tendency in contemporary Slovak folklore performance. Others, by contrast, call for loosening the strictures placed on authenticity, so that changed and modernized forms may still be considered folkloric – this was the general attitude of Communist-influenced theorists of folklore in Eastern Europe after World War II (e.g. Chlíbec, 1960; or a number of the contributions to Frolec, 1977; and Švehlák, 1980), and in another form it is the attitude taken by collectors of “officelore” (Dundes and Pagter, 1975), “laborlore” (e.g. Green, 1993), modern or “urban” legends (e.g. Brunvand, 1981), and “folklore of the atomic age” (Janeček, 2011). Still others, like Édourd Glissant (1989), call for original, unconscious folklore to be transcended through its incorporation in consciously popular performance.

The problem of inauthentic folklore is usually approached from one or the other of these two perspectives. The first approach presents itself as a kind of unveiling of inauthenticity: it shows that what masquerades as folklore is really fake (Dorson, 1976) or invented (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983) or second-hand (Moser, 1962); it typically calls for scientific rigor and implies that real, authentic folklore could be defined and distinguished from its impostors if only folklorists could rid themselves of imprecise, romanticizing, or commercializing terms. The second approach, by contrast, presents the whole notion authentic folklore as logically inconsistent and ontologically impossible; it implies that there is no fundamental difference between the authentic and in-
authentic, and that the search for authenticity can only end in failure (e.g. Bendix, 1997; cf. also Bausinger, 1990). But despite their divergent suppositions, both approaches generally take for granted the opposition between authenticity and inauthenticity as two different, separate kinds of things.

What happens if, instead, we see the relationship between authenticity and inauthenticity as the crucial phenomenon of modern folklorism and folklore? If we see that in contemporary society all folklore is folklorism, because it becomes folklorism as soon as it is recognized and represented as folklore to a modern public; and that all folklorism is folklore, because folklore is recognized and kept alive or revived through folklorism? Some groundwork has been laid for such an approach, for example, by the tradition in Czech and Slovak folkloristics that has described the mutual influence between traditional folklore and modern folklorism, showing that newly authored works can become folkloric (Václavek, 1947; O. Sirovátka, 1987), that apparently authentic folk traditions develop in response to changing cultural conditions (e.g. Leščák, 1977; Krekovičová, 1989), and that folklorism involves complex processes of representation, which cannot be accounted for simply by labeling them as inauthentic or by ignoring the challenges posed by authenticity (this has been one of the approaches taken in numerous articles and volumes on the theme of folklorism, e.g. O. Sirovátka 2002; Holý and Sirovátka, 1985; Pavlicová and Uhlíková, 2008; Hlavsová, 1987; Ondrejka, 1973; Zálešák, 1990; Killánová and Krekovičová, 1992; Pavlicová and Uhlíková, 1997; Blahušek, 2006; Leščák, 2007). Still, even this work has not drawn sufficient attention to the productive nature of the tension between authenticity and inauthenticity.

It may be true that as long as the concept of folklore remains in use within a society that is antagonistic to traditional folkloric forms, it will be difficult for any kind of folklorism to develop into a permanently authentic, tension-free mode of folkloric expression. Attempts to revive old forms of authenticity still employ modern expressive means, which make it impossible to perfectly reproduce old authentic forms; and even the simple representation of certain authentic forms can have the effect of freezing them in time, making them objects of contemplation rather than the living forms that authentic folklore conceptually should be (cf. Bausinger 1990:177, 188). On the other hand, attempts to loosen the definition of authenticity still involve claims that new, modern forms of folklore are similar enough to traditionally conceived folklore to warrant the label of folklore. Even this more broadly conceived folklore comes into conflict with social communication of other, dominant forms.

There is no reason, however, to view this tension as a defect in folklorism. The tension between demands for authenticity and structural forces of inauthenticity is what distinguishes folklorism from other arts, driving its participants to creatively address the tension. Folklore is interesting as folklore because of its incongruence with the world around it. But if the idea of folklore contains the implicit idea of experience free from the maladies of modernity, the idea of folklorism contains the implicit acknowledgment that this experience can only be had, for now, within the confines of modern life. Inauthentic experience may be too deeply embedded in the current social system to be eliminated by folklorism, and any given folklorism may succumb and be experienced as inauthentic. But classical tragedy – like its popular analog, the folk ballad – has taught us that even struggles against insuperable forces can be meaningful struggles. Taking folklorism seriously means uncovering the meaning of what appears to be always already doomed.
THE SEARCH FOR AN OBJECT
(TAKING FOLKLORISTICS SERIOUSLY)

What, then, can be said of folkloristics, the discipline that is supposed to study folklore and folklorism, which have been thoroughly reconceptualized?

Some disciplines are inherently expansive, offering a distinct intellectual framework through which the whole world might be understood. Anthropology proposes to study all things human, Sociology, all things social. History studies all things in their temporal dimension, Semiotics, the meaning of all things. But folkloristics is not one of these fields. The intellectual framework of folkloristics does not apply directly to all things. Rather, folklorists’ attention is drawn to certain kinds of things by virtue of their distinctness from other things. The unique value of folkloristics lies not in its universality but in its specificity, its ability to capture a specific and unusual kind of phenomenon. Only when we know that we are not studying everything can we know that we are studying something exceptional. Attitudes may change regarding what this phenomenon is, but the discipline can only expand its scope of research so far before its object loses specificity and the discipline loses its justification for independent existence.

Alternatives to the notion of folklore do not provide much justification for keeping folkloristics alive as an independent discipline. “Verbal art” (Bauman, 1978) most certainly defines a set of phenomena worth studying, but there is no particular reason for folkloristics to be the field that studies verbal art. “Artistic communication in small groups” (Ben-Amos, 1972) is somewhat closer in extension to folklore as typically conceptualized, but neither artistry nor communicability nor the smallness of groups fully captures the set of imaginings and tensions that the idea of folklore entails. The same could be said of other candidates to be folklore’s conceptual replacement: “oral tradition”, “vernacular culture”, “ethno cultural tradition”, “ordinary” and “everyday” life, “intangible cultural heritage” – these terms refer to various characteristics commonly attributed to folklore, but none refers to the idea as a whole. Alan Dundes may have been right when he broke with folkloric traditionalism to assert that “The term ‘folk’ can refer to any group of people whatsoever who share at least one common factor” (Dundes, 1965:2; emphasis in the original), but his formulation only begs the question of how certain groups can become “folks” by sharing common factors in specific ways. If they do not share common factors in the right way – if they are not aware of what they share or do not act on this awareness – then calling them a “folk” would empty the term of specific value. Such groups would merely be “groups”, and sociology or even mathematics would suffice to study their “groupness”.

The term “folklore” is a contested term. Scientists, drawn to precision and neutrality, are often tempted to replace contested terms with uncontested terms that have stable meaning and easily identifiable content. Using such terms, they can no doubt produce precise knowledge. What is less certain is whether anyone should care about the precise knowledge they help produce. The best terms for purposes of scientific precision would be terms that no one but scientists cared enough about to bother using and contesting. Research conducted using these terms risks going unnoticed by non-scientists, because it would avoid taking part in the struggles over meaning that non-scientists find worth engaging in. The idea of folklore, as a contested idea, can only be used by a discipline that is willing to take part in contestation.

Old definitions of folklore have proven too rigid to account for the multiple types of
groups involved, in multiple kinds of sites and in multiple ways. There can be little jus-
tification for limiting folklore studies to peasant populations that are imagined as un-
changing and isolated from the modern world. But there is also no need to give up on
defining the folk altogether. On the contrary, the difficulty of defining something may
well be evidence of that thing’s importance, an indication that people care about it and
are willing to argue over how it should be defined. Often it is precisely those terms
most difficult to define that are most worth defining.6 This difficulty must be dealt
with, but it does not need to be overcome. Folklorists’ do not need to definitively fix the
definition of folklore. Rather, they can identify the process of defining as a central lo-
cus of struggle, and they can identify the central questions surrounding the concept’s
definition, questions about how groups of people define themselves through shared
modes of expression, working through tensions inherent to contemporary life, experi-
enced as tension between authenticity and inauthenticity. The answers to these ques-
tions may be multiple and changing. But the questions orient us toward what it is that
makes people care about folklore.

THE SEARCH FOR A SUBJECT (TAKING THE FOLK SERIOUSLY)

If researchers employ contested terms as their own, they implicitly renounce the
strict distinction between analytic (or “etic”) concepts employed by researchers and
culturally embedded (“emic”) concepts employed by the people they study. This re-
nunciation, however, is also an opportunity. It enables researchers to work through
their concepts together with the non-researchers around them. This does not mean that
researchers must uncritically accept the terms put forth by the non-researchers whose
terms they study, but it does means that researchers take researched discourse to exist
on the same plane as the researchers’ discourse. Researchers may have good reason to
dislike the way people use a term, but the problem of bad usage can hardly be solved
by labeling badly used terms “emic” and relegating them to a lower, non-scientific
realm. If the scientific analysis of the researcher is separated from the non-scientific
usage of non-researchers, it is all the more likely that the latter will continue, unaffect-
ed by scientific intervention. By contrast, if researchers assume that emic, culturally
embedded concepts exist on the same level as etic, analytic concepts; they take active
part in struggles over the meaning of these concepts (even while allowing the struggle
itself to be an object of their research). Rather than presupposing analytic categories
that exist independently of the material analyzed, researchers can begin with the cate-
gories that exist immanently in the empirical world, and critically work through these
categories to reveal their internal tensions as both productive and problematic, as pro-
ductive because they are problematic. I, for example, study struggles over the meaning
of the folk. These struggles do not merely take place in the minds of my informants.
They also take place in my own mind. If I, as a researcher, sometimes employ analytic,
etic terms, these terms must also be considered emic, because I and my terms are also
a part of the discourse that I study. If I, as a researched person among other researched
people, sometimes employ emic terms, I should be open to the possibility of them be-
coming also etic, used as a starting point for further analysis, in the course of which

6 Cf. Vološinov, who has written that the sign can become “an arena of the class struggle”, and that if it is
withdrawn from this struggle it inevitably loses force (1973: 23).
they will be further defined. And I take a position in these struggles. At times I identify and analyze definitions of the folk that are articulated, in varying degrees of explicitness, by the people I work with in the field. At other times I suggest my own definitions, which I may claim are more useful and more politically progressive (but not more true) than the definitions put forth or implied by others. And others, then, are able to respond to me. The concept I employ in research is not fixed before the research has begun. Before the research, I can say what I think the folk might be, but I cannot define what kinds of data would count as evidence of a folk’s existence. Only in the course of research am I able to see how the folk constitutes and re-constitutes itself as one thing or another, in the ongoing flow of practices and ideas. The definition of concepts is the conclusion of such research, not its point of the departure.

As E. P. Thompson (1963: 11) said of class, a concept which is in many ways similar to concept of the folk, it “is defined by men as they live their own history, and, in the end, this is its only definition”. The folk is also defined by folklorists, but only insofar as they are people among other people, taking part in the shared struggle over definition. In determining whether the folk exists or not, the crucial question is not whether its definition is clear and consistent or uncontroversial, but whether it has been successfully constructed in the course of shared social discourse, whether it has become an idea with identifiable social effects. The study of this idea, in the process of its potential reconstruction or deconstruction, provides folkloristics with its specific basis, out of which it may then proceed to reflect on the surrounding, non-folkloric world. The specificity of folkloristics, in other words, is that its object of research is a subject, the folk, a subject whose expressive action is central to modernity, but whose existence has been largely written out of research on what used to be called folklore. Taking the folk seriously would mean making that subject into an object of research, and making the researcher into a part of that subject, as a participant observing the subject-object’s history unfold.

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ABOUT THE AUTHOR

JOSEPH GRIM FEINBERG (b. 1979, Cleveland, Ohio, USA) is a doctoral student in the University of Chicago Department of Anthropology and a researcher at the Philosophy Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic and at the Sociology Institute of the Slovak Academy of Sciences. His dissertation discusses the changing meanings of “folklore” among contemporary Slovak folklore ensembles that have rebelled against what they perceive as folklore’s inauthentic stylization and politicization. In this case, the notion of inauthentic folklore serves as cipher for tensions involved in the process of bringing folkloric objects into a modern public sphere, while the notion of authentic folklore points toward attempts to work through these tensions, even when those involved assert that perfect authenticity in the modern world is impossible to attain. The author has also published on the relationship between competing notions of collective subjectivity, such as “the people”, “the working class”, and “civil society”; on the paradoxes contained in the notion of a “public sphere”; and on the methodology of studying social solidarity.
Nowadays the establishment of the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Slovakia belongs to the basic level of creation of the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity. Yet it is not the only mission of the list. It is supposed to raise awareness and recognition of the importance of intangible cultural heritage of Slovakia in society and to emphasize the need for its protection and revitalisation. It is also supposed to encourage individuals, groups, institutions and organisations to contribute to management, conservation, safeguarding and propagation of this heritage. Fulfilment of these goals will mean a high social recognition of the heritage; at the same time the list will serve as an instrument to raise public awareness of the values of masterpieces of intangible cultural heritage of Slovakia and the need for its protection and revitalisation.

On 8th of August 2007 the Government of the Slovak Republic adopted the Resolution no. 666 that approved the Concept for Cultivating the Traditional Folk Culture. The concept followed the international conventions mentioned above. It proclaimed strategic tasks including the establishment of the Representative List at a national level.

It was the starting point of the creation of the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Slovakia. Implementation of the concept included the proposal for establishment of the list at national level elaborated by the Coordination Centre of Traditional Folk Culture. In 2009 the proposal was approved by the Ministry of Culture of the Slovak Republic. The task of the coordination centre is to implement the governmental concept on the whole, including establishing the list that starts from announcement of a call until the final official registration of the approved elements during a public ceremony. The national body consisting of artists, scientists, pedagogues and creative specialists, working at the state level, in regions and localities, was established to make decisions about enlistment of the proposed elements.

The first call for the proposals was announced in 2010. Since then the conditions for registration have been fully compatible with the conditions for entry into the global list of UNESCO. Only one of three proposals submitted in the first year was approved. In 2011 there were eight proposals and four approved elements were enlisted. In 2012 applicants submitted nine proposals; four of them were approved for enlistment (the approval process has been extended until 2013). Today the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Slovakia enlists nine elements.
THE RADVAŇ FAIR

The Radvaň Fair cultivates the tradition dating from the 17th century. It originated in 1655 in Radvaň, which was then the centre of crafts. Historians claim that the fair at Radvaň originated on the basis of the privilege to organize pilgrimages which was granted to the Catholic church in Radvaň. Many people participating in the pilgrimages became the target of the craftsmen of Radvaň who took the opportunity to sell them their produce. Having started as a traditional barter business between the town and the country, the fair later developed into a venue from which wider areas began to be supplied with agricultural produce, handiwork and industrial products. People from the neighbouring areas used to come to the fair to buy products and find some entertainment.

The fair was of great significance mainly in the 19th century when producers of cloth and blueprinted cloth; boot makers, hatters, comb makers, gunpowder producers, traditional peasants’ leather shoe makers, or artisans making wood, straw or wicker products ranked among the most respected representatives of trade. A special position was held by ginger bread makers. A specific custom had developed, whereby young single men bought wooden cooking spoons on the last day of the fair, which they then used to hit young girls and women on their bottoms. This tradition has been preserved until today and has extended to all fair days.

“AUŠUS” SERVICES OF ŠPANIA DOLINA MINERS

The “Aušus” services of Špania dolina miners are represented by ritual practices dating from 15th century. Since then they have been continually handed down from generation to generation. They include miners’ feast, miners’ mass, miners’ wedding and miners’ funeral. Before 1787 miners also served in the miners’ militia. Miners, as free citizens represented a specific group of inhabitants of medieval Europe. They were quite educated, they were allowed to move about freely and they did not pay taxes. This allowed for the origin of multinational communities in all ore mining regions of Europe. Miners’ brotherhoods were established everywhere. Apart from ceremonial rituals they also provided miners with social care. The oldest written document of the Miners’ Brotherhood in Špania Dolina dates from 1 August 1574. The seal of the Miners’ Brotherhood dates from 1683.

