FAKULTA HUMANITNÍCH STUDIÍ UNIVERZITY KARLOVY

12, 2010, 2

Urban People
Lidé města

Lidé města / Urban People
jsou recenzovaným odborným časopisem věnovaným antropologickým vědám s důrazem na problematiku města a příbuzným společenskovědním a humanitním disciplínám. Jedná se o jediný antropologický časopis vydávaný v České republice. Vychází třikrát ročně, z toho dvakrát v českém jazyce (v květnu a v prosinci) a jednou v anglickém jazyce (v září).

Lidé města / Urban People
is a peer-reviewed scholarly journal focused on anthropological studies with emphasis on urban studies, and related social sciences and humanities. It is the only anthropological journal published in the Czech Republic. It is published three times a year, twice in Czech (in May and December) and once in English (in September).

VYDÁVÁ/PUBLISHED by Fakulta humanitních studií Univerzity Karlovy
Adresa redakce/Address: U kříže 8, 158 00 Praha 5
Internetové stránky: http://www.lidemesta.cz
Časopis vychází s podporou vzdělávací společnosti UniPrep.

Výkonný redaktor/Managing editor: **Jan Kašpar** jan.kaspar@fhs.cuni.cz
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Tisk/Printed by: **ERMAT Praha**, s.r.o.
Distribuce: **Kosmas s.r.o.**, Lublaňská 34, 120 00 Praha 2, www.kosmas.cz

ISSN 1212-8112

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THE ROLES OF THE CITY IN THE BOOKS OF CLIOHRES[1]

Luďa Klusáková, Karel Kubiš and Božena Radiměřská

Abstract: ***Through an analysis of the approach to the concepts of frontiers and identities in four books of the CLIOHRES Network the authors of this article found a very up-to-date contribution to the broad understanding of urban history. The article suggests pondering about current paths of the specific research field of urban history, which is not easy to define. The city itself was not the object of research of the members of the network, but rather a space for analysis of more general questions. Although the focus on the city was often instrumental, the authors understood its paradigmatic function. The analysis highlighted intensive interest in spatial scales and questioning of the two key concepts of frontiers and identities simultaneously in interaction. The urban perspective was not felt as a reduction or limitation. Frontiers and identities played a key role, even if they were not in focus.***

During the last two or three decades the research field of urban history went through considerable transformation. Some urban historians even speak about its semantic expansion. While classical urban historiography focused on the city and urban society as an object of analysis, current research very often studies past societies only through the optics of the life of cities. The microcosm of cities is explored as a showcase of the society or only as its sample, as a representation of the society of the period or of its mentality. These new approaches to urban studies are present in the books analyzed in the following pages.

Keywords: ***cities; communities; culture; identities; frontiers; spatial scales; CLIOHRES Network***

[1] The article was written with the support of the research scheme of the Ministry of Education of the Czech Republic MSM 0021620827 České země uprostřed Evropy v minulosti a dnes [Czech Lands in the Middle of Europe, Past and Present], held by the Faculty of Philosophy and Arts of Charles University in Prague.

CLIOHRES (in full title "*Creating Links and Innovative Overviews for a New History Research Agenda for the Citizens of a Growing Europe*") represents one of the largest functioning research networks in history and the humanities, which organized into six thematic work groups (TWG) had in focus very general issues of European history.[2] None of them was assigned to touch urban issues in any form; however three of the work groups did so. In four volumes urban perspective was dominant or at least important (Osmod – Cimdiņa 2007; François – Syrjämaa – Terho 2008; Pan-Montojo – Pedersen 2007; Klusáková – Teulières 2008). The idea of looking at how urban issues were tackled came about as a by-product of the frequency and content analysis of the first eighteen volumes of CLIOHRES asking how the two concepts of frontiers and identities were understood in the discourse of this research network. We should explain that this unusually large research network was composed of 180 members from 45 institutions. The size of the six thematic work groups oscillated between 25 and 33 members over the years, and usually about half of the members were doctoral students. Typical for CLIOHRES is the prevalence of input from universities from "peripheral" regions of Europe or of large European countries. Basically we can say that all EU countries, some non-EU states like Iceland, Norway and Switzerland, and a number of geographically European countries are represented. CLIOHRES also wished to reach beyond the frontiers of Europe, and therefore Turkish and South African partners are members of the project. Several CLIOHRES members have their origins outside Europe and "linked the network" with India, Japan and the USA. Characteristic for this project is the stability of a core membership together with the addition of some new doctoral students every year. By the definition of the project, the groups are fairly stable, but there is mobility among the doctoral students, who leave the project after they defend their dissertations, but often remain as external (back-up) members. The team of authors shows considerable stability, and in the three books we register more or less a similar territorial and chronological distribution of interests. Consequently, there is a certain territorial and temporal coherence in the definition of particular themes. As a result the groups profit from rather long-term collaboration, which is rehearsed in the published books by a rather stable or repetitive authorship. Nevertheless there are differences in the groups' structure. While TWG1 focused on States

2 More information about the network on http://www.cliohres.net

and Institutions is mostly masculine in membership, TWG4 on Gender and Labour is predominantly feminine. While TWG5 on Frontiers and Identities has many central European members, TWG2 (Power and Culture, including language, art and architecture) has a membership extending from the far North to the South-East of Europe. Members of TWG3 (Religious and Philosophical Concepts) have a common interest in the sociology of religion and similar methodological coherence also seems to characterize TWG4. On the other hand, for TWG6 – Europe and the World – it was probably most difficult to define the field of research, let alone speak about methodology. Researchers in TWG1 became interested in urban history while exploring the concept of community. The team of TWG2 studied interactions of culture and power; when they exposed their spatiality, they quite often did so in urban context. TWG5, focused on frontiers and identities, studied the concepts through the perspective of four spatial scales: local (urban), regional, national and supranational (European); thus the intersection of identities and their spaces of cities in regions and nations was studied in its third volume.

We present in this article analysis of the results of research and discussions which appear in texts published in collective books prepared by the three thematic work groups **from the perspective of intersection between cities, frontiers and identities only**, and ask how these concepts were approached, and thus what we can learn from the CLIOHRES experience. While we were reading the chapters and discussing the approaches to the twin concepts of frontiers and identities, we recognized that there are many ways of contributing to the debate, and that the concepts can be discussed without the explicit use of the terms, but, for our analysis of the discourse, only the explicit use of the terms is relevant. The analysis of any implicit use of the terms would become very complicated because its identification in the text depends on very subjective ways of reading. On the other hand, the explicit use of the terminology related to identity theory and border (frontier) studies confirms that the authors are using them, we suppose, with full awareness of their meaning, and that by the use of the terminology, they refer to particular theoretical discussions. Consequently we have decided to go first through the exercise of frequency analysis and as the next step focus on the broader contexts in which the concepts were used. In the next stage through the analysis of contexts, the understanding of identities, identifications, identity building, and of physical and symbolic frontiers was studied.

The books were analyzed using one method. Identical questions about the context in which the authors apply identity theories or reflect on border research were addressed to all chapters and to the introductions of the volumes of the thematic work groups. The goal of this inquiry was to disclose whether and how the words are used; whether they are related to concepts and correspond with varieties of approaches and larger contextual groups of meanings of types of identities and frontiers by authors whose primary interest was in states, institutions, culture, and power. The focus of the analysis was on the explicit use and on various links between explicit and implicit uses. Particularly interesting are those themes which did not by their definition oblige researchers to touch the concepts of frontiers and identities at all. Although we have followed only the explicit use of the terminology (as explained above), we have to add that in reality we are interested in the relationship between explicit-implicit uses. It appears that the implicit understanding of terms and problems of frontiers and identities by colleagues working in other fields of research is one of several basic motivations. Since the city or community appeared during this analysis as an overarching notion in these four cases we have decided to pay special attention to them and to this intersection of frontiers, identities and urban context.

Thematic Work Group 1: Communities, Identities and Frontiers

By the definition of the project the researchers of TWG1 – *States, Legislation and Institutions* did not have to deal with cities or with the theory of identity and border studies. We presumed, however, they could hardly avoid touching identities and frontiers as these are inherent aspects of states. They are defined by legislation and protected by institutions. Surprisingly, cities became very important for the team as well. In its second book, the team decided to explore as a connecting theme for states, legislation and institutions the problems of communities and jurisdictions from Antiquity to present day (Pan-Montojo – Pedersen 2007). The frequency analysis also suggested that the book devoted to communities was more theoretically embedded and conceptualized than the other books produced by the same team, and thus also more important for the understanding of the concept of frontiers and identities. It appears that the concept of identity, quite marginal, had more importance for the research group than the concept of frontier.

As shown by the incidence of intersections, focus on communities announces that the concept itself is the intersection. A community has to have its name, its identity, and it is allocated in clearly defined space: it has its frontier.

Identities and Communities

In the introduction, the editors devoted particular interest to the terminology and to the understanding of the concept of community as it is used in the academic discourse of the period. Taking into account the theoretical background formulated by the editors, we are not surprised that in many respects the chapters by their very nature touch upon the issue of identities, since "communities" are directly linked with them. From the perspective of the implication of the theory of identity and exploration of the processes of the construction of collective identities, the discussion focused on communities is obviously most relevant for those interested in urban studies.

The book is divided evenly into two sections – *Representations* and *Jurisdictions*. If we continue to explore the results of the frequency analysis and go into more depth, we look in detail at the chapters with important incidences of terms related to identity studies. We have to deal with five chapters and the introduction (about half of the book) concentrated in the section *Representations*. First the editors' introduction written by Juan Pan-Montojo and Frederik Pedersen demonstrates the considerable incidence of terms related to identities, which appear in the context of the theoretical framework of the concept of "community," for which the role of identity is determinant (in the same way as is the role of frontiers and identities in relation to space). The authors have chosen as their point of departure the concept of the construction of social networks, the construction of collective identities and of alterity (as in the construct "we/us"), "textual communities" or "imagined communities (links, identities)." The introduction's theoretical framework is delimited by works of Z. Bauman (community), F. Barth (ethnic groups and boundaries), A. Cohen (symbolic construction of community) and of B. Stock ("textual communities").

Elsewhere in their introduction the editors present the book more in detail. In this context they again refer to the issue of identities (once more, in the context of community). They refer, for example, to linguistic barriers, which have identified particular Greek spokesmen; further reference is made to: ancient identities, ethnic, or ethno-national identities, recognizable identities (which differentiate social groups among urban immigrants), attractive or

new identities, and a shared sense of identity, which is inevitably connected to certain joint and common jurisdictions. All this, according to the authors of the introduction, leads often, in the given context of legal institutions which aim to solve conflicts, to modifications of frontiers and the identities of particular communities.

A contribution which is absolutely prominent from the perspective of the application of the concept of identity (as it represents one full third of incidences of the term in this book) is a theoretically embedded, informed analysis of the criteria of Greekness and alterity (non-Greekness) as used by Thucydides in the examples of the various ethnicities of the period (Macedonians, Chalkidians, Thracians, Scythians, Illyrians...) by Ioannis Xydopoulos (2007). The author has used the term identity first of all in the context of shared identity, ethnic identity, pan-Hellenic identity, linguistic identity, Greek identity, personal and professional identity (of Thucydides himself), national identification or "culturally based collective identity." Xydopoulos refers to the theoretical concepts of communities formulated by Anthony Cohen (symbolic construction of communities) and those of Catherine Morgan (concerning ethnic community in classical Greece). When he speaks about ethnic identification in the context of Greek polis, he refers first of all to criteria defined by Anthony Smith (ethnic origin of nations) or to the studies of J. M. Hall or E. Hall.

The second chapter which presents an operationalization of the category of identity is written by Marianna D. Christopoulos (2007) and entitled *Greek Communities Abroad*. It is a theoretically well argued analysis of the organization of a Greek immigrant community in an alien environment. Greeks were fleeing from Ottomans and settling in Trieste, which was declared a free port by the Habsburgs in the 18th century. In general the author focused on the issue of the integration of immigrants into a foreign urban society. In this article the term identity was mentioned in various, mainly, ethnic connotations. Thus, we learn about "Greek identity," "national-religious identity," "diasporic" or "public" identities, professional identity, "new (local) identity," etc. Methodologically, the author operationalizes the concept of "community" as understood by A. Cohen (symbolic construction of communities), G. Hillary and L. W. Warner.

The third relevant chapter was written by Zoltán Györe (2007) and represents an example of the positive relationships of two different ethnic and national communities in a description of collaboration in the field of cultural activities, specifically Hungarians and Serbs staging and producing theatre.

The term identity was used in the following contexts: "a variety of community identities," "shared in collective identities," "their ethnic and religious identity," "the transition from ethnic identities to national communities" and "the strengthening of national identities." Without any doubt the emphasis on national ethnic identities prevails in this text, as we can see in it also a contribution of the theatre to the nationalization of urban social life. Methodologically, compared with the preceding chapters, this one is not more deeply embedded in more general historical-sociological or anthropological concepts and was focused on a descriptive analysis of the problem.

The last two chapters, which use the category identity, concern Spanish history. In the chapter offered by Florencia Peyrou (2007), the focus is on Spanish republicanism as an "imagined society," a representation which has, in an extraordinary way, influenced the development of liberalism in Spain and in a decisive manner contributed to popular mobilization. The author has used the term identity predominantly in derived contexts. Directly the term identity was used only in references to Cohen's understanding of community as a system of values "which provide its members with a sense of identity." In other cases, Peyrou uses mainly the term "identified"– which means who or what identified with whom or with what. However, the chapter is very remarkable for the way Peyrou theoretically grasps the problem in focus and defines her field of interest. Along with older sociological concepts (those of Tönnies, MacIver, Elias, etc.), and the classical ideas of A. Cohen (symbolic construction of communities), she has used first of all the concept of "imagined community" as in the formulation of B. Anderson in his analysis of nationalism.

The fifth and last chapter in the second book presented by TWG1, which is of interest for our analysis, is the chapter *Reconstructing "Communities" and Uniting "Classes"* by Juan Pan-Montojo (2007). This chapter is devoted to the origins of *agrarismo* (agrarianism) and social mobilization in Spain in the context of the European intellectual traditions of the 19th century. The author has focused on a search for causes which explain the failure of this political project in Spain in the period. The incidence of the term identity is prevailingly "class identities" (5), "communitarian identities (national, racial, local or professional)" (2), finally "regional identities" and "identity of countryside." Methodologically the author derives his arguments from Bauman's and Cohen's definitions of communities (symbolic construction of communities) and, further, from the intellectual and political heritage of the 19th century as it corresponds with the declared intention of the chapter.

We can thus conclude that particularly the first part of the second book (*Representations*) performs an ample operationalization of the category of identity. Through the definitions, explorations, and theoretical justifications of the category of communities and ethnic communities (Bauman, Cohen, Barth and Anderson) the discussed chapters have highlighted the focus on the community as social and political space.

Frontiers and Communities

For the authors, the concept of frontiers was even more marginal than identity, and mostly in its political and territorial understanding. Firstly, the authors used alternatively the two English words for describing physical barriers or demarcation lines between territories – border or frontier, without differentiating between the two. Second is the context of cultural borders or frontiers. Thirdly there appears the symbolic meaning of frontier, understanding the limits of political power, legal systems or the limits of the influence of intellectual streams. Interesting are of course those situations when these understandings occur all together in one chapter.

The focus on communities in the second volume on *States, Legislations, Institutions*, led the research group to explore social and political relations on the local scale, and thus yet another dimension of the understanding of borders is taken on board. The community, often identical with a city or town, was also defined by its borders (Ann Katherine Isaacs on the example of Italian city-state), but it was not homogeneous; there were social spaces within the community separated by territorial or symbolic frontiers. The social functions of parish boundaries are explored, and the role of symbolic barriers of common lands and collective institutions in the competition of ideologies, as neither rural communities are homogeneous (Pan-Montojo 2007). Although they focus on very different historical periods, Ioannis Xydopoulos and Marianna D. Christopoulos show that the definition of the community's border is not given once and forever. The social borders within a certain community have to be perceived by the community in order to be relevant, and there is a valuable relationship to the larger territorial units to which the community belongs. The definition of territorial borders is also related to geographical and ethnic aspects. It is a construct which is also not given once and forever (Xydopulos 2007; Christopoulos 2007).

Frontiers and Identities in Intersections

In conclusion, we can summarize that from the perspective of operating with the terms frontier/s and identity/ies, this thematic work group, which focused on states, legislations, and institutions, the most considerable progress was displayed in the second book (*Communities in European History: Representations, Jurisdictions, Conflicts*). Thanks to its conceptual framework, it partially approached the research field of frontiers and identities on one side, while on the other, suggested the link to urban studies. At the same time we cannot confirm any reciprocal influence or inspirations between the thematic work groups, which would be visible through the immediate results of their research demonstrated, in this case, by a stereotypical narrowing of the contents of identities to ethnic or national collective identities, and on a mainly territorial understanding of frontiers and borders, although they do appear to various degrees in such a guise. We can, however, identify themes for future collaborative research which originate from those situations where the two concepts were used together: (1) the role of the border/frontier for the constitution of group identity or the identity of a community, particularly an ethnic community (Xydopulos 2007); (2) the role of the relationship between the boundary and consciousness of identity for the constitution of community, or of a social group (Christopoulos 2007); (3) the social role of new "imagined communities" in the context of strengthening national identity, and the creation of new barriers between so far collaborating social groups (Györe 2007); (4) changes in state borders as a cause of crises of identity or the emergence of multiple identities and relationship between (national) identity and the existence of (nation) states (Györe 2007); and last but not least (5) the appreciation of the importance of cultural borders as a theme of scientific interest, when identities and cultural interactions are in the focus (Reboton 2008). In these themes we can again find many correlations with the directions taken by the authors of books discussed further in this article.

Thematic Work Group 2: Culture and Power on Frontiers and Identities in Cities

Two other books we have explored were produced by the research team of work group Power and Culture, who also were not assigned by the contract to focus on either cities, frontiers, or identities. However culture implicitly is about both. In the analysis of the discourse we approached the two concepts of power

and culture as interwoven in a similar way as were the themes of frontiers and identities. As in the case of first work group, this research team also discovered that the urban perspective is important and revealing for the study of relationships and interactions between culture and power.

The second book (Osmond – Cimdiņa 2007) is very interesting from the aspect of frontiers and identities as it announces a major interest in identities first, and second, since it reveals an interesting methodological trend of the group, which is implicitly present in the chapters. It is the problem of the spatialization of processes in the cultural life of societies and in the sphere of power, which appears first of all in urban societies, where the trappings of power were on display for centuries.

The third book (François – Syrjämaa – Terho) proves that the team of authors found during their work on the previous book a certain common methodological framework, with particular attention to identity construction. In the third book they declared their interest in research under the methodological label of "the spatial turn." The adherence to reflecting this last large methodological turn in historiography is represented explicitly in an extensive, in-depth and developed introduction by the editors and, subsequently, by references to it in nearly all chapters. This common interest and adoption of the perspective of a discourse, based in cultural (humanist) geography and in sociological and philosophical discourses, was inspired by Henri Lefebvre and particularly his *La production de l'espace* (1974). It is represented by a focus on the construction of place (space), and is interconnecting all chapters and demonstrated in references.

During the work on the second book it appeared that the issues of identities have a spatial dimension, and the same is true for the frontier building factor; we could observe there the growing importance of the concept of frontiers. Many authors needed to touch the issue of borders, boundaries or frontiers. Some use the words arbitrarily; some feel that there is a difference in the contents. The issue of frontiers has gradually overshadowed the theme of identities, and the theme of spatiality was chosen for the third book. Consequently the frequency of the term identity and its cognates in the third book devoted to the creation, perception and living in the space pointed to the spatial dimensions and links of identity with space, which are usually defined by some kind of borders, boundaries or frontiers, and by a certain identity. Frequency analysis disclosed the terminological diversity and confirmed the complete shift of interests – from identities to frontiers – announced in the second volume.

In the second book there is a move towards a stronger linkage of the concepts of culture and power to the issue of identities, which is demonstrated by putting the term in the book's title, along with ideology and representations as the three connecting themes of culture and power. The two aspects of the relationships between "large" and "small" cultural entities and their interaction in the spaces of contacts of the two are identified as the practice of analysis. Repeatedly the editors declare their adherence to the anthropological understanding of power and culture (with reference to Bhikhu Parekh as an authority) and underline their processual nature (Osmond – Cimdiņa 2007a: IX). When we ask where, how and by whom the concept of identity was used explicitly, we obtain totally different results from the one given in the introduction. Even those who were not linked with the concept of identity in the introduction did use it and did relate it for instance to the issues of tradition and national memory (Ojārs Lāms), and to social identity, while speaking of the identity of city, space and landscape (Sinem Türkoğlu Önge, Cânâ Bilsel and Rafael Gil Salinas). On the other hand, six of the twelve chapters of the second book link their themes of research with the idea of frontiers. This term appears in one way or another more often than the term identity, which was one of the three announced key problems of the second book. This confirms the axiom about the interconnectedness of the identities with frontiers, or that identities create frontiers in self-defence.

Consequently in this team's third book, the main goal was to explore in historical perspective the way interconnections between society and space were created and how they influenced each other. The authors formulated their goals based on the analytical possibilities of historians. This means to study the processes of construction and appropriation of space. The concept of lived space, which emerges as a construct (sometimes only as a result of *bricolage* or patchwork), is implicitly linked to the concepts of identity and frontier. The space has its name, it is defined and it has its image, its identity, through which it is assigned to larger or higher ranked units. As such, it has also its defined beginning and end, its frontiers. The editors Pieter François, Taina Syrjämaa and Henri Terho formulated very carefully their introduction to this volume. They shaped it as a common methodological declaration of intentions for the entire book (François – Syrjämaa – Terho 2008a). The team has chosen one dominant referential author for all chapters, Henri Lefebvre and particularly his book *The production of space*, which after having been translated and published in English in 1991 began to influence the academic discourse in cultural

studies, and is linked to the so-called spatial turn in history. Although it is not articulated in the introduction, the book's authors work explicitly with the concept of identities. It can be perceived as implicitly incorporated into the volume's programme. The ideas about place/space emerging by being used, lived and "read" by inhabitants and visitors, and thus also the identity of town, place, space being created, implies the fact that the identity is at stake.

Having on mind perspective of urban studies we would like to learn how intensively the agenda of frontiers and identities is present in discussed volumes of TWG2, and how the interconnection of the two concepts with cities is presented. As was said, we are considering all incidences in the frequency analysis, but in the consideration of broader contexts we mostly focus on the cases of significant incidences (five times and more). However, for the books of TWG2, the cases of one exclusive formulation were of importance and had to be considered in order to obtain the result responding to the programme of the books.

Identities

The authors are mostly dealing with collective identities, which on the grounds of contents analysis we can identify as three broader contexts: (1) social identity, (2) cultural identity with the linguistic one included, and (3) intertwined national and state identity with political, and national with confessional. These may be forming in particular cases four particular contexts.

Social Identity is viewed firstly through the interpretation of social groups in representative societies. The definition of social roles has many forms beginning with negotiation and ending with conflict (Nicoară 2006). In focus is the representation of central power – royal, imperial or dictatorial. Toader Nicoară reflects on the complexity of the academic discussion starting with Ernst Kantorowicz, Marc Bloch, Max Weber, continuing with Gustav Le Bon, Émile Durkheim, Marcel Mauss, Roger Chartier, Bronisław Geremek, and ending with Michel Vovelle, Reinhart Koselleck, Alain Corbin, Louis Marin and Carlo Ginzburg. The author understands historical representations as a partially autonomous field of research, the central theme of which is the representation of power. However, the contents and the concept of identity are not analyzed, the article can be read as a representation of the methodological background of the research group.