TRADITIONAL MANUAL BELL RINGING AND THE BELL FOUNDERS’ TRADITION IN SLOVAKIA

Bells, as both musical instruments and ritual objects, have been used in various cultures of the world as the means of summoning people to religious services, announcing the time, deaths, arrivals of honorary visitors, warnings before danger, fires or floods, the means of preventing storms and gales and announcing lots of other occurrences related to people’s lives since the times unknown. Traditional manual ringing and the bell founder’s post in Slovakia can be defined as traditional and best techniques of making bells ring. Bells and traditional manual ringing, which is inseparable from the bell founder’s job, have been a significant part of the identity, culture and his-
historical tradition in our territory since the most ancient period of our national history until today. The tradition is definitely confirmed by numerous evidence, documents and references in material and written historical sources.

**FUJARA – THE MUSICAL INSTRUMENT AND ITS MUSIC**

The fujara is an exceptionally long pipe with three touch holes which is typical of Slovakia, specifically central Slovakia. The fujara was included in the List of Masterpieces of Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity in 2005 (Today’s Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity). The sources about the history of ‘fujara’ consist predominantly of written evidence. The oldest use of the word ‘fujara’ which could be considered as the first reference to ‘fujara’ as it is known today, is to be found in Bruk’s manuscript miscellany dating from the 1780s. From the beginning of the 19th century the word ‘fujara’ began to be used more frequently as an unambiguous term for naming the present day’s instrument.

The fujara has a more specific musical repertoire than any other musical instrument. This is due to its role in the life of shepherds, its relation to the shepherds’ and highwaymen’s element, the musical and technical properties of the instrument, as well as due to its onomatopoeic use of tones in high positions. Every single musical instrument is the reflection of the unique properties of its maker and performer.

**MUSIC OF TERCHOVÁ**

The music of Terchová is an orally cultivated musical culture of the community of Terchová which is specific for its original collective vocal instrumental performance. The phenomenon of the music of Terchová does not apply only to the typical instrumental body with a little two-string bass, but also to the entire relevant musical tradition. It is only complete when complemented with singing repertoire, folk dance known as ‘terchovská krútená’ or ‘čardáš’ (a typical rotating dance) with its own musical style and performers by whom it is perceived as a key part of their cultural identity and a product of their spiritual equipment.

The first direct evidence of the existence of the music of Terchová dates from the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, when a 3-member band of Terchová called „Kvočkovská muzika” was active in the settlement of Kvočkovia. As early as 1935 Franc Balát’s „Ištvaniarska muzika” music of Terchová had been recorded both in word and in picture in director Martin Frič’s film Jánošík. Lots of recordings of the music of Terchová have been preserved on different media, including sheet music collections.

**ORNAMENTS IN ČIČMANY**

The term “Čičmany ornaments” refers to ornamental decorations of wooden houses in the village Čičmany as well as to the whole local decorative tradition including embroidery patterns. The decoration of houses in Čičmany has been inspired by a rich local embroidery tradition with its geometric patterns. It became especially important after a fire in the village in 1920s: then the architect Dušan Jurkovič initiated construc-
tion and decoration of new houses. The paintings were made without sketching, at first by white riddle, later by lime.

They were useful because they served as protection against moisture, but they had apotropaic function as well: some geometric elements carried symbolic protective meaning. Later their meaning shifted to the level of decoration and representation.

Čičmany ornaments played an important role in historical and cultural tradition in Slovakia. They became a renowned representational element of national tradition. In 1977 a part of the village of Čičmany was declared a conservation area of folk architecture. The significance of the ornaments persists due to this status of the village as well as inhabitants’ present interest in their cultural history.

**SALAMANDER IN BANSKÁ ŠTIAVNICA**

Initially the Salamander Parade was a festive procession of students and officials of the Mining Academy in Banská Štiavnica on particularly important occasions. It was shaped during 150 years of historical development of the Mining Academy in Banská Štiavnica (established in 1762) – the first mining school in the world. Today the Parade is a part of Salamander’s days – a traditional city festival associated with celebration of the Day of miners, metallurgists, geologists and oilmen in the whole Slovakia. Thus the Parade became an identification sign of mining in the city and its vicinity.

The name of the procession refers to serpentine movement of a lizard – spotted salamander. According to a legend about establishment of the city, a shepherd discovered lizards with golden and silver dust on their backs up in the hills, which initiated mining in the area. The actors of the Parade move according to a rhythmic pattern from one side of the street to another to imitate the movement of salamander. The procession revives famous historical events of the city, demonical beings associated with mining works underground as well as personages of social life in the city.

**TRADITIONAL PUPPETRY IN SLOVAKIA**

Traditional puppetry in Slovakia is an inherent part of vernacular theatrical and literary tradition. Initially it was promoted by families of nomadic puppeteers who made their living by performance of theatrical plays. However, traditional puppetry could be considered an important expression of traditional folk culture. In Slovak milieu the original repertoires based on imported European patterns underwent a rapid process of folklorisation. They were enriched by specific local linguistic and thematic elements and developed their own typology of personages and artistic interpretation of puppets. The most famous personages are Gašparko and codgers – peasants Škrhola and Trčka.

Puppeteers were first mentioned in Slovakia in the 17th and 18th centuries. In the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century puppetry expanded all over Slovakia due to the interpreters’ nomadic way of life. In particular puppetry was represented by theatrical families: Stražan, Anderle, Nosálek, Sajka, Fábry, Dubský and other. Traditional puppetry still belongs to vital parts of intangible cultural heritage in Slovakia.
BAGPIPES AND BAGPIPE CULTURE IN SLOVAKIA

Bagpipes belonging to traditional instruments, as well as the entire bagpipe culture comprising expressions and knowledge associated with bagpipes and their use, represent a long continual music tradition of peasants and shepherds who lived on the territory of Slovakia. Due to the natural intergenerational transmission this important cultural and historical phenomenon has persevered until today.

Concerning construction, the types of bagpipes used in Slovakia belong to the broader context of Central Europe. However, many of their attributes represent identification signs of the traditional folk culture in Slovakia, for instance: technological methods of bagpipes’ construction, aesthetical forms of instruments, local as well as individual styles of bagpipe interpretation, song and dance repertoire, rituals associated with bagpipes, texts of bagpipe songs and a folk oral tradition associated with bagpipes.

Author is director of the Slovak Intangible Cultural Heritage Centre
The Slovak State Traditional Dance Company (Slovenský ľudový umelecký kolektív, SĽUK) has been a professional artistic ensemble involved in the sphere of artistic processing and performing of folklore in Slovakia for 64 years. In its creative activities SĽUK finds inspiration in authentic Slovak popular art which is processed into highly successful shows of superior quality. Currently, 45 top professional artists from Slovakia, the Czech Republic and Holland are engaged in the dance ensemble, folk music and SĽUK’s singing group.

The creative activities of the recent years have been marked by the effort to find a new face and a new shape for the SĽUK of the third millennium. The ambition of the current management is to build SĽUK as:

- A professional representative artistic ensemble combining the traditional and innovative approaches and new creative artistic projects mingling with new artistic genres;
- An art scene offering opportunities to young artists, university students, as well as professionals, to realize their projects, to stage co-productions, cross-genre and multicultural events, artistic programmes, workshops, seminars and conferences;
- A significant cultural and social institution of great impact on the implementation of the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003); upbringing and educating children, young people and adults in the sphere of the traditional popular culture; international cooperation in the sphere of safeguarding, promoting and performing the traditional popular culture, thus making it accessible.

Contact:

SĽUK
Balkánska 31
853 08 Bratislava
Slovakia
Tel.: +421 204 78 265
E-mail: sluk@sluk.sk
Web: www.sluk.sk
Slovak Intangible Cultural Heritage Centre (Centrum pre tradičnú ľudovú kultúru, CTĽK) is a professional workplace at SĽUK, the task of which is to implement the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage and the government’s Concept of Cultivating the Traditional Folk Culture. Its activities concentrate on documenting, storing, processing, filing and making the elements of the traditional popular culture generally available and accessible. The centre bears the main responsibility for compiling the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Slovakia and the Representative List of Programmes, Projects, and Activities which best reflect the convention for the intangible cultural heritage.

Contact: SĽUK – CTĽK
Balkánska 31
853 08 Bratislava
Slovakia
Tel.: +421 204 78 261
E-mail: tlk@sluk.sk
Web: www.ludovakultura.sk

SK UNESCO
SLOVAK COMMISSION FOR UNESCO

The aim of the Commission is to promote and develop the activities of the UNESCO programs in area of education and science, information, informatics, communication, and environment. To achieve this goal the Commission engages for the UNESCO projects professionals from various organizations, institutions and corresponding ministries, as well as broader public.

• The Commission acts as an advisory body for the government and the National Council of the Slovak Republic in all the issues related to UNESCO and its programs.
• In contact with the state institutions, ministries and various organizations the Commission coordinates activities related to cooperation with UNESCO (sessions and decisions of the General Conference of UNESCO, sessions and decisions of the Executive Board of UNESCO, sessions of intergovernmental committees and boards, and other UNESCO undertakings).
• The Commission ensures an active participation of the Slovak Republic in preparation, planning, implementing, and evaluation of the UNESCO programs and other UNESCO activities.
• The Commission informs institutions and public in the Slovak Republic about implemented and planned activities of UNESCO in particular spheres.
• The Commission is a primary partner and co-operator in the country for the UNESCO Secretariat residing in Paris; the Commission guarantees its connections with the national bodies and institutions.
• The Commission promotes and coordinates cooperation with the national commissions abroad.
The Commission provides proposals of convenient candidates for the UNESCO bodies.


Contact: SK UNESCO (Slovak Commission for UNESCO)
Hlboká cesta 2
833 36 Bratislava
Slovakia
Tel.: +421 259 78 36 14, +421 259 78 36 15
E-mail: unesco@mzv.sk
Web: www.unesco.sk

ÚET SAV – INSTITUTE OF ETHNOLOGY
OF THE SLOVAK ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

The Institute of Ethnology of the Slovak Academy of Sciences (SAS) was founded in 1946 (until 1994, it was called the Ethnographic Institute of SAS). Its main scope of work is the research of traditional and present culture and ways of life, especially within the territory of Slovakia and Central Europe. The topics of research projects tackle, for example, social and cultural aspects of the political and economic transformations of society, ethnic processes, collective identities and minorities, analyses of the importance of cultural heritage, ethno-historical development of the Central-European space, etc.

From among many successful projects in the field of cultural heritage, we can mention the current international project Preservation and Enhancement of Folk Culture Heritage in Central Europe – ETNOFOLK (2011–2014), conducted under the Central Europe Programme and co-financed by the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF). Another project example is the internet encyclopaedia www.ludovakultura.sk (2012), prepared in cooperation with the Slovak Intangible Cultural Heritage Centre, with more than 1,800 entries completed with pictures, audio- and video-recordings. The Radio Vocabulary of Folk Culture (2013) is also a successful popularisation project carried out in co-operation with the Slovak Radio, bringing to the audience information about 230 terms from Slovakia’s folk culture.

Besides scientific research, the Institute of Ethnology of the SAS as an external education institution provides accredited doctoral studies of ethnology in collaboration with the Department of Ethnology and Museology of the Faculty of Arts of the Comenius University in Bratislava and the Department of Ethnology and Folklore Studies of the Constantine the Philosopher University in Nitra. The institute has a specialised library, a documentation and information unit, and a Scientific Archive that has been scientifically processing and preserving texts, pictures and multi-media documents since 1953. At the same time, the Institute of Ethnology of SAS houses the editorial office of the scientific magazine Slovenský národopis/Slovak Ethnology which presents the results of research in the field of ethnology, cultural/social anthropology and related disciplines.

Contact: Ústav etnológie (Institute of Ethnology)
Slovenská akadémia vied (Slovak Academy of Sciences)
NSS – THE SLOVAK ETHNOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY

The Slovak Ethnographical Society (Národopisná spoločnosť Slovenska, NSS) – is one of the oldest scientific societies within the Slovak Academy of Sciences (SAS). The NSS was established in 1958 as a Slovak Ethnographic Society at SAS. The Slovak Ethnographical Society is a civil association of graduates of Ethnology as well as the scientific and technical staff and ethnology students. It operates at the Slovak Academy of Sciences and is based in Bratislava. The supreme authority of the NSS is a General Assembly, which is held every three years. The NSS has over 200 members in three categories: full members, collective members and honorary members. Collective members are institutions - mainly museums and other cultural and educational institutions. Honorary members are proposed by the committee and approved by the NSS General Assembly. Honorary members could be those, who had been full members previously, as well as those who had not been members of the NSS before, but they are honoured as experts with exceptional contributions to the development of Ethnology.

The NSS focuses on informing the members about activities, organising lectures or cooperating with educational institutions. The NSS itself or in collaboration with academic institutions organizes scientific events (seminars, conferences) lectures and presentations of new publications, but especially informs its members about current events in ethnology in Slovakia. There is an Education section within the NSS, which works actively and regularly organising discussion about current problems in teaching ethnology/anthropology at universities in Slovakia.

The NSS has published a journal, Etnologické rozpravy (Ethnology Debates) since 1994, before that time known as Etnografické informácie (Ethnographic Information) established in 1969. The journal is registered in the ERIH citation database. The NSS also makes available bibliographic inventories of Ethnology on its website.

The NSS manages a scientific archive, which originated as a corpus of research materials (texts and photos/negatives) which regular and corresponding members collected within their ethnographic field research. The archive contains nearly 1200 units of texts as well as nearly 1000 photos and negatives. Research materials often contain unique information about traditional culture in Slovakia. Most of it emerged within preparation of local, regional or thematic monographs.

Contact:   Národopisná spoločnosť Slovenska / Slovak Ethnographical Society
            Klemensova 19
            813 64 Bratislava
            Slovakia
            Tel.: +421 52964707
In 2011 the Department of Ethnology and Museology, Faculty of Arts, Comenius University (Katedra etnológie a muzeológie Filozofická fakulta Univerzity Komenského v Bratislave, KEM FiF UK) commemorated the 90th anniversary of teaching ethnography. This program originated at the Comenius University in Bratislava in 1921 for the first time ever in Czechoslovakia. Starting as a seminar it later evolved into an ethnological department. Ethnography and Folklore Studies were read by outstanding personalities of the interwar period such as professors K. Chotek, V. Pražák, F. Wollman and P. G. Bogatyrev.

Post-war history of teaching ethnography and folklore was strongly influenced by professors R. Bednárik and A. Melicherčík. In 1969 an independent Department of Ethnography and Folklore Studies was established. Over the years it was led by professors J. Podolák, J. Michálek, E. Droppová, M. Leščák and since 2003 M. Botíková.

In 1968 an ethnology research unit was created within the department. This was directed until 1975 by J. Podolák and in the years 1975 – 1996 E. Horváthová. Rich research material is part of the collection which contains more than twenty thousand photographic negatives, slides, drawings and text materials, which are being gradually digitalized.

The KEM has accredited courses in the fields of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology on three levels: bachelor’s, master’s and doctoral studies. Beginning in 1996 KEM added the fields of Museology and Cultural Heritage.

During their studies the students obtain knowledge and skills that enable them to work in applied scientific research, state and public administration, and particularly in the areas of local and regional cultural institutions. Our graduates are prepared to work with ethnic minorities, consulting activities for domestic and foreign institutions, mass media and do analytical work to explain the specific social and cultural processes. Other areas of expertise include arts, museology and conservation of cultural heritage.

Educators at KEM are involved in basic research in grant projects and work closely in connection with domestic and international ethnological educational and research institutes. The international exchange of students is coordinated through the ERASMUS and CEEPUS international networks.

Contact: Department of Ethnology and Museology, Faculty of Arts, Comenius University, Bratislava
Gondova 2
814 99 Bratislava
Tel.: +421 59339277
E-mail: kem@fphil.uniba.sk,
https://www.facebook.com/kem.fifuk
KEF – THE DEPARTMENT OF ETHNOLOGY AND FOLKLORE STUDIES OF THE FACULTY OF ARTS OF CONSTANTINE THE PHILOSOPHER UNIVERSITY IN NITRA

The department was founded in the academic year 1991/1992 as a professional university workplace aimed at preparing professionals for school and cultural facilities with knowledge on the variable forms of traditional and contemporary culture of Slovakia, able to apply this knowledge in the educational process and in their activities within the folklore movement. In spite of the common ethnological core identical to other ethnological departments of Slovak universities, it is different from other departments with a similar focus. The difference lies in the department’s focus on practical folklore studies within Slovak cultural regions, and on the verbal/dramatic and music/dance folklore from both theoretical and practical aspects. During the first years of its existence, the department initiated and participated in several events about the application of knowledge on cultural heritage and ethno-cultural traditions in the educational process. It organised three such events and published collections of expert works on the respective topics. Some of the department’s employees, either former or present ones, as well as graduates have long been dealing with the collection of both traditional and present folklore expressions. They publish various expert works dealing, among other things, with documentation, data collection, and subsequent ethnological analysis of several topics related to tangible and intangible expressions of culture heritage, their transformations and functioning in the contemporary society. They also organise various events each year (lectures, discussions, workshops, practical presentations, scenic and educational programmes as part of renowned folklore events, etc.), presenting and promoting the variable forms of cultural heritage in Slovakia.