Cities, understood as socially organized spaces, can be viewed as a contribution to the concept of social identity. Serpil Özaloğlu, in the third volume, thematized the identity of urban space in connection to modernity

and experiences of an individual dedicated to the relationship of the inhabitants of Ankara to their city. The identity of space is viewed in connection with personal independence, and modernity is linked to individuality. Influenced by Henri Lefebvre's *Production of Space*, Özaloğlu identifies as criteria for the modernity of an individual the necessary anonymity of everyday life in a large city. She views the traditional social web as a constraint. It is the control of the family, of neighbours or of other traditional social relations, which have to disappear in a truly modern urban society. The fragmentation of social identities in modern urban life is one important aspect to which the author refers (Özaloğlu 2008). Further, Özaloğlu continues in referring to Lefebvre and J. Chevalier, stressing the importance of an appropriated and identified space (social space) for the identity of the society. She accepts and develops the thesis that a society cannot gain identity without establishing a social space first of all. Özaloğlu shows here that she has a broader referential framework in confrontation with the concept of identity affecting everyday life in a modern city, also with inspirations from Maurice Halbwachs (social memory) and Michel De Certeau (everyday life), and others. Social space seems to be identified here with public space, thus public activities contribute to the acceleration of building a collective identity, in this case attached to the capital city as the symbol of the republic (Özaloğlu 2008: 21). The author does not articulate the problem of the division of social spaces within the city, but while she differentiates identified spaces, she speaks about: residential area/district, shopping places/area, picnic area, park, neighbourhood – their separation, delimitation and bordering are implicit in the text.

Public spaces and their social identities are explored in the co-authored chapter about the Dolmabahçe Palace in Istanbul (Caner – Yoncacı 2008). Çağla Caner and Pelin Yoncacı focus on the social role of the Grand Ceremonial Hall and ground it in Lefebvre's concept about possible multiple (overlapping) identities of space in relation to their users, various social and cultural contexts and historical periods (Caner – Yoncacı 2008: 52). The authors also found inspiration in the writings of Walter Benjamin and Michel Foucault, as they stress the importance of the identity of actors for the identity of space, which is created while the space is being used, and while the users live the events taking place within the public space. They explore their argument in the case of the *Muayede* ceremony, which had a public character. Those who attended were members of the elite, statesmen, deemed worthy to be received by the Sultan, and foreign ambassadors, eminent guests and members of the royal family offered their

greetings to the Sultan according to a pre-determined arrangement. Some members of the families of officials serving the Sultan could observe the ceremony as well. Although the greeting ceremony included only upper-class members of society, there were people with various identities associated with such an elite group. The ceremony turned into a joint experience, just as the ceremonial hall turned into a shared, experienced space. The authors explore the visual perceptions of participants transmitted in written testimonies (memoirs) and show how their spatial experiences of the Hall vary according to the identity of the subject participating in the ceremony, their role in the ceremony, the place where they stood, or their position in respect to the regime. They conclude, inspired by Foucault, that the Grand Ceremonial Hall which was the space of power and the space of representation at one and the same time remained at the periphery of the "social space" of the Dolmabahçe Palace, while being located in the centre of its "material space." (Caner – Yoncacı 2008: 64-66).

Space (i.e., the terrestrial one) does not exist by itself. It is socially identified, and thus it has also defined and described borders, and since by its nature it has its end, it has also temporal and social dimensions, along with the material (geographical) dimension. Caner and Yoncacı are conceptually close to the metaphor of communicating vessels of frontiers and identities, through which the approach to the field of research was defined in the opening volume of TWG5 (Ellis – Klusáková 2006: 101-135).

Quite a few authors explored the concept of spatiality in connection with social identity or group identity. It already appears in the perceptions of ceremonies in the Dolmabahçe Palace. Similarly Anu Lahtinen sees in the identification with space a demonstration of social identification. She has dedicated her study to the relationships of free owners with their estates as a demonstration of the identity construction of the aristocracy (nobility). She underlines the key role of landed property in the course of their social identity formation (Lahtinen 2008).

Jeroen Deploige explored the potential of a medieval city to stimulate the formation of group identities among its inhabitants**.** He founded his argument on the ideas of Martha Howell, who inspired by Lefebvre claimed the medieval city as a socially constructed space, which is, moreover, clearly bordered by fortifications and protected legally, and thus for its inhabitants marked by a substantial collective identity. Deploige analyzes the use or even better misuse of space. On one hand there is a special identity, a special protective-sacral

power of space and on the other hand a political power, which uses the violation of this protective-sacral power as a means of punishment. The medieval town is for Deploige a social space endowed by a particular identity, and the reality of its frontier is articulated explicitly (by city walls) as well as implicitly. The author refers to cultural anthropology and to cognitive psychology and neurosciences, for supporting his argument that emotions like rancour, anger or shame were not the performances of an anarchist or uncontrolled social behaviour, but were part of the formation of social identities. He also claims that the communal uprisings of the High Middle Ages contributed to the shaping of the communal space. "It was this evolution which also led to the development of a typical spatial communal infrastructure, with both practical and symbolic importance, of which market places, town gates, halls and belfries were going to become the main expressions." (Deploige 2008).

The concept of spatial representations of social identity was further developed by Guðmundur Hálfdanarson, while he opened the issue of redefinitions of private spaces in rural settlements. Even in the sparsely inhabited environment of rural Iceland, characterized by a difficult climate, its divisions and social functions played a very important role, which did disguise tensions and conflicts. The division (allocation) of the inhabited space takes the shape of physical obstacles, walls and barriers, as well as symbolic borders felt and perceived. If we apply a more detailed frequency analysis, we see the meticulous work with terms connected with spatiality, when the reason is not to avoid repetitions of terms and to achieve a high quality literary style. In focus is the inhabited space, where privacy has various levels: it is hierarchized, separated, perceived and also articulated. The space is divided by a more or less symbolic or felt "boundary," "border," "barrier," a more often symbolic than real "wall," particularly a "wall of silence," and implicitly the identified space is labelled as area, sphere, or zone (Hálfdanarson 2008: 117-118).

Cultural Identity was thematized by Ali Uzay Peker, particularly in his interpretation of reciprocal cultural stereotypes in reciprocal perceptions of Ottoman and Christian societies, which were based on the complex of values creating the cultural code of society, i.e., one's own identity (Peker 2006). Another perspective is offered through linguistic identity as a representation of cultural identity. This is based on a case study of the culture of an exiled community in the 20th century. Lavinia Stan defines three levels of identification for intellectuals: the first level represents those who refuse to integrate into the receiving society, feeling this to be an unachievable goal. They communicate in

their mother tongue and keep a unique linguistic identity. On the second level are those who master both languages – their native and that of the adopted society and have two cultural identities (double cultural identity). The third level represents those who quit their original linguistic identity and feel at home in the adopted culture. The addressees of their literary works are readers of the receiving society. This concept is presented by the example of Romanian exile in the USA as an opinion presented in historiography which was adopted and applied by the chapter's author. However, she does not develop it further and does not discuss it critically (Stan 2006: 150).

Rafael Gil Salinas offered yet another perspective on cultural identities. He studied the identification of space, through living the space and its labelling with the help of the *beaux arts*. Salinas views the works of art as related to the recent or remote past, and thus the city's inhabitants could identify through historical heroes with the higher collectivity, or, in the author's words, they "projected themselves into the civic space, determining the urban adornment of the city." Further Salinas writes: "in the 19th century, the socialization of city life and the active participation of the citizens began to be reflected in ornamentation." He shows how the statue becomes the instrument for the actors, who do not have to be the artists themselves, but also the inhabitants of the city, of the particular district as investors or sponsors of the work of art (Gil Salinas 2007). The artefact is often used instrumentally for political goals. The context is blurred; it is not a purely cultural identity which is at stake; it is a mixture of all kinds of feelings of belongingness or appropriation of the space.

National Identity is approached differently according to the type of the evolution of the modern nation. The concept is studied in the second volume by Guðmundur Hálfdanarson and Ólafur Rastrick. They deal with the revision and re-interpretation of historiographical approaches to the process of construction of national identity in a case study of 19th-century Iceland, where the interpretation of national history and literature and art itself were central in national emancipation, unification and the construction of national identity. The authors point to the consciousness of cultural identity amongst the population and consequently on instrumentally used state cultural politics, which is in the 20th century interconnected with official historiography. The authors present Icelandic historiography as entering the mainstream discussion initiated by Benedict Anderson and Ernest Gellner (Hálfdanarson – Rastrick 2006: 102).

Ojārs Lāms develops the theme of cultural/national Identity, which was explored by Hálfdanarson and Rastrick in the previous book. The author contributes to the argument that cultural identification is built and strengthened through a narrative with nation building contents and studies the forms of strengthening of national identity through literary images. Lāms shows this in the case of Latvian cultural identity built by intellectuals through the instrumental use of epics (Lāms 2007).

The construction of national identity was also studied through the expression in the project of the modernization of the capital city. The identity of the city is related to modernity and the republican idea through monumental constructions which are identified with it and become its symbols. The spatial dimension of nation building is used as a tool in identification and is defined by its frontiers; its definitions are historical, meaningful and contain symbols. This concept appeared explicitly in the chapters written by Sinem Türkoğlu Önge and Cânâ Bilsel and was not so strongly mentioned in two other chapters. All four are dedicated to the Turkish experience (particularly in Türkoğlu Önge 2007 and in Bilsel 2007).

Identification with the state can be formulated politically as primordially the identification with a certain regime and its ideology. Thus we find case studies dealing with the concept of political identity developed through ideological and aesthetic education. Mónica Olivares studied, in the example of Franco's Spain, the targeted influence of totalitarian political power on the identity of an individual. Similarly, Jonathan Osmond worked with the concept in the example of the "dictatorial regime" in the GDR and the instrumental use of socialist realism (i.e., artistic or broadly cultural production), which was supposed to become an integral part of collective identity (Olivares 2006; in a similar way Osmond 2006).

Political identity instrumentally used to strengthen the state identity is the theme studied by Kimmo Ahonen. The contents of the collective identity of a particular state unit's society emerge as a result of the targeted influence of democratic political power. The reader is invited to follow the idea in the example of American anticommunism being an element, which became an integral part of American identity. The author discusses reflections of this opinion in historiography. The text does not disclose the author's attitude towards the concept of identity. Ahonen does not identify with the revisionist stream of American historiography, which he discusses in the chapter (Ahonen 2006).

The argument is developed further in the focus of interconnections of identity with the nation state and confession, which are viewed through their spatial representations. In the chapter offered by Pieter François we find the two expressed in spatialized perceptions of British travelogues about Belgium. The author of the analysis looks into the contents of identity. He shows the interest of travelers in mentalities, which were viewed with either positive or negative connotations. The travelers saw many positive values, not least in the political system, but, on the other hand it was difficult for them to cope with the Catholicism of Belgians. This appears as a very significant attribute with negative connotations. The travelers attributed to Catholicism its space within the national space of the Belgians. This hierarchization and structuralized aspect of space implies that there were borders between those spaces, linear or zonal. Belgium as a new identity emerged in 1830 through its separation from the kingdom of the Netherlands. Thus identity emerged from the construction of borders between the two states, but also through the influence of Catholicism. The traveling Britons, who visited mainly cities and residences of their counterparts thus became involved in the social life – not in the political life, attempted to delimit a Protestant space within Belgian space, which they perceived as Catholic. This confessionalization had a spatial dimension (confession was territorialized, the space appropriated), and what the author discusses is one very important type of symbolic frontier. In the case of this chapter the border of the space defined by Catholicism and Protestantism is in focus, and it is not a value-free space, but, to the contrary, one with strong connotations (François 2008).

Frontiers

Several authors primarily use the concept of frontier, while identity is secondary or only implied. In the second volume frontiers appear in five broader contexts; first we find them as the necessary boundary to cross between academic disciplines (Launaro 2007). Secondly, frontiers separate political powers in the chapters of Anett Puskár, Peer Henrik Hansen and Çağla Caner. They speak about living on the frontier of two world powers, about border defence systems, frontier principalities, authority. They put into a binary opposition peripheral (or frontier/border) region and central region. The border or frontier region has the same meaning and it has some negative connotations (Puskár 2007; Hansen 2007; Caner 2007). The third context presents borders separating town/city and countryside. Here the border confirms the dichotomy

of urban and rural culture. This concept is used also by Caner and by Sinem Türkoğlu Önge (2007). Alessandro Launaro explores the relationship between a rural landscape characterized by a specific settlement and a built environment and cities in Italy in Roman times. The landscape embodies a notion about the visible territory which has defined the border, therefore the notion of frontier is also discussed. Frontiers or borders separating civilizations are considered when *ribats* (Islamic frontier castles which were used to protect the borders of Islamic lands) are mentioned. In the course of expansion these lost their meaning (Önge, M. 2007). But they still presented barriers which disguised, in terms of the functioning reality, the civilizational frontier. These types of landmarks are in fact blurring the borders. It is well known that borders on the map have often little in common with existing reality and the functioning frontiers of civilization. Although the author does not use the notion identity when he uses the notion civilization, it is all about cultural identity. And, lastly, borders give hierarchies to spaces, dividing spaces and landscapes. If Mustafa Önge represents caravans which could travel only a limited distance each day, and the route had to be consequently divided into stages, he shows that thus the space of Islamic culture is labelled and structured (Önge, M. 2007: 51). Jeroen Deploige presented a territorial frontier being simultaneously social and identity forming, in his case study focused on medieval Bruges (Deploige 2008). For Guðmundur Hálfdanarson the symbolic wall of silence is the social frontier separating private spaces in an Icelandic rural homestead (Hálfdanarson 2008). The two concepts appear linked together in the approach of Alessandro Launaro, Çağla Caner and Cânâ Bilsel. Only Launaro considers the symbolic border (one between academic disciplines); in five other chapters the physical, spatial border was considered. A more intensive awareness of connections between the identification of space, its fulfilment by ideological symbols and the inevitable result in its definition or delimitation can be found in Bilsel's approach, which develops explicitly and simultaneously both concepts.

The concept of living the space articulated by Lefebvre, which suffuses and integrates the book, contains the idea of frontier. Space is appropriated by somebody, or assigned to somebody, and gains identity. The lived space is a social space, located in time and in a three-dimensional environment (space, milieu). If the authors discuss space defined in the said manner, they are necessarily leading on to a frontier discourse, even though, in the major part of the chapters, the frontier remains implicit and sometimes not even given the name. Furthermore, in some chapters identity remains not named (implicit), although

the socially organized space is a space which has its identity. The most frequently used term in the third book, common to all chapters – space – is the term which in our terrestrial world contains/implies both identity and frontier. Maybe only outer-space/beyond-space/cosmic space is endless.

Interconnection of the Twin Concepts with the Notion of Cities

Explicit and coupled mention of the concepts of frontiers and identities is more than rare in the books of this research group. For the moment it seems that the concept of identity was the most appealing theme for the working group Power and Culture at the beginning of the project. Gradually the concept of the spatialization of cultural (i.e., social) phenomena took the lead. Identity and identification appeared in contexts which firstly link identity with state, nation, and politics; next come social identities and thirdly cultural (art, language) and civilizational ones. Obviously the researchers were aware that identities have spatial and temporal dimensions, and consequently they have interconnected identities to frontiers. In the end we must say logically the intersection of the concepts of frontiers, identities, and also culture and power was taking place in cities. Authors have shown that the research field is very complex – a frontier between urban and rural societies is a cultural border, and social, as well as, in some societies, also ethnic/national. On the other hand, the cultural (religious, ethnic or linguistic) border does not always copy the political one. Although the authors do not explicitly work with the two concepts as a couple, having an interest in these concepts we can find them everywhere. The analysis raises a question about the possibility of further work with the concept of fragmented identities, with the hierarchization of identities, and with the overlapping of identities and, in consequence, also of frontiers.

Thematic Work Group 5: Frontiers and Identities on Cities

Identities and Cities

If we explore in a more detailed way the "urban" volume of TWG5, we find that the strongly articulated interest in cities implies for the authors the notion of identity, and they mostly do not feel obliged to explore it explicitly and in detail, moreover as it was done in the introduction to the volume and in the first two volumes of the same team. Based on the results of a frequency analysis we can say that almost half of all the articles (there are 21 in the volume) do not treat identities at all, or just a little, compared to frontiers. There are two exceptions

in this volume, namely the introduction and Jaroslav Ira's article, which both are aimed explicitly at identities (Ira 2008; Klusáková – Teulières 2008a). Mostly they are used in the sense of regional, local or territorial identity, such as place identity or city identity, and national, state and ethnic identity. These results confirm the focus of volume III on urban space in regional, national and supranational contexts. Regarding the problems of terminology, TWG5 agreed on the possible irrelevancy of the term nationality in pre-modern ages. Instead, terms in the sense of ethnic belonging were considered to be more relevant. The above-mentioned article by Jaroslav Ira deals with identities represented, verbally presented and potentially formed, in historical monographs of Bohemian, Moravian and Galician towns, published between 1860 and 1900. A specific product of these monographs – a semantically-structured and multi-levelled project – is an oscillation between images of social identity (a city as a social group), of place identity (a city as a place) and of urban identity (a city as urban space). This chapter illustrates nicely how the problems of identities can be complex and multi-levelled. The need for a proper methodology to handle it seems obvious.

To sum up identities, it can be repeated that – with some exceptions – the authors reflected historical, sociological and anthropological discourses on identities, identification, stereotypes or images of the "other" as well as their interaction and dynamic character, and they did so in an interdisciplinary approach.

Frontiers and Cities

The concept of identity proved to be a challenging task in terms of its content and meaning, whereas the concept of frontiers challenged the authors more in the lexical field. Creating, dismantling, crossing, or maintaining and anxiously guarding frontiers, and, last but not least, their ties to identities are the subjects of the presented volumes. But what sort of frontiers? Some contributors discuss physical (natural, regional or state) borders, including frontier regions, others prefer the metaphorical meaning of this term and talk about cultural, linguistic, religious borders, or the borders of groups defined in cultural, linguistic, ethnical or religious terms, or imagined frontiers between local citizens and immigrants. In most cases, however, physical and metaphorical boundaries are inseparable phenomena. They coexist, having identical or different trajectories. To indicate one or another type of frontier, the authors use a variety of terms, such as border, boundary, frontier, limit, barrier, wall,

pale, margin, and others. With no exception the authors distinguish between different types of frontiers and examine what the ties between them are, if any. The concrete use of the term is, however, up to every author, and there is no unified approach in this sense. The editors suggest using the term border for physical frontiers and the term frontier for symbolic ones. Yet this method is not followed for a number of reasons. Perhaps the strongest argument for transgressing this rule is the need for a fluent and reader-friendly text. In those parts of the text where frontiers appear frequently, the use of identical terms would be classified as a stylistic lapse. Therefore, it was only plausible to use different words in places where the repetition of words would spoil the overall reading experience.

Let us focus now on a frequency analysis of several types of frontiers. In the aforesaid volume at least some occurrence of frontiers-related terms can be found in all articles, but in six of them there are only a few cases of use. The most frequent meaning is related to an institutional border/frontier, e.g., border crossing, border guard, border stone, etc. Mostly it represents the physical expression of the border/frontier, such as walls or fortifications. Further, it is used in the sense of a local – internal – border/frontier, such as a regional border/frontier, also a European one, or the frontier between urban and rural. Also, it can be found as symbolic, metaphorical, mental, psychological, ethnic, or confessional borders/frontiers/limits, for instance, of time or professional. Last but not least, there are political, state, military, or administrative borders/frontiers. With regard to the aims of the authors in this volume, which is an innovation of the research, we can see these results as a confirmation of TWG5's efforts to expand the common understanding of frontiers previously limited to the political, state, military, or administrative. They gave space to frontiers/borders of different kinds, such as local, regional, or symbolic and metaphoric.

Returning to frontiers, we can moderate our criticism of terminology by arguing that the unique terminology and usage of frontiers/borders-related terms was not the task of TWG5. Instead, the members of TWG5 drew attention to different kinds of frontiers/borders emphasizing their interconnection with identities. This task – with some exceptions in mind – can be pronounced as tackled. In several case studies it was also shown that identities are not stable, and that symbolic frontiers are not simply fixed; rather they move, shift and transform in relationship to identities.

Cities, Frontiers and Identities – Interconnections of the Key Concepts

Most important for the research group was to identify the interactions between frontiers and identities; however from the urban studies perspective it is also interesting to single out the third link – the city. The interconnection of the key concepts announced as a program of TWG 5 can be found in the texts at different levels: a) no interconnection, which means that articles attend exclusively to one of the themes; b) obligatory interconnection when authors deal with both subjects, but separately and do not interconnect them. According to our frequency analysis, this approach could appear as a balanced representation of both terms. Hence another criterion must be taken into account to differentiate it from c) conceptual interconnection, that is, an analysis of explicit occurrences of both terms in relation to each other. Still, it is necessary to read the texts attentively and single out contexts in which related terms appear. Only this multifaceted approach can help to uncover the depth of the theoretical and methodological embedding of the key terms by individual authors. The volume *Cities in Regions and Nations* offers research on frontiers and identities in the contextual scale of a city and a region. In the introduction, the editors let readers take part in a TWG5 debate on key terms, for instance on a region, and show the interconnection of both concepts in the articles and in the thematic sections into which the volume is subdivided. The first chapter deals with several methodological concepts and theoretical tools used in urban history, for instance a theory of liminality, which opens new interdisciplinary perspectives for historians. It is shown that frontiers – both institutional and symbolic – are very important in the humanities because they are essential tools in the study of social divisions, the segmentation of roles and the construction of collective identity. The second chapter observes the dichotomy of public/private as typical for modern societies and focuses on the case-study of post-1945 Krakow. It displays the deformed situation of a socialist city where the frontiers of the private were purposely not respected and intentionally broken as public life was damaged. In the text explicit occurrences of the terms frontiers and identities are rare, and in a relational sense they are not used at all. Indeed, the key terms are present only implicitly. The author might not have considered drawing attention to this fact as necessary. Frontiers between private and public are related to the problem of the individual's identification with a place called home.

The third chapter studies frontiers and identities in connection with sexual behaviour and its regulation, in other words, with the moral territory in a city

and in the countryside. The fourth chapter gives a historical example of a social frontier, the medieval exclusion of women from religious sanctuaries, in the case of the sanctuary of Saint Cuthbert in Durham. The fact that social frontiers form identities is well known; unfortunately, in this article the idea is not developed. This is also the case with the following chapter on Brussels in the 15th and 16th centuries. It concerns the internal frontiers of a city, mainly not physically expressed, which were created from above, by the City Council, by the rule *divide et impera*. The absence of identities in this analysis is explained by the difficulties of relating this kind of frontier to the formation of specific social identities. Also, the sixth chapter on the evolution of urban oligarchies in Irish towns 1350-1534 does not incorporate the conceptual interconnection of frontiers and identities. *Fortification Territories: Fragmentation and Hierarchization of Parisian Spaces in the 19th Century* is one of the articles which pay more attention asymmetrically to one of the themes, to frontiers in this case, which implicitly strengthen identification – understood as the hierarchization of spaces. The chapter investigating both concepts, interconnected in the case of early modern Hungarian towns, is attentive to the formation of social, ethnic and religious identities (and frontiers) and their changes. It also takes into account external events such as wars.

The following article also interconnects both concepts and gives an example of Ottoman urban space from the Jewish inhabitants' points of view, using a specific kind of source, namely *responsa* literature. The aim of the author was to illustrate different types of identity from the Jewish perspective, with special emphasis on the fact that Jewishness (which may be understood in religious, ethnic, and cultural terms) was only one method of self-identification. The chapter dealing with ethnic, social and mental frontiers within interwar Latvian society, with special regard to urban space, specifically Riga through the lens of German inhabitants, is based on autobiographical sources. The emphasis on mental frontiers within society implies that the theme of identities and the concepts are used in conjunction.

Similarly the analysis of place identity involves the two concepts. Kiev is presented as being changed by First World War experience – through Polish and Czech spatial stories. Frontiers and identities are interconnected when the new organization of a city in war (building and removing barriers) changes its identity. Another article is also on the war experience of a city, in this case, Krakow under Nazi occupation. It focuses on the reception of the violent changes brought about by the Germanization of everyday life by Polish inhabitants. The

identity theme is not articulated, but it can be found implicitly in the search for a sense of one's own space in an occupied city. Nevertheless, frontiers and identities are not interconnected. The fifteenth chapter concerns interactions between peasant and urban spaces in communist Poland and avers that such a heterogeneous space as a city could assimilate peasant immigrants without a distinct change of itself, or without any kind of ruralization. Frontiers and identities are reflected in the problem of immigrant identity within the limits of urban space, but their interconnections are not explicitly highlighted here. The last chapter questions the public use of history and cultural heritage in building collective identities, comparing three cases – Czech, Slovak and French – and their particular strategies of revival. The theme of frontiers is expressed in the form of the frontier between urban and rural spaces, between core and peripheries. Identities are present in the need of rural cities to identify themselves with a larger region, with a national community, or with a supranational one, e.g., European. The interconnection is noted in the text indirectly.

To sum up, the missing articulations and conceptual interconnections in the case studies are partly compensated for in the final conclusion. There the relationships are made visible, pointed at, and the disparate articles are linked together.

General Conclusive Remarks

The findings of this collaborative analytical exercise offer the reader a possibility of comparison of approaches of the researchers in the four books in focus. It also displays the limits and benefits of frequency and contents analysis. Even if the academic discussion is carried on in English as our *lingua franca,* the explanation of methodological approaches and terminological clarity is still important, as it clarifies the position in the research field. What is obvious, regardless of methodology, is that the authors saw in urban perspective a paradigm, the explicit articulation of spatial scales and the play with spatial scales permitted them to work with the key concepts (state, institution, community, power, culture) and frontiers and identities simultaneously in interaction, although often in the text of the particular chapters in an implicit manner. The urban perspective was not felt as a reduction or limitation. Frontiers and identities played a key role, even if they were not in focus. To study them explicitly in interaction even in an urban context where it has been shown that these are an obviously a "communicating vessel" remains a very demanding task on the agenda of historians.

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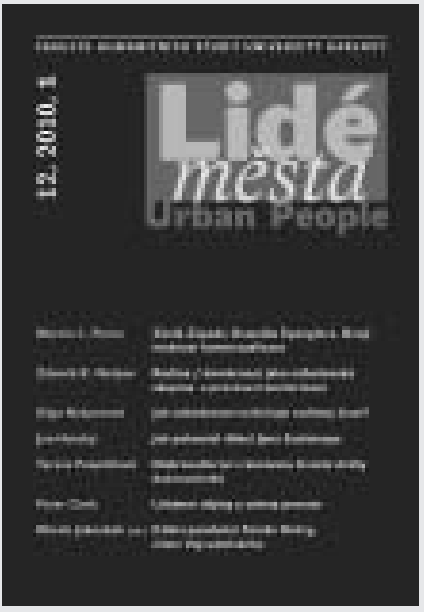
LIDÉ MĚSTA / URBAN PEOPLE

Czech edition is published twice a year, in May and in December.



Published by
Faculty of Humanities,
Charles University,
U kříže 8, Prague, CZ – 158 00

Editor-in-chief: Zdeněk R. Nešpor,
e-mail: zdenek.nespor@soc.cas.cz

www.lidemesta.cz

Last issue (12, 2010, 1) includes:

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ANTHROPOLOGY OF THE CITY: A SOCIAL VIEWPOINT, MAIN TENDENCIES, PERSPECTIVES AND NATIONAL TRADITIONS OF RESEARCH.
An Example of Czech Urban Anthropology [1]

Blanka Soukupová

Abstract: ***The text presents a brief outline of the development of Czech urban anthropology from its beginning in the 1950s until the present. It follows the viewpoints of this highly promising discipline and its individual stages of development. It focuses particular attention on the situation after 1989. While in the first decade after the Velvet Revolution research on multiethnicity and multiculturality in the city prevailed, today anthropologists have proceeded to try to explain the city as a whole. At the same time the text illustrates how the birth of urban anthropology was related to a change in the understanding of the key concept of Czech ethnography – folk – and to a change of point of view of researches on the city. From the '50s until the '80s the proletariat was regarded for ideological reasons as the core of urbanized space; urban anthropology thus coincided with workers' ethnography.***

Keywords: ***Czech urban anthropology; city; folk; proletariat***

Marc Augé, a French anthropologist, spiritual father of the thesis about the present as continually changing individual worlds which mutually communicate with each other (Augé 1999: 91) proposed in his "manifesto" (1994) as one of the three main research problems of the present [alongside individual and religious phenomena (Augé 1999: 114) the city (Augé 1999: 94)]. Without question it happened that way because the spreading of cities is also, according to him, one of the phenomena that mold the present (Augé 1999: 92-93). Already at first glance, however, in the framework of our field there was a change in the scientific climate.

[1] This work was supported by the research project "Antropologie komunikace a lidské adaptace" (MSM 0021620843) of the Czech Ministry of Educarion.

Basic Premises of Czech Urban Anthropology

The aim of this text is, however, to answer the question of what the situation in Czech ethnography and later anthropology (ethnology) was like. In introduction only a few statements that will help to clarify the problem better: 1. Augé's postulates of the concept of anthropology were not entirely new in the Czech environment; 2. Czech ethnography did not experience a phase of frustration from an insufficiency of the exotic: the present state of distant cold societies was never their main topic; 3. so-called urgent ethnography was cultivated during the First Republic, mainly in relation to the so-called folk costume, so-called folk art, etc., relics of which were found by the involvement of researchers in the village; 4. Czech science had to react very quickly to the wide-spread political and social revolution of February 1948, when Czechoslovakia forcibly and voluntarily embarked on the road to the building of radical socialism.

Beginnings of Specialization: Marxist Methodology, Redefinition of the Term "Folk," a New View of the City

The beginnings of urban anthropology in the Czech Lands, which were inseparable from Slovak anthropology, the developments of which are being dealt with in this issue of Urban People by Alexandra Bitušíková, a Slovak ethnologist (also cf. Popelková – Salner 2002), can already be placed in the period around the beginning of the 1950s. The methodological framework of the research of the time was created by Marxism, which saw people as the creators of history, however creators who are dependent on contemporary socio-political conditions and on the heritage of tradition. The first phase of urban research was, therefore, connected primarily with the redefinition of the term *folk*, the most important term of ethnography and folklore studies at the time, and with the change of view of Czech ethnographers of the city. From the rise of ethnography as a science[2] the term *folk* had a decidedly *positive* connotation and was constructed from the class of *village peasants*. This was also the case of European ethnology of the 19th and first quarter of the 20th centuries as a science about national specifics in general (Karbusický – Scheufler 1968: 20).When in

[2] Otakar Nahodil and Jaroslav Kramařík, Marxist ethnographers, placed the beginnings of ethnography as an independent scientific discipline at the turn of the 19th century (Nahodil & Kramařík 1952: 10, 81).

September 1891, during the foundation of Český lid (Czech Folk), an anthology devoted to the study of the Czech folk in Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia and Slovakia, a pivotal ethnographic journal, the editors Lubor Niederle (1865-1944), an assistant professor of anthropology, and Čeněk Zíbrt (1864-1932), an assistant professor of cultural history, called out, *"Let us know the Czech folk while there is still time!"*[3] they had in mind the study of the traditional village. Ethnography (so-called "lidověda" – folk science) was in their concept constructed as a science of national differences and specificities. In the currents of modernization, however, this individuality allegedly disappeared.[4] The importance of urgent ethnography of the Czech folk thus corresponded to the fact that it was really supposed to be the folk who represented the whole nation.[5]

Intellectual Circle around T. G. Masaryk and Their Original View of the Folk

Czech intellectuals concentrated around the personality of T.G. Masaryk and the young Czech university, so-called realists, had already used the term *folk* in the 1890s, however, as a synonym for the non-reigning Czech nation (with the exception of the privileged and nationally unreliable presumably homogeneous Czech historic nobles who for the first time were to "make themselves into folk")[6]: for peasants, small tradesmen and for workers, "*The folk are not only farmers and craftsmen, but also Czech workers,*" wrote the magazine of realists Čas (Time) in 1894, at a time of rising influence of the social democratic movement.[7] In an atmosphere of enthusiastic reactions to the Ethnographic Exposition of Czechoslovakia in Prague in 1895, where modern concepts of the nation were asserted (mainly, however, interest was concentrated on so-called village folk[8]; their way of living, dressing, customary traditions, written and oral production, employment (Main catalogue and guide, 1895: 55), which included all classes of society, the realists then rose up against ideali-

3 (1892). *Český lid*, 1: 2.

4 Ibid, p. 1.

5 Ibid, p. 2.

6 The evaluation by the realists of Czech and Moravian aristocracy corresponded primarily to its relation to Czech interests (Soukupová, 2000: 53-54).

7 (1894). *Čas*, 8, 17, 28.4., p. 257.

8 Otakar Hostinský, the author of chapter *5. oddělení: Lidová píseň, hudba, tanec* (5th division: *Folk songs, music, dance*) reproduced the opinion that the source of the national movement were Czech speaking "*country folk* " and their song (*Hlavní katalog a průvodce,* 1895, p. 154).

zation of some ethnological regions (Moravian Slovácko). Czech ethnography of the time was, according to them, only an unsystematic collection that captured a few phenomena of folk life at five minutes before twelve, but it did not bring an undivided shape of life in the context of historic times (Soukupová 2000: 70). "*The intellectual revolution*" of the intellectuals however also, in that regard, got ahead of its time and was, in its time, refused as un-Czech (Soukupová 2000: 70-72; Kořalka, 1996: 20-121). Masaryk's thesis about the Czechs as a plebeian (folk) nation or a nation of work maintained great importance. From it was derived the thesis of the alleged meaning (we would say, rather, the importance) of Czech history, of the fight for humanity (Soukupová 2000: 54-56). This thesis was successfully used for post-war communistic propaganda.

Rural Folk – Basis of the Modern Czech Nation?

The premise of ethnographers that the folk live and create in the village arose from the opinion of Josef Jungmann, the creator of written Czech, that the peasantry – the most numerous class of the Czech ethnic, the class that speaks Czech – became the basis of the modern Czech nation. Jungmann and his followers, however, projected onto the peasantry his idea of the model core (Kutnar 1948: 90, Hroch, 1999: 56); therefore they edited the folk production and got rid of its vulgarity and its frequent erotic expressions and allegories.[9] The folk were namely the ideal projection, a perspective which, of course, did not correspond to the real situation. At the same time, Jungmann introduced into Czech thinking one of the most influential Czech myths: the myth of the poor Czech village cottage from which allegedly came the first Czech patriots (Hroch 1999: 256). This cottage repeatedly saved the Czech nation. The myth survived decades and also survived the results of scientific research of Czech historians who, around the beginning of the 1960s, presented the true cradle of the first Czech activists – the urban cottage. (Hroch 1999: 256, 257; Hroch – Veverka 1957). Its role in the identification of village folk with the nation, however, in ethnographic projections in the 1890s could also be played by the image of the city of that time. Large, but also small, cities proliferated and modernized (Machačová – Matějček 2009: 34-36, 39-42).

[9] Not only did František Ladislav Čelakovský neglect ethnographic accuracy, but also, e.g., Percy (Horák 1933: 324) did.

View of Czech Society on the City in the 1890s

For ethnographers it did not present an object of research because of its volatility and omnipresent motion, for its imagined inability to be captured with traditional ethnographic methods. In addition, the space of large industrial cities with nationalized city halls [the most distinctive being Prague as a Czech center (Soukupová 2009: 277-278) and Liberec as a city which had the ambition to become a Czech-German center (Melanová 1997, Novotný 1997)] became at this time a ground for national and social conflicts. A metropolis with a mass of industrial workers and with international capital changed into a metaphor of cosmopolitism or Americanism, but also Europeanism (Prague was presented on the model of Nuremberg, Paris and London, the largest city in the world (Soukupová 2009: 282), that is, foreignness, uniformity, lack of history, lack of originality, anonymity,[10] and/or non-nationality, non-Czechness (Soukupová 2009: 284, 289). Its role in the lack of interest in the city of the ethnographers of the time may have had to do with the fact that most of the inhabitants of the Czech Lands lived in settlements of under 2,000 inhabitants.[11] In addition, traditional celebrations and folk forms of entertainment, which researchers could capture, quickly disappeared from the city. (Soukupová 2009: 289-290). Therefore the city captivated only writers of the time who wanted to describe its influence on the social life of the inhabitants. However, these also, in their novels, depicted negative features of the city: the frustrated, unfriendly, asocial environment of the metropolis (Hodrová 1983), in which the struggle for life and death reigns. In 1903 Mrštík's *Santa Lucia* was published. It was the story of a poor Brno student, Jordán, whose dream of a poetic Prague changed into harsh reality (Mrštík 1903). Such an uprooted and aggressive space did not mean anything to Czech ethnographers. And plans of urban revitalization with the help of folk culture, which some intellectuals, primarily Vilém Mrštík, invented at that time (Soukupová 2009: 284), turned out to be extremely short-lived.

10 Let us add, by the way, that the city as outlined above and its social life were already recorded by Anthony Giddens as existing in the 18th century. (Giddens 1999: 447).

11 In settlements with over 2000 inhabitants, 31.8% of the population lived in Bohemia, 32.7% in Moravia and 39.5% in Silesia (*Hlavní katalog a průvodce,* 1895: 41)

The Village as Main Object of Interest of Inter-War Ethnography

Also after the rise of the Czechoslovak Republic, the interest of ethnographers returned to the village because of the connection of Slovakia and to Slovak and Balkan villages. In these economically backward areas enthusiastic ethnographers still found relics of folk culture. Thus, the agrarian party,[12] the strongest Czech interwar political party, stimulated interest of the time in the village. Agrarian ethnography, however, was aimed primarily at a certain side of life of the village (neighbor relations, family, customs, mentality of the villager) which it idealized. Its theory of the destructive influence of the city on the village (Chotek 1937: 34) was also influential. But the city also changed: so-called old crafts and the individuality connected to them gave way to factory production (Chotek 1937: 34). There is clear nostalgia from the ethnographic work of the time; on the other hand sociology of the city, which was developed in Chicago University in the 1920s and 1930s, in no way influenced Czech ethnography.

Ethnography, Its Function and Its Key Term "Folk" after the Communist Revolution (1948)

During the Second World War the historian František Kutnar pointed out the revivalist concept that would enable the study of the city; unfortunately it was not used. The folk were defined in it as petite bourgeoisie, the farmer class, farm laborers, landless people, and workers (Kutnar 1940: 10). The appreciation of the farmer class as the first class occurred during the era of Joseph II (Kutnar 1940: 10). The farmer began to fulfill the role of the healthy and unspoiled core of the Czech nation (Kutnar 1948: 57). In the profile of the personality of the rural patriot František Jan Vavák and then Kutnar clarified the hostile relation of the village to the city (Kutnar 1941: 108). The ethnographer Karel Chotek (1881-1967) also included country and urban inhabitants in the term folk (Chotek 1949: 20); as the core of folk culture [and the main platform of ethnology (Chotek 1949: 21)], however, he understood peasant culture

[12] e.g., Karel Chotek's book *(Lidová kultura a kroje v Československu* (*Folk Culture and Costumes in Czechoslovakia*) (Prague: NOVINA, quotation p. 7) was published in 1937 as a memoir "*for the dear time of the republican youth manifestation convention of the Czechoslovak country.*" Its aim was to show *"the value of folk culture and the beauty of the costumes,"* of the economic and cultural importance of the *"Czechoslovak peasant."*

(Chotek 1937: 25).[13] The communist revolution, however, changed the opinion about ethnography, people and the city. Ethnography was pronounced not only the science of the folk, but also the science that was to help form a new culture with socialist contents (Nahodil – Kramařík 1952: 92); its ideologization was already quite open. In the village ethnographers were to capture the development of new social conditions (Štěpánek 1963: 20). In 1949, E. F. Burian, a famous dramaturgist, broadened the category of folk by adding the worker, the miner, and people living on the outskirts of cities and working in factories (the factory folk) (Burian 1949: 63).

Changes of the City in Socialist Czechoslovakia

After the Second World War, the Sovietized metropolis (by the term Sovietization I understand the change of functioning and appearance of cities: ways of governing the city according to the Soviet example, as well as symbolic domination of the city with Soviet emblems) was characterized primarily by the fall of the center and the expansion of the suburbs. Something similar – even if basically on a larger scale – was experienced by other European and American cities (Giddens 1999: 457). In socialist Czechoslovakia, however, the fall of the center had ideological causes, although in the interwar period the center was not the only place for prestigious housing in the metropolis (e.g., Prague Germans, whose number grew with newcomers, particularly liked Bubeneč, where so-called Little Berlin arose). The center of the city, that is, was inhabited by the former elites. For the lower underprivileged classes it was simply unattainable. Their social degradation, often multiplied by nationalism (those elites were Germans, Jews) and was now brought to the perception of the city. The new political team officially strove to equalize the pampered center and the despised and dispossessed outskirts, to bring nearer the residences and work places, to raise the share of the labor force to the whole number of inhabitants in cities, to remove the difference between the city and the country, to build exemplary cities for workers, but also to equalize urban institutions and the inhabitants of the city despite their different needs. City centers, as a consequence of the Holocaust and postwar expulsion of the Germans, were emptied. The most important parts of the cities were intended to become factories. Traditional workers' quarters functioned as a metaphor of capitalistic greed (Soukupová 2010: 41).

13 Chotek called the present the last stage of traditional village culture (Chotek 1937: 15).

New Construct of a Nation and a New Core of the Socialist City (Workers)

Interest of ethnographers again turned toward workers as the supposedly most progressive group of the nation and the core of urbanized space (Skalníková, 1959: 584). In Sovietized society only three large groups were supposed to exist: laborers, farm cooperatives and working intellectuals. The aim of ethnographic research was to become a process of formation of the way of life of laborers (Fojtík, 1958: 2). However, for four decades urban society was thus, in scientific research, reduced to a single group. Ethnography with its scientific aim, meanwhile, undoubtedly took part in the formation of new historic traditions. If society was, according to communist ideology, based on the labor force, it was, however, necessary to research the city primarily since it was really blue collar. This interest also corresponded to the state's aim – to the extensive development of heavy industry, which did not need a too-highly qualified work force.

Beginning Phase of Czech Urban Anthropology: Research of Mining and Metallurgical Regions

The capital of Czechoslovakia, Prague, like Bratislava, the capital of Slovakia, despite new socialist symbols whose adroit communist campaign pervaded the whole city (Soukupová 2009: 268-270), despite the forced resettlement of the politically unacceptable population at the beginning of the fifties (their apartments were distributed to army officers, members of the secret police and high communist functionaries) (Soukupová 2010: 43), was not a model worker's city. Its actual importance shrank through the creation of new administrative districts and investments in agrarian Slovakia, in border areas and industrial regions. Therefore the interest of Czech ethnographers unequivocally politicized turned in Bohemia toward the areas around Žďár and Kladno and, in Moravia, around Rosice-Oslavany (the monograph *Rosicko-Oslavansko* was published in 1956), the region around Ostrava, in Slovakia the mining village of Žakarovce (the monograph *Banícka dedina Žakarovce* was published in 1956). *"The subject of ethnography became the study of traditional culture in a workers' environment or an adaptation of older culture in new circumstances; the method of work became historic-ethnographic monographs, "* was how Marxist ethnographer Antonín Robek (Robek 1982: 7) evaluated this phase of research. The

choice of mining and metallurgic regions corresponded to the fact that in the first years after the communist revolution the economy was subjected to the *concept of iron and steel* (Renner – Samson 1993: 33).

The thematization of the Kladno region itself and the chosen methods of research, however, corresponded to existing village research. The methodical guidepost was Soviet and Polish ethnography [K. Dobrowolska (Fojtík 1957: 7) with its emphasis on the monographic treatment of the mining region]. In the historic-ethnographic monograph of the Kladno region ethnography remained defined as a material and spiritual culture of the folk, now primarily of miners. Ethnographers, in the framework of this ethnically homogeneous (Czech) industrial region which arose in the 1850s and 1860s, directed their research toward its development, particularly in the 1890s and the beginning of the 20th century. In the traditional way they described the work in the mines, the life of mining families (their way of living, their clothing, food, relations within the family), the social life of miners (mainly annual customs) and mining folklore (tales, humor, songs, miners' bands). The region around Kladno was presented as a left-wing bastion [so-called Red Kladno (Skalníková 1959: 11)], the laborer's family idealized as a family with healthy and pure relationships, unburdened by property, miners portrayed as those who turned to progressive national culture. Despite the ideological stress of the time, the monograph brought an enormous sum of material [the research covered 150 families and included 2000 narrations (Skalníková 1959: 9, 98)]. What was positive was also a combination of archival and field research. The year 1959, when the monograph was published, became indisputably, within the framework of our discipline, a crucial year [similarly, a draft of a monograph of the Ostrava region remained only in manuscript form (Skalníková 1999:134-135)]. The area of Rosice-Oslavany was then selected as relatively closed, isolated from the industrial Brno region. At the end of the 18th century, it was an agricultural area which, however, over a few decades, turned into an industrial region (Fojtík 1957: 4, 3).

The 1960s: Balcony-Access Houses as a New Field of Research

In the relaxed atmosphere of the '60s, Brno took the initiative. *House in the Suburbs (Dům na předměstí)* by the Brno researcher Karel Fojtík [(b. 1918) (Brno in the Past and Today, 1963)], a classic study of the period comparing the developmental stages in the life of the inhabitants of an apartment house in Brno clearly documented the increasing influence of sociology and the return

to an isolated unit of research which could be captured by ethnographic methods: to an apartment house which became a subject of a monographic work. A further domain of Fojtík became the study of the life of traditional culture in an industrial city (Fojtík 1960). In *Československá vlastivěda*, published in 1968, the ethnographers Vladimír Karbusický and Vladimír Scheufler stated that the subject of ethnography does not completely overlap with the term folk culture. The object of their research was traditional groups and local groups in an industrial civilization (Karbusický – Scheufler 1968: 19).