Contact: Department of Ethnology and Folklore Studies Faculty of Arts Constantine the Philosopher University in Nitra Hodžova 1 949 74 Nitra Phone no.: (+421) (0) 37/6408 35-8, -6, -2 E-mail: ketnoffukf@gmail.com Web: www.ketno.ff.ukf.sk

UCM – THE DEPARTMENT OF ETHNOLOGY AND WORLD STUDIES, UNIVERSITY OF SS. CYRIL AND METHODIUS IN TRNAVA

The department of Ethnology and World Studies in Trnava was founded in 1997 when the University of ss. Cyril and Methodius (UCM) was established. The ethnological interest of the department extends to ethnological European, Oriental, African and American studies and thus, this department represents the only institution with such an orientation in Slovakia. Since 2013 the department also provides a doctoral program
focused on methods of ethnological research and current trends in ethnology and socio-cultural anthropology. Since 2000 the department has published its own magazine – Ethnologia Actualis Slovaca.

The systematic scientific orientation of the department is divided into five main issues: nations and cultures of the world, media coverage of culture and cultural traditions, ethno-cultural processes in Slovakia in a European context, history of ethnological science in Slovakia and traditional local culture and its changes. Scientists from the Department of Ethnology and World Studies have published many appreciated scientific and scientific-popular publications and have presented their results at international scientific conferences. The department collaborates with European (Warwick University) as well as other universities (National Autonomous University of Mexico) and cultural institutions. The department is also engaged in a project of peacebuilding anthropology.

Scientists from the Department of Ethnology and World Studies do a lot of field research in Europe, Asia, Africa and America.

Scientists and professors from the department are also very successfully engaged in the area of cultural heritage. They periodically take part in field research in various localities of Slovakia. Moreover, they are authors of scientific articles and books about folk culture, art, ethno-cultural processes, religious and cultural identity and many other phenomena of culture and society.

Contact:
Department of Ethnology and World Studies
Faculty of Arts
University of ss. Cyril and Methodius
Námestie J. Herdu 2
917 01 Trnava
E-mail: miroslava.kozarova@ucm.sk

ÚHV SAV – INSTITUTE OF MUSICOLOGY OF THE SLOVAK ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

The Institute of Musicology of the Slovak Academy of Sciences (Ústav hudobnej vedy Slovenskej akadémie vied, ÚHV SAV) was established in 1951. In 1953 it was transferred to the Slovak Academy of Sciences (SAS) as one of the foundational institutions. The Institute of Musicology SAS maintained direct continuity with the work of the Musicological Institute, which had been founded in 1943 as one of the first scholarly research centres of the Slovak Academy of Sciences and Arts (1942 – 1953). From 1973 to 1990 it was temporarily integrated into the Institute of Art History as the Musicology Section. In 1990 it became independent and was reactivated under its original name. The Institute of Musicology SAS is devoted to basic research of music and musical culture in regional, national and European contexts. Its conception of scholarly research is based on developing all three of the fundamental musicological disciplines: historical musicology, ethnomusicology and systematic musicology. Several of the foremost figures of Slovak musicology have contributed towards giving the institute its profile (e.g. Jozef Kresánek, Ladislav Burlas, Richard Rybarič, Oskár Elschek).

Currently attention is being devoted to the field of cultural heritage in all three of the
Institute’s departments. This is especially so in the Department of Ethnomusicology, which is devoted to researching traditional musical and dance culture in Slovakia through field documentation, transcription, analysis and classification of material, ranging from scholarly studies and monographs reflecting on this material to published editions making it directly available. As part of its work the Department holds extensive collections of manuscript records, sound recordings and audiovisual documentaries, which are objects of special preservation and technical care. The basic activity of the Department of Musical History is researching the musical sources deriving from the territory of Slovakia from medieval times to the early 20th century. The Institute participates in reconstructing them and making them available in the form of source critical editions, which is of service both to future research and artistic practice. In the Department of Systematic Musicology issues of cultural heritage are pursued in the area of organology, which is oriented towards research and protection of historical musical instruments, overlapping with the practise of restoration.

Contacts: Ústav hudobnej vedy SAV (Institute of Musicology of the SAS)
Dúbravská cesta 9
841 04 Bratislava4
Slovakia
Tel./Fax.: +421 2 54773589
E-mail: musicology.director@savba.sk, musicology@savba.sk
Web: www.uhv.sav.sk

NOC – NATIONAL CULTURAL CENTRE

The National Cultural Centre (Národné osvetové centrum, NOC, further NCC) is an organization financial supported by the Ministry of Culture of the Slovak Republic. The main activities of the NCC are in the field of education, research and monitoring, publishing, exhibition and presentation activities, artistic activities in the traditional folklore, contemporary folklorism, theatre, literature, photography, film, fine arts etc.

In 1999 by establishing the Cabinet of the Traditional Culture (later Institute of the Traditional Culture) projects in the field of the cultural heritage and its documentation and preservation were strengthened. In 2000 the project of the documentation of the Traditional Dances of Slovakia started. From 2001 to 2009, dances from most regions of Slovakia were documented and published on DVD. In order to systematize and provide information on the folklore and folklorism, a database of organizations, personalities, events and ensembles in this field was created. This database has been an important input for the creation of the Encyclopedia of the scenic folklorism in Slovakia.

From 2012 NCC is implementing national projects “Central filing and application infrastructure” (CAIR) and “Harmonization of information systems”, co-financed by the European Regional Development Fund through the Operational Programme Information Society, Priority Axis 2. CAIR, as the name implies, builds the application - system at the central level for all institutions in the sector of culture. Within this system, portal and registers, a central database of the digitalised objects of intangible and tangible cultural heritage is built.
RESEARCH CENTRE OF EUROPEAN ETHNOLOGY

The Research Centre of European Ethnology works as an institution that carries out ethnological research into the Hungarian national minority community in Slovakia. Its primary tasks are conducting scientific research into the Hungarian traditional culture in Slovakia, as well as the documentation and publication of results.

Besides the traditional fields of ethnological research its main activities include the examination of inter-ethnic relations, research of ethnic changes with special emphasis on historical relations (esp. settlement history). By adapting the latest theoretical and methodological results of ethnology the Centre functions as a modern workshop and is also involved in cross-border research programs.

Research of interethnic relations – over the past centuries, Hungarians, living on the southern frontiers of Slovakia, have constantly been living in the neighbourhood of other ethnicities, primarily Slovaks, Germans, Croatians, Rusyns, Jews and Roma. Therefore, Hungarian traditional culture cannot be properly understood without examining its various inter-ethnic relations. Research is carried out on this mutual influence from the historical, as well as present-day perspective.

Research of sacred ethnology – mementoes of the folk religion and private devotion (including crucifixes, statues of the saints, small chapels, poles with the saint’s picture or statue inside and the various gravestone symbols) are the most endangered pieces of folk relics. They are of great importance not only in the sense of religious and cultural history but also regarding ethnography and art history. The Sacred Memento Archive is unique and constantly growing database which collections include the sacred mementoes of the given area in their historical existence and variations.

Changes in the traditional culture of the Hungarians of Slovakia – At the times before of the total break-up of the traditional culture the former Upper-Hungarian regions were ceded to Czechoslovakia. Research has been carried out examining the effects the different political and social changes had on the traditional culture in this area (including border changes and the times of the communist regime and the changeover), which have already brought edifying results. The long-term aims of the Centre also include the compilation of a resume reenacting the folk culture of the Hungarians living on the territories of today’s Slovakia in the first decades of the twentieth century and also introducing the impacts and changes than have had an effect on the Hungarian traditional culture since then.
The collections of the Centre:
- Reference Library
- Ethno-cultural Historical Photo Collection
- Ethnological archive
- Sound and Video Archives
- Sacred Small Memento Archives
- Cemetery documentation
- National Symbols’ Documentation

Contact:
Research centre of European Ethnology
Hradná 2
P.O. Box 154
945 01 Komárno 1
Slovakia
Tel.: +421 35 7732 854
E-mail: etno@foruminst.sk; liszkajozsef@azet.sk
Web: http://foruminst.sk/sk/struktura/etnologicke-centrum/

ÚĽUV – THE CENTRE FOR FOLK ART PRODUCTION

The Centre for Folk Art Production (Ústredie ľudovej umeleckej výroby, ÚĽUV) was established on the basis of Decree of President no. 110/1945 issued in 1945. ÚĽUV is a contributory organization of the Ministry of Culture, established by the Act no. 4/58 Coll. from 1958.

ÚĽUV’s main purpose is to preserve, document and promote the knowledge, skills, processes and aesthetic patterns (arising from the use of natural materials) of traditional folk art productions and thus preserving them for future generations.

ÚĽUV is responsible for the:
- documentation of traditional crafts and folk production,
- assistance to the creation of new productions for craftsmen,
- technical consultations to craftsmen and general public,
- maintenance of collections and fund documentation,
- publication of professional titles and journals about crafting,
- organization of exhibitions, festivals and presentations of folk art crafts,
- organization of crafting classes for the general public,
- library and information services,
- information about all associated processes of traditional folk art production to the public.

Exhibitions are held in specialized showrooms, with the aim of presenting contemporary folk art pieces and design inspired by tradition and folk crafts. The Festival of traditional crafts and folk productions, Dni majstrov ÚĽUV (Craftsmen Days) has been organised on regular basis in Bratislava since 1990. ÚĽUV’s publishing activities include series for children, craftsmen profile series, publications on various branches of folk craft – how to acquire the basic of bobbin lace making, making cornhusk dolls,
decorating honey cakes, etc. The magazine RUD (Remeslo_umenie_dizajn; Craft, Art, Design), published since 2000, focuses on craft traditions and their use in the contemporary products by craftsmen and professional artists. Since 2004 is also being held a biannual competition promoting traditional folk crafts and their cross-overs towards present day, called Rings in Water (Kruhy na vode).

ÚĽUV cooperates especially with European Federation of Folk Arts and Crafts, International Organization of Folk Art (IOFA), Euroart, The World Crafts Council (WCC), The International Council of Museums (ICOM) and The International organization of bobbin lace and the lace sewing (OIDFA).

You can find ÚĽUV in Bratislava, Banská Bystrica and Košice.

Contact: ÚĽUV – The Centre for Folk Art Production
Obchodná 64
816 11 Bratislava
Slovakia
Tel.: + 421 2/5273 13 49
E-mail: craft@uluv.sk
Web: www.uluv.sk
On 24 October 2013 the ceremonial announcement of the elements included in the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Slovakia took place in the Hall of the Ministry of Culture of the Slovak Republic. The ceremony was attended by representatives of cultural and academic spheres – ethnologists, musicologists, folklorists, and researchers, as well as politicians and representatives of mass media. In their presence the Minister of Culture Marek Maďarič handed over to translators the attestation of inclusion of the elements in the National List. The elements announced in 2011 – the Radvaň Fair, the Aušus Services of Špania Dolina Miners, the Traditional Manual Bell Ringing, the Fujara and the Music of Terchová – were appended by the Čičmany ornaments, the Salamander Parade of Banská Štiavnica, the Traditional Puppetry, and the Bagpipes and Bagpipe Culture. The ceremonial announcement was diversified by multimedia projection and live demonstration of four new elements.

In the introductory speech the Minister emphasized the speciality and transience of traditional folk culture which would disappear without adequate interest of amateur enthusiasts and systematic support of the state. He denoted the creation of the List as an instrument for better safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage and for providing information about its importance.

After the Minister’s speech the participants’ attention was drawn to four Čičmanians dressed in folk costumes who appeared on the podium. The costumes were ornamented by colourful hand embroidery. The mayor of the village of Čičmany Natália Dubnicayová demonstrated the formal elements of Čičmany embroidery on the costumes, in particular stylized geometrical patterns, for instance “sťčka” (little hearts), “perá” (feathers), “pánence” (dolls), “kohúty” (cocks) and “cestičky” (paths). The ornaments became an inspiration for decorations on the walls of log houses in the village.

The Čičmany folk costumes were replaced on the podium by several figures of the Salamander Parade from Banská Štiavnica. The procession was led by a shepherd in folk costume carrying a wooden lizard as a symbol of the establishment of the city and mining. He was followed by other personages: a miner in Aušus uniform carrying mattock and hammer; the humorous figure of Nácko from Štiavnica carrying a suitcase full of jokes; an Eternal Student; and a Gipsy Woman. According to Nadežda Babiaiková, the mayor of Banská Štiavnica, the Salamander Parade became an important identification element of the city inhabitants who participate every year in the organization of the procession.

The fragment of the puppet play of Anton Anderle, the last folk puppeteer in Slovakia, with his famous personage “Slušúmer”, brought a spirit of traditional puppetry to the Hall of the Ministry. When puppeteer, aesthetician and folklorist Juraj Hamar received an award, he said that he perceived the in-
clusion of traditional puppetry in the Representative List as a satisfaction for all folk puppeteers whose activities had been restricted and then prohibited by the political regime during the 1950s. For a while a little Gašparko appeared at the podium. The puppet was brought to life by Ivan Gontko, a moderator of the ceremony as well as an enthusiastic puppeteer.

The performance of Dominik Garaj from Veľká Lehota and 12 years old Adrian Matis from Oravská Polhora demonstrated resilience of bagpipes and bagpipe culture in Slovakia. According to Milan Rusko, a representative of the Association of Slovak Bagpipers, one of the purposes of enthusiastic supporters of bagpipes is inclusion of bagpipes into traditional holidays and entertainments in order to renew public awareness of this musical instrument with a long tradition which in the past was common on the whole territory of Slovakia.

The programme of ceremonial announcement of the elements of intangible heritage was ended by an official reception accompanied by informal talks and animated discussions between experts and representatives of included elements.

The Slovak Intangible Heritage Centre was the main creator of the List. It prepared for the public the thematic exhibition named The Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Slovakia. The opening took place on 25 November 2013 in Bratislava Gallery X.

Symbolically, the National Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Slovakia was expanded in the year when the Slovak Republic is remembering the 20th anniversary of entering UNESCO and the 10th anniversary of the adoption of the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage.

MARTINA PADUŠŇÁKOVÁ,
SLUK - Slovak State Traditional Dance Company
The Days of Slovak Culture named The Wealth in Diversity took place on 31 August – 29 September 2013 in Berlin. The event was organized by the Slovak Institute in Berlin in cooperation with the Embassy of the Slovak Republic in Berlin and the Museum of European Cultures in Berlin. It was part of the annual European Heritage Days. The 10th anniversary of this happening was dedicated to Slovakia, its inhabitants, culture and history. During four weeks the Museum of European Cultures hosted sixteen happenings presenting Slovak culture for the German public – academic lectures, film presentations, music and dance performances, craft workshops, and literary readings.

The event was appended by two exhibitions. The Centre for Folk Art Production (ÚĽUV) prepared an exhibition showing traditional folk culture of Slovakia in combination with historical and modern exhibits. It included demonstration of crafts and folk music instruments as well as persistence of these traditions and the use of them in modern design.

The Slovak Intangible Cultural Heritage Centre presented the moveable exhibition The Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Slovakia. The exhibition demonstrated five elements of folk culture included in the Representative List in 2010 and 2011: the Radvaň Fair, the Aušus Services of Špania Dolina Miners, the Traditional Manual Bell Ringing and the bell ringers’ function in Slovakia, the musical instrument fujara and fujara music, and the Music of Terchová. The exhibition presented the elements by descriptions in three languages appended by photo documentation of their history and their present life. The video projection installed in the exhibit space showed the elements in more details.

Even more detailed description of the elements was presented for the public during the concluding days of Slovak Culture in the Museum of European Cultures in the form of academic lectures. Lubica Volanská, the ethnologist from the Institute of Ethnology of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, explained the background of the elements using rich photo and video documentation. The lecture included live music performance on the fujara as well as Terchová music. The performance was organized by Juraj Hamar, the Director of the Slovak State Traditional Dance Company. The visitors were interested especially in expert commentaries on the elements as well as in the whole process of the creation of the Representative List.