The End of the ′70s and the Beginning of the ′80s: Research of Blue-Collar Prague

In the course of the ’70s and at the beginning of the ’80s Prague was finally researched and had already begun to function, in communist rhetoric, as the most western socialist metropolis (research of the metropolis began in the ’70s)[14] (Soukupová 2010: 39). Research of the non-workers’ classes was not so preferred (Jech – Skalníková 1971: 7). And in this case, however, the result was the Marxist monograph of the life style of one group of the city – the work force in the period of the Austrian state, the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the First Republic. To date, the appreciated *Stará dělnická Praha* was to analyze

[14] Mirjam Moravcová summarized the point of departure of this research (Moravcová 1974: 129-138). In 1975 the Institute for Ethnography and Folklore Studies of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences of Prague published *Etnografie pražského dělnictva a proces jeho sociální emancipace* (*Ethnology of the Prague labor force and the process of its social emancipation*), vol. I by Antonín Robek and *Proletářské město Žižkov* (*The proletarian town of Žižkov)* by František Vančík, *Společenský život pražského dělnictva 1850*-1938 (*The social life of the Prague work force 1850-19*38) by Olga Skalníková and the chapter *Rodina a rodinné vztahy pražského průmyslového dělnictva* (*Family and family relations of the Prague industrial labor force*) by Jiřina Svobodová, part resulting from the study of a worker colony in Mrázovka in Smíchov and in the peripheral parts of Prague), vol. II [*Pražské děti (Prague children*) by Vladimír Scheufler and *Dělnický folklor* (*Workers’ folklore*) by Jaroslav Markl (singing) and Dagmar Klímová (memoirs) and vol. III [způsob bydlení a bytová kultura (Way of life and housing culture) by Josef Vařeka, způsoby stravování (Alimentation) by Jarmila Šťastná and způsoby oblékání (Ways of dressing) by Mirjam Moravcová]. The Brno researcher Karel Fojtík mapped the rise of Brno suburbs. (Fojtík 1974). *Ethnographic aspects of the formation of Brno suburbs*, *Český lid*, 61, 1974: 17-32. – In the years 1974-1987 twelve volumes of The Ethnography of the labor force were published. The working class was researched in it as an an “*integrating element of various ways of life and culture of the social classes*” (Robek 1974: 3). Anthologies dealt with the Prague (from the tenth volume, Czech) labor force: their traditional customs, folklore, social relations, children’s culture, clothing, housing, workers’ exhibitions, expressions of early national consciousness, social and family institutions (mainly associations), workers’ manuscripts, celebrations and entertainment, in general, sources for the study of the work force.

the transformation of the work force into the proletariat and/or the rise of the specific worker culture (Robek – Moravcová – Šťastná 1981: 6). "Ethnography thus transformed from a study of anachronisms to the study of the life of the work force as a whole, in all fields of material, social and spiritual culture, whereas this material was studied on the whole in the process of change of the work force into the worker class of a capitalistic society," as the research strategy of the time was clarified by Antonín Robek (Robek 1982: 8), emphasizing the possibility of ethnographic research of the present, research separated from sociology (Robek 1982: 10). The Prague working class was called a class that gave Prague its character (Robek 1974: 4), a true representative of the *Czech folk* (Robek 1977: 6). While parts about the development of Prague industry, democratic development, the distribution and social structure of the work force, chapters on worker housing, alimentation, clothing, folklore, specific worker social and family institutions and partly also about the family, belong to date to the best of postwar Middle European ethnography, it is not possible to say this about chapters concerning social life and culture. These parts were defined as very superficial work with material, an unmastered historic method and excessive ideologization. It was precisely in these chapters that there was no recognized heterogeneity of the work force, first, social and, later, also political (the work force was identified with adherents of social democracy). Credit must be given to Prague research in that it mapped out, at five minutes before twelve, the life style and "architecture" of workers' colonies which, as hangovers from capitalist poverty, were fiercely liquidated. In the framework of research of workers' Prague, however, a group was also discovered with which western sociology (H. Gans) had already worked: the so-called provincial urban villagers (Gans 1962). Research proved that it is possible to break the city down into certain small islands which ethnographers can penetrate. Methodically an extraordinary benefit was predominant respect for the social and political heterogeneity of the working class (mainly in chapters dealing with material culture) like an attempt to research two generations of a family, to introduce the gender point of view. Workers' children became an object of research. A follow-up synthesis was to record the life style and culture of the Czech work force from 1848 to 1939, mainly in the interwar period, both in large and in small towns. As a gauge, alimentation and the clothing culture in its dynamic development were chosen in connection with the region and socio-professional status (Moravcová 1986: 1), further, the family as a synthesis of tradition and of the consequences of historical change and

housing. Considerable attention was given to the symbolics of clothing as an expression of self-esteem of this class, in the case of the family, then, the conflict between traditional morality and modern phenomena (and this up to the present). Further, research mainly on celebrations in general and events in the city was realized (Frolec 1990), which is also an ethnographically traditional and an unusually rewarding topic. Associations and education of adults and children, as well as literature for the work force, theater and workers' folklore also attracted attention.[15]

The '80s: New Research of Kladno and Brno

Research also spilled over to the suburban area of Prague. Kladno, as well as other cities, began to be studied in the 1980s mostly as space of adaptation of Roma in the Czech majority society. As a gauge of the adaptation, alimentation, family life (birth, partnership), folklore and success of Romani children in schools were used.[16] In Prague socio-demographic characteristics of the Roma were followed (Haišman – Weinerová 1989: 11-23). The problem of the difference in the way of life of the *Romani ethnic* (understood as the results of their lower social and educational level) was one of the most important objectives of the state research plan which was to help the creation of one (the majority) culture (Robek 1988: 4). Research of Brno urban ethnographers vis-à-vis the character of Brno and the Brno region – concentrated on an analysis of the meaning of traditional rural and urban folk culture (Navrátilová 1988: 68). Workers' life style was researched in traditional gauges of material (housing, clothing, alimentation) and spiritual culture [social life, family, folklore (Navrátilová 1988: 70)].[17] Brno represented, in the period from 1848 to 1939,

15 In 1988 *České dělnictvo*, *III. Společenský život v dělnických organizacích a spolcích* (*The Czech work force, III. Social life in workers' organizations and associations*) (Klevetová, V. — Todorovová, J. (eds.). 1988 was published. Zpravodaj koordinované sítě vědeckých informací, 1988, 4); in 1989 *České dělnictvo*, *V. Kulturní zájmy dělnictva*, I. and part II (Vaněčková, Z. 1989. Zpravodaj koordinované sítě vědeckých informací, 1989, 2).

16 In 1988 three volumes of the anthology *Cikáni v průmyslovém městě (problematika adaptace a asimilace)*.[*Gypsies in an industrial city (Problematics of adaptation and assimilation)*]. Material for the problematics of ethnic groups in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, vols. 10, 11, 12. Zpravodaj koordinované sítě vědeckých informací, 1988. 11, 12, 13.

17 Cf. the second volume of Český lid of 1988, which dealt with the topic of social organizations (Karel Fojtík), folk costumes (Vlasta Svobodová), narrations (Marta Šrámková), singing styles (Marta Toncrová), holiday food (Helena Bočková), Czech-German marriages (Marie Makariusová), and nurseries (Jana Pospíšilová).

a nationally mixed city, surrounded by Czech communities, until 1918 with a German city hall. From the middle of the 19th century industry dynamically developed here (Navrátilová 1988: 68).

Period after the Velvet Revolution: Furtherance of Urban Anthropology as an Independent Subdiscipline

A new phase of ethnology (anthropology) of the city was started by the Velvet Revolution. Neither at that time, however, did the city become an object of study as a whole. Internal transformation of the discipline did not come about under the pressure of urbanization [Prague itself had acquired 1,215,000 inhabitants in 1990 (Hlavní a milionová města, 1990: 21)],[18] but under the pressure of total-societal discussion. Even in Western Europe from the '80s, however, urban anthropology had difficulty asserting itself as its own subdiscipline. The establishing of a department of urban studies came about only during the '80s. The cause was, from then on, the persisting opinion that the field of anthropology is a small, closed world. The discovery of a new sphere of research proved to be very timely until after the depression, which reached cities and their socially excluded and high-risk suburbs. Where sociology failed, anthropology with its field research of small worlds made its appearance (de la Pradelle 1996: 190). In the case of Czech anthropology research that we can call, according to urban anthropologist Ulf Hannerz, research in an urban environment (Hannerz 1980: 20) preponderated at first. It was suggested to ethnologists that they begin to uncover the city through the study of individual communities of the urban organism (Zajonc 2003: 179). Only in the 21st century – after the phase of studies of interaction in the city – did they begin to promote research whose subject was the city and urban culture as a whole.

First Phase of Urban Anthropology after 1989: Research of Multiethnicity and Multiculturality

In the first years after the Velvet Revolution research of multi-ethnicity and multi-culturality and/or a wide range of mutual relations among Czechs, Germans and Jews in the Czech Lands and Slovaks, Germans, Hungarians,

18 The historian Elisabeth Lichtenberger called it a representative of European urban culture (Lichtenberger 1993: 11).

Jews and Czechs in Slovakia seemed to be politically and professionally correct. These very phenomena (so-called ethno-cultural processes) allegedly characterized the Central-European city before the Second World War most emphatically. The beginning of the '90s saw the realization of the *Ethnic and cultural identity of the Czech city. Tradition, co-existence, intolerance* grant. [This was begun in 1991; the head was Prague ethnologist Mirjam Moravcová (b. 1931) and the Brno folklorist and literary head was Oldřich Sirovátka (1925-1992)].[19] Research of ethnicity of the city was also carried out (at first in the framework of the Moravcová team) by Zdeněk Uherek (Uherek 1993; 1998). The identity of the Czech city in the 1860s was researched, e.g., though Czech national clothing (Moravcová – Svobodová 1993). The alleged individuality of urban space of the Czech Lands; the ethnic variety was studied as a gauge of celebrations, holidays, associations, families, neighborhoods, children's folklore.[20] The identity of ethnic minorities in the city, including adaptation and inte-

19 In Slovakia urban research was concentrated around the project *Ethno-cultural processes in an urban environment. (Tolerance and intolerance in big cities of Central Europe)*. In 1991 a work conference of the same name was organized in Bratislava. In that same year the monograph *Taká bola Bratislava* (*Bratislava was like that*) by Peter Salner and others was published. In May 1992 the seminar *The metropolis as a multiethnic and multicultural space* took place in Brno; this seminar focused on a range of forms of inter-ethnic co-existence, including its impact on language and language education and on folklore ((Soukupová – Turková 1993: 156-157). Jana Pospíšilová a Karel Altman published the anthology *Leute in der Großstadt* (People in the Metropolis) (Brno 1992) of this seminar. One year later in Liblice u Mělníka an inter-disciplinary conference *The Metropolis – space of social and cultural innovations* was held; it dealt with changes in the social and ethnic climate in Central-European cities (Prague, Bratislava, Brno, Opava, Munich, Vienna), mainly in the 19th and 20th centuries. In later years urban research was not a priority of the research aims of the Ethnological Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic. However, in 1994 Brno researcher Jana Pospíšilová started working on the project *Ethnographic research of the Czech minority in Vienna* and in 1996 on *The culture of today's children and youth with particular attention to manifestations of folklore*. For the list of grants, viz Tyllner 2001: 5-9.

20 In 1991, Brno ethnographer Jana Pospíšilová and Brno historian Karel Altman listed this main field of research: customs, children's life and folklore, family and club life, expressions of social culture in the city (Pospíšilová – Altman 1991: 196). The anthology *Národopisné studie o Brně* (Ethnological studies of Brno) was similarly conceived. Toncrová, M. (ed.). (1990). Brno: Institute for Ethnology and Folklore Studies of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences. The same problems, but also economic and socio-demographic development of the city, markets, pubs and taverns, Brno as a center of ethnography – all this was analyzed in a representative collective monograph. Sirovátka, O. (ed.). 1993. *Město pod Špilberkem. O lidové kultuře, tradicích v životě lidí v Brně a okolí*.(The city under the Spilberk. About folk culture, traditions in the life of the people in Brno and surroundings). Brno: Doplněk. The historian Karel Atman then developed in an independent monograph the problem of pub rooms in Brno. Altman, K. (1993). *Krčemné Brno. O hostincích, kavárnách, hotelech, ale také o hospodách, výčepech a putykách v moravské metropoli*. (Taverns in Brno. About pubs, coffee houses, hotels, but also about taverns and bars in the Moravian metropolis.

gration processes of the working other-ethnic migrations attracted attention. Some work was devoted to the development of city centers which in post-communist states were revitalized and to the development of urban institutions (clubs, pubs, promenades,[21] and coffee houses). Research of the promenade was part of the international project *Slova města* (Words of the City), a project carried out by the Ethnological Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic and CEFRES.. The city was primarily envisaged as a certain type of social and ethnic ties, as a world of continuous social relations, as a catalyzer of intellectual and social movement, as a space for cooperation, dialogue[22] and conflict,[23] as a place of the creation of collective identities. To the urban context of the Czech city (Prague, but mainly Brno and, in Slovakia, Bratislava) was attributed the ability to defuse inter-ethnic tension. It was politically and, at the same time, professionally correct to write about tolerant Pragueness and neighborly Brno. This concept was probably reflected in the most concentrated form in the thirteenth volume of the journal *Lidé města*, the predecessor of today's journal. (It was published between 1992 and 1999.) Individual volumes were devoted to Prague club and free-time activities, the value orientation of the Praguers, urban folklore, the relation to other ethnic minorities, the family in Prague's suburban regions, Prague children, students and pedagogues, the role of women in the social life of the city and, at the same time, the building of women's identity, inter-ethnic relations among traditional neighbors, pictures of the other and conflict in the city, marginal groups, celebrations and exhibitions. A certain handicap was the concentration of researchers on the modern and postmodern city.[24] The first work about inter-war Bratislava also had a similar tone, a work that relied primarily on testimonies of informers and memoirs

21 The Prague historian Luďa Klusáková (Klusáková 2003) studied the character, development and functions of urban and spa promenades as elements of the rhythm of everydayness in the small and medium-sized town as well as its reflections in the minds of its users.

22 Cf. the Czech-Polish anthology by Soukupová, B. — Stawarz, A. — Jurková, Z. — Novotná, H. (eds.). 2006. *The Central European City as a Space for Dialogue? (Examples Prague and Warsaw)*. Bratislava: ZING PRINT.

23 In the case of Brno, Oldřich Sirovátka thought about several types of conflicts: the Czech-German conflict, the conflict between the center and the suburbs, the conflict between the original inhabitants and the newcomers, but also social, occupational, religious, generational, etc., conflicts (Sirovátka 1992: 27-28).

24 The magazine, which took the same name [Lidé města (Urban People)], also mainly dealt with social layers and religious and ethnic minorities in urban society. Yet it constantly also opened more clearly other sub-disciplines of anthropology. The city as a problem retreated into the background (Nešpor – Moravcová 2008: 12).

(Luther 2001: 380). Slovak research also emphasized the importance of Czech newcomers to the Slovak capital and their intervention in the traditional hierarchy of the local urban society (Luther 2003: 390). The anthologies *Stabilität und Wandel in der Großstadt* (Bratislava 1995) and *Etnicita a mesto* (Bratislava 2001), both having a contribution by the Warsaw ethnologist Andrzej Stawarz, were among the important collective Slovak-Czech works of that period. At first the attention of researchers concentrated on metropolises (Prague, Brno and Bratislava); later, however, it was drawn to small towns. Research covered the 19th, 20th and 21st centuries. The central categories of analysis of cities were cultural diffusion, cooperation, tolerance and pluralism, intolerance and totalitarianism, differentiation, religious extremism arising in the city (anti-Semitism, neofascism), conflict, later diversity. Favored subjects of study first became formerly neglected (marginalized) groups: beside ethnic minorities, their points of view (for Brno, e.g., Pospíšilová – Fischer 2004), children and students, women, beggars, prostitutes..., in Slovak urban anthropology also the former elites of the city, social groups (tradesmen). It was also part of the societal-political context with its rehabilitation of minorities in the meaning of the (actually or mentally) handicapped groups.

Second Phase of Urban Anthropology after 1989: Research of the City as a Whole

In the last years, beside this research, research of the memory of the city and places of memory has been carried out,[25] as presented by French researcher Pierre Nora (Nora 1984), the sacred and the profane,[26] of myths bound to the city[27] and images of the city.[28] During the search for new models of interpretations Czech anthropology looks at theories of memory and globalization.

25 On memory and identity, cf. *The City – Identity – Memory*. Urban People, 20, 2007, 1; *The City – Identity – Memory – Minorities*. Urban people, 10, 2008, 2. Further, viz Soukupová, B. – Novotná, H. – Jurková, Z. – Stawarz, A. 2007. *Město – Identita – Paměť*. Bratislava: ZING PRINT.

26 Cf. the Polish-Slovak-Czech journal *Sfera sacrum i profanum w kulturze współczesnych miast Europy środkowej*. Koseski, A. – Stawarz, A. (eds.). 2004. Warszawa – Pułtusk: Polskie Towarzystwo Etnologii Miasta.

27 Cf. thematic issue: *Myth and "Reality" of Central-European Cities*. Urban people, 11, 2009, 2. Further, viz Soukupová, B. – Novotná, H. – Jurková, Z. – Stawarz, A. (eds.). 2010. *Evropské město. Identita, symbol, mýtus*. Bratislava: ZING PRINT.

28 On images and myths of cities, cf. Polish-Slovak-Czech journal by Godula-Węcławowicz, R. 2008. *Miasto w obrazie, legendzie, opowieści* ... Wrocław – Kraków: Polskie Towarzystwo ludoznawcze; Uniwersytet Wrocławski.

Postmodern anthropologists found their terrain in the spaces of the subway, in stations, in shopping centers, but also again in apartment houses. They are inspired by the theory of places and non-places (Augé 1999: 109-110), but also the theory *of the* decentralization of cities (Fishman 1987).

Importance of Urban Anthropology Today

Conclusion. If today (urban) anthropology has some importance, it lies in its ability to explain historical change and/or the social logic in cities. Historization was always a strength of Czech ethnography and, later, anthropology. The identity of today's discipline does not now originate in negotiations with the otherness of the village. The field is a result of the intellectual process of contemporary individualized Czech society, its own traditions (whether they are denied or, on the contrary, accepted) and a certain inter-disciplinary discussion. The contemporary sociology of the city aims its interest at urbanization and suburbanization, at socially excluded inhabitants of the city (Roma, pensioners), at institutions of city and civic politics, the study of communities, the life style in suburban satellites, at the sociology of housing, interaction in public space, urban rhythms, and neighborhoods.[29] Contemporary urban history is oriented toward the rising development of cities (model famous work about the urbanization of the Czech Lands as a component part of European space *Zrod velkoměsta* (by Pavla Horská, a historical sociologist, Eduard Maur, a social historian, and Jiří Musil, a sociologist, 2002; Jiří Musil has already published in 1977 a book about the process of urbanization in socialist countries; three years later it appeared in English),[30] toward certain historic periods, toward urban events, towards corporative life in cities from the Middle Ages to the present, their influence on the life of cities, on communal and state politics, toward minorities (including national minorities and women) toward marginalized inhabitants, the functions of the metropolis (including the distribution of news), the problem of the center and the outskirts, borders and identities. The connection of the field with international research structures, however, is presented in this issue by the historian Luďa Klusáková of

[29] The development of the theory of American and European urban sociology in the years 1950-2000 was dealt with by Jiří Musil (Musil 2003: 137-167).

[30] Further, viz, e.g., Pešek, J. 1999. *Od aglomerace k velkoměstu. Praha a středoevropské metropole 1850-1920* (From agglomeration to metropolis: Prague and a Central-European metropolis.. Praha: SCRIPTORIUM.

the Philosophical Faculty of Charles University (Seminar of general and comparative history in Prague).

Contemporary urban anthropology, the relatively strong direction of contemporary Czech anthropology, then attempted to explain the city as a whole: by means of its relation to memory, its pictures, images, myths, as a collective abstraction. It became discursive anthropology. It relies on the thesis of Augé concerning the city as a closed symbolized space with its own signs, symbols, and myths (Augé 1999: 110) and Langenohl's theory of the mythologization of the present in totalitarian regimes. It began to research the post-socialist city.[31] In accordance with western trends, it also worked on the importance of natural formations – rivers – in a city.[32] The last anthropological conferences stood on these pillars: the city – memory – identity and the city – the minority – plurality landscape of memory. Large reserves of our subdiscipline are, however, still constantly in interdisciplinarity although many subjects present contiguous areas of interest of historians, sociologists, anthropologists, demographers, but also geographers, above all in comparative views. Because of this, the project conDENSE 2006-2009 [The social and special consequences of demographic changes in metropolises of Central-European Europe, sociological, geographic and ethnological research of Brno, Ostrava, Lodz, and Gdansk (Pospíšilová – Vaishar – Steinführer 2009)] is welcome. But research of Central-European cities was, until now, mostly realized parallelly. We know about the mutual interconnection of cultures in Central Europe, but we do not carry out research of the causes of its similarities and differences. The only thing to do is to found something like a Central-European institute of comparative urban studies, which would help understand the entirety and, at the same time, diversity of individual cultures. Cities as worlds about themselves and, at the same time, worlds for themselves are capable of repeatedly absorbing complex social change, of reproducing again and again the main tendencies of social movement, of "repeating the fabric of the world" (Augé 1999: 121), and therefore quite certainly deserve our attention. Cities are not only full-fledged, but also unique indicators of the explanation of the development of the whole of society. At the same time, however, it is necessary to emphasize that the project of

31 This is how one generally has indicated the city of the so-called Eastern Bloc since the fall of the regime (Stenning 2005).

32 Cf. The Polish-Czech-Slovak journal *Miasto po obu brzegach rzeki – Różne oblicza kultury*. Stawarz, A. (eds.). 2007. Warszawa: Polskie Towarzystwo Etnologii Miasta, Muzeum historyczne m.st. Warszawy, Muzeum niepodległości w Warszawie.

anthropology of urban worlds is today indefensible. Perhaps we will gradually ripen to the realization that we cannot go alone on the road of anthropology, history, sociology, geography, etc., but only on a road together. The rigid borders between individual disciplines could gradually dissolve. Meetings not only of several disciplines, but also various national scientific traditions are then necessary to accept as a new challenge and hope for rapid formation and establishment of urban studies.

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Contents of Volume 46, Number 3

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TRENDS IN URBAN RESEARCH AND THEIR REFLECTION IN SLOVAK ETHNOLOGY/ ANTHROPOLOGY

Alexandra Bitušíková

Abstract: ***The study reflects the development of Slovak urban ethnology and anthropology since its beginning in the 1970s. It explores theoretical and methodological approaches toward the study of the city in the socialist and postsocialist periods and tries to find correlations with the development of urban anthropology in Western Europe and the United States. It mentions weaknesses and strengths of urban research results in Slovakia. The main emphasis of the paper is on the latest urban anthropological trends worldwide and their reflection in contemporary Slovak urban ethnological and anthropological research. Special attention is paid to three areas of current urban research: the problem of urban diversity; the problem of social production and construction of urban public space, and the problem of urban culture and local memory, identity and symbols.***

Keywords: ***history of Slovak urban ethnology; trends in urban research***

Instead of Introduction: A Few Remarks on the History of Urban Anthropology

Anthropological interest in cities does not have a long history. Although anthropologists had already studied urban phenomena in the first half of the 20th century, the intense development of urban anthropology started only in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Since then anthropologists have developed a large variety of ideas, concepts and approaches to the study of cities. As Richard G. Fox already stressed in 1977, "various urban anthropologists define their research goals differently, go to different kind of cities, and study different sorts of dwellers within them"(Fox 1977: 8-9). He pointed out the richness

of urban anthropological research, but also its emphasis on collection of field data rather than theoretical analysis (Fox 1977: 1). Almost thirty years later, the representative of current American urban anthropology Setha M. Low also talks about undertheorizing of the city within anthropology. She says that urban theories remain the domain of other disciplines, mainly sociology, cultural geography, urban planning and history. She asks "why an anthropological voice is not often heard in urban studies discourse even though many anthropologists have contributed actively to theory and research on urban poverty, racism, globalization, amd architecture and planning" (Low 2005: 1).

Older urban-anthropological approaches emphasized either the necessity to study the city in a broader context (city-as-context), e.g., studying various urban units in the context of national and supranational history, and of internal and external development of the city (Press 1975: 28), or the orientation on smaller units within the urban society (Gmelch – Zenner 1996; Eames – Goode 1977), mainly in order to be able to use "traditional" anthropological methods (participant observation and interviews). Studying cities and larger groups within them challenges anthropological methodology and requires using a broader scale of methods and sources. The city as a whole with all its complexities is almost impossible to study and understand through one discipline, one researcher and one methodology; on the other hand the research of exclusively small urban groups and communities is limited if it does not follow relations of these groups with other groups in the city. As Marc Augé puts it, each group is a crossroads of different worlds and different lives (local, family, professional etc.; Augé 1999: 118).

Low identifies three dominant research trends in current urban anthropology:

- poststructural studies of race, class, and gender in the urban context;
- political economic studies of transnational culture;
- studies of the symbolic and social production of urban space and planning (Low 2005: 21).

On the basis of these trends she then defines the ethnic city, the divided city, the gendered city, and the contested city in the first category (social relational processes); the deindustralized city, the global city and the informational city in the second category (economic processes), and the modernist city, the postmodern city and the fortress city in the third category (urban planning and architecture; Low 2005: 5).

Urban anthropology of today closely collaborates with other disciplines, mainly sociology, human geography, urban history, social psychology and others. It expanded its interests from particular urban phenomena to any aspect of urban life, and aims at a more holistic approach.

Slovak Urban Ethnology: Past and Present[1]

The beginning of scientific interest in the city in Slovakia can be seen in the work of historians, geographers, demographers and travelers in the 18th and 19th centuries who collected a large amount of data on topography, history and culture of both cities and villages. In the period of national enlightement (2nd half of the 19th century), the main attention of the Slovak elites was paid to rural people and their culture with the objective to show the "ancient" character of the Slovak nation. Romanticizing tendencies about the Slovak rural culture and its uniqueness have survived in the identity of the Slovaks for many decades, and they have even reappeared with the foundation of the independent Slovak Republic in 1993.

In the period of the formation, professionalization and institutionalization of Slovak ethnology in the first half of the 20th century, rural people and their cultures remained the main objective of the research, often as a consequence of the necessity to describe or preserve various phenomena of traditional rural cultures that were rapidly disappearing in the era of modernization (Leščák 1992; Luther 1995: 8). It is only in the second half of the 20th century when scientific interest in the city arises. Several publications have been devoted to the history of urban ethnology in Slovakia (Leščák 1992; Salner 1982, 1988, 1990, 1991, 1994; Popelková – Salner 2002; Luther 1995, 2001; Popelková 1995, 2010; Bitušíková 2003). Two main research lines can be identified in Slovak urban ethnology: big city research and small city research.

Research of the city of Bratislava, the largest Slovak city, has been evolving since the 1970s. It was mainly work by Peter Salner (starting with his dissertation on Bratislava in 1979) that initiated further urban research and attracted other Slovak ethnologists, especially from the Institute of Ethnography (now the Institute of Ethnology) of the Slovak Academy of

[1] I mainly use the term "ethnology" when writing about Slovakia as it is the term mostly used in the country. In addition, the majority of urban studies focus on Slovak cities; they often do not reflect on anthropological theories and do not include comparative perspectives on cities in other countries as most anthropological studies do.

Sciences and the Department of Ethnography and Folklore Studies (now the Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology) in Bratislava. Peter Salner described the city as an ethnically and socially multilayer unit in a synchronic analytical perspective, which required the change of research methods (Luther 1995: 10). A new trend of urban research was reflected in two volumes of the journal Slovenský národopis (1985, 1987). While the first volume looked mainly at rural-urban relations by studying nearby villages and neighborhoods from a historic perspective, the second volume brought a broad spectrum of studies on diverse urban phenomena with two main theroretical approaches:

1) research of small urban units (such as family, servants, urban middle class, businessmen, etc.);

2) research of social integration phenomena (social events, balls, restaurants, etc.).

Most of the studies referred to the interwar period of the first democratic Czechoslovak Republic because it was still possible to study it through the eyes of those who experienced the period, and it was also suitable for the understanding of further developments of Bratislava.

Big city research was theoretically and methodologically enhanced by publishing a monograph "Taká bola Bratislava" (That was Bratislava; Salner et al. 1991). The publication brought a plastic picture of the everyday and festive life of the inter-war city through numerous urban phenomena (family; housing; public spaces; leisure time; social events; ethnic, religious, professional and interest groups and communities). The authors used a broad scale of methods including interviews, archival documents, newspapers, memoirs, etc. The book aimed at drawing a holistic picture of the city that is rather a rare approach as it requires a large research team and a long-time schedule.

Urban studies published in the last two decades since the 1990s have been built on the results of a long-term research of Bratislava. They have opened new thematic and methodological dimensions of the study of the city close to sociology, social history, social psychology and political studies (e.g., research of tolerance and intolerance in the city, Salner 1993, Luther 1993; social communication, Popelková 1997; ethnicity, Luther – Salner 2001; transformations of identity, Luther – Salner 2004; social conflict, Luther 2009). A number of recent studies analyze social and cultural transformations of the postsocialist city. The team of Bratislava urban researchers have developed an intense collaboration with urban researchers in neighboring countries, capitals and large

cities, especially Prague, Brno, Warsaw and Vienna that enables them to build comparative analyses of the development of Central European cities.

Small city research has been developing hand in hand with the research of Bratislava. All the cities in Slovakia with the exception of Bratislava and Košice can be classified as small cities. Despite their size, they were important centers of cultural, educational and economic life in the period before World War II. Research of these places in the inter-war era showed broad heterogeneity and differentiation of urban populations that resulted from their historic development in multiethnic societies (first the Hungarian/Austro-Hungarian Empire, after 1918 the Czechoslovak Republic). Small cities often played the role of a cultural pattern by spreading new ideas and innovation to the neighboring countryside through urban-rural relations and collaborations.

First studies of a small city in Slovakia focused on historical-ethnographical descriptions of diverse urban phenomena in a diachronic perspective (Venkovské město 1986, 1987; Město: Prostor, lidé, slavnosti 1990). A crucial milestone of small city research was the conference "City and its Culture" (Prešov, 1993). A large number and variety of contributions confirmed the importance of urban studies in Slovak ethnology. Research of Skalica, Pezinok, Trenčín, Brezno, Liptovský Mikuláš, and mainly Banská Bystrica demonstrated diversity of approaches to the study of the city. The main urban research center outside Bratislava has become the Research Institute of Matej Bel University in Banská Bystrica. Research conducted at this institution has covered a broad spectrum of topics and it is directed towards a holistic perspective (e.g. Darulová 1998, 1999; Bitušíková 2000; Bitušíková – Darulová 2001).

Methodology of urban research in Slovakia is based on a combination of methods. As the historic approach towards the interpretation of data remains an important feature of most studies, methods include not only participant observation and interviews, but also analysis of written archival documents, memoirs, surveys, newspapers, statistical data, chronicles, personal correspondence, and oral history. Emphasis on historic perspective in the majority of urban studies (city-as-context approach) differentiates ethnology in Slovakia from Western European and American urban anthropology where often a synchronic analysis prevails. Several Slovak ethnologists stressed that historicism in the tradition of Central European ethnology is not a sign of its backwardness, but a precondition for understanding of discontinuous developments in Central Europe (Salner 1994: 100; Popelková 1995: 147, Luther 1995: 17). When compared with the Western European or American production, a number

of Slovak urban studies, especially those from the period of 1970-1990, have a descriptive character, and they lack theoretical richness and a comparative perspective. However, given that Slovak ethnology was developing in total isolation from any Western social science theories and suffered from a shortage of foreign literature and from limited contacts with colleagues "behind the Iron Curtain," the results of Slovak urban ethnological research should not be rejected and waived aside as unimportant. The amount and depth of empirical data is an asset that can be used for any comparative anthropological research in the future.

Slovak urban ethnology/anthropology of the new millennium studies the city as a dynamic diversified social organism with a wide network of relations and often focuses on postsocialist transformations.

An analysis of contemporary thematic and theoretical-methodological trends in the study of a postsocialist Slovak city indicates three main research orientations:

1. the study of diversified urban populations with an emphasis on different groups and their relations;
2. the study of social production and construction of public space;
3. the study of urban culture (understood as a mosaic of diverse material and non-material phenomena, processes, symbols and memories that contribute to forming the image of the city or city identity).

These orientations reflect current tendencies in the development of Slovak cities (such as the growth of demographic diversity due to migrations; transformations of public spaces and their symbolic meanings; and new urban planning and marketing building on historic memory and identity forming), but also correlate with trends in urban anthropology worldwide.

The City and its Inhabitants: the Problem of Diversity

The city is the home of diversity. When talking about diversity, I use the broad definition by Steven Vertovec who understands it as "social organization and different principles by which people, from context to context, situation to situation, mark themselves and each other as different" (Vertovec 2009: 9). People identify and differentiate themselves and others by categories such as ethnicity, nationality, religion, race, age, family, gender, sexual orientation, social origin, education, profession, abilities and disabilities, etc.

Thematic focus on people as social actors and members of various groups and communities that form and influence urban life and production of spaces and symbols starts from a diversified structure of urban population. Interest of urban anthropologists in studying smaller units within the urban society has always been popular. However, it has been criticized in recent years, especially if it ignores plurality of relations and identities of each individual and multiple relations of various groups. According to Brubaker, some social scientists show "the tendency to treat ethnic groups, nations and races as substantial entities to which interests and agency can be attributed" (Brubaker 2002:164). Similarly, Vertovec points out the changing nature of diversity in contemporary cities and at diversification of diversity. He uses the term super-diversity taking into account correlations of all sorts of variables such as country of origin, gender, language, religion, age, education, employment, etc. He calls for qualitative and quantitative research of all variables in relation to each other (Vertovec 2009: 12-13). According to Vertovec, current urban research has to go futher than the study of particular groups based on a certain category, e.g., ethnicity of immigrant classification (Vertovec 2007: 1044).

In Slovak urban ethnology, the study of urban groups and communities still attracts high attention of researchers.[2] It often concerns research that was undermined or censored before 1989, such as the study of the Jews (e.g., Salner 2000, 2004, 2007; Bitušíková 1996, 1999; Vrzgulová 1998), the Czech minority (Luther 2004, 2008; Popelková 1998), the Bulgarian minority (Beňušková 1998), entrepreneurs and businessmen (Falťanová 1987, 1993, 1999; Darulová 2006; Vrzgulová 1996, 1997), professional groups (Koštialová 2002, 2010), students (Bitušíková 1997; Koštialová 2010), wine-makers (Popelková 1995, 2007), urban middle-class (Popelková – Vrzgulová 2005), Muslims (Letavajová 2009) etc. The analysis of the studies reveals that, although they focus on a particular group, minority or community within a specific urban setting, they follow it in the context of large-scale social processes and recognize variety and patterns of their relations.

[2] Due to the large number of publications in this field, I mention only a few of the most representative ones in each category.

Social Production and Construction of Urban Public Space

Urban public spaces, their meanings and representations have become an interesting research topic for urban anthropology since the 1990s. The discipline has benefited from the dialogue with human geography, urban planning and architecture in this field, but it has developed its own understanding of space through the knowledge and experience of the people who form and use public spaces. As Robert Rotenberg puts it, people force the spaces to take on meaning. Their understandings transform space into place (Rotenberg 1993: xiii). The meanings of urban spaces do not necessarily remain the same: they change over the time as the memories and minds of city dwellers change.

"Good" public spaces can be characterized by their openness and accessibility for all people regardless of their social, ethnic, religious, professional or other affiliation. They provide a shared space for diverse people and diverse activities. They include squares, streets, parks, playgrounds and other places of human interaction and gathering. Unlike older studies, current urban anthropology focuses more on studying the mechanisms and spaces of integration (inclusion) within a city. This trend relates to contemporary urban planning, policies and strategies that are directed at the management of growing diversity within cities and at looking for ways to use the positive potential of diversity for economic growth, prosperity, social cohesion and quality of life for all urban residents.

Public spaces play a significant role in urban society. They contribute to everyday sociability of city inhabitants, visitors and tourists; they reflect the quality of life in the city, and thus, they are an important indicator of sustainable development of the city. As they are or should be open to everyone, they may become places of integration, but also places of potential clashes of ideology or other conflicts. They can help to strengthen citizenship, freedom, memory and identity because it is these places where important public gatherings take place (formal or informal, manifestative or demonstrative). Ken Worpole and Liz Greenhalgh stress that the most effective public spaces have their own rhythm, own patterns of the use, and are occupied by different groups during different times of the day. Their attractivity, flexibility and pluralistic feeling of ownership made them centers of urban life (Worpole – Greenhalgh 1996).

An increased interest of urban anthropologists in public spaces goes closely with a trend visible in many cities all over the world including postsocialist cities of Central Europe: reconstruction and revitalization of historic city centers. In global competition, all cities try to identify themselves and to define

their distinctive features in order to differentiate from other cities. The usual return to localism and historicism is provoked partly by globalization; however, the biggest pressure on the creation of public spaces comes from investors and developers. The question is to what extent are cities and their elected representatives able to cope with the creation of these spaces in a transparent way.

According to Setha M. Low, urban anthropological research of public spaces derives from two complementary perspectives of social production of space and social construction of space. The social production of space includes "social, economic, ideological and technological factors – whose intended goal is the physical creation of the material setting, while the social construction of space is related to phenomenological and symbolic experience of space and means the actual transformation of space through people's memories, images, and daily use of the material setting (Low 2005: 112). Both perspectives are interlinked and help us to understand the role, function and symbolic meaning of public urban space in the societal and historic context.

Results of urban anthropological research of space may be used by urban municipalities as guides for transformations of public spaces into inclusive spaces that are one of the indicators of socially sustainable cities. Openness and accessibility are two key words in contemporary urban sustainability strategies on public space (see Polese – Stren 2000; Landry 2006). These strategies emphasize the necessity of accessibility and sharing of public spaces for all city dwellers, but also the necessity to engage civil society in the production and construction of public spaces through civic participation in urban governance. Studying participation of civic actors in the creation of public spaces and their meanings has become a common topic in urban anthropological research (e.g., Harms 2009; Holston 2009; Sorensen 2009).

Current urban studies also point at a new phenomenon in cities. Despite attempts to design spaces of integration and inclusion, growing urban diversity leads to increasing spatial polarization and segregation. It is not only a problem of "traditional" ghettos inhabited by immigrants, but also a problem of new "ghettos of homogeneity" created by members of middle and upper classes who increasingly seek to avoid contact with difference, to elaborate strategies to control their environments and to avoid unexpected encounters with the "other," where they can keep social control in their "own" territory (Stevenson 2003: 44). This polarization emerges not only in residential neighborhoods (gated communities), but also in city centers and spaces which have until recently served a range of different people including members of lower

and marginalized classes. Both phenomena – gated communities in wealthy neighborhoods, and exclusion of marginalized groups from city centers – can also be observed in Slovak cities.

Slovak urban ethnology reflects transformations of urban public space in research conducted by only a few ethnologists (Bitušíková 1995, 1998, 2009; Darulová 2002, 2010; Luther 1990, 2003, 2009). Almost all of the studies of this group refer to postsocialist changes of central parts of cities (Bratislava and Banská Bystrica), from both the perspective of social production (physical reconstruction of public spaces and changes of their functions) and the perspective of social construction, creation of symbolic meanings and representations of public spaces (renaming of streets and squares, creation of new symbolic spaces and places, etc.).

Urban Culture: Local Memory, Identity and Symbols

Urban culture has a broad, holistic and rather elastic meaning in many disciplines. I understand it as a system of material objects and non-material phenomena, processes and practices of meanings that form a specific image and identity of a city. Physical image of the city, of its objects and spaces and their symbolic meanings are reflected in the identity of the city itself (place identity) and in the identity of the inhabitants living there. The city which is "loved" by its inhabitants is probably a place that offers "something" more than just a perfect infrastructure or a nicely designed square. Each individual with his/her multiple identities forms a relation to the city through different experiences, memories, images and symbols. Many of them have roots in collective memory formed by experiences and memories of urban inhabitants in space and time. It is these individuals as members of various groups that create, share and forward the collective memory through their personal experience and individual memory.

Memory of each urban dweller includes images of urban spaces and important events from different time periods. Throughout history, a Central Eastern European city has experienced radical changes of spaces and their functions, or exchanges of populations through forced or voluntary migrations. Any radical change of this kind leads to discontinuity or loss of collective memory (see Coser 1992, according to Halbwachs 1941 and 1952; Boyer 1994). Memoirs are kept and nurtured by both the individuals and their own communities, and in turn, they shape political and cultural attitude (Elkadi – Forsyth 2009: 10).

It is important to realize that the same way the city is home to diverse groups, it is also home to diverse cultures and numerous collective memories. Diversity of cultures and memories challenges local governments and cultural institutions to adapt their policies and strategies to the broadest population. Inclusive cultural policies are becoming increasingly part of urban strategies. Their objective is on the one hand to address local residents and to revitalize and strengthen their local identity, pride and "local patriotism" (and thus, eliminate potential conflicts), on the other hand to attract tourists, travelers, businessmen or investors. Culture is becoming an important industry, "a powerful means of controlling cities," as Zukin puts it (Zukin 2005:1). It is a source of economic income and a tool that can attract new labor, especially knowledge workers and creative professionals who create a significant part of the workforce in global cities. It is these mobile professionals who look for cities that are open, and socially, culturally, ethnically, etc. diversified (Florida 2002, Florida – Tinagli 2004). Current cities must offer not only stimulating work, but also numerous opportunities for a rich social and cultural life: restaurants, bars, cafés, concert halls, theaters, art galleries, social events for adults and children. The growth of cultural consumption ("hunger" for arts, fashion, food, restaurants, festivals, tourism, etc.) fuels the city's symbolic economy and its ability to produce new symbols and space (Zukin 2005: 2).

The growing importance of culture for the economic prosperity of the city forces local governments, entrepreneurial and professional actors to actively support specific cultural activities. They include organization of ritualized celebrations and festivals, reconstruction of historic city centers and reinvention of their symbolic meanings, return to localism and historicism, revitalization of urban life and strengthening of local identities built on collective memory (e.g., de la Pradelle 1996; Hebbert 2005; Sorensen 2009). The attempt to form new urban traditions and symbols is often a reaction to increasing economic and cultural globalization, and urban cultural strategies often meet the interest of investors, developers and politicians rather than that of residents. Cities compete for their place in the global urban hierarchy and search for a new image and uniqueness. They try to develop meaningful public spaces that can become models for new patterns of economic, social and cultural integration of different people (Elkadi – Forsyth 2009: 13). Present urban marketing is built on local cultural and artistic specificities; it is inspired by history; it transforms physical and symbolic places and gives them new meanings and representations. The way cities, their municipalities and their residents create new images

and symbols of their cities is an interesting process of "social production of symbolism" (Nas 2004: 2) and "city's symbolic economy" (Zukin 2005: 2).

Memory, symbols and identity as part and reflection of a city's culture have become themes of a number of Slovak urban ethnological studies. Early studies of the inter-war city focused on topics such as social events (Bitušíková 1995, 2000), places of social interaction and communication: pubs and bars, markets or the promenade (e. g., Bitušíková 1996; Darulová 1995; Falťanová 1994; Luther 1990) or urban festivals and rituals (Feglová 1987, 1997). Authors collected rich ethnographic material about selected aspects of urban social and cultural processes in the 1st half of the 20th century, but memory, identity and symbolic production was studied only as a side product of these processes and not as a point of departure for the analysis. As Daniel Luther reports, these studies can be characterized as historic analyses of selected (isolated) social and cultural processes. Their orientation on the inter-war period comes from the need to understand the social and cultural background of the era that is crucial for the understanding of further historic periods (Luther 1995: 11).

Recent studies analyzing changes of postsocialist cities reflect new linkages of Slovak ethnology with Western anthropological and sociological theories and show an evident attempt for a new style of interpretation of collected data, confronted with numerous references from other countries and enabling comparative views of the problem. Memory, symbols and identity become the primary source and starting point for an analysis that usually builds on "Western" theories. Various urban events, festivals, places of entertainment, consumption, communication and interaction are studied in order to understand processes of production of memory, symbols, identities and meanings. Publications of this kind analyze identity and memory forming through ritualized festivals, monuments, object of representations, symbols and institutions (Bitušíková 2007, 2009; Ferencová 2005, 2008, 2009; Darulová 2009) or through social activities of diverse urban groups and communities (Koštialová 2009; Vrzgulová 2009).

Conclusions

Slovak urban ethnology/anthropology has been developing since the 1970s. Due to its isolation from Western European and American social and cultural anthropological theories during the socialist period, it mainly focused on the study of inter-war Slovak cities in a diachronic perspective without reflecting on broader anthropological theories and with limited attempts for comparative

views with other countries. Despite these limits, it collected a large amount of empirical data that can be and already are used for further anthropological research of contemporary cities and their transformations. The present urban ethnological and anthropological research in Slovakia follows the trends in current urban anthropology worldwide and demonstrates the richness of theoretical and methodological approaches toward the study of the city. It is as diverse, rich and interesting as the city itself.

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THE MAKROPULOS CASE AS A SEMIOTIC EXPERIENCE[1]

Zuzana Jurková and Pavla Jónssonová

Abstract: ***In recent decades ethnomusicology has focused on, among other things, the role of the listener and on comprehension of the function and/or the importance that music has for him/her. For this it uses linguistic and, especially, semiotic methods. Turino (1999, 2008) returns to the Peirce concepts of the icon, the index, the symbol, the*** *rheme* ***and the*** *dicent*, ***snowballing and chaining in order to explain the effects of music.***

This article arises from two contrasting perceptions of the same musical event: Janáček's opera The Makropulos Case. It analyzes both listeners' experience on three levels in accordance with Peirce's three types of signs: as opera in the National Theater, Janáček's music and the concrete 2008 production of The Makropulos Case. A semiotic analysis of the inner reaction to the concrete musical rendition enables us to reconstruct the ontogenetic musical development and explains a certain universality of the effect of the opera despite different musical histories.

Keywords: ***semiotics; Peirce; The Makropulos Case***

Introduction

For more than a century of its existence[2] almost every aspect of ethnomusicology has been transformed: its name (from comparative musicology to ethnomusicology and musical anthropology or anthropology of music), subject

1 The work was supported by the grant SVV-2010- 261701.

2 Most often the moment of the birth of the discipline is considered to be an article by Guido Adler (1885). In the context of this paper, however, it would be more suitable to consider Erich Moritz von Hornbolstel's "Die Probleme der vergleichenden Musikwissenschaft" of 1905 as the beginning of this discipline.

of study (from the search for general laws of "musically beautiful"[3] to music of those others[4] to the study of all kinds of music) and understandably also methods. Despite all of the changeability,[5] though, one feature seems constant: the attempt to more than just describe (possibly in musically analytic categories) musical sound itself; an attempt to come to why that musical structure has the particular shape that it has. Authors look for the answer to that "Why?" in different directions, understandably most frequently in the area of a music-producing culture (therefore ETHNOmusicology or anthropology of music). Sometimes the answer is a whole configuration of culture (Lomax 1968, Merriam 1964). Sometimes the function of that concrete musical genre (Seeger 1987)... What seems in the ethnomusicology of the last decades to be almost indubitable is the postulate about listeners as the main creators of musical production. In that case, then, the question asked above of why indeed has that concrete musical structure that shape could be: What does that music mean to the listeners? What does it bring them and how does it satisfy them? Why do they need it just the way it is?