A festive and friendly atmosphere of the last Days of Slovak Culture in Berlin was enhanced by the performance of the music collectives – the Pressburger Klezmer Band from Bratislava and the Sendreiovci or Kokavare Lavutara from Kokava nad Rimavicou.

EVA RYŠAVÁ, CTĽK – Slovak Intangible Cultural Heritage Centre

8TH SESSION OF INTERGOVERNMENTAL COMMITTEE FOR THE SAFEGUARDING OF THE INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE (2-7 December 2013, Baku, Azerbaijan)

The eighth annual meeting of the Inter-governmental Committee for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage hosted approximately 800 delegates from around 100 countries. It was chaired by Abulfas Garayev, the Azerbaijan Minister of Culture and
Tourism and we could consider this fact as showing the importance of the UNESCO Agenda in the Azerbaijan Republic.

From 2 to 7 December, the 24 members of the Committee (in this year the Committee consists of Albania, Azerbaijan, Belgium, Brazil, Burkina Faso, the Czech Republic, Egypt, Greece, Grenada, China, Indonesia, Japan, Kyrgyzstan, Latvia, Madagascar, Morocco, Namibia, Nigeria, Nicaragua, Peru, Spain, Uganda, Uruguay, Tunisia) in charge of implementing UNESCO’s Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage were evaluating the achievements in promoting intangible cultural heritage ten years after the adoption of the Convention, which has been ratified by 157 State Parties.

According to the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage from the year 2003, the intangible Cultural
Heritage includes oral traditions, performing arts, social practices, rituals and festivals, knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe or knowledge and skills to produce traditional crafts. This definition should be applied to concrete cases, which are closely connected with the concerned communities; this idea should be considered as the most important point in all the discussions during the procedure. As a participant observer I would like to name just a few points as a contribution to the ongoing discussions about the influence of the institution of UNESCOs initiatives concerning intangible cultural heritage.

The first point almost every participant of the meeting discussed, was connected with the meeting’s location – the City of Baku (approx. 2 million inhabitants, 2200 km²), the capital of a fast developing post-soviet Southwest Asian state presenting the country’s wealth based mostly on oil reserves on many occasions: huge buildings, broad boulevards, carefully reconstructed buildings from the 19th century, when Baku was called the “Paris of the Caucasus”, well preserved medieval old town with old town walls (inscribed in the UNESCO World Heritage List as well), surprisingly courageous works/components of contemporary architecture originated in well-known architecture studios (to name just two; Haydar Alyiev centre by Zaha Hadid Architects and Flame Towers by HOK) as well as the cleanliness of the streets in the city centre ensured by plenty of employees taking care of the greenery and collecting the garbage, this all creates a foundation for the identity building of a young state in both directions – inside and outside.

In the country numbering 9 million inhabitants, where approximately 42% of the rural population lives below the poverty level¹, a visitor would probably find a different picture in the regions outside the capital district. However, the decision to host the eighth annual meeting of the Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage was a part of the plan of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism of Azerbaijan to promote the reinvention of country’s identity.

Here we come to one of the points, where politics meets culture and institutions like UNESCO are becoming a part of a game connected with world politics. There are several tools created to safeguard and promote the intangible cultural heritage². One of them is various inventories and lists. The Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of Intangible Heritage considered the inscription of new nominations for the List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding, which helps State Parties mobilize international cooperation and assistance to ensure the transmission of this heritage with the participation of the concerned communities. Thirty-one elements have been inscribed on that List to date and the four elements joined the List during the 8th Meeting were: Chovqan, a traditional Karabakh horse-riding game (Azerbaijan), Paach ceremony (Guatemala), Mongolian calligraphy and Em-paako tradition of the Batooro, Banyoro, Batuku, Batagwenda and Banyabindi of western Uganda. The fact that having already five elements inscribed in the List, for this year’s nomination Azerbaijan chose an element of intangible cultural heritage situated in Karabakh, a region involved in the conflict between Azerbaijan and Armenia, we could also consider as a part of the identity building of Azeri people and making the world draw its attention back to this problem.

Another example of the interference from politics follows. Two nominations to the List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding were withdrawn by the State Party³. Six elements were not inscri-

¹ http://www.ruralpovertyportal.org/country/home/tags/azerbaijan
² See more in Editorial of Juraj Hamar in this issue.
³ Gbofe of Afounkaha, the music of the transverse trumps of the Tagbana community (Côte d’Ivoire), Traditions and oral expressions of the Rama people (Nicaragua).
⁴ Seperu folk dance, associated traditions and practices of the Basubiya community in Botswana’s Chobe District (Botswana), Traditional folk music of Bakgatla ba Kgafela (Botswana), Tenun Ikat Sumba weaving of Indonesia, Enkipata, Eunoto and Oling’esherr: three male rites of passage of the Maasai community (Kenya), Pilgrimage to Wirikuta (Mexico), Glasoechko, male two-part singing in Dolni Polog (The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia).
bed at all. Similarly just one of the two proposals to the Register of Best Safeguarding Practices (Programmes, projects and activities for the safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage considered to best reflect the principles and objectives of the Convention) was finally selected: Methodology for inventorying the intangible cultural heritage in biosphere reserves: the experience of Montseny (Spain).

The request for international assistance greater than 25,000 US dollars in the case of the nomination file Safeguarding of the ibex dance and song of Pakistan was not approved and the State party was invited to submit a revised request responding more fully to the criteria for selection. According to the unwritten rule the last one is calculated for the countries of the Majority World (in the language of this UNESCO institution interestingly still called “developing countries”).

All these nominations mentioned so far were evaluated by the Consultative body composed of six accredited non-governmental organisations and six independent experts appointed by the Committee and that should provide a certain independence from the State Parties as well as a possibility to stick to the decisions being made by the experts. During examination of the files, the Committee usually more or less respects the decisions of the Consultative Body (in this year with the exception of the one nomination). In this case the chairperson of the Consultative Body, who during the examination in the course of the Committee meeting does or doesn’t sustain on the decision made by the Consultative Body, plays an important role.

Interestingly, a completely different situation could be observed in the instance of the inscription on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity, which aims to raise awareness of this heritage, providing recognition of traditions and knowledge transmitted by communities and reflecting the range of cultural diversity. It does not attribute or recognize any standard of excellence or exclusivity. The List meaning more or less a “show case” of the whole idea of the Convention 2003 today includes 257 items. The reason for the different outcome of the examination through the Committee could be seen in the fact that these nominations are evaluated by a different body – the Subsidiary Body. The Subsidiary Body is composed of six members of the Committee (The Czech Republic, Japan, Morocco, Nigeria, Peru and Spain) and a part of its work consisted of analysis of the lessons learned from the 2013 cycle on a number of transversal issues concerning the inscription of nominated elements. Three types of recommendations are proposed: to inscribe, not to inscribe or refer to the submitting State for additional information. For most of the countries to have an element inscribed particularly on this List means a highly prestigious issue (connected to the political situation, reinventing national/state identity, minor or major crisis, fights etc. in concrete countries). The discussion about merging both Consultative Body and Subsidiary Body to one organ that would lead to more independency from the State Parties and help the Secretariat to reduce the efforts in communicating with two organs, so the Secretariat could process more nomination files, divided the Committee members into two groups: one group stressed the need of the independence, whereas the second, was afraid the state would lose the influence on the decisions, insisted on having State Parties involved in the process of evaluation the nominations. A kind of a compromise was created and will be presented to the General Assembly in Paris in June 2014. The new regulations should start to work from the year 2015.

This time the Committee examined 31 elements and 23 were recommended for inscription on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity, one to referral (Iranian traditional medicine) and 7 for non-inscription (three of them were withdrawn by the State Parties concerned). Despite the fact that the Subsidiary Body consists of six members of the same State Parties as the Committee, its recommendations/decisions were revised by the same

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5 The Documentation of Egypt’s Nubian intangible heritage (Egypt) was not selected.
6 Folk dance Kara-Zhorga (Kazakhstan), Alasita festivity, the Iiqíqü (Ekeko) and Illa ritual (Plurinational State of Bolivia) and Moreška, a sword dance-drama of Korčula (Croatia).
State Parties in the following way: The original list of recommended nominations consisted of 23 files.

Among them also the element coming from the Slovak Republic – Terchovská muzika, which has been part of the national list since 2011. The proclamation was accompanied (like in cases of Kyrgyzstan, Romania and Venezuela) by a vivid performance of Tažká muzika (Ján Miho, Alojz Mucha, Vincent Krkoška, Ladislav Hanuliak and Rudolf Patrnčiak). These short performances always meant a welcomed interruption in the sessions challenging to concentration, as the most of the participants have to listen, think and speak in languages different from their own (the working languages of the Committee are French and English, but the members were allowed to speak also Spanish, Arabian and in this case also Azeri).

Beside the mentioned 23 files with positive expert opinions, the inscription and proclamation of elements originally not recommended for inscription in the List became for unknown reasons (backstage diplomacy?) hotly discussed issues. So the elements Círio de Nazaré (The Taper of Our Lady of Nazareth) in the city of Belém, Pará (Brazil) as well as Petrykivka decorative painting as a phenomenon of the Ukrainian ornamental folk art finally managed to become a part of the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity.

Besides the case of the element proposed by Iran, two more nominations changed their status from “not to inscribe” and were referred to the State Parties to elaborate more on the nomination file: Classical horsemanship and the High School of the Spanish Riding School Vienna (Austria) and Eyo masquerade festival (Nigeria), which can be considered as success, too.

Reporting about the particular nomination files, both, the Consultative Body and the Subsidiary Body always stressed the fact they are not judging the element, but make the decision whether to inscribe or not inscribe the element to the Lists according to the criteria for inscription and quality of the nomination file. Bearing in mind the importance of the involved community or with other words, what does the proclamation of the element mean to the particular community, the task of all the efforts and tools created in coherence with the Convention is to enhance the visibility of the cultural heritage in general, not just the element itself.

Nevertheless, the presence of passions of various nature from the side of the State Parties – starting with affection during the thank-you speech of the delegations after the proclamation till their expressed disappointment or anger accompanying unsuccessful nominations. The contribution to the discussions of Committee members' took place at several levels. From mere observation it is hard to say, whether these levels were influenced by the cultural background of the contributors or their individual personal contribution. For example the ironic remark of one of the Committee members pointing to arguments following the personal involvement and stress-

7 Annual pilgrimage to the mausoleum of Sidi ‘Abd el-Qader Ben Mohammed (Sidi Cheikh) (Algeria), Practices and knowledge linked to the Imzad of the Tuareg communities of Algeria, Mali and Niger, Women of Tuareg tribes, problematic area with non-safe, gender equality – instrument played by women, Traditional art of Jamdani weaving (Bangladesh), Shrimp fishing on horseback in Oostduinkerke (Belgium), Círio de Nazaré (The Taper of Our Lady of Nazareth) in the city of Belém, Pará (Brazil) after discussion, Chinese Zhusuan, knowledge and practices of mathematical calculation through the abacus (China), Mediterranean diet (Cyprus, Croatia, Spain, Greece, Italy, Morocco, Portugal), Commemoration feast of the finding of the True Holy Cross of Christ (Ethiopia), Limousin septennial ostensions (France), Ancient Georgian traditional Qvevri wine-making method (Georgia), Sankirtana, ritual singing, drumming and dancing of Manipur (India), Celebrations of big shoulder-borne processionnal structures (Italy), Washoku, traditional dietary cultures of the Japanese, notably for the celebration of New Year, Kyrgyz epic trilogy: Manas, Semetey, Seytek (Kyrgyzstan), Traditional craftsmanship of the Mongol Ger and its associated customs (Mongolia), Eyo masquerade festival (Nigeria), Knowledge, skills and rituals related to the annual renewal of the Q’eswachaka bridge (Peru), Kimjang, making and sharing kimchi (Republic of Korea), Men’s group Colindat, Christmas-time ritual (Romania, Republic of Moldova), Xooy, a divination ceremony among the Serer of Senegal, Music of Terchová (Slovakia), Feast of the Holy Forty Martyrs in Štip (The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia), Turkish coffee culture and tradition, La Parranda de San Pedro de Guarenas y Guatire (Venezuela) and Art of Đờn ca tài tử music and song in southern Viet Nam.
ing the individual experiences with the elements instead of considering the mere content of the nomination file the Committee should be actually dealing with, was not well understood by the injured members of the Committee. Their reaction was following a different line of communication, so the two levels of communication (passions contra matter-of-fact argumentation) could never meet. The method how to handle possible tensions consisted of packing the whole conversation in diplomatic language using polite phrases (“distinguished delegate of ...”) and expressions of gratefulness and congratulations.

Even more important work was done during the breaks – discussions, match making, and diplomatic course. From my short observation the language (common or similar for example countries of South and Central America and Spain) still presents the main “agglutinant” followed by similar or common historical and cultural traditions. Partly they are reflected and supported by the countries’ division by the electoral groups.

Usually the State Parties as members of the Committee follow the decision of their own electoral group, but again, as in the case of the Chairperson of the Consultative Body, the decision could be based on the individual decision of the individuality of the particular delegate. Considering the influence of the politics made by the State Parties outside of the General Assembly and Committee Meeting, the amounts of financial support invested in the Convention matters and many other things, makes some of the countries more powerful players than the others and makes the whole field a sensitive playground. Then there exists also a completely different opinion considering the involvement of the State in the safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage like the view from for example Great Britain, which did not accept/ratify the Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage from 2003.

There are more tasks the Committee is dealing with, concerning for example taking care of files already inscribed in the mentioned Lists, concentrating on the elements in need of urgent safeguarding, but for the reasons mentioned above, the inscription of an element presents the most visible part of the activities. The question remains, if the concerned communities are in this process still on the first place.

ĽUBICA VOĽANSKÁ,
Institute of Ethnology of the SAS, Bratislava

PRESENTATION OF THE INSTITUTE OF ETHNOLOGY OF THE SAS IN THE NATIONAL CULTURE CENTRE DURING THE WEEK OF SCIENCE (Bratislava, 12 November 2013)

In the framework of the Week of Science and Technology in the SR which was organised by the Ministry of Education, Science, Research and Sports in cooperation with the Slovak Centre of Scientific and Technical Information and the National Centre for the Popularisation of Science and Technology in Society, the Institute of Ethnology of the Slovak Academy of Sciences (IoE SAS) was also presented. On 12 November 2013, a public demonstration of the international web portal ETNOFOLK and of the books of the IoE SAS was held in the House of Art at SNP Square in Bratislava. Experts, the public and representatives of the mass media attending this event could learn about the recent research and science popularisation results of our academic organisation.

The presentation was opened by Mgr. Tatiana Podolinská, PhD., Director of the IoE SAS, who explained the newest research tasks and trends related to our institute, and presented a selection of works published by the researchers of the IoE SAS in 2012 and

8 http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0015/001568/156826e.pdf#page=64
2013 under the title *Autumn Harvest in the Institute of Ethnology of the SAS*. The books published by the institute capture the empirical and descriptive level of the phenomena of every-day culture and their interpretation, and also addresses current theoretical and methodological problems. Issues concerning ethnic minorities, the science of religion, or the history of ethnology as an independent scientific discipline are also tackled in these books.

The selection of publications written or...
co-written by researchers of the IoE SAS includes the following works: international collection of articles Ritual, Conflict and Consensus: Case Studies from Asia and Europe, edited by G. Kilianová, Ch. Jahoda and M. Ferencová; the English publication Religion as a Path to Change? The Possibilities of Social Inclusion of the Roma in Slovakia by T. Poldolinská and T. Hrustíč on the activities of churches and religious movements among the Roma in Slovakia; the crucial work by J. Zajonc Transformations of Fibre; the collection of works We Lived in Socialism I: Chapters from the Ethnology of Every-Day Life edited by Z. Beňušková and Z. Profantová; the book Chatam Sofer Memorial by P. Salner and M. Kvasnica; the collection of articles The Research and Education about the Holocaust in Central Europe edited by M. Vrzgulová and J. Hlavínka; two publications by P. Slavkovský – Slovak Ethnography (A Compendium of the History of the Discipline) and The Slovak Peasant (Sources for the Study of the Way of Life); specialised publication The Culinary Culture of Slovak Regions by R. Stoličná-Mikolajová and K. Nováková; report on the international project Traditional Agrarian Culture in the Context of the Social Development in Central Europe and the Balkans, involving P. Slavkovský and R. Stoličná on behalf of the Institute; the collection of works The Methodological Problems of Ethnographic Research edited by T. Bužeková and D. Jerotijević, and the collection of contributions Folklore and Folklore Studies in the Post-Modern World: 15th. Congress of Slavists in Minsk 2013, edited by Z. Profantová.