Some ethnomusical schools, emphasizing the communicative nature of music, use for their study processes which are close to linguistics, inspired by linguistics or dealing with the relation of music and language or the reflection of music in language (Stone 2008, Feld – Fox 1994). One of those schools is semiotics, and that mainly in the concept of Charles Sanders Peirce. The application of his complicated system was proposed for use in the study of music by Thomas Turino.

Music as Language[6]

The Peirce-Turino concept of semiotics enables a more detailed analysis of our perception of music. Thus we can approach the understanding of WHY music actually affects us. It thus opens to us the possibility of understanding what

3 Hornbostel 1905.

4 Jaap Kunst 1950.

5 Because the discipline has been gradually and more or less continually transformed, and also because the scientific community more or less concur on the continuity of the field, we consider German-Austrian comparative musicology as the beginning of the broad field which today we most often call ethnomusicology.

6 Let it be said that we do not advocate Peirce's view of human spiritual life as stimulated solely by signs, nor do we share the concept of music as only a collection of signs; in this text we draw attention to the semiotic point of view.

is usually veiled by expressions such as "indescribable in words," etc. In the semiotic analysis of music, though, emphasis on the *difference* between intentionality and the semantic-referential character of language on one hand and the (predominant) unintentionality of music on the other hand is of basic importance; different ways of functioning come from this difference.

While one school of semiotics represented, for example, by the well-known Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure considered only in the dichotomy the sign-object (and Saussure's followers, e.g., Noam Chomsky in other dichotomies), the other one called triadic and most often represented by C. K. Ogden and I. A. Richards (and their most famous work *The Meaning of Meaning*, 1923) think about a three-part scheme: object, sign and image of this sign in our consciousness (Doubravová 2008: 41). Charles Sanders Peirce (1839–1914) also belongs to this triadic tradition. Peirce described the relation among a designating/sign, a designated/object, and a perceiver/listener as trichotomic: it is partly a *sign* that represents in human thought *an object* which the sign points out (Peirce used the word "object": whether it is a material thing, an idea or, for example, a natural phenomenon). As a third component, Peirce introduced the word *interpretant*; this word expresses the relation between an object and a sign, and mainly the effect of this relation. Thus: a concrete object is, as we perceive it, represented by a concrete sign whose relation to the object and importance are determined by the interpretant.

Types of Signs and Sign-Object-Interpretant Relations

From the complicated and comprehensive system and difficult-to-understand formulations of Peirce, Turino used in his application the terms which he considered relevant to music. For this article we used only some of them. We avoided the explanation and use of three basic abstract categories – Firstness, Secondness, and Thirdness, which are certainly useful for a more detailed understanding of which types of stimuli they evoke as responses (viz Turino 1999), but for our text seem to be dispensible.

1. Types of Signs

According to his trichotomic concept, Peirce spoke about three types of signs. He called the first the *qualisign*: pure quality, embedded in a sign (Turino 1999: 224) (redness, magnificence...). The second type of sign – the *sinsign* – is the actual, specific realization of that quality (red color, perception via concrete red

things...). The third type of sign – the *legisign* – classifies a concrete sign into a wider context (the color red belongs among other colors...). However close the first and third categories may seem, there is a different intellectual understanding of reality: thanks to the first category (the qualisign) we are capable of understanding/realizing reality (the sinsign), while the third (the legisign) reflects our perception of the world (e.g., the formation of the general "color" category).

2. Types of Relations between Sign and Object

The first type of connection between sign and object is the relation of resemblance: a photograph means to us a concrete person, while looking at a picture of an unknown château we imagine a noble residence, and perhaps we perceive it as a reference to a concrete historic period or area. Peirce calls this type of sign an *icon*. The basis of the iconic process, that is, the connecting of similar objects and signs, is a classification of phenomena on the basis of resemblance of some aspects: physical appearance and also perhaps a style of clothing or a way of using one's voice: as soon as we hear on the radio high, characteristically cultivated female singing accompanied by an orchestra, we evidently classify it according to color, singing technique and accompaniment as opera, although we do not understand a word and we do not see the stage.

An iconic type of connection can partly be used intentionally by a composer or a creator of music: in many places in Smetana's *My Country* – two flutes imitating the sound of flowing water at the beginning of the *Vltava,* or the harp imitating some sort of mythical accompanying instrument of a mythical bard in *Vyšehrad* – are based on it. Secondly, however, the iconic process also provides space for the listener's own imagination, mainly in music with its free connection to physical objects.

The second type of connection between sign and object is based on co-occurrence: smoke accompanies fire; the wind enables the unfurling of a flag... and both smoke and a flag are signs for us of those "objects," which are intimately bound to our experience. Peirce calls this type of sign an *index*. An important quality for the use of indices mainly in music is the fact that with that very sign we can meet in various situations and thus – according to momentary circumstances – evoke various associations (this feature is usually called semantic snowballing). For example, the majority of listeners to western classical music connect three eighth Gs followed by one E-flat (and, perhaps, followed by a descending transposition of the same motif) with the beginning

of Beethoven's Fifth (Destiny) Symphony and thus emotionally with the image of the genius pursued by destiny or, more generally, with fatality. Those who in the Czech lands experienced anguish during the war and, at the same time, hope through the broadcasts of forbidden London radio, broadcasts which used as their theme tune the first notes of Beethoven's Fifth, clearly recall partly the more common feeling of fatefulness and, more concretely, their own war memories.

Like signs of the iconic type, indices also provide space to the listeners for interjecting their own connotations. In contrast with previous icons which lead people rather to the field of imagination, indices aim toward experiences.

The third type of relation between sign and object is, according to Peirce, the *symbol*. It is the type of relation that arises on the basis of an agreement, e.g., between the author and the listeners (Peirce speaks about "language limitation"). The most typical and widespread symbol is words. In the musical context, the most common type of musical symbols are national anthems, theme songs of sport clubs, etc., but also so-called leitmotifs, used in classical music of the 19th century: melodies with which the composer denotes (accompanies) a certain character or situation. Leitmotifs do, to a certain extent, affect the listener with their own musical quality (the listener can project his own experience or ideas into their color or individual melodic phrase, but their prevailing intentionality limits just what is typical and valuable: the connection with personal experience or ideas). Therefore symbols in music are used less than both of the preceding types.

3. Types of Sign-Interpretant Relations (That Is, How Is Sign Perceived)

Of the three possibilities of relations between sign and the resulting interpretant, introduced by Turino in concordance with Peirce, let us discuss two or, precisely, two quantities of such a relation in more detail. The first of these qualities – *rheme* – denotes the perception of the sign as representing an object on the plane of the possible: a melody imitating a shepherd's song, that is, representing "some sort of shepherd's song," should evoke a bucolic mood. Similarly we perceive the earlier-mentioned picture of a château as "possible" or a reference to the time when similar châteaux were "possible" – common.

The quality of a *dicent,* on the contrary, is understood as "real": if a weather vane turns in a certain direction, we are convinced that we know the direction of the wind (and we do not admit that the weather vane could get

rusty). The first quality, that is, allows our own (at least inner) creativity; the second, on the other hand, the understanding of sense and importance. The third quality – argument – has a symbolic character and is based on language premises; Turino (1999: 230) considers it irrelevant for the analysis of musical signs.

How Does Music Actually Work?

Every musical event, whether it be listening to songs on the radio or the complex experience of attending an opera (and, even more, performing in a musical event) offers an enormously rich palette of stimuli. Any note at all, any fragment of a melody, a rhythm or tone color, any word or movement of a performer, and also the place where we hear music and people who listen to it or perform with us can become a sign – a catalyst of psychic response. If we encounter that same phenomenon repeatedly, various meanings snowball in our consciousness (= semantic snowballing) – according to the new situation and a sign resonates in us multilevelly.

The second type of reaction is – besides semantic snowballing – the chaining of our inner reactions: the interpretant itself, caused by a stimulus, immediately becomes a sign and leads our response further – in a similar or in a rather different direction.

In regard to the number of stimuli/signs of various qualities simultaneously memories and ideas, emotions and rational echoes resonate in me; my past (in memories) connects with my present (in an immediate experience) and my future (in ideas). And not only that. The social experience of listening, but, even more, the social performance of music create a strong feeling of belonging: while we can speak in words ABOUT belonging to each other, social music making produces the reality OF belonging to each other.

The Makropulos Case as a Semiotic Experience

After long discussions about semiotics we wanted to test its application as an analytical tool at a concrete musical event. A performance of Janáček's opera The Makropulos Case *at the National Theater seemed opportune: Pavla saw it a few days ago – March 23, 2010; I saw the same production somewhat earlier, at its premiere. It affected both of us strongly. At the same time, our personal histories are as different as they could possibly be.*

An operatic performance evokes an enormous number of emotional and intellectual reactions (besides, is there such a great difference between them?) from the general framing of the performance to feelings we experience during individual musical phrases, colors of sound or gestures – the number of which exceeds the possibility of dealing with them within the frame of an article. In addition, we reflected on the performance only ex post. For both of these reasons we limited ourselves to three basic fields, or, as we are presenting it here, layers, here described from the most ordinary – opera at the National Theater – to a concrete performance of The Makropulos Case.

First we each wrote our texts individually, and only after the first versions were written did we discuss them. Our primary attempt was to capture perception of/reactions to the performance. In order for our communication to be understandable, it was necessary to place it into the context of our personal histories, our thinking, etc.; we definitely did not intend to write an exhaustive commentary on the topic. Therefore for the purposes of this text we did not study any new facts concerning Janáček, The Makropulos Case *or any other below-mentioned topics; we only looked for texts which readers could clearly understand. Once again, we did not write primarily about Janáček, his opera, or the production of this opera at the National Theater; our main purpose was to test the suitability of semiotics as an analytical tool.*

ZJ: While attempting to capture how the performance of Janáček's *The Makropulos Case* in the National Theater affected me, I become aware of several layers. The deepest, most general is a feeling of **opera in the National Theater** that lightly runs through me at every mention of it, but I am generally aware of it at the moment I find myself in that enormous velvet auditorium with its golden chandelier which, it always occurs to me, would deprive Prague of a fourth of its opera fans if it fell. I actually came to music when I was about thirteen through opera; I mainly came to the National Theater, where, at that time, standing room tickets cost a few crowns. I became totally enchanted with that illusionary genre – and world. I knew the whole repertoire of the time and who would be singing in every performance; I knew the librettos of some of the operas by heart and the fate of their heroes touched me personally. Of course I had my favorite singers...

A few years later, however, I was bewitched by Janáček; I discovered that there were other musical genres one could listen to, and that way I came to music of the 20th century. When I began to study the history and theory of

music at the age of 19, I already perceived the world of opera as something difficult to take: cheap and full of pretending, somehow connected to my naive beginnings. In the following decades I went to the opera occasionally (with my husband, an opera buff, my children...), but mostly without much enthusiasm and experience. Only a few years ago did I begin to go to the opera (and to the National Theater) more often... I can stand it pretty well; I'm a bit more indulgent. I no longer consider it as something "real," but rather as a momentary game of illusion, a game I can accept.

And all of that resonates within me in various ways in the auditorium of the National Theater.

PJ: Opera in the National Theater? During my high school years in the late 1970s a lethal combination of coloratura "falsehood" in the "devil's den," as the National became the place where the best Czech artists were forced to condemn Charter 77. (This stain was elegantly wiped out when the *Plastic People of the Universe* accepted the invitation of director Ivan Rajmont to perform there in Tom Stoppard's *Rock 'n' Roll*, 2008.) Moreover, there was a bit of a specific type of commodity fetishism connected with Trade Union opera tickets extended to both the working class and the working class intelligentsia. Thank God for the solace of "another" music, authentic and true: Etc., Švehlík, Merta, Janota, Třešňák and so on. That music was played in smoky pubs, flats and on river boats for long-hair boys and girls with shining eyes. That was genuine free culture, reacting to the situation of an occupied country. In the 1970s that type of music was the most important expression of all, an amplified protest Zeitgeist of guitars and drums.

I eventually got mine with the opera in the National, though. I am 45 years old, taking my students to see Smetana's *Kiss* – and suddenly the whole National Theater opera thing hits me. The libretto, the relationship of Smetana and Krásnohorská, the unpretentiousness of the piece, the smugglers, as well as the intensity of the sound (eighth row) penetrating into my bloodstream through my skin, pressing me down into my red velvet seat. Shortly after my *Kiss* initiation I took the plunge and started to frequent the National. I took a liking to each and every piece, from the *Bartered Bride* to the *Grey Mouse Opera*. So far the deepest impact has been felt in *Jenufa*.

My reality has been radically extended by opera dimensions, both historical and contemporary, as the penultimate music form. Even if I have never witnessed anything close to the sparkling eyes conspiracy and barriers

The Makropulos Case, The National Theatre, Prague. Photo by Hana Smejkalová

dissolving as often happens at a genuine rock concert, I was forced to admit that sold-out screenings of world opera live transmissions in the Světozor and Aero do not necessarily testify that Czechs are incurable snobs.

The seats and the whole theater, including the muse-guarded terrace towards the Prague Castle, have become a part of my world, something that belongs to me, a luxury we all need and deserve. This is the right mythical space to celebrate with champagne rituals after surviving in music battlefields of festival mud, defunct factory halls and stinking rock-club cellars. I pity the Parisians in their burnt out Bouffes du nord. Long live the Czech National!

ZJ: The second layer is **Janáček**. Opera pulled me into the WORLD of music, that is, to that whole complex of events and relations surrounding musical occurrences on the stage. Janáček, concretely his opera *Jenufa* (understandably at the National Theater), showed me the EXPERIENCE OF LISTENING: to how music can pierce the soul – like a shard in a bare heel. I could never get enough of the intensity of that experience. I think I saw *Katya Kabanova* thirty-six times, the *Glagolitic Mass* at almost every reprise in Prague (and, of course,

I have several recordings of it); I wore out vinyl records of his string quartets... By the way, the oddly intensive, stabbing experience of *Jenufa* is one of my arguments against Peirce's concept of a spiritual life as a continuous chaining of references. I knew nothing of Janáček or his music and also, during my first hearing, nothing earlier came to my mind. The music simply affected me itself. That moment was the starting point. From it endless chaining begins. My permanent enchantment is very understandable in the frame of the Peirce-Turino concept. The basic role is played on one hand by my age at the time – when my individual personality was forming – and on the other hand by Janáček's specific musical language. Approximately starting from *Jenufa* Janáček's musical language was based on so-called real motifs,[7] melodic-rhythmic figures, closely and admittedly coming from "speech melodies." Janáček was engaged in collecting speech melodies, that is, musical notations of people's speech for decades and he attributed great weight to them because he considered them to be the maximally true picture of man's internal state of mind.[8] Real motifs are not exact quotations of speech melodies, but they are easily distinguishable within them. In vocal-instrumental works the motifs are also heard in instrumental renditions, but primarily they are sung – and thus work as some sort of excitation – "the way someone really spoke, but even more strongly." In Peirce-Turino terminology they are thus motifs with typical examples of *dicent indices:* this refers to a phenomenon (a word as it would usually be said in a certain emotional situation) on the basis of resemblance, and we perceive it (at least I perceived it that way) as real: yes, this is really true.

Janáček, his music and all available information – I soaked it up from approximately my fifteenth to my nineteenth year, at a time that is usually considered basic for the formation (not only musical) of identity. I do not know about teenagers today, but for me at that time the question of "truth" or maximum integrity was crucial. That is why Janáček's music so easily became one of the cornerstones of my musical identity.

Then for a long time I wandered everywhere possible with music – and in a certain sense I am still wandering to this day. But as soon as I hear a piece of this special, excited, and at the same time as it were, broken Janáček melody,

7 Janáček himself speaks of them in the article "Váha reálních motivů" (Weight of real motifs) (Janáček 2007: 429-433). About their use, viz Štědroň 1986: 90.

8 Most famous and truly heartbreaking are his notations of the last words of his dying daughter Olga; in an emotional article he again introduces and analyzes a few musical motifs of the speech of Jaroslav Vrchlický in Brno 1898. He also discusses them in other texts (Janáček 2003).

so different from the lucid musical phrases of the classics and the unending Wagner melodies, and so close to how I would say those same words myself, I realize: I am finally home again.

PJ: When I think of Janáček, I see a unique and uncompromising man with a lust for life. Strolling through his morphogenetic field I hear sčasovkas, tensions between tonality and atonality, I perceive the psychology of the speech melodies and devotion to Kamila Štösslová. I see a man who transcended borders of his genre as inspiration for the rock super group Emerson Lake and Palmer on their first album in 1970. As a "sampling" pioneer he started to capture bird singing, doors closing, the melody of the dying words of his daughter, thus enlarging the concept of music before John Cage and "all that noise."

In the early 1990s Czech TV screened a Swedish production of *Cunning Little Vixen*, in Lachian dialect with English and Swedish subtitles, which made me realize that that opera was loved by the whole world. What was behind it? What is that frog that jumps into the Gamekeeper's lap at the beginning and at the end a symbol of? Milan Kundera in his essay *My Janáček* (2004) protests any apotheosis in the last "quack." The Cunning Vixen herself is *dicentic* Kamila as well as *rheme* of all free spirited women. This is the same as when Marcel Duchamp renamed himself Rose Sélavy: Eros is life.

I mentioned *Jenufa* as the strongest impression. I relieved the pain shared with friends who were left as babies in orphanages, the cruelty of stigma of some single mothers – even if today's baby box would have made the situation of Kostelnička Buryjovka and Jenufa simpler. Psychoanalytically speaking I read the phantasm of a child loss, represented through the social topic of Gabriela Preissová. Their collaboration brings into mind the creative union of Czech composers with women librettists. On another level, behind the curtain, I saw Kostelnička Eva Urbanová and her parallel story of a diva, the most powerful among women, who is getting old and losing her power. So much to be amazed about.

Another peculiar issue about Janáček is his perseverance, the delayed acknowledgement, and a world one at that. How many people I have met abroad with whom I struck up an instantaneous friendship just uttering his name. In San Francisco, Paris, London, he made people love Czech culture, as if he were a key to its door. Some of them just happened to see a screening of the *Unbearable Lightness of Being*, and Janáček's music reached them, forced them to come to the Czech Lands and discover what it was about us Bohemians.

ZJ: And now concretely to *The Makropulos Case*. In my mind I feel special tension connected to Čapek's philosophical theme (on the whole, coolly rational, as I feel it), the theme of the loss of happiness for the price of immortality, with Janáček's strongly emotional elaboration. In the music I hear exactly what Janáček once wrote, that he "felt sorry for that three-hundred-year-old beauty." My first reaction is primarily rational (how curiously it fits together), but at the same time I feel an empathy toward Elina similar to that of Janáček's.

For this particular performance, that central theme had one more special significance. I was there with my closest friend or, more precisely, closest in many ways, including the amount of time we spend together and how harmonious that time is. But at the same time my friend is painfully distant in our basic feeling about the world. I move about in my world more or less confidently and thus (or, on the contrary, because?) I consider the transient nature of things, even the most beautiful of them, as the other side of the coin of their beauty. In a world where I feel safe I can rely on the fact that the next event will again be – uniquely – beautiful. The world of my friend is unfathomable and unreliable and therefore every beautiful event is not only a source of pleasure, but also of a certain sadness as something disappearing, never to return. And now from the stage, with its authoritative essence, with the authority now reinforced by the distinguished Čapek and my adored Janáček my world speaks. *The Makropulos Case* brings us together (my friend loves this opera) – and argues to my advantage. Janáček is on my side.

PJ: The immediate reading of *The Makropulos Case* led to the topic of immortality as a homage to Kamila Štösslová, a way to be with a beloved person when one cannot live with her. It seems that, when Janáček saw Čapek's play, he must have rejoiced at the iconicity of the femme fatale aspect of Elina. The Zeitgeist of immortalizing the beloved was there: in 1928 Virginia Woolf published her love letter to Vita Sackville-West in the form of a novel about Orlando, who receives the gift of eternal youth from Queen Elisabeth and then travels through centuries changed into a woman, Vita. The semiosis continues with the film version of the story by Sally Potter from 1991, which ends in a contemporary London park. Orlando is sitting under a tree with a book she has written with a hovering angel consoling her, while her daughter is filming it all on a camera. The message is a positive one – "I am the same as I was in Elizabethan times, noble and compassionate." The chain of immortality takes me then to Kundera's novel of the same name, which presents the relationship of

The Makropulos Case, The National Theatre, Prague. Photo by Petra Hajská.

Goethe and young Bettina with the sinister tone of the greed of a parasitical eternal life. Max Brod stopped Janáček from public declaration of his passion for Kamila, thus keeping their relationship on the sublimation level. Kamila gained through Janáček the best kind of immortality, hidden, iconic. True, Janáček had no mercy for the "lethal feminine" aspect, surpassing Čapek by killing Elina right on the stage in front of us, as if saying, I live my passion here and now. The theater program mentions Čapek fearing what the senior Maestro would do with his topic (Blachut 2008: 40), but he was not in a position to protest. Judging from today's view, it is as if Janáček produced a magnificent music video of Čapek's piece, which served them both well.

The second thing that hit me with *The Makropulos Case* was the presentation of Bohemia as a spiritual battlefield of world history. This is in connection with the alchemic project as a philosophical quest that ended in 1621 (in spite of Comenius' attempts to revive it). Ripellino hints at the project, but it took the US psychedelic researcher, ethno-botanist Terence McKenna, to arrive in Prague in 1996 and shoot a documentary on the visit of John Dee, the English

alchemist, known for communication with angels[9], to present it fully. The same acknowledgement was provided by the Czech surrealists who by their participation in the monumental exhibition Rudolphine Prague of 1997 embraced alchemy as their own in the psychoanalytical transmutation of the inner self into "gold."

The question of immortality has acquired a new face today since computer alchemists arrived with their formula named the Internet. Kamila Stösslová multiplied her immortality in the form of a Wikipedia entry.

Both Čapek and Janáček react to the alchemic attempts to approach God negatively. Čapek introduces his play with a polemic with the work of G. B. Shaw's *Back to Methuselah*, also published in 1922, saying the "...thesis of Shaw will be used as a classical case of optimism and the thesis of this book as a hopeless case of pessimism..." (Blachut 2008: 34). Thus, following the semiotic reaction of the archetype of the immortal femme fatale in English and Czech modernists, EM (by these letters I do not mean ethnomusicology, but Elina Makropulos) is a cold zombie, unable to utilize the experience of alchemic transmutation for any purpose, remaining without agency in the same way as when her father used her as a laboratory rat for Rudolph II. The power, which in a feminine form is necessarily represented in the form of an opera diva, follows only her Narcissistic goals. That is unusual for modernism, which as a project aimed at social change. This points out the specific position of both Čapek and Janáček. Čapek's play, however, includes a scene where the men around Elina try to get hold of the longevity recipe for the "good of humanity," only to reveal the greedy interests of all present. That power-drive part of the plot was obliterated by Janáček as superfluous. It is worth noting, though, that Čapek saw his "pessimism" as a public responsibility, as a celebration of the small relative goodness in life, otherwise full of diseases, poverty and drudgery (Blachut 2008: 34). This might sound like a step down from the "world spiritual battlefield," but still ranks the opera as a contribution to the never-ending immortality debate.

9 DVD, The Alchemical Dream, San Francisco: Mystic Fire Production, 2008.

Conclusion

The attempt at this semantic analysis was started by our amazement at how it was possible that two distinctively different personalities – with different temperaments, experience and preferences – were powerfully affected by the same event.