The next part of the programme was the presentation of the project Preservation and Enhancement of Folk Culture Heritage in Central Europe – ETNOFOLK. The preparation and the future form of the project were explained in detail by Mgr. Dušan Ratica, CSc. and Daniel Luther, CSc., researchers of the IoE SAV on behalf of the Slovak side. This project brought together the ethnological institutes of four Central-European countries – the Czech Republic, Hungary, Slovakia, and Slovenia – in an effort to contribute to the protection and development of folk culture heritage. The main objective is to create the ETNOFOLK internet portal (www.etnofolk.eu), to be launched in April 2014, which will present to the public both archive and up-to-date information on folk culture through a wide range of pictures, texts, maps, video- and audio-recordings from the participating countries. The project is implemented under the Central Europe Programme and is co-financed by the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF).

As the discussion with the authors D. Luther and D. Ratica and with the guest from the co-organising Institute of Ethnology of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic PhDr. Jaroslav Otčenášek, PhD. showed, information from the future ETNOFOLK portal will be interesting not only for researchers, teachers and students, but also for museum staff, local and regional politicians, as well as entrepreneurs, thus fulfilling the ambition to use the knowledge of our science in everyday practice. The presentation was concluded by the official opening of the exhibition of photographs from the future ETNOFOLK internet portal, which can be visited in the House of Art until the end of the Month of Photography.

VLADMÍR POTANČOK,
Institute of Ethnology of the SAS in Bratislava

The book contains nine studies in English language which present new empirical data and theoretical findings on the meaning of rituals for presenters and participants, for social groups and for society as a whole. Started with the foreword by Gabriela Kiliánová, the case studies of eight authors contribute to the current discourse on ritual practices and expressions.


The publication brings, for the first time in English, a detailed overview of the work of registered and non-registered churches and religious movements among the Roma in Slovakia. It also describes their possibilities and effectiveness in the context of social inclusion of Roma. The book presents the results of the authors’ extensive academic research on missionary work and its influence on Roma inclusion.


This scientific monograph provides a comprehensive view of traditional manual ways of obtaining and processing of textile raw materials (flax, hemp, wool, cotton, silk) and of the way of producing felt and twisted textiles (threads and strings). The book also elaborates on the gender aspect of traditional textile production which is stereotypically considered as almost exclusively female work.

The publication was awarded the Premium Prize of the Literary Fund for Scientific and Expert Literature 2012 in the category of social sciences.
The research based on autobiographical narration from the perspective of ‘small history’ focuses on two generations born before the war, at the turn of the 1940s and 1950s. The publication represents an attempt to provide a more objective picture of the recent past marked by the dictate of one party, though, as highlighted by Profantová, it was not the intention to present a political interpretation of selected issues. These include, for example, fashion, agriculture, housing, the creation and development of industrial towns or ‘socialist villages’.

Chatam Sofer was one of the most important rabbi personalities of the 19th century. His influence is present in the Orthodox community even today. The book Chatam Sofer Memorial describes not only the life and work of Chatam Sofer from the perspective of an architect and ethnologist, but also the destruction and later restoration of the old cemetery in Bratislava.

This publication is a collection of contributions to the international conference Research and Education on Holocaust in Central Europe, organised by the Holocaust Documentation Centre in Bratislava in cooperation with the Institute of Ethnology of the SAS. The publication brings various perspectives of historians, social scientists, and pedagogues sharing common neighbours and partly their common socialist past.

The book is an overview of the development in the scientific focus on the way of life and culture of Slovak inhabitants – and their material, social and spiritual contexts – from the 18th century until the beginning of the 20th century. It is not only a list of works by personalities of science and teams, but also of the challenges and limits posed by the social conditions in Slovakia during the reference historic period.


Adaptation to the natural environment and the obtaining of food was peasants’ every-day creative activity through which they acquired not only biological values, but also fulfilled their own cultural identity. The publication is an overview of the development of scientific focus on the agrary culture of Slovakia and its material, social and spiritual contexts.


The book brings an ethnological perspective of the phenomenon of traditional regional nutrition of Slovak citizens. The author was inspired by the fact that culinary culture is considered by current humanities a phenomenon that is one of the most stable and most significant identification factors of human communities. The publication is the first comprehensive work on the regional features of culinary traditions of Slovakia.

The book draws attention to agrarian phenomena that contributed to the formation of traditional folk culture in many countries and to the creation of the identity of the European continent. Peasants’ and shepherds’ traditions had stable positions and a socially normative character mainly in Central Europe and in the Balkan Peninsula for many years, but these systems started to be disintegrated with the emergence of the industrial civilisation and modernisation of life accompanied by the disappearance of traditional forms.

Metodologické problémy etnografického výskumu (The Methodological Problems of Ethnographic Research).

This collection of studies presents the contributions to the international conference “Methodological Problems in the Ethnographic Research of Social Representations” held in Bratislava on 08–09 November 2012. The book is divided into two parts: “Data collection and interpretation in Quality Ethnographic Research” and “Application of Qualitative and Quantitative Methods in Ethnographic Research”.


The aim of this publication is to present an opinion on the situation of folklor studies and folklore at the time of post-modernism in Slavic countries. The book seeks to answer questions like what is folklore today and how it can be defined, what and what genres are considered “classical folklore” and what is post-folklore. This collection of works aims to encourage discussion on the current topics concerning the recent past and present of our discipline.
This year, the Slovak Academy of Sciences (SAS) celebrated its 60th anniversary, and on this occasion several top research teams and individuals were awarded in Smolenice on 26 June 2013. The Prize of the Slovak Academy of Sciences is awarded as acknowledgement of the scientific and research results of major scientific, economic, cultural and other social importance, and is decided by the Scientific Board of the Academy. The prize was also awarded to those who contributed to the promotion and popularisation of science through publications and the mass media. These prizes are awarded by the Presidium of the Slovak Academy of Sciences. The prize awarding ceremony at Smolenice Castle was attended by the Minister of Education, Science, Research and Sports of the SR Dušan Čaplovič and Members of the SAS Presidium and Congress.

One of the awarded teams was the team of authors from the Institute of History of the SAS who compiled, under the leadership of PhDr. Bohumila Ferenčuhová, DrSc. and PhDr. Milan Zemko, CSc., a monograph synthesis Slovakia in the 20th century, 3rd volume under the title Czechoslovakia in the Inter-War Period 1918–1939. PhDr. Katarína Popelková, CSc., Deputy Director of the Institute of Ethnology of SAS, was one of the members of this successful team.

On the same day, a team of ten authors from the Institute of History of the SAS who compiled, under the leadership of PhDr. Bohumila Ferenčuhová, DrSc. and PhDr. Milan Zemko, CSc., a monograph synthesis Slovakia in the 20th century, 3rd volume under the title Czechoslovakia in the Inter-War Period 1918–1939. PhDr. Katarína Popelková, CSc., Deputy Director of the Institute of Ethnology of SAS, was one of the members of this successful team.

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sciences, our colleague from the Institute of Ethnology, Doc. PhDr. Eva Krekovičová, DrSc. was awarded on the basis of these criteria.

On 11 September 2013, on the occasion of its 60th anniversary, the Slovak Academy of Sciences also awarded personalities who contributed to its development, as well as long serving employees of the SAS. With regard to the 3rd Department of Sciences on Society and Culture, two present and past employees of the Institute of Ethnology and its former directors were also awarded – PhDr. Gabriela Kiliánová, CSc., and Prof. PhDr. Milan Leščák, CSc.

Congratulations to all our awarded colleagues!

VLADIMÍR POTANČOK,
Institute of Ethnology of the SAS in Bratislava
This miscellany was edited as a result of an international symposium on the Intangible Cultural Heritage, which took place 26th – 28th October 2010 in Bratislava, Slovakia with the presence of various experts on the adoption of the UNESCO Convention on Safeguarding the Intangible Cultural Heritage (further on-ly “Convention”) from the Czech Republic, Lithuania, Hungary, Austria and Switzerland.

The editors of this miscellany printed in two versions – English and Slovak – hope that it will bring not only to Slovak readers but also to the readers from abroad lots of interesting information on safeguarding the intangible cultural heritage in particular countries or local communities. The miscellany consists of papers and presentations of the symposium participants and also of a record of discussion at a round table concerning the main problems of implementation of the Convention in various European countries.

Some of these articles deal with a broader context and general problems of safeguarding the intangible cultural heritage, as these by Vladimír Kyseľ – Current Protection of Intangible Cultural Heritage in the Slovak Republic, Anna Beltrami – Intangible Cultural Heritage – A Common Ground for Our Diver-
sity, Mihály Hoppál – The Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Hungary: A History or Anna Steiner and Eva Stiermayr – Towards the Implementation of the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage in Austria – First Steps and Experiences. Despite very similar titles of these contributions they are discussing different levels and phases of implementation of the Convention in various countries and different approaches to this process.

For example the approach of the Slovak Republic is based on the concept of so-called traditional folklore culture, not only by preserving it by some institutional means (including Convention), but also “reviving” it by bringing it back to its former bearers – “common people” and especially children, using such media as electronic encyclopaedia on the internet, education in elementary schools, editing of books on these topics (folklore songs, folklore costumes, folklore musical instruments, traditional celebrating of Christmas...), putting together a central database/archive of information on traditional folklore culture, etc. Another approach is typical for Switzerland, as A. Beltrami reported. The Federal Office of Culture launched the national inventory in September 2010, so the local list of elements of cultural heritage deserving safeguarding was at the time of the symposium only in the phase of identification, formulation and collection. But the vision was clear – to protect mainly those elements, which are still vivid, according to Gustav Mahlers´s words: “Tradition means keeping the fire burning, not venerating the ashes”. Mihály Hoppál from Hun-
gary told a story of a long history of rescuing
local traditions which began (not only in his country) in the 19th century, then was continued by the communist regime and its system of “masters of folk arts” and now is compatible with the Convention goals in such various branches as performing art (instrumental folk music, folk song, folk dance and folk story telling) and creative object making (everything from embroidery and folk crafts to building houses). The Austrian Federal Ministry for Education, Science and Culture established the National Agency for Implementation of Cultural Heritage, which cooperates with local communities, NGOs, civil society, public and private education institutions and the media. The speciality of Austria is focusing not only on so-called “folk culture”, but rather on “knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe” (for example traditional medicine) as well as “traditional craftsmanship”.

Some of the speakers and participants of the symposium introduced their colleagues to some of the inscribed elements. Giedré Barbauskaitė from Lithuania talked about The Historical Development of the Dance Day in the Lithuanian Song Festivals – this almost extinct tradition was revived at the beginning of the 20th century. Karol Kočík from Slovakia introduced Fujara (Shepherd’s Flute) – the Musical Instrument and its Music, the Element in the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of the UNESCO and also some possible risks of changing approaches of instrument makers and players of the fjura connected with inscription of this element into the list. The representatives of two Slovak communities contributed with interesting topics on incorporating the intangible cultural heritage in the current communal life – Pavel Bendík referring to Use of traditional folklore culture in today’s life of municipality of Hrušov, as well as in the educational processes at primary schools – Martin Janšto speaking about Traditional folklore culture in elementary school classes in Košaríská village.

Other speakers’ contributions were targeted at compiling the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage as in case of Juraj Hamar and his Safeguarding the Intangible Cultural Heritage as reflected in compilation of the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage in Slovakia and Jan Blahűšek with his List of intangible property of the traditional and folk culture of the Czech Republic concerning the process of finding proper elements and making the national List. Juraj Hamar’s speech was not only describing the process of creating the List in the Slovak Republic, but also criticising lobbying of politics and local communities in various countries to include some specific elements. He also pointed out that compiling the representative lists is often a negative influence on the Convention goals themselves, emphasizing “promoting” of the list more than real safeguarding of its contents. The address of Laima Anglickiene called Digitalization of Folklore: Electronic databases in Lithuania placed emphasis on the stocktaking, documenting and promoting the intangible cultural heritage via the internet and other new technologies.

The last pages of this symposium miscellany are devoted to the round table discussion on the main problems of the implementation of the Convention, including for example the dichotomy between tangible and intangible heritage, differences and similarities among terms as folk, folk culture, traditional culture and world cultural heritage, approach of local communities to safeguarding, influence of tourism, etc. If you are interested in further details, it would be better to read this inspiring and beautifully crafted book.

VLADIMÍR POTANČOK,
Institute of Ethnology of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, Bratislava

GABRIELA KILIÁNOVÁ,
CHRISTIAN JAHODA,

In 2012, the Institute of Ethnology of SAS participated in the compilation of the publication Ritual, Conflict, and Consensus,
edited by Gabriela Kiliánová, Christian Jahoda, and Michaela Ferencová. The compilation of this book was supported from VEGA grant funds (No. 2/0092/11). As the title of the book suggests, it is a collection of case studies concerning ritual. With regard to its focus, this publication is one of many works on this topic. (Religious) ritual represents an almost inexhaustible source of information. Since the times of Emil Durkheim, it has intrigued and inspired social scientists who have sought to find their own, definitive explanation of rituals.

The common feature of the articles in this book is the interest in ritual as a dynamic phenomenon changing in time and space. Perceived in this way, the ritual can be the source of conflict of various social groups, and also have a ‘cementing’ effect on those who are involved in its execution.

As Gabriela Kiliánová notes in the foreword, the editors decided to join in the publication “different theoretical approaches and concepts of ritual” (p. 1). Hence, they did not seek to “find a universal definition (of ritual)”. The authors move within the framework of classic theories of ritual up to cognitive theories. The publication is divided into three thematic parts: Ritual and Transformation; Ritual and the Cognitive Process; and Ritual and the Reproduction of Social Structure.

The first part – Ritual and Transformation – brings together authors who observe the transformations of concrete rituals in time and the resulting consequences in different cultural contexts. Though the participants to rituals usually tell the opposite, rituals are not static phenomena failing to reflect social changes. Although rigidity is regarded as one of the features of rituals (Rappaport, 1999)1, it cannot be understood literally. Rituals, just as any social phenomena, are subject to changes. The question therefore is not ‘whether’, but ‘as a result of what’ and ‘with what effects’. These are the questions that the authors of this part seek to answer: Joanna Pfaff-Czarnecka, Christian Jahoda, and Maria-Katharina Lang.

In her study (pp. 15–30), Joanna Pfaff-Czarnecka writes about the ritual complex Dasain – also known as Durga Puja, which became, as a result of political and social changes in Nepal, a tool for declaring ethnic affiliation and a source of political conflict (p. 15). In the mid-18th century, Nepal came under the rule of Hindu rulers, which was followed by the expansion of Hindu ideas and symbols in Nepal; hence, Durga Puja was an instrument of power in this context. In the next period, Nepal underwent several political changes (including British dominance and the obtaining of independence in 1923); later, however, the power was taken back by Hindu monarchs promoting cultural unity – the symbols of minorities disappeared from the public sphere, and the attendance of Durga Puja became an obligation in spite of the fact that the members of ethnic minorities were not required to convert (p. 19). Pfaff-Czarnecka, to the extent possible, explains the political development in the country and demonstrates through the concrete example of Durga Puja how these changes manifested at a local level. Czarnecka describes in detail the developments in the country and the Dasain ceremony (Durga Puja) and its actors. An overview of the history of Nepal, manifested through the transformations of the Dasain complex, enabled the author to answer the question she asked: in what way do rituals develop with regard to global mobility and to political and social changes.

The next author of this part is Christian Jahoda with his study Rituals between Conflict and Consensus: Case Studies of Village Festivals in Upper Kinnaur and Western Tibet (pp. 31–49). Similar to the previous study, this one also asks the question how changes in rituals occur and which factors incite such changes. Jahoda highlights the fact that in spite of almost one-hundred years of research tradition of Western Tibet, very few authors dealt with this topic, as a result of which, many questions remain open (p. 32). He compares two settlements within the same time horizon, putting emphasis both on historic sources and religious circumstances. His hypotheses are the following: 1) (What is) the relationship between

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a certain ritual activity – considering its content and the social structure of its participants – to social, political, socio-economic, religious, and legal conditions at a certain period of time, including, to the extent possible, a diachronic-historic and comparative perspective; 2) Verification of the hypothesis of Corina Caduff and Joanna Pfaff-Czarnecka – even though the conditions change, the related rituals do not necessarily change, and these rituals, especially those which seem to be obsolete and inconsistent with (the current) social or political framework can incite a debate or conflicts (p. 36).