At first we became aware of the *qualisign*: the quality of "opera in the National Theater" with its pertinent attributes – red velvet, grandeur of the building and illusiveness of the setting. Even that abstract sign called out a rich layer of response.

The particular event – a production of Janáček's opera *The Makropulos Case* directed by American Christopher Allen and conducted by Tomáš Hanus[10] (*sinsign*) made Pavla realize the "obvious (in the sense of Kundera – 1967 and Bělohradský – 2010) world repute" (Zuzana experienced it earlier); international production, Prague and her stories, in this instance the alchemical story of longevity, as well as Janáček's music, have become a part of global culture (*legisign*), which is edifying for those of us who were born in this place.

In the areas where we both have long experience (opera in the National Theater), both of us experience snowballing (even understandably with a different content: with Zuzana for instance the change of perception of the sign from the quality of *dicent* to *rheme)*. In places where our lengths of experience differ (especially in relation to Janáček's music), in the case of Zuzana it is snowballing again (understandably: there are things to snowball), whereas with Pavla it is predominantly chaining; moreover in the case of Pavla it is rather chaining of signs, understood in the quality of *rheme* (how she imagines what), whereas Zuzana perceives more the quality of *dicent* (especially in relation to Janáček). This would seem obvious to everyone who knows us: Pavla might be marked as more imaginative and Zuzana as more precise. In the resonance of the topic of immortality we differ even more in regard to our temperaments and views.

There is no doubt that music, resonating on a thousand levels, stimulates a powerful emotional arch. This becomes a catalyst of reactions to what we have experienced as well as what we "only" imagine, a reaction proportionate to who we are. This integrates in us emotion and reason, the possible and the

[10] The production was a co-production with the English National Opera in London, premieres December 18 and 19, 2008.

actual, the past and present, as well as the imaginative future. Moreover, we are connected (at least to a certain degree) with other opera fans: Pavla with her fear of commodity fetishism, Zuzana with the inhabitants of that "cheap world full of pretense." And, more loosely of course, with all lovers of Janáček as well as with those who in some way deal with (im)mortality.

The analysis with the help of Peirce-Turino semiotic tools has also shown us our own perception of music. However, we do not doubt that, even if we had used finer instruments, there would still remain a lot that is unknown and unexpressed. Possibly unknowable and inexpressible.

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From the current issue 51/2010:

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THE BIG-MAN FROM THE "WHITE HOUSE." Negotiating Power in a Slovak Post-Rural Community[1]

Dana Bittnerová, Martin Heřmanský, Hedvika Novotná

Abstract: ***This paper deals with the issue of negotiating power and exerting authority in a contemporary post-rural community. It analyzes various strategies of village representatives by which they build their influence and create obligations among the villagers. At the same time it shows how the village inhabitants deal with incurred moral and economical dependence on village representatives. The issue will be addressed through the lens of the dynamics of the rise and fall of the village's main representative. The big-man theory, proposed by Marshall Sahlins, will be used as the explication framework.***

Keywords: ***rural anthropology; post-socialism; status; power; Southern Slovakia***

When we visited Pálenica for the first time in January 2008, we were astonished by an enthusiastic welcome. A delegation, consisting of the mayor, four councilmen and the head of the mayor's office, arranged an opulent feast in the mayor's house, which is called, as we found out later, the White House. At this feast, we debated details of our cooperation. More precisely, the mayor defined everything that the councilmen and other village inhabitants could and should do for us. It seemed that he possessed unlimited authority. All the councilmen paid utmost attention to his words and only occasionally added minor details of planned activities. We felt almost trapped by the mayor's charisma. His leadership seemed to be natural, his economic success logical, and

1 This paper was supported by grant SVV-2010-261701. A shorter version of this paper was presented at the 1st joint SASA – CASA biennial conference "What is Capitalism and What Comes Next?" September 21-22, 2009, Pezinok, Slovakia.

his general popularity self-evident. At least from an outsider's perspective, he represented an accumulation of all the attributes that someone would need to establish himself at the top of a post-rural community in the post-socialistic countryside.

Since then we have been coming to Pálenica regularly a few times a year. As we proceeded in understanding the local social structures, the reality revealed itself as more colorful and multilayered. Similarly, the story of the village leadership became more dynamic. The question we kept asking was who the mayor of Pálenica actually was.

Theoretical and Methodological Context of the Research

Research of a Central European village has had a long tradition in Czech ethnology (e.g., Chotek 1912, Stránská 1931, Václavík 1930) and also sociology (Galla 1939, Bláha 1937). In the second half of the 20th century other topics started to "compete" with research of the village (beginning urban studies, problems of interethnic relations). Only several outstanding personalities of the Czech science understood Czech, and/or the Czechoslovak village from a modern ethnological or socio-cultural anthropological perspective (e.g., Kandert 1988, Kadeřábková – Polednová – Vaněčková 1976, Švecová 1975, Salzmann – Scheufler 1974). From the 1990s, Czech and Slovak science had definitively divided regarding village qualitative research into the stream of traditional ethnological research tending to a historical perspective, eventually to folklore studies (Slavkovský 2002, Válka 2007, Jančář 2003 etc.), to the stream of purely sociological (rural sociology, e.g., Majerová 2001, 2006) and to the stream of socio-cultural anthropology to which we relate. There are four basic accents that are laid on within the research of the current village: social networks creation (e.g., Kandert 2002, 2004); establishing of collective identities (Grygar 2007), post-socialist transformation (Torsello 2003, Haukanes 2004, Danglová 2006), everydayness in a holistic perspective (Skalník 2004, 2005). All of these accents are connected by an interest in the dynamics of politico-economic changes of the 20th century in relation to the social continuity of rural communities. To keep its continuity and to prevent disintegration, people living in these communities had to repeatedly cope with politico-economic changes (Hann 2007). They again and again had to defend or modify their original shape and function of their own social networks in new politico-economic conditions.

The village Pálenica, in which we carry out our fieldwork, is a small village located in Southern Slovakia. Formerly a rural village that changed into a post-rural village now has about 250 inhabitants. Although some of its inhabitants work in an agriculture enterprise (there are two, one of which belongs to the mayor) and some work in a local industrial enterprise (also belonging to the mayor), almost half of them commute to work to a nearby provincial town. The village's most distinguishable characteristic is its ethnic heterogeneity. Due to post-war political changes, formerly the almost exclusively Hungarian village became a Slovak-Hungarian village, with the contemporary ratio of Slovaks to Hungarians 1:1. Like numerous other small settlements in Slovakia, the village is strongly religious, though not all the villagers attend the local church. All these factors contribute to differentiated socio-economical statuses of the village inhabitants and the plurality of social activities within this community and outside of it.

In this paper we would like to address the constitution and negotiation of power in this local community. By using the example of the rise and fall of the mayor of the village, we would like to show how and by what means he constituted his position in the local community, how and with whom he negotiated it and how his power was manifested in social reality. In the dynamics of this process we will seek moments which contributed to the maintenance or loss of his power.

The term power is generally weakly defined and ambiguous in social science. While in Weberian tradition power and authority are related to the state and institutions, Skalník (1999) distinguishes these two as fundamentally opposed principles. Power is related to the state and its institutions, in contrast to authority, which "is legitimate without the backing of power, and is voluntarily recognized by all people" (Skalník 1999: 162). However we would like to focus on the microperspective to show how the mayor worked himself into his position mostly by his own endeavors. Because of this, we see Marshal Sahlins' (1963) concept of big-man as a useful interpretive framework because it addresses the constitution of power on an individual basis.

The concept of big-man (Sahlins 1963), although originating in Melanesia, was later used in other parts of the world like Africa or the Caribbean to describe the achieved leadership of a man with personal power (Brown 1990). The metaphor of the big-man was even used to interpret the social reality of U.S. senators (Weatherford 1987). The most important "indicative quality of big-man authority (...) is *personal* power. Big men do not come to the office;

they do not succeed to, nor are they installed in, existing positions of leadership over political groups" (Sahlins 1963: 289, italics in orig.). The big-man is a person who manages to gain a recognized prestigious position within a society by his own efforts.

But this model does not distinguish between power and authority; instead it treats them as synonyms (Sahlins 1963). In this regard we perceive power as a disposal of means which enable enforcement of one's will. To describe how the mayor subsequently gained his particular position, we use Pierre Bourdieu's concept of capitals (Bourdieu 1998) as an analytic category. Although we are aware that Bourdieu's theory is a theory of class reproduction and not a theory of rational choice (Bourdieu 1998), his definition of symbolic capital as a creation of successful usage of other capitals allows us to examine individual negotiations on various levels and with various ties. It is exactly symbolic capital that is "capital with a cognitive base, which rests on cognition and recognition" (Bourdieu 1998: 87) and "responds to socially constituted collective expectations..." (Bourdieu 1998: 102).

Our fieldwork has been conducted primarily by means of team *rapid assessment*. *Rapid assessment*, according to Bernard (2002), means a short-time (usually just several-week long) intensive data collecting, focused on a particular research question, followed by an analysis of the gathered data. Combined with a multiplicity of researchers in the research team, repeated short-time stays in the field allowed us to gather a substantial amount of data in a three-year time span while capturing society dynamics. Moreover, it allowed us to analyze the data in between research trips to specify the research questions for the next stay. In our research, we are working on many different issues, using research techniques typical for ethnography: participant observation, informal interviews, document analysis and the genealogical method. The data used in this paper were gathered primarily by means of narrative interviews with the mayor, participant observations, informal and semi-structured interviews with other village inhabitants, personal correspondence and analyses of municipal annals and other official documents. Therefore the paper conveys the perspective of the mayor confronted with perspectives of other village inhabitants interpreted by using the aforementioned theoretical concepts.

Prologue: Social Network in a Post-Rural Community

It is necessary to place the mayor's story of power negotiation into the context of social relations in the locality. It is important to know towards whom and with whom these negotiations have been conducted. In other words, although this text is not primarily focused on social networks, social relations and the context in which these negotiations have been conducted play a significant role. As Grygar (2007), using Granovetter's distinction between strong and weak ties (Granovetter 1973) shows, *"using ties in social networks, including resources in the disposition of people-ties, might be a legitimate tool of upward mobility* (...) *it is the very ability to establish and maintain legitimate weak ties which affects the size of maneuvering space for the realization of political ambitions."* (Grygar 2007: 27, translated by M.H.).

One of the primary aspects affecting the social life in the community is the reproduction of social capital within individual families. In the context of the locality it is even possible to talk about extended families or even lineages. The contemporary village consists in two thirds of descendents of several families (which is traceable not only in genealogies, but also manifests itself in just a few repetitive surnames and quasi-kinship ties of godparents-godchildren). With regard to the history of the locality, they are almost always families of Hungarian origin (regardless of whether all of their contemporary members declare themselves as Hungarians or not). Moreover, Hungarian appears to be the primary language of communication on almost all significant levels, including meetings of the village council.

But we must not omit the Slovak inhabitants of the village either. There are several families who immigrated in the 1930s and 1940s and who consider themselves (and are considered) denizens.[2] Their ties with Hungarian families are evident in the institution of godparents-godchildren and many Slovaks also married into Hungarian families. In these cases it is possible to see the adoption of the social and cultural capital of these families, including the Hungarian language as the language of communication in the locality. Individual Slovak families have been immigrating to the locality in the last fifty years, though. It seems that these families stay on the margins of village social structures even though the previous mayor originated from their milieu. He was their mayor for two terms in office; however after his

2 By denizens we mean people living in the area for several generations.

loss in the last communal elections, he moved away. That is why he cut off most of his connections and literally vanished from the minds of the village inhabitants. Because of this we were unable to reconstruct his position in the village context.

Those families who possess "traditional" (inherited or restituted) economic capital play a dominant role in constituting current norms. As we will show below, direct descendants of former Hungarian "kulaks" play an important role in various decision-making processes. Only five denizen families have this extensive inherited or restituted property at their disposal.[3] Their influence is evident at least in their involvement in local economic ties. Even though virtually nobody engages in agriculture as his primary source of income today (there are two agricultural enterprises in the village), no one wants to renounce his family property. In this context it is important to whom one will rent his land or whom one will ask to plough the small plot of ground adjacent to his house (in addition to farm machinery from aforementioned agricultural enterprises, there are three tractors in the village). It is also possible to see this economic capital manifest itself in the lumber cooperative (*urbárska spoločnosť*) and in the position of an individual in its hierarchy.

Beside this strong denizen stratum it is necessary to count in the gradually evolving new economic elite. No matter whether denizens or immigrants, in addition to real property (especially a house, which is considered more kind of matter-of-course) these families also possess finances with which they try to manifest their status (cars, modern technology, modern house designs, education of children, employment of a whole family etc.). They are often small businessmen who are able to get loose from "traditional" ties and norms because of their economic independence.

On the contrary to this stratum which possess economic capital, there are (again no matter whether denizens or immigrants) "the poor," which means the usually unemployed, unpropertied persons (often living in local apartment houses), often members of a "pub clique." This stratum is dependent on job offers in the locality. Even though the village lies only 10 km. from the administrative center of region, local unemployed people are not mobile enough to make use of job offers in the nearby area.

Another level of social ties is represented by owners of cultural capital. These are especially members of the church council and people who are related

[3] There are some other families with extensive property in the village, but they do not live there.

to them. 97% of the villagers are Roman Catholics.[4] Although Pálenica is not an independent parish, there is a church there in which church services take place two or three times a week. The church is also the visual and symbolic dominant feature of the village. Care of it including its funding is in the hands of the church council. The church council consists above all of members of denizen families and it is the network evolving around the church council that dictates to a great extent the moral rules of the village. The priest stands somehow paradoxically on the outside of these structures, not only because the presbytery is located in a neighboring village, but especially because he refused to accept the local means of communication – the Hungarian language. An aversion to the priest was at least declared the reason why some of the locals attend church services in the nearby town or do not attend church services regularly. But even these people admit the significance of having a church in the village, including the necessity of a church council. Other bearers of cultural capital are individuals only. They either achieved higher education (the teacher, the medical doctor) or they have been successful in their jobs (the bank clerk).

To summarize this somehow schematized description, we would like to formulate a few key factors that have an important impact on the social life in the village. It seems that two of the most important factors are the denizens' status and "traditional" economic capital. The stronger this social and economic capital is, the more probable and the stronger the cultural capital is. These aspects are to some extent substitutable by personal endeavor, but even in the case of putative solitary individuals these aspects play an important role. Nevertheless it is necessary to keep in mind that all the village inhabitants are electors and that the mayor in Slovakia is elected directly. It is thus essential to negotiate not only with people possessing prestige, but also with marginalized groups that lack power.

The Story of Mr. Whitehouse – Chapter I: "Economic Pursuit"

The life story of the mayor, let's call him Mr. Whitehouse (after the name that village inhabitants gave to his estate), can be traced in four dimensions as a story of achieving economic, social, symbolic, and cultural capital. At the beginning there were no signs indicating his later life success. He comes from a family of Hungarian denizens who in the first half of the 20th century

4 Census 2001. Internal document of the village council.

belonged to the middle class of the rural inhabitants of the village Pálenica. Owing to political and economic changes of the second half of the 20th century, which led to the departure of most of the families with the highest status, his family became more socially respected. But over time members of Mr. Whitehouse's extended family moved away and, at the beginning of the 1990s, only his parents remained there. Although he comes from a family of Hungarian denizens, his social relations in the locality were limited. *"He was really a shy boy. He didn't go out much. He wasn't liked much by others."*[5] After his wedding (1987), he even moved out of the village for 13 years, an act which weakened even more his social capital related to the community.

Despite the absence of cultural capital, he was not interested in increasing his education. His mother said: „We were happy, that he had finished school. He did not want to stay there. And even though we repeated to him that he had the brains to achieve it, it did not work. He was eager to earn a living as soon as possible. Education meant nothing to him. The girls were a different story..."[6] After he got a certificate as a painter-decorator, he started to work as one. In socialist Czechoslovakia, neither he nor his family possessed significant economic capital. But Mr. Whitehouse longed for economic success. In 1988, with the declaration of the Provision of Services Act,[7] he immediately started his business in the building industry. After 1989, he made use of the opportunity of restitutions and supported his father in the decision to become a private farmer again. He also returned to the village through other economic activities and in 1991 he became chairman of a lumber cooperative (*urbárska spoločnost*). In 1994, he started a new machine-industry company as one of its shareholders. In 2000 he managed to secure all of the partners' shares in the enterprise and became its sole owner. One year later he used the assets from the bankruptcy of the former Standard Farming Cooperative (JRD) in Pálenica and moved the operations of his business to its buildings. At the same time he founded his own agriculture enterprise. He also confirmed his interest in carrying on business in the village of his birth by systematic pur-

5 Mrs. Weeddow, 69 years old, denizen, Hungarian; fieldnotes June 8, 2009.

6 Mrs. Whitehouse, mother of Mr. Whitehouse, 68 years old, denizen, Hungarian; interview September 26, 2008.

7 Sb. z. ČSSR, ČR/SR 1988 částka 1, 2/1988: Nariadenie vlády Slovenskej socialistickej republiky o predaji tovaru a poskytovaní iných služieb občanmi na základe povolenia národného výboru z 26. novembra 1987. Available at: http://web.mvcr.cz/archiv2008/sbirka/1988/sb01-88.pdf [accessed August 10, 2009].

chases of farmland and timberland. Ownership of property then logically led him to the decision to start to live in the village. By this means, he established himself again in the social and economic structures of the village.

The Story of Mr. Whitehouse – Chapter II: "Making Friends"

At the beginning of the 21st century, Mr. Whitehouse returned to the village of his birth. To some extent he used his social capital, gained in the period when he lived in the town, to establish himself in the village (e.g., his good connections to the police). But we prefer to address his negotiations of his position in the village. When Mr. Whitehouse returned to the village, he had relatively high economic capital at his disposal, which enabled him, when he later became a big-man, to employ potlatch strategies. Nevertheless, economic capital alone seems to be quite a burden in Pálenica. The concept of granting prestige on the basis of buying up former socialist property could not be found among the village inhabitants. On the contrary, there was a persisting practice based on the opinion that to steal from large properties is socially acceptable. Also, the unexpected economic success of Mr. Whitehouse was treated with suspicion of its legality. Therefore, Mr. Whitehouse was forced to cope with continuous pilferage of former Standard Farming Cooperative (JRD) property, now in his possession, and also with obstructions on the part of the municipal authority in gaining permissions for construction of buildings and purchase of land. To reinforce his authority as a businessman, Mr. Whitehouse had to choose between two alternatives: to reinforce his position to make his economic activities more accepted by the village people or to enforce legitimacy of his business plans through judicial and executive power.

Mr. Whitehouse chose the first way, "*to come to an agreement with the people*," to enter the social networks of the village and to explain the importance of his business for both the village and its inhabitants. While making friendship ties and strengthening neighbor ties, he was very emphatic. *"I am able to come to an agreement with anybody, even with people way below my level... but it is important to get to know them."*[8] It is possible to say that Mr. Whitehouse was really good in distinguishing various social groups within the locality and he defined himself the way he thought these groups would expect. In the first place, he presented himself as a denizen and Hungarian in response

[8] Mr. Whitehouse, 42 years old, denizen, Hungarian; narrative interview April 29, 2008.

to the importance of these concepts in the local culture. He was also a member of the new post-socialist economic elite in the village, which enabled him to align himself with other groups in the village. Even in this position he directed attention to family tradition: *"My family was the first that took the land back from cooperative property and became farmers as my grandfathers were.*"[9]

At the same time he let the people know that he really cared about the village. *"I wanted (...) to continue what I experienced in my childhood. When I was a kid, the village was growing. And then I saw just decline and I didn't want to look at it."* [10]

These strategies were used not only with the aim of maintaining his economic situation but also with the aim of strengthening it. The reason is that economic capital is just the initial capital needed to establish a big-man. Melanesian big-man creates his name by "amassing goods, most often pigs, shell monies and vegetable foods, and distributing them in ways which build a name for cavalier generosity, if not for compassion" (Sahlins 1963: 291). Nevertheless, social capital is fundamental, because "[t]he making of the faction (...) is the true making of the Melanesian big-man. It is essential to establish relations of loyalty and obligation on the part of a number of people such that their production can be mobilized for renown building external distribution." (Sahlins 1963: 291). Mr. Whitehouse used the same strategies which Melanesian big-men use. He gained the loyalty of Pálenica inhabitants "by calculated generosities, by placing others in gratitude and obligation through helping them in some big way" (Sahlins 1963: 292).

To begin with, he tried to enlist villagers for his business, *"*[to] *persuade them, that if I got* [money]*, they would have* [it] *too.*"[11] To use them for his own goals, Mr. Whitehouse utilized three ways to make the villagers obligated to him: relationship of employer and employee, relationship of lessor and renter of land, and relationship of buyer and seller of land and estates.

The relationship of lessor and buyer was always formed with denizen families using mutual trust between these families and that of Mr. Whitehouse. A denizen rents or sells the land to someone whom he personally knows and whom he trusts because of having a similar background and relation to the land, rather then to someone else. The sale was usually preferred by families with smaller portions of land that did not have their identity significantly based

9 Mr. Whitehouse, 42 years old, denizen, Hungarian; narrative interview April 28, 2008.
10 Mr. Whitehouse, 42 years old, denizen, Hungarian; narrative interview April 28, 2008.
11 Mr. Whitehouse, 42 years old, denizen, Hungarian; narrative interview April 29, 2008.

on land ownership. Among families that were in the past owners of larger portions of land, the concept of land ownership is still important. Because of it, they are not willing to sell the land and while unable to farm it themselves, they tend to rent it. This does not apply only in the case of loss of trust, whether between families or between individuals. In this case these economic ties cannot form on any condition.

The relationship of lessor and renter also creates a kind of obligation on the part of the lessor, in our case Mr. Whitehouse. He does not want to admit that he could fail in the role of the lessor, so he subordinates other economic strategies to fulfill this role. "*In contrast to Baris,*[12] *he* [Mr. Whitehouse] *always pays. Even if he is not making money. I don't know where he gets the money from, but he always somehow pays us* [his rent]*."*[13]

This strategy on the one hand can be perpetuated by an endeavor to keep the trust and loyalty of persons to whom he is tied by these obligations. On the other hand it might be a way to retain the prestige of a trustworthy and successful businessman.

Considering the relationship of employer and employee, at first Mr. Whitehouse also aimed his attention at denizen families. In this respect he was the one who needed to trust his potential employee. As his business grew, he also started to employ people from other social groups. He addressed especially "the poor," people without economic capital. He interprets this change as a help to the indigent. "*Everyone who needs* [a job] *can come. I will give him a job."*[14]

It created long-term obligations on both sides. The fact that someone was given employment in a company of Mr. Whitehouse was positively valued as a confirmation of closeness to and trust on the part of Mr. Whitehouse. At the same time it also changed or rather bound means of mutual communication in other contexts. For example one of his employees, who also happens to be the sextoness in the local church, stated: *"He still was not sending money for the church. If it was not him* [Mr. Whitehouse]*, I would have it out with him. But in this case I had to be careful."*[15]

It created a distance between Mr. Whitehouse and the rest of the village. This distance was clearly related to fact that Mr. Whitehouse had not entrusted

12 Rival agricultural enterprise operating in the village.

13 Mrs. Salesleddy, 47 years old, denizen, Hungarian, currently living in nearby city; fieldnotes February 17, 2010.

14 Mr. Whitehouse, 42 years old, denizen, Hungarian; fieldnotes April 28, 2008.

15 Mrs. Secktonns, 33 years old, denizen, Hungarian; fieldnotes September 27, 2008.

any of the village inhabitants with an executive position in his firm. He chose his colleagues exclusively from outside of the local community.

But it would be unfair to say that Mr. Whitehouse built his social relations primarily in the context of his business, on a business relationship. He had several friends in the village. It is important to add that most of these friends belonged to the cream of the village society; they might be even perceived as prominent persons of prestigious social groups. But also in dealing with them he used two strategies to make them obligated to him. The first was offering them employment in some of his enterprises. *"I was thinking about quitting* [my job] *many times. And he* [Mr. Whitehouse] *told me: 'What kind of luck are you looking for there? Work for me. I will give you a job right away.'"*[16] No matter whether these offers were accepted or not, they were perceived as a principal part of building mutual friendship. The second strategy used by Mr. Whitehouse to confirm friendship relations was providing a place for holding private parties on his estate, the White House. Private parties (on the occasion of a marriage, a christening, a confirmation, a funeral, a birthday or a name-day) are perceived in the village context as important social events and their attendance is carefully monitored. The guests are invited on the basis of three relationships: kinship, friendship and prestige-confirming relations. Prestige-confirming relations were in the center of Mr. Whitehouse's interest. He was invited to attend these parties, at least because he was the one who enabled the people to hold these parties. In this way, he was able to strengthen ties with people he regarded as influential. Even though he designated them as friends, he valued their prestigious position in the village more than friendship ties and used them instrumentally to boost his own prestige.

However, there were also people in the village who resisted getting involved in Mr. Whitehouse's social networks. As he comments: *"I was forced to show them... by, you know, some non-traditional, quasi-illegal means, that this is my property and that I won't let them steal from me."*[17] Thus intimidation was one of other strategies to gain the loyalty of the village inhabitants.

Despite all these efforts, there remained some individuals in the village who resisted all of Mr. Whitehouse's attempts to make them obligated to him. These were on the one hand people who did not participate in village social

16 Mrs. Banclerc, 50 years old, denizen, Hungarian, friend of Mr. Whitehouse; fieldnotes September 23, 2008.

17 Mr. Whitehouse, 42 years old, denizen, Hungarian; narrative interview April 28, 2008.

life or were even in direct opposition to it. They were recruited from the ranks of the socially marginalized, but some families of Slovak immigrants were also among them. On the other hand there were people who were direct opponents or even rivals of Mr. Whitehouse. Among them was also the previous mayor, who in addition complicated Mr. Whitehouse's endeavor to strengthen and extend his economic interests. As Mr. Whitehouse said: *"The Mayor had the only handicap; he wasn't able to come to an agreement with me. He had a billion reasons not to meet my wishes."* [18] And that was the one and maybe the initial reason why Mr. Whitehouse did not content himself with economic power but decided to support it with political power. He ran for the office of mayor. He used his social capital, based mainly on his economic capital, and due to it he won the direct election (though by four votes only).

It may look as though we come to a contradiction with the fact that Mr. Whitehouse gained the status of mayor, an official office. Nevertheless, as we might have seen just a while ago, the power of Mr. Whitehouse did not originate in the mayoral status, but the acquisition of the mayoral status was just one of his strategies on his way to gaining power.

The Story of Mr. Whitehouse – Chapter III: "In the Light of Success"

In 2006, the economic, political and to a great extent social capital of the village was concentrated in the hands of Mr. Whitehouse. Since that very moment, he has been using all of this resources to confirm and reconstitute his exceptional position within the village.

But power gained by big-man might not last forever. To keep his status recognized and to be respected accordingly, Melanesian big-man "must be prepared to demonstrate that he possesses the kind of skills that command respect" (Sahlins 1963: 291). Mr. Whitehouse needed to do so also. He has used the economic and social capital and political power which had concentrated in his hands to confirm and reconstitute his exceptional position in the village, his symbolic capital.

As mayor, he does not want to execute the role of a clerk himself but he leaves the agenda of the office in the hands of a highly competent clerk, the head of the office. But the villagers mostly take their mayor for a clerk. Thus

[18] Mr. Whitehouse, 42 years old, denizen, Hungarian; narrative interview April 29, 2008.

this decision contradicted the presentations of Mr. Whitehouse as the only one with denizen roots who can do something to enhance the village. For this crucial position he instead hired a person who was in no way bound to the village and didn't aspire to be so. This step was perceived negatively throughout the village, throughout all the social groups. What people did not seen was that Mr. Whitehouse resolutely insisted upon being informed. By making all the decisions himself he ensured that he still retained everything under his control. He treated the village councilmen in the same way as he treated the head of the office. He did not accept their suggestions, but gave them tasks. He treated their function as an executive, not a decision-making one.

He did not just retain his aforementioned "quasi-illegal means," initially a specific kind of loyalty insurance, but he even extended them and transformed them into a system of a village security service. He used a system of TV cameras to monitor the movement of people in the village surroundings. *"I know the goings-on in the village. If someone shows up, they* [the security service] *immediately tell me*."[19]

His policy towards the village inhabitants can be characterized as a policy of sugar and whip. *"There are some people who had some problems* [with the law]. *There was one man whom I gave a job to, but he didn't appreciate that and soon left* [the job]. *After some time, he had some troubles with law. I put up bail for him and took him back to work, but it wasn't on the same terms* [as his previous job]. *You have to teach the people*."[20] But this attitude wasn't reserved for employees only. He treated all social groups the same way – e. g., he could contract small businessmen or deny them a contract.

He demanded that people behave according to his norms – he rejected drunkards, criminals and disloyal people. He also applied these manipulations to the employer-employee relationship, eventually by refusing sub-deliveries from small businessmen.

But as a result of this kind of modern serfdom, the social capital of Mr. Whitehouse weakened. Mr. Whitehouse thus balanced the authoritativeness and control over the village inhabitants by investing in the village, thus employing aforementioned potlatch strategies. He freely granted his economic capital to ensure the functioning of the village. He sent his employees and his machinery to work in the village (e.g., snowplough in winter, repair of roof of

19 Mr. Whitehouse, 42 years old, denizen, Hungarian; fieldnotes May 2, 2008

20 Mr. Whitehouse, 42 years old, denizen, Hungarian; narrative interview April 4, 2008.

the village cultural center). He also financed social activities of the community (e.g., he donated wild boar meat and wine for village celebrations; his son acted as a DJ on these occasions). While doing this, Mr. Whitehouse was well aware of the financial expensiveness of his mayoralty. "*Everybody thinks that when I have* [money]*, I can give* [it for these celebrations]." [21]

The Story of Mr. Whitehouse – Chapter IV: "How to Stay in the Light"

It is possible to look at all the strategies of Mr. Whitehouse, including the gain of mayoral status as an accumulation of power. He did exactly the same as "what the big-man is doing: amassing a 'fund of power'." (Sahlins 1963: 292). Melanesian big-man had to possess personal qualities like "magical powers, gardening prowess, mastery of oratory style, perhaps bravery in war and feud" (Sahlins 1963: 291). Mr. Whitehouse also had to prove that he possessed values appreciated by the Slovak post-rural community. He was well aware that his prestige could not be based only on economic success, social relations, and political function.

He knew well that it is of the greatest importance to show to the community that he has the know-how valued by them. He had to start visualizing certain aspects of culture to create his style, his own image corresponding with his goals, which at the same time had to be understandable by the village inhabitants. He had to find symbolic manifestations by which he could persuade people about his qualities. In general he used the following strategies:

1. Verbal discourse was used to ensure the positive image of Mr. Whitehouse, based on positive as well as negative propaganda. He told stories in which he portrayed himself using three interlinked images. (1) The first image was of a man who led the village out of economic and moral poverty. It was the story of the decline of the village, of neighbors who did not trust each other and who stole property from each other, of the nonexistence of moral rules, of poverty and crime even among kin. This story was used as a challenge and argument why he had to save the village by becoming mayor. He succeeded in distributing

21 Mr. Whitehouse, 42 years old, denizen, Hungarian; fieldnotes May 1, 2008.

this story so far that people loyal to him adopted this story and further reproduced it. (2) The second image was of a man predestined for leadership and a successful leader. He told the story of his grandfather, who had been a village mayor before the Second World War. He found pleasure in comparing himself to his grandfather. By doing this, he explicitly listed his own personal qualities, like being enterprising, having moral authority, being wise and being mayor. (3) Last but not least was the image of a founder of a successful dynasty. This story aimed at distributing an idea of promotion of his family, of creating a tradition of fame and prosperity which would be carried further by his oldest son. *"My son, he is just like me. He will carry the family banner."* [22]

2. Mr. Whitehouse maintained a different image from the other village inhabitants. He consistently presented the image of a successful politician and businessman. He has the biggest house in the village (called the White House by other people) and the best car. He wears either a suit or a hunting outfit. In a village ruled by Catholic morality he portrayed himself as a devout Catholic. And he successfully concealed the fact that apart from his wife he also had mistresses. By doing this, he demonstrated his distance from the other villagers. He manifested that it was he who was able to do such things.

3. His manifested image also consisted of a declaration and defense of Hungarianism in the area of South Slovakia that was becoming more and more Slovakized. By this he conformed to the Hungarians, i.e., denizens.

4. He also posed as a specialist and expert. He pretended to be competent to address anything and everything: from village history, traditions and condition of minorities in the Slovak Republic to the European Union agenda, economy, and management. To prevent questioning his competence, he has openly emphasized that to gain know-how, one does not need to study; it can be gained only by experience.

5. He was an organizer, an active participant, and above all a representative of social events in the village life, both public and private. He was also the leading figure of sightseeing trips to Hungary, which he organized as well. Moreover he innovated some of these events to make them more spectacular (e.g., by fireworks or erecting a maypole) in order to amplify his importance. These innovations were also often financed from his personal sources.

6. He tried to increase the number of village inhabitants loyal to him by, e.g., luring people from the town or other villages and to make his activities

22 Mr. Whitehouse, 42 years old, denizen, Hungarian; narrative interview April 29, 2008.

in the village visible. He provided services and investments which were visible to people in the community (renewal of a shop, repair of an office's roof, lightening of a local church, reconstruction of a playground, rebuilding a bus stop, installation of garbage cans, etc.)

7. Mr. Whitehouse also had to cope with his competitors, who possessed cultural capital valued by the villagers and who were not influenced by his economic and social capital. He had already coped with the former mayor. His main opponents became the priest and an enthusiast of local history. Mr. Whitehouse chose to dishonor these men. He defined them as incompetent and started to ignore them. Mr. Whitehouse tried to substitute their knowledge and social functions by attending mass in the town so that he did not need to use the service of the village priest and by using university researchers (which was our role in this story).

These strategies were in principle used with two aims. On the one hand Mr. Whitehouse used them to create or strengthen loyalty, either of a certain social group or of the whole village. On the other hand he used some of these strategies for a systematic creation of distance from the other villagers, to manifest his superiority to them. As we might have seen, it was the determination of Mr. Whitehouse that enabled him to gain power and to reinforce it systematically. Like among Melanesian big-men, "[t]he attainment of big-man status is rather the outcome of a series of acts which elevate a person above the common herd and attract about him a coterie of loyal, lesser man." (Sahlins 1963: 289).

The Story of Mr. Whitehouse – Chapter V: "Big-Man's Fall"

But as was mentioned earlier, the position of big-man is not unshakable. Big-man is not a political title which grants power to his bearer (at least for his term of office). It is more an "acknowledged standing in personal relations" (Sahlins 1963: 289). Because of its dependence on the strength of the created social network and maintaining personal relations "personal loyalty has to be made and continually reinforced; if there is discontent it may well be severed." (Sahlins 1963: 292). Recently Mr. Whitehouse ceased to fulfill his obligations to his coterie of loyal men. Because of this, he is criticized by the local community. He avoids any confrontation and it seems that he is losing his power.

There was tension in Mr. Whitehouse's social network even when he was at the peak of his power. Though he did not show it in public, he resented one

level of his exceptional position in the social networks of the village: he felt hurt when he was told the unpleasant truth by people who tried to restrain his influence. He was able to act against them from the position of power granted by his office. Needless to say, because of his unpopularity, he felt uncomfortable. But at the time he knew that even these "rebels" depended on him and they would bow down before him. A crucial change was brought about by an economic crisis in the second half of 2008. Mr. Whitehouse lost some of his contracts and changed his business plan. He massively reduced the staff in his firm. Although for a long time he resisted dropping villagers, at the end he was forced to do so. Since then he has been employing only a few village inhabitants. Because of this decline, he also dismissed the village security service.

The fact that people in the village were not economically dependent on Mr. Whitehouse was a real problem for him. Not only did it lessen his social prestige, but it also worsened his possibilities to manipulate the village inhabitants and to keep them within the borders he delineated for them.

The change of business strategy and loss of loyalties on the basis of employment and power relations connected to it did not have to mean resignation to social relations and positions in the social networks. Mr. Whitehouse was still the mayor and could utilize this potential. Nevertheless he himself probably did not see the sense in doing this. The manifestation of power executed through the manipulation of people was fundamental to Mr. Whitehouse. At the moment he was losing it he abandoned everything related to the symbolic capital which he gained as mayor.

He lost interest in acting as mayor in public. He ceased to personally organize local social events. He also neglected his friendship ties with village inhabitants. He even changed his rhetoric: instead of "WE" he started to use "I."

This strategy logically underlined his fall. Not only did he not offer employment to village inhabitants, but he also did not even fulfill their expectations as an organizer and representative of the local community. The fact that he was forced to engage in manual labor in his firm and that he had to wear dungarees just confirmed that he had lost the status of big-man. *"The harvest is under way and you-know-who* [Mr. Whitehouse] *has to actively participate in it because, as he sacked Mr. Teemstar, he has to distribute gasoline to tractors and harvesters himself."*[23] In the local community, he has started to be perceived as a man who failed.

[23] Mrs. Banclerc, 51 years old, denizen, Hungarian, friend of Mr. Whitehouse; personal correspondence Pálenica – Prague July 25, 2009.

Epilogue

In the Story of Mr. Whitehouse we tried to show how a Central European businessman living in a post-socialist village uses the same strategies of negotiation and constitution of power as the Melanesian big-man. Partly consciously, partly intuitively, Mr. Whitehouse used strategies that for a time let him have a range of capitals, which constitute symbolic capital, at his disposal. His rise, his quest for power, was long and slow, while his fall was sudden and quick.

But in respect to all of this, it is important to notice one fundamental thing. It is not the mayor's office that turns a man into a big-man. It is just the opposite. Mr. Whitehouse became mayor because he was a big-man. To be able to exert his power openly and in public, he was forced to legitimize it by means of a formal office, which corresponds to the concept of Central European culture. He fulfilled characteristics of big-man somehow unwittingly without the support of such a concept in his own culture. To some extent, it was Mr. Whitehouse's endeavor to gain material wealth that brought this role into existence and thus made a Central European businessman a big-man.

The fall of Mr. Whitehouse is more symbolic than real. From the economic point of view, he is still the biggest farmer in the village and remains a person with the will and courage to run a business. But in many other ways he just turned away from the community. Now he pursues his own way to extend his material wealth. But the people in the community still pay attention to his actions, maybe surprisingly or maybe logically. They still pay attention to the White House, which they named in the days of the power peak of their "leader," their "master," their big-man.

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Social Studies is a scholarly reviewed journal published by Faculty of Social Studies, Masaryk University.

The aim of the magazine is to make available new insights and themes within the social research studies and the humanities.

Individual issues are monothematic focus, however, give space and high-quality contributions that do not apply to the current subject heading.

Social studies are published quarterly.

RITUAL COMPADRAZGO AS AN INSTRUMENT OF INTERETHNIC AND SOCIAL ADAPTATION AMONG THE RARÁMURI IN NORTHWESTERN MEXICO AND ITS POSSIBLE CORRELATIONS TO LOCAL POLITICAL EVENTS

Marek Halbich

Abstract: ***This paper pursues, on the basis of some field-works among the Rarámuri Indians and the mestizos in northwestern Mexico, namely in the ejido Munerachi and the small Mexican towns Batopilas and Creel, three principal aims: first, it generally outlines the concept of the Mexican ejido; second, it focuses on the application of the theoretical concept* ritual (fictive) compadrazgo *of the North-American anthropologists Eric Wolf and Sidney Mintz in Lower and Upper Tarahumara in the Indian and the mestizo communities; and, third, it tries to find some possible correlations of the ritual compadrazgo to local political events.***

Keywords: ***Rarámuri; northwestern Mexico; ritual compadrazgo; ejido; social adaptation***

1. Introduction

This study is the final stage of our ethnographic research among the north Mexican Rarámuri. Research was conducted in the communities located mostly in the part of the Sierra Tarahumara that can be considered nuclear due to greater ecological, demographic and general anthropologic differentiations – i.e., it is an area where the ethnicity of the Rarámuri and their resistance to modernity and mestizo society is stronger than in neighboring communities. The aim of this study was to show what changes have occurred in the lives of the Rarámuri since the Mexican Revolution, when Mexico was parceled out into thousands of socio-economic-political units called *ejidos*. Hundreds of thousands of native people from every ethnic groups of Mexico were incorporated into ejidos.

Our questions are: How did the Rarámuri, who live in the territory of ejido Munerachi,[1] adapt to these new *ex offo* conditions? What are the mechanisms affecting this adaptation? Can the incorporation of this particular intra-ethnic community lead to irreversible cultural and social shifts, or do the inhabitants develop adaptive institutions which successfully prevent deeper changes in their lives? Is ejido Munerachi a closed set of dispersive communities, a type of *closed corporate (peasant) community*,[2] where there is no significant movement of its inhabitants and no deeper structural changes, or is it (despite its isolation) a dynamic community, based on principles of solidarity and contact with the outside world? In addition, the study attempts to define, or least characterize in detail, the (intra)-ethnic identity of Munerachi Rarámuri and the way they define themselves in contrast to other Rarámuri, against the representatives of the municipal power in Batopilas and in relation to mestizos, creoles, whites and other native groups with which they interact. Finally, this study is also interested in whether there exists at least a minimal vertical social hierarchy in this seemingly egalitarian community, as some sociologists (including Rodolfo Stavenhagen) suppose. One of the essential questions in this area can be formulated in the following way: Has the community inside ejido Munerachi reached the phase in which some of its members have gained certain advantages that have moved them to social, economic, and political dominance over other members of this small community? Apart from the official political structures of the ejido, can parallel structures develop? These structures might be more or less latent, but *de facto,* they may have a greater influence on the social and political control in at least part of this community.

1 Ejido Munerachi is situated in the district Batopilas, about seventeen kilometers north of Batopilas town in the south of the federal state Chihuahua in the region called Sierra Tarahumara. The population of the whole ejido was approximately in 2001 1350 inhabitants who lived in about thirty relatively independent communities in the area about 250-300 km².

2 Eric Wolf (1955, 1956, 1957, 1966, 1986), and Robert Netting (1996), and other social scientists occupied by this type of communities are present particularly in the agrarian pre-modern as well as the complex societies. They are concerned with the type of egalitarian communities where the membership is allowed only to those who were born and educated within the territory of their own society. Such limitations can be further reinforced by forced weddings in this community. It is the whole community rather than one person who is a landowner and no individual person may negotiate the shared community land, mortgage it or misappropriate it in any way for the benefit of foreigners. Thus corporate communities represent mechanisms through which they balance out the differences among the members of these communities: either by reallotment of land – e.g., the Russian *mir*, near eastern community *musha'a* or on the basis of the legalization of exploitation of surplus funds during the local ceremonies such as in Mesoamerica, Andes or in Central Java in the past (cf. Wolf 1955: 452-471, 1956: 1065-1078, 1957: 7-12, 1966: 85-86, 1986: 325-329; Netting 1996: 220-221).

In the course of the field research in the territory of ejido Munerachi, it was necessary to undergo a one-day trip to the municipal center (Batopilas) when one of the Rarámuri fell ill and medicine was needed. We also did it for research reasons, however. Nearly every Rarámuri we met belonged to the group of the baptized (*pagótame*)[3] Indians and were part of the institution called *compadrazgo* or *patronazgo,* which will be dealt with in this study. A meeting between a baptized Rarámuri man and his *padrino* (godfather) is a rather important event in the day-to-day life of a *ahijado* (godchild). Thus, we could not miss the opportunity to be present at several of these meetings and observe their conversations.

During our field research, we used the method of *involved observation*, often with active participation in local sacral and secular fiestas, community works and educational development as well as in a number of common, every-day activities (including recreational activities, collective games, swimming in the river, summoning children at the dormitory before lights-out, etc.). We combined these with *spontaneous* and *partly structured dialogues* that were an inseparable part of all the events in which we participated. Conversations with our main contacts almost always took place in Spanish. However, conversations with occasional respondents also took place in Rarámuri (approximately 10-20%), which is the language of the native inhabitants of the ejido. One important contact was our long-time friend Romayne Wheeler, who has lived in the territory of ejido Munerachi since the middle of the nineteen-eighties and knows all the aspects of Rarámuri life.

2. The Ejido: a General Concept

The *ejido* has its roots in the Latin words *exire* (go out, come out) and *exitus* (exit). It was originally used to mark the clear border or exit ("ejido") between the inner, fortified core of the late medieval town (though in some cases this lasted up to the first half of the 19th century) and the part of the city that was located behind the walls. Hence, the original meaning was quite narrow as it described a series of gates built within a town's fortification. They were cells which helped to strengthen the closeness and safety of the old city core against the growing population coming from outside.

3 Also *pagótuame*, *pagótukame* – first derived from *pagoma* či *pakoma* = "wash, wash up." The significance of the term *pagó* changed to "baptize" later on arrival of missionaries (cf. Brambila 1980: 421).

The genesis of a Mexican or Latin-American ejido[4] is quite different from the European concept. The European concept is connected with urban environment or understood as the *border area* between a town and the country. On the other side of the Atlantic Ocean, in the Spanish colonies, the development of an ejido is usually connected to rural areas, even though initially town land was also concerned in the colonies. In the later post-colonial era and other phases of modern Mexican development, existence of original and future ejido land was closely connected to the problems of agrarian reform which have yet to be solved. In Mexico, the roots of the modern system of ejido can be traced in post-classic Mesoamerica, especially in the Aztec "empire," where the highest speaker of the clan, a *tlatoani,* assigned land to each community, not to individuals. And yet, not even then was it a pure type of community ownership (called *calpulli* by the Aztecs) but instead it was a collective form of ownership with individual usage of parcels of land, located in the *altepletlalli* (village land). Apart from the communal (common) land, each family of a calpulli received a smaller plot to use. If the land was permanently cultivated, ownership of this plot was hereditary. If the land lay fallow for two years, the family lost it and the land was transferred back to the ownership of all the members of the respective calpulli. This system of communal ownership (which was not the only one among the Aztecs as there were also plots that were directly controlled by the state and the emblements from it were used by the tlatoani, temples, and palaces or were used for military purposes) was replaced by the systems of *encomienda* and *hacienda* in the colonial era. In this way, all Mexican Indians lost their land. In the best cases, they still worked on the land but for a new owner (*encomendero* or *hacendado*), in the worst cases, when the situation of the Mexican Indians got any worse than before, they were sent to work in mines. Later, in the postcolonial era, they were sent to work on coffee plantations in Soconusco (Tzeltals) or sisal haciendas in Yucatán (Yaquis), etc.

At first, the situation in central Mexico (Aztec areas) was not as critical as in the southern states (e.g., in Chiapas in the eighteenth century, in Yucatán in the nineteenth century, etc.) as the Spanish Crown tried to adapt indigenous forms of community ownership