Jahoda based his research on oral traditions, as they can tell much “about the present and the past relations between social groups and relevant political structures” (p. 35). He subsequently describes the Shekren in Pooh settlement (pp. 36–41) and the Namtong festival in Khorchag settlement (pp. 42–43). Both festivals relate to local gods and aim to reaffirm the established social system. However, while social tension can be observed in one of the cases with regard to ritual, in the other case, ritual leads to consensus and group coherence. It is a pity that the author does not elaborate on this finding more in detail. Though he highlights the possible causes (different social arrangement), he fails to develop them further. These findings are particularly interesting, especially when ritual is viewed from the perspective of the ‘costly signalling’ theory². It would be definitely helpful if the author described the relations in both settlements and focused on this aspect. The fact that in the first case the local authorities, including the local Buddhist priest, are responsible for the festival organisation and the course of the ritual, while in the other case it is the Buddhist monks residing in the nearby monastery is definitely not negligible (for example, the local priest, besides being a representative of a higher class, can be more involved in local conflicts compared to monks living in the monastery, etc.; on the other hand, the Chinese influences and the Communist regime seem to play a relatively important role in the case of the second locality). Irrespective of these facts, the text brings a comprehensive ethnographic material.

The last study of this part is the article by Marie-Katherine Lang Ritual Objects between Conflicts and Consensus: The Social Life of Sacred Artefacts during Periods of Political Transformation in Mongolia. The author primarily deals with Mongolian sacred Buddhist objects and their ‘fate’ during the period of Communist repressions. The initial source of information was the collection made by the collector and traveller Hansa Lede located in the Museum of Ethnology in Vienna and in other European museums. The problem of the objects from the collections is the fact, often present in randomly collected artefacts, that information is missing about under what circumstances and at what place they were obtained. This fact inspired Marie-Katherine Lang to try to find out during her research stays in Mongolia in the period 1995–2009 what was the fate of these objects which remained in the country during the Communist era. She asks what happened during the period of repressions to the artefacts similar to those that can be found in the collections of (European) museums. And also – what is the relation of these objects and their ‘personal history’ to the experience of people who owned them?

After the introduction, the author briefly describes the political situation in Mongolia since the end of the 19th century until the first half of the 20th century when many Buddhist monasteries were closed and monks living in them were executed. These facts could not be disclosed to the public until the mid-1990s, i.e. until the change of the political system in Mongolia. The study has a descriptive nature and makes a link between historic events and the fate of sacred artefacts. Through concrete testimonies of the families of persecuted monks, Marie-Katherine Lang presents the fates of sacred objects which were hidden in households until the 1990s, and also shows what their role in the transfer of religious faiths during the period of repression of any expressions of religiousness by the ruling regime.

The second part of the publication represents a cognitive approach to the exploration of religious ritual. The cognitive science of religion has intensively dealt with ritual and ritualised behaviour for some time. Over the past years, several extremely valuable theories on this phenomena have appeared – whether it is the above-mentioned costly signalling theory, or the concept by Pascal Boyer and Pierre Liénard postulating the ‘hazard-precaution system’, i.e. the mechanism which plays a role in individualised ritualised behaviour and can also be important in collective rituals or theories focused on the role of ritual from the point of view of cooperation between people.

The first article written by Andre Gingrich, under the title ‘Paradise Lost, or Paradise Regained? Conceptions and Ideologies of Himah as a Ritual Site in the Highlands of South-Western Arabia’, deals with the “social and ideological creations of ritual concepts and with the cognition inside and around a ritual”. The text is divided into five parts: Theoretical and Ethnographic Overview; Contrasts of Globalised Context, Himan and Local Ideologies, Notes of the Concept’s Pre-Islamic Background; and Himan: Arenas and Coalitions of the Present. With his research in this field, Gingrich sought to answer the question: “To what extent do local and global ideologies a priori incite, manage, direct, and evoke certain ritual activities before they are legitimised and explained a posteriori?” Under local ideologies, the author means various versions of Islam, while global ideologies are various environmental ideas. The authors tries to find the answer with regard to the preservation of the sacred places Himah (Hawtah) in the mountains of the south-western part of the Arabian Peninsula. Historically, Himah and Hawtah are linked to the period of Hijra, i.e. the departure of the prophet Muhammad from Mekka to Medina. “Hijra (asylum), Haram (sacred zone), and Himah and Hatwah are all versions of the same principle of earmarking someone or something that needs protection and respect” (p. 67). Himah and Hatwah almost always represent places important from the ecological perspective, e.g. extremely fertile areas.

Although the protection of these places often has a pragmatic nature, in local traditions they symbolise a kind of a ‘paradise on Earth’, protection thus also acquires a symbolic meaning and a religious dimension. Since these sites do not have their place in the Koran, they are perceived by radical Islamists as ‘non-Islamic’. Gingrich argues that Himah or Hawtah have a specific place in local ideologies and are also viewed by non-believers as a certain cultural heritage, and their protection therefore acquires a new dimension – the uniting of its population in its effort to preserve it.

The topic raised by Gingrich is undoubtedly beneficial for anthropology, but I am of the opinion that there is no reason to classify it as a ‘cognitive one’, since it is not true. The author describes the socio-historical impacts and the causes of attitudes to Himah, but fails to offer any cognitive explanation of the studied phenomenon. In his perception, cognition is exclusively knowledge about ritual places shared by people, and this should be emphasised.

The author of the next article entitled Modern Faces of Ancient Wisdom: Neo-Shamanic Practices in a Slovak Urban Environment is Tatiana Bužeková who has intensively examined neo-shamanic groups since 2008. She describes two groups in her article – the first one is a member of the international Federation for the Study of Shamanism and is formally managed, and the second one is less formal and its members meet irregularly; the main person is a man exercising healing medicine, where shaman techniques represent just one of many methods used in his work. The leading persons of these groups differ in their abilities attributed to them: while in the FSS group the woman leading the group is considered an expert exclusively on the basis of acquired/learnt knowledge, in the second case the leader is attributed certain supernatural abilities. This seemingly irrelevant fact has a large influence on the functioning of a group, as concisely de-

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scribed by Bužeková. Based on the cognitive theories focused on the dissemination of representations (Sperber) or ritual behaviour (Whitehouse), Bužeková explains in what way these two differing neo-Shamanic ‘traditions’ can be clarified.

The last article in this section concerns medical anthropology. The author Eva-Maria Knoll chose an interesting approach – interconnecting the rituals of treatment with the rituals of travelling, while defining both as rituals of transition. The field of her interest is medical tourism, i.e. “tourism aimed to improve someone’s health” (p. 91). According to the author, the ‘ritual of healing’ has features of the ritual of transition, as the author passes “from the state of being sick to the state of being healed”, where the healing phase can be interpreted as a level of preparation/separation; this phase is followed by transformation and finally re-integration (p. 92). Similar levels can also be observed in the ‘ritual of travelling’: the preparation for travel is followed by the phase of travelling as such, i.e. separation from the place of residence and friends, and subsequently re-integration in the common way of behaviour. Ritual in Knoll’s perception is a structured, symbolic activity aimed at achieving a certain objective. ‘Travelling for health purposes’ is not a modern achievement, as suggested by the author; it is becoming a profitable business activity – people travel at longer distances, and the offers include heart operations, weight reduction operations, transplantation of organs, dental interventions, treatment of infertility, operations aimed to change gender, and various cosmetic adjustments. Knoll highlights the extremely important and not sufficiently explored sphere; since it is evident that globalisation has largely intervened in the process and possibilities of treatment. The reasons for medical tourism can be various – from lower prices, to long waiting times in the mother country. The author names three principal factors: costs, availability, and quality (p. 94).

E. M. Knoll subsequently describes in detail the situation in Asia where countries like Malaysia, Thailand, India, the Philippines, or Singapore have become sought-for destinations of patients from the Western world who travel there for therapy purposes which are not allowed in Europe or the USA for ethical reasons. “First World treatment at the Third World prices” became the slogan of medical tourism. As the author suggests, medical tourism is a relatively new topic of anthropology, and there are not many works on this topic, which leaves many questions without answers. People usually travel for health purposes to countries where the local population does not have access to adequate health care. In this regard, Knoll asks a relevant question: “Should medical tourism be viewed as a new form of colonialism, or as a creative possibility of development?”

In her analysis, she particularly focuses on both groups – patients and tourists. These two groups overlap in the case of the studied phenomenon and, in her opinion, remind of Turner’s anti-structures – communities outside of their every-day experience. The study by Eva-Maria Knoll raises an extremely interesting and topical problem to which anthropologists have not paid much attention so far. One of the reasons can be the fact that field research is relatively complicated in this case (the sample is not created by groups, but by a network of individuals who do not necessarily know each other, and the medical structures providing such services may not be willing to communicate, etc.). In my opinion, this problem could be well grasped even without symbolic interpretation and without considering both phenomena as rituals of transition.

Given the contents of the individual studies, the title of the second part Ritual and Cognitive Process does not seem to be adequate, since the only study based on cognitive theories and dealing with concrete psychological mechanisms is the work by T. Bužeková.

The final part of this publication is about ritual and its role in the reproduction of the social structure. This part starts with the text by Helmut Lukas Rituals as Means of Social Reproduction? Comparisons in Continental South-East Asia: the Lao-Kmhmu Relationship. The author focused on the role of ritual in the definition of social groups: where are the borders between ‘them’ and ‘us’? From the empirical point of view, the study describes the royal ritual in Laos which was
exercised at the time of the monarchy until 1975.

According to Lukas, ritual is usually considered a mechanism of integration which directs the parties to the conflict towards higher aims through which they can understand that both groups share the same norms and can live in harmony (p. 103). It is considered a phenomenon which “stabilises social orders”. The author asks whether such definitions reflect the fact that “rituals exercised by power structures are used as instruments of mystification, political domination, and exploitative relations”. The royal ritual in Laos combined the intra-ethnic hierarchic order (king – nobility – common people) with inter-ethnic relations (population speaking Thai language and living in lowlands, and people living in mountainous areas using the Mon-Khmer language). As Lukas points out, this ritual stopped being practised in 1975 after the abdication of the Laotian king and after the socialist government came to power. The anthropological records come from the period 1890–1975. At the same time, the royal ritual expressed “ambivalent, antagonistic and strained relations between Khmu as the original population which was considered specialist in rituals, and Lao immigrants who were politically dominant” (p. 106). The history of Laos shows conflicts between the ruling class and the original population. The French dominance did not bring much change in this system, though its influence was much bigger in the cultural sphere. Analysing the historic conditions in Laos before and after the arrival of French, Lukas questions those interpretations which attribute to ritual a “cementing” role, and show how ritual can become a mechanism for preserving power and order. What is positive about the author’s article is that he highlighted the fact that if we rely on exclusively ethnographic data describing a cultural phenomenon, we do not have to offer adequate interpretation, and it is therefore necessary to complete this data with comprehensive historic data. Using this method, Lukas showed that although the royal ritual entailed the expression of respect to the original population, which was supposed to reduce tensions, the rebellions and insurrections of those from lower classes against the ruling class indicate that the reality was, expectably, much more complex. Hence, the royal ritual was not a force sufficient to eliminate conflicts.

This publication is closed by the article by Gebharta Fartacek Rethinking Ethnic Boundaries: Rituals of Pilgrimage and the Construction of Holy Places in Syria. As the title suggests, the author draws attention to the pilgrimages to the current Syrian Arab Republic and the role played by sacred places and rituals in issues concerning identity and conflict resolution. In general, the participants to pilgrimages affirm that places of pilgrimage belong to all believers and that they are all equal at such places. Fartacek argues that there are only a couple of sacred places in the world that are shared by various ethnic groups, and hence, these attitudes, as the one mentioned above, “are the result of the constituting of sacred places in the context of baraka – a blessing power of God”. It is therefore more an ideological reflection on sacred places. Fartacek divides the text into three parts: the first one presents various ethnic and religious groups in present Syria; the second one is about the nature of sacred places; and the third part seeks to give an answer to the question whether conflicts between different religious and ethnic groups are intensified, or vice versa, reduced by pilgrimages to sacred places (p. 120). As he further points out, Syria is inhabited by supporters of Sunni Islam, which is in general critical towards pilgrimages to local sacred places. There are also many Christian denominations which do not always have the best relations, but in the wider context they feel mutually interconnected, as they all belong to the common ‘Christian family’. The Druze is a religious group that extends back to the 11th century in the Ismailist Shia Islam, from which it separated. The space of these groups is also shared by Alawites who also have their origin in the Shia Islam. Both communities are strictly endogamous. The individual groups inhabit various geographical areas. Fartacek highlights the fact that members of all religious groups have the tendency to affirm that the sacred places they visit are also visited in the same extent by other religious groups in
spite of the fact that the observations and visits to these places prove the opposite. Far
tacek comes to the conclusion that the empha-
sising of unity and of the idea that “we
are all equal” brings us back to Turner’s clas-
tical concept of communitas – the individu-
als who are part of them leave the common
structures and become part of anti-struc-
tures, which gives rise to the feeling of unity,
at least during pilgrimages. On the other
hand, believers are also united around the
idea with which they visit sacred places – con-
tact with baraka, God’s force perceived ir-
respectively of religious affiliation. Fartacek
showed that though theoretical statements
and practice differ, i.e. believers state that sa-
cred places are shared, although the reality is
different, he argues that Turner’s commu-
titas represent more ideal than normative
groups. Even though sacred places serve in
fact to foster group solidarity, the concept of
’sacredness’ which relates to these places is
sometimes universal (at least within four
groups), which can evoke feelings of equali-
ty the essence of which is the idea of the
‘need’ of other groups to live in a function-
ning society.

The common basis of the case studies in
this publication is a single phenomenon –
ritual. The book reflects the plurality of opin-
ions and concepts of the current social scien-
ces. The individual studies bring an un-
doubtedly interesting ethnographic material
and helpful interpretations, but they largely
differ from the point of view of theoretical
perception. It is partly surprising to what ex-
tent anthropological/ethnological works are
still influenced by Turner’s concept of ritual.
I am of the opinion that the research ques-
tions are too widely conceived in some cas-
es. Several authors sought to bring a broad
historic overview within a relatively small
space with the aim to explain the role of rit-
ual(s) in the studied area from a wider time
perspective. It is, however, questionable
whether a narrower study of the issue and
more specific research questions would not
be of more use.

The publication Ritual, Conflict, and Con-
sensus. Case Studies from Asia and Europe
primarily presents a combined material and
draws attention to the different aspects of the
research of religious rituals. The individual
studies point out the importance of the link
between anthropological research and his-
torical, sociological and political data, which
is a positive factor in this regard.

DANIJELA JEROTIJEVIĆ,
Institute of Social Anthropology, Faculty
of Social and Economic Sciences
of the Comenius University in Bratislava

RASTISLAVA STOLIČNÁ-MIKOLA-
JOVÁ (Ed.), KATARÍNA NOVÁKOVÁ:
Kulinárná kultúra regiónov
Slovenska (The Culinary Culture
of Slovak Regions)
Institute of Ethnology of the Slovak
Academy of Sciences, Veda, Bratislava,
2013, 496 p.

The traditional ways of subsistence is one
of the best explored fields of traditional cul-
ture in Slovakia in Slovak ethnology not on-
ly in terms of research, but also publishing.
A description of the basic sources and forms
of nutrition in the context of local, regional,
or national programmes cannot be omitted
in any publication of purely scientific or
science-popularisation focus. The published
works offer an impressive corpus of recent
materials as a basis for summarisation from
regional, national, or wider comparative as-
pects (e.g. Central-European or Slavic). This
is proven by several publications, among
which the syntheses of folk culture have held
a prominent position since the 1960s, such as
Československá vlastivěda III. Lidová kultura
(1968), Slowakische Volkskultur (1972),
Slovensko – Lúd, Part II (1979). These works
would not have been possible without the re-
results of field research and archive sources,
regularly published in local and regional
monographs since the establishment of a sci-
entific and research centre of the Slovak
Academy of Sciences (SAS). Thanks to these
works of field research and publications, it
was possible, since the 1990s, to start con-
ceiving and interpreting traditional meals
and alimentation through other syntheses
based on a new methodology. This happened
with a special focus on the ethno-cartographic depiction of folk culture phenomena
(Etnografický atlas Slovenska - Ethnographic Atlas of Slovakia, 1990), as well as the publications
Encyklopédia ľudovej kultúry 1., 2. (The Encyclopaedia of Folk Culture 1, 2) (1995), which became the basis for the
electronic version of the encyclopaedia. And finally, the Slovak and the English version of
the synthesis Slovensko: Európske kontexty ľudovej kultúry (Slovakia: The European Contexts of Folk Culture) (Ed. R. Stolíčná, 2000, 1997).
This reference to important publications does not aim to provide a complete summary of publications about traditional food in Slovakia, but along with numerous studies it seeks to draw attention to summarising works where the issues concerning food form an important part and enrich the knowledge about traditional culture as part of the cultural heritage of Slovakia.

Some of the above-mentioned publications were co-written and co-edited by R. Stolíčná-Mikolajová who, this time together with K. Nováková, unlike the previously published monothematic monographs about food, prepared a different view of traditional eating culture in Slovakia in the first half of the 20th century with an emphasis on the description of the traditional meals of Slovakia from a regional perspective. The publication presents a picture of traditional eating habits through examples from 22 regions covering the entire territory of Slovakia. Similar to the interpretation of the regional character of other phenomena of traditional culture (e.g. building, clothes, or dance folklore) on the basis of materials on traditional meals, the authors created a ‘network’ of regional division with the aim of providing a more detailed picture and to highlight the specific features of meals in concrete regions. In some cases, they divided a region into two smaller parts. They sought not to lose sight of the fact that the regions represent ethnographical areas characterised by more-or-less homogenous traditional culture in terms of ecological and climate conditions, as well as analogical historic, cultural, and social factors (p. 9). This approach applied during the preparation of the publication proved the statement on traditional culture of Slovak regions (Beňušková a kol., 1998, p. 11) according to which the division of the Slovak territory into regions with traditional culture is not determined in a stable way and that it is to a large extent modified by researched topics or by the extent of the explored phenomena.

Before the presentation of concrete materials related to the different Slovak regions, the topic of traditional meals is described in the introduction by R. Stolíčná-Mikolajová (pp. 7–10), explaining the basic characteristics and objectives of the ethnological study of the way of life and traditional culture of ‘popular, non-elitist’ groups of inhabitants. With regard to food, she provides a wide view of the consumption of meals and beverages not only as a biological condition of people’s survival, but also from the point of view of an ethnologically and anthropologically focused study and as a summary of phenomena documenting the different living conditions of communities, the contexts of civilizational, social, socio-professional, socio-cultural and spiritual conditions of the given territory throughout history. Further to many years of studying food, the author affirms – also in the wider context – that “the present human sciences consider culinary culture a phenomenon which is one of the most stable identification factors of human communities” (p. 8).

The introductory part of the publication offers readers the methodological approaches of prominent representatives of European ethnology (G. Wiegelmann, U. Tolksdorf, C. Lévi-Strauss) which inspired the authors of the book to write this text and to analyse the ethnographic materials. A reference to the contribution by the doyen of Slovak ethnography Michal Markuš is, however, absent. His systematic long-term research (conducted precisely in the period the authors of the book refer to) and his published studies created the basis for findings and literature on “culinary culture” for the purposes of further research in this area. This fact is mentioned here because the reviewed work aims to present to the public – through regional characteristics – the traditional food culture in Slovakia in the first half of the 20th century. While respecting the background chosen by the authors, I consider this statement topical main-
ly with regard to the awareness of readers not only from among the ethnographic community, but also, for example, for didactic purposes where it is not possible to rely on the fact that all recently published books on the given topic are known. It would be also convenient if not only the individual chapters of the publication, but also the conclusion was followed by a list of the most important works on traditional food, since some of the books published earlier may not be available in the future. After all, the introductory chapter mentions ‘dozens’ of consulted national geographic and ethnographic regional monographs in the context of the presented regions. However, I am of the opinion that with regard to the reference to the study of non-published sources and especially to consultations with experts at the regional level (p. 9), considering ethics, the individual colleagues – consultants and their institutions should not remain anonymous, especially as regards “consultations on the specific aspects of this topic or help in the collection of research materials” (p. 9). If this work and the books of ethnographic nature published by Veda publishing house in the past accepted the habit of leaving out notes, the introductory part should at least list the names and institutions that provided information needed for the compilation of this book.

The core of the publication consists of chapters describing traditional meals in the different regions as determined by the authors on the basis of other materials. Although these chapters are the result of work of two authors – R. Stoličná (15 regions) and K. Nováková (7 regions), they are comparable, easy to read, and well-arranged, which is due to identical structure and titles of sub-chapters corresponding to the main components of the basic food system: traditional ways of consumption of meals, cereal meals, cabbage meals, potato meals, vegetable and fruit meals, dairy meals, meat meals (in regions with more frequent occurrence also egg meals, as in Orava or Liptov), beverages, fasting meals, festive meals, and recipes at the end. These parts summarise the findings about regional features, and document the preserved names of meals in dialects. Readers would also be interested in recipes. The chapters also consider the context of ethnic, religious and social structure and affiliation of communities characterising the particular regions. The introductory part, however, with regard to religion, does not mention Jews from the period ending with World War II as an integral part of not only the ethnic and religious picture of urban, but also rural communities in most of the territory of Slovakia, especially if the sub-chapters and the part with a Vocabulary of Dialectal Expressions (p. 477), though scantily, contains terms such as barches, barkjes – cake. If the authors were not able to find sufficient materials in the archive of the Ethnographic Society of Slovakia of the SAS, I would recommend them the Ethnological Archive of the Department of Ethnology and Museology of the Faculty of Arts of the Comenius University and, more recently, the theses of the students of this department as a possible source.

The newest publication on food represents a new perspective of one of the most interesting themes of the traditions of cultural heritage and of the present in the context of the Slovak territory throughout the first half of the 20th century. It creates a specific summary of findings rich in material and a basis for the comparison of changes in the forthcoming period. Further to the authors’ publications, we expect that their next studies will bring findings documenting the ongoing changes. In conclusion, the term ‘culinary culture’ (‘kulinárská kultúra’), or ‘culinaria’ (‘kulinarstvo’, ‘kulínaria’) is foreign to the generation which worked with the terms ‘food’ (‘strava’), ‘eating’ (‘stravovanie’) in its professional life. However, I do accept this term already used in a number of works, and I understand it as an inspiration by the English term ‘culinary culture’ used during the past decades by authors dealing with food. On the other hand, I cannot identify myself with the term ‘religious faith’ as a determining factor causing specific and different features in eating (e.g. different meals and dates of fast in Protestants and Roman Catholics, for example, on Christmas Eve), or the serving and consumption of festive meals connected to the shifts in the calendar of Greek-Catholics and Orthodox people). The correct term causing such differences is ‘religious
faith or affiliation’. I am also of the opinion that the interpretation of the prevalence or frequent consumption of meals prepared from plant, vegetable or cereal products without meat was not called ‘vegetarian food’ during the reference period (p. 19). This term is compatible with the current trends of preferring non-meat meals and of ‘vegetarianism’ as a way of alimentation and way of life. I think that the emphasis on non-meat meals in the menus of the first half of the 20th century was not the outcome of ‘trends’, but mainly of the natural, climate, and soil conditions and to a large degree of the social conditions of particular communities living in the different regions of Slovakia, as proven by the editor through concrete examples in the final part of the publication.

The final part of the publication brings a summary of the extensive corpus of ethnographic materials from all over Slovakia. The regional perspective presented in this study can be understood as a completion of the research of food culture presented in a series of published works of the editor of this publication. Many years of her focused interest in these topics confirmed her previous findings. Particularly enriching are the sub-chapters of the concluding parts Continuity and Innovations of Culinary Culture (pp. 470–472) and Culinary Culture and Popular Vocabulary (pp. 475–476). With regard to the author’s fear about the gradual disappearance of traditional eating habits and consumption of meals, we could express an optimistic perspective for a certain continuity of ‘traditional kitchen’ in connection with the developing tourism mostly at the regional level, which is reflected in some menus of catering facilities at present. Besides the purely scientific needs of this publication, it can also be applied in practice, and can also be an incentive affecting the shaping of regional affiliation of the generation which has not come into direct contact with the traditional meal repertoire.

MAGDALÉNA PARÍKOVÁ, Department of Ethnology and Museology of the Faculty of Arts of the Comenius University in Bratislava


This book, published thanks to the financial contribution of the Ethnographic Society of Slovakia at the Slovak Academy of Sciences (SAS) and with the support from the Slovak Research and Development Agency, is the result of a long-year scientific and cultural-historic development. The author, a senior researcher at the Institut of Ethnology of the SAS, published his findings and results of research in numerous scientific studies, encyclopaedic works, and expert contributions at home and abroad. Besides his ethnological work, he applies the obtained findings in cooperation with archaeologists, textile restorers and with The Centre for Folk Art Production (ÚĽUV) in Bratislava, and he has worked as an external university lecturer at the Department of Textile Manufacturing of the Academy of Fine Arts and Design in Bratislava. He presents to students theoretical knowledge about textile development and textile techniques, as well as practical experience in manual textile techniques. His extensive knowledge combined with his many years of experience in the teaching of manual textile technology led the author to write a synthetic publication summarising the available published, non-published, and personally acquired knowledge on this topic. Besides the benefits for experts and people interested in this area, this publication is also conceived as detailed quality study literature for university students.

The author has set out an ambitious goal – to present the manual textile techniques for the treatment of textile raw materials and textile manufacturing by felting and twisting of fibres and threads. He observes the textile raw materials used in Slovakia and the said techniques in home and craft manufacturing and manufacture production in our territory from prehistoric times until the middle of the 20th century in the context of cultural and historic processes and under the conditions that influenced their forms. The author’s aims
was not only to collect data on textile techniques from ethnological, as well as historic, archaeological and linguistic sources related to the Slovak territory, but especially to subject them to a critical analysis and to precisely identify the processing of materials by textile production methods to make felt, threads, and strings. Taking into consideration the incomplete and, from the point of view of terminology, often inaccurate and varied data published in the past, it is a publication requiring extensive knowledge, much patience, and the ability to view the problem in a synthesising way.

What is especially valuable in this book is the terminology bringing a summary of precisely defined terms of traditional textile technology, including tools and materials, on the basis of ethnological and archaeological sources, as well as linguistics and the use of expert terms. Hence, the book is an important source for the interpretation of terms in the field of traditional textile culture in Slovakia. It is noteworthy that the author also deals with the gender aspect of textile production.

The publication is particularly based on published data from several fields of science, archive sources, and manuscripts. It is enriched by new information, yet unpublished, from field research from the 1950s to 1980s and by the author’s personal findings and experience.

The author divided the book about the transformations of fibre as a basic component for the creation of textiles into five chapters. There Was Not Only Fibre in the Beginning, or about Textile Raw Materials is the title of the first chapter in which the author deals in detail with the different materials used and processed in Slovakia from prehistoric times until the middle of the 20th century, presenting them through a rich source of material and field research findings. Besides materials, their acquisition and processing at certain time periods, especially those used in our territory—flax, hemp, wool—, the author also addresses imported materials. Cotton and silk became popular in the countryside, but their use was influenced by economic conditions. The information on silk manufacturing in Slovakia in the 17th century is of special interest. Other rarely used raw materials (such as the fur of animals other than sheep) are also mentioned in the book.

The second chapter—shorter in extent—entitled From Fur to Felt, or on Felting and Interfelting deals with the oldest textile technique—felting by means of which fur (usually sheep fleece) was used to make coherent textile fabrics without spun threads. During the felting process, the product is formed into its final shape, mostly a hat or less frequently felt shoes. He makes a clear and detailed difference between the technology of felting and interfelting. Interfelting was used to achieve higher density of woollen textile and fabrics produced by various other textile techniques apart from felting.

The third chapter, named Spindle, Druga, Spinning Wheel, or about Twisting of Fibres into Threads and about Twisting of Non-Fibre Raw Materials describes in detail the technological processes used for the basic element of all textile techniques (besides felting) in the past—the thread. Besides the techniques of twisting fibres into threads, the author deals in detail with the work tools and equipment used for this activity. Much attention is paid to the terminology of the activity as such, also describing the twisting of non-fibre raw materials (e.g. tendons, intestines, parts of plants), highlighting the fact that the principles of textile techniques have been also used in the processing of other materials.

The fourth chapter—Cverna, Lina, Caganica, or about the Twisting of Threads into Strings— is written with the same level of details and information. The process of winding, i.e. the joining of at least two threads by twisting, creates a thicker and more solid element for further use. This chapter describes in detail the process of winding without tools, with tools, and with equipment, including terminology.

In all chapters, the author presents this topic in relation to home and craft manufacturing and manufacture production, including a view of the different activities from a gender perspective. He specifies and adjusts the common opinion according to which work related to fibre processing was
Each chapter is followed by numerous detailed notes completing and enriching the facts presented in the text.

The Conclusion, with notes and an extensive summary in English, is not the end of the publication. The book continues with a rich summary of information sources through Used sources, Abbreviations, Overview of the periods of culture development in Slovakia, List of pictures, their authors and sources, Nominal index, Index of objects, Index of places, and Author of the text, picture credits, and cooperating institutions.

The text of the publication is closely linked to and interconnected with rich picture materials – photos, drawings, and reproductions of archive sources. Through a careful selection of materials with detailed and explaining descriptions, they are not only an illustrative part of the publication, but are as important as the text of the publication as such.

The author dedicated his work to two important personalities who laid down the foundations for the research and exploration of traditional textile culture of Slovakia as a focus on the specific features of textile techniques – Ema Marková and Jitka Staňková.

It should be noted that a summary detailed work on the initial, most essential phases of textile technologies in the Slovak ethnological literature has long been absent. The topic of textile materials and their processing from home technologies up to methods used in production manufactures was the subject of independent expert studies, or parts of thematic and local monographs. It is obvious that there has not been the need in the recent past to deal in detail, in a published form, with activities that were known to the previous generations through autopsy or information from direct performers of the respective activities. As a result of large social and economic changes, as generations went by, some human activities disappeared along with information about them. There was an ever urgent need to create a summary of existing knowledge for the next generations, which was the principal incentive for the author to launch work on the publication “providing comprehensive information on textile raw materials and on the basic methods of their manual processing to produce textiles,” as the author of the book suggested. The publication of Juraj Zajonc Premeny vlákna (The Transformations of Fibre) makes this knowledge available not only to the expert public, but also to the general public, and has become one of the basic sources for the study of this field. The importance and the need of this publication for the present and the future generations has been acknowledged with the Premium Prize of the Literary Fund for Scientific and Expert Literature 2012.

In conclusion – not so common in this place –, I would like to express my wish to encounter similar high-quality comprehensive publications more often.

ALŽBETA GAZDÍKOVÁ,
Slovak National Museum in Martin

**Peter Slavkovský:**
Slovenská etnografia (kompendium dejín vedného odboru)
(Slovak Ethnography /A Compendium of the History of the Discipline/)

Ethnography has very old foundations, as suggested by Peter Slavkovský in his book that provides an historic overview of Slovak ethnography. In the introductory part of the publication, he describes Herodotus’s ancient work History as more an ethnographic work than an historic one with regard to its contents. The author generously puts his ethnographic/ethnological compendium within a wider cultural-historic or political-economic context. The overall concept of this work is good; it covers a relatively extensive thematic scope, and contains a rich source of information complemented by pictures.

In the sub-chapter The Beginnings of Scientific Focus on People and Its Culture, the author makes a link between the question of interest in people and the enlightenment ideology the essence of which was “economic and social emancipation of the emerging bourgeoisie from the thrall of feudalism”, and which fought “against the artificial spiritual
unity of the world-view of the Catholic Middle Ages...” The author builds on the general conviction on the straight progress of the modern period and the dark Middle Ages. It should be mentioned, however, that the matter is much more complicated than it appears at first sight. Although the imperialist tendencies, such as the Germanic Drang nach Osten or the Ottoman invasion to Europe, had their roots in the Middle Ages (the Reich eagle as the symbol of Germany was taken from ancient Rome) and had an external religious, i.e. seemingly spiritual and positively unifying feature, at its core it was more a biologically determined fight for territory in which people, for example, are identical to their relatives from the animal kingdom – chimpanzees. We can also point out the work by P. A. Sorokin Krise našeho věku (The Crisis of Our Age) (Prague, 1948) which provides an in-depth analysis of cyclical transformations of the prevailing social thinking throughout history. The Middle Ages were not an ‘artificial world-view unity’ or still-waters, though world-view unity was often exacted by violence. An integral part of it were the revolutionary incentives of personalities, such as Constantine-Cyril and Methodius, pioneers of the equality of people with regard to education in one’s own language, or Francis of Assisi, the pioneer of simplicity and modesty, and also of love to nature, who anticipated the interest in a simple man and the modern struggle for the protection of the environment. After all, Ján Hus and the author of the modern-time Utopia Thomas More also based their attitudes on the Middle Age world-view. Feudalism cannot be completely identified with the Middle Age either. On the other hand, the French Revolution which was in fact a belated reaction to the narcissistic form of government of Louis XIV which had a civil character in the beginning resulted in terror, Bonapartist imperialism, and state nationalism depriving national minorities of their rights. The American Revolution had a much more humane character, though it had to be “finalised” by people, such as Abraham Lincoln, a typical citizen coming from simple conditions. (Slovaks also fought for the liberation of black people in his troops). Disrespect to the Middle Ages can also be found in Italian renaissance, which contemptuously called the previous architectonic style, one of the most original in the history, ‘Gothic’, i.e. a Barbaric style from remote places from behind the Alps, and preferred to turn to the traditions of Ancient Rome with which it identified itself as a metropolis.

The author gradually gets to the core of the Slovak ethnographic topic and its research through the history of national revival which formed its ideological shell. He suggests that the focus on people which finally resulted in the birth of ethnography as an independent discipline had emerged at the core of the class (feudal) society alongside the development of the middle class in towns. He notes that the “interest in the Slovak countryside among intellectuals was induced by historical circumstances – it was born at the turn of two eras...” The author also deals with the implementation of the concept of museums; the general opening of museums to the public dates back to the mid-19th century. He highlights the homeland studies by Matej Bel, L. Bartholomeides, S. Téšedík, J. Čaplovič, and others. The Slovak history of the second half of the 19th century is characterised by the establishment and development of the national centre in Martin with a favourable geographical position, though certain functions of the Slovak cultural centre, almost in the same period, were fulfilled by Budapest which became the unequivocal metropolis of Hungary. The newspaper Pešťbudínske Vedomosti moved to Martin in that period, and started to be published as Národnie noviny. The question of developing a national centre in a typically rural environment of the Turiec region was explored by Fedor Ruppeldt whose work is still to be properly acknowledged. The polemics between the representatives of the Martin centre and their opponents are also interesting from the point of view of cultural history.

In the next sub-chapter, the author focuses on the history of the end of the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century, considering it a single period. He emphasises that besides amateur research in the first stage, it was necessary to underpin scientific work in an institutional way through Matica sloven-
ská as an institution suitable to pursue this task; its first Vice-Chair V. Pauliny-Tóth proposed creating special disciplines of science and art, but the reluctance of the former state administration marred this plan. The author considers Pavol Dobšinský as the most important methodologist of ethnographic activities in the period of Matica slovenská. (Folk fairy-tails have a democratic spirit, as everybody can become king there.) The author mentions Pavol Križko and Andrej Kmeť as peculiar initiators. After the closure of Matica, the gap was filled by magazines and the Slovak Museum Society. In 1880, Vajanský came with the initiative of a widely conceived exploration of the life of the nation. Vajanský and Fedor Ruppeldt also dealt with the idea of contemporary national style in architecture, as applied by Blažej Bulla and Dušan Jurkovič. The Czech-Slavic Ethnographic Exhibition in Prague in 1895 was an important event in this regard. The National House of Martin fulfilled the role of a social centre, of an academy of sciences, a national museum, and a national gallery. The time period studied by the author could be divided into two parts: the period before and the period after the overturn in 1918 when the new conditions for scientific works in Slovakia were very different from the ones in the previous period. It occurred for the first time that Slovakia gained political borders secured by international treaties, as well as national minorities with their rights. Cooperation between Czechs and Slovaks developed also prior to the founding of Czechoslovakia. We can mention, for example, the cooperation between the architect Jan Koula and Andrej Kmeť, both of them valuable in terms of ethnography, or the Pictures from the Tatra Mountains by Karel Kálal of 1907. In the interwar period, this cooperation gained in intensity. Special mention should be made of the devoted work of Karol Plicka or the initiative of Alica Masaryková in the promotion of folk house decorations in Čičmany and in the research of the village of Horné Jaseno in the Turiec region resulting in a study by Iva Šmakalová Integrálna dedina (Integral Village). (According to Alica Masaryková, a village with democratically arranged co-existence was an alternative to the ‘destructive impacts of the pseudo-civilisation’.) Alois Kolísek was another big admirer and promoter of Slovak folk culture; his flat was a small museum of Slovak folk art. Karel Čapek criticised big cities of the 20th century as a barbarian phenomenon; he was inspired in his work by the Slovak countryside, and appreciated its values. The author considers the Scientific Synthesis of 1937 an initiative act of scientific work in the interwar period. The author’s information on the interwar period can be completed by a mention about the initiative work of Milan Hodža in favour of the peasantry, as well as the fact that his political party published the edition Rolnícka osveta (Peasant’s Awareness), edited by Jozef Lettrich; under this series, the books by Ján Hofn Čráňme pamiatky našich otcov (Preserve the Memories of Our Fathers) and by Rudolf Priška Problém reagrarizácie (The Problem of Re-Agrarisation) were published. The Central Slovakian economic county with its seat in Zvolen undertook to promote folk art in its programme. During the inter-war years, land reform was carried out, accompanied by colonisation of the countryside, which gave rise to many municipalities named after important personalities, such as Hviezdoslavov, Hodžovo, Jesenské, Blahova Dedina, Gessayov, Ursínovo, Okánikovo, Slávikovo, Bottovo, etc.

During World War II, the Slovak national idea was successfully deformed by ideologists, such as Stanislav Mečiar and Štefan Polakovič, author of the publication Slovak National Socialism. Under the influence of German Nazism which promoted occultism, magic and pagan cults, the myths and cults of pseudo-spiritual symbols of the state along with narrow-minded nationalism were also introduced in Slovakia. On the other hand, the same Jozef Lettrich who edited the book series Rolnícka osveta was engaged in the Slovak National Uprising where he fought for democracy, and the architect Dušan Jurkovič, inspired by folk culture, was involved in the resistance as a member of the Justice group.

Folk art attracted much attention in the second half of the 20th century, as mentioned by the author in the third chapter on the big tasks of Slovak ethnography in this period: The International Commission for the Re-
search of Folk Culture in the Carpathians and the Balkans (MKKKB), The Ethnology/Ethnography of Slavic People, The Ethnographic Atlas of Slovakia, Czechoslovak Homeland Study, Slovakia – People, The Encyclopaedia of Slovak Folk Culture, etc. The Slovak National Museum (SNM) started to publish its almanac Ethnography. The author pays much attention to the magazine Slovenščín národopis, the exhibition of the Slovak National Museum (SNM), and the Museum of Slovak Village in Martin. “The exhibitions in the new building of the SNM represent the top level of exhibitions of this time from the conceptual, formal and spatial points of view,” affirms the author. In the last, fourth chapter of the book, he writes about the future perspectives of ethnography: “The main results of the urban-ethnological research in the 2nd half of the 1990s brought a breakthrough in the concepts of the subject of ethnological research.” The book also contains an overview of institutions and personalities of Slovak ethnography. It is a pity that one cannot find among them, for example, A. Kolísek, A. Masaryková, K. Plicka, and others.

We consider it necessary to add some comments on this period. Around the year 1955, field research of folk architecture was successfully developed at the Faculty of Architecture and Civil Engineering of the Slovak Technical University in Bratislava under the leadership of Prof. Ján E. Koula. Similar research was conducted by architect Ladislav Foltyn, former employee at Bauhaus. Folk architecture in Czechoslovakia was explored by architect Václav Mencl. It is remarkable that folk architecture raised much interest among and was highlighted by modern architects, as suggested by Karel Honzík in his book Tvorba životního slohu. Long before, the supporters of ‘academism’ in architecture grumbled about the ‘peasant style’ of Dušan Jurkovič. Emil Belluš and Ferdinand Milučký showed a positive attitude to folk architecture. From among modern world-renowned architects, it was appraised by Mies van der Rohe, and Le Corbusier is thought to have followed the Mediterranean folk architecture patterns in the design of his flat roofs.

Later, a group of members of the Slovak Association for the Protection of Nature and Landscape from Bratislava (Mikuláš Huba, Peter Kresánek, Peter Tatár, and others) conducted activities aimed at restoring haybarns, sheds, and other similar buildings in the countryside. Ján Lazorík and his valuable findings should be mentioned from among amateur ethnographers.

Dominik Tatarka, the author of reflections on the democratic society entitled God’s Village wrote about folk wood-carvers with much admiration.

The consumer society of today in its narcissist form works against the very essence of ethnography: if all inhabitants of the planet adopted the dream standard of top luxury, and if all towns and villages were reconstructed in the spirit of metropolitan spaces as a combination of a skyscrapers forest and ‘residential pudding’ to the detriment of the country that we received as a gift, people as such and their environment would perish.

IGOR THURZO,
Bratislava
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CALL FOR PAPERS

What’s up folklore? (Role of folklore in the contemporary world)

Call for the next issue of Slovak Ethnology / Slovenský národopis, volume 62, number 2/2014, focused on the role of folklore in the contemporary world
Hosting editor: EVA KREKOVIČOVÁ

Folkloristics has undergone a process of quite substantive change since the middle of the 20th century. On the one hand it has brought new topics and research issues, deepened the interdisciplinary character of research approaches and methods. This development has largely extended the research field. On the other hand the scholars have continued in synthesizing of the traditional folklore, understood gradually as cultural heritage, which was tied to a certain stylish and historical period. The inclination to this “double-track” character of the discipline is certainly not the result of the development in the last decades only. But at the turn of this century the border between both research lines comes forth and deepens. This situation relates, to a certain degree, to inter-generational shifts in the approach to the object of the research and, inter alia, to the ever stronger anthropologisation of humanities in general (Kuligowski, 2012). It relates also to breaking away from grand theories, “a plea not for grand but for humble theory” in folkloristics as Dorothy Noyes suggests (Noyes, 2008). The changes of theoretical approaches, the shifting research focuses from the “image of the past” to “contemporary processes” thus become new and appealing challenges for the scholars.

The editors of this journal invite analytic, theoretical or synthetic articles, research reports, essays and discussions in the fields of folkloristics, ethnology, social and cultural anthropology and related scholarly disciplines, focused especially (but not exclusively) on the following issues:

• Current theoretical approaches in folkloristics, continuities and discontinuities in theoretical thoughts, diversification of theoretical concepts and methods;
• Genre theory, the development of folklore genres in history and in the contemporary period, the “new” genres (contemporary legends, rumours, gossip, conspiracy theories etc.);
• Narrative, visual, music, dancing and other artistic representations of the social world;
• Traditional and “new” music styles (ethno music, world music etc.);
• New media (internet, digital media etc.) and their influence on folklore communication;
• Global processes and transformation of folklore;
• Folklore and power, folklore in societal discourse, folklore and politics; Folklore phenomena as elements of (collective) identity construction, folklore phenomena as distinctive codes for creating social group boundaries.

Submission guidelines: please follow the guidelines for submissions as given on the website of Slovak Ethnology http://www.uet.sav.sk/?q=en/slovak-ethnology
Year round the Slovak Ethnology journal invites, apart from contributions focused on above mentioned issues, also major articles, research reports, essays, discussions, overviews, annotations, book reviews and review essays beyond the thematic call for papers.

Final date for abstracts: 31. 1. 2014
Authors of accepted abstracts will be notified at the end of January, 2014 and will then be invited to submit a full paper. An invitation to submit a full paper does not constitute a commitment for publication; all papers will be subject to anonymous peer review following submission.

Final date for papers: 15. 3. 2014
Please send your abstract as an e-mail attachment to the editors, at slovensky.narodopis@savba.sk.
CALL FOR PAPERS

Visual anthropology

Call for the next issue of Slovak Ethnology / Slovenský národopis, volume 62, number 4/2014, focused on the visual anthropology
Hosting editor: SAM PACK

This special issue on visual anthropology seeks submissions from both new and established scholars that explore the various ways in which culture is mass mediated. Beyond the traditional encoder/decoder model, this volume is committed to the study of media in the broader context of everyday lived experiences that interrogates and transforms conventional understandings. Articles should be based upon ethnographic research on topics concerning the production, circulation, and reception of media forms and practices. We are interested in both “old” media (photography, radio, television, film) as well as “new” media (Internet, video games, smart phones). How does technological change shape and transform media landscapes? What is so specific about media communication and its aesthetic expression? Are the messages transmitted by audiovisual documents different to those transmitted by written text?

Slovak Ethnology invites submissions from international and multidisciplinary perspectives that explore some of the key debates around visual anthropology (or studies inspired by it) to produce original empirical research.

Possible topics include but are not limited to:

- Challenges and opportunities, strengths and weaknesses of visual anthropology
- Ethical concerns
- Media ethnography, social activism and social change
- Sensory ethnography and anthropology of the senses

Submission guidelines: please follow the guidelines for submissions as given on the website of Slovak Ethnology http://www.uet.sav.sk/?q=en/slovak-ethnology

Year round the Slovak Ethnology journal invites, apart from contributions focused on above mentioned issues, also major articles, research reports, essays, discussions, overviews, annotations, book reviews and review essays beyond the thematic call for papers.

**Final date for abstracts: 15. 4. 2014**

Authors of accepted abstracts will be notified at the end of April, 2014 and will then be invited to submit a full paper. An invitation to submit a full paper does not constitute a commitment for publication; all papers will be subject to anonymous peer review following submission.

**Final date for papers: 30. 6. 2014**

Please send your abstract as an e-mail attachment to the editors, at slovensky.narodopis@savba.sk
The 2014 Annual Meeting of the Gypsy Lore Society
and Conference on Gypsy Studies

Call for Papers and Proposals

The 2014 Annual Meeting of the Gypsy Lore Society and Conference on Gypsy Studies will be held in Bratislava, Slovakia, September 11 to 13, 2014. The meeting is being organized on behalf of the Gypsy Lore Society by the team of the Institute of Ethnology, Slovak Academy of Sciences in cooperation with the Faculty of Social and Economic Sciences, Comenius University in Bratislava, Roma Institute and European Information center of the Representation of the European Commission in Slovakia. The meeting will be held at the Faculty of Social and Economic Sciences building.

Contributions from various disciplines and perspectives on any aspect of Gypsy Studies are most welcome, but substantive scholarly papers will be given priority. Papers should be 20 minutes long with an additional 10 minutes allotted for discussion.

Proposals for open panels, pre-arranged panels, individual papers, and poster presentations are welcome.

Requirements for proposals:

Open panel: Please send your proposal for an open panel of no more than 500 words. This can be published as a call for papers after approval.
Deadline: February 15, 2014

Pre-arranged panel: Please send your proposal for a pre-arranged panel of no more than 500 words. We also ask for an abstract of 250 words for each individual paper.
Deadline: February 15, 2014

Individual papers: Please send your abstract of no more than 250 words and indicate whether this is an open submission, or a submission to a particular panel. Abstracts will be peer-reviewed by the academic organising committee, which includes representatives of the Gypsy Lore Society Board of Directors and local organisers. If your paper is submitted to a panel, the conveners of the particular panel will also review the abstract.
Deadline: April 15, 2014.
You will be notified if your contribution has been accepted by May 31, 2014.

Poster presentations: The conference provides facilities for poster presentations. Posters will be displayed during the duration of conference. Depending on the number of submissions accepted, a few poster-presentation sessions are planned as “guided tours”. Posters must present research projects and results. Posters should meet academic standards in both content and form. The presentation of the poster should not exceed 5 minutes. Please send your proposal for an poster section of no more than 100 words before April 15, 2014.

Deadline for abstracts: April 15, 2014.
You will be notified if your contribution has been accepted by May 31, 2014.

Please send your proposals for panels, contributions and posters in plain text format (no tables or charts) in the body of an e-mail message (not as an attachment) to the Program Chair, Dr Tatiana Podolinska, gls.2014@savba.sk. Submissions should include the author’s name, institutional affiliation (if relevant), address, daytime telephone and e-mail address.

Please address all conference inquiries to gls.2014@savba.sk. More information about the conference will be published in coming issues of the Newsletter, and on the Gypsy Lore Society web site, http://www.gypsyloresociety.org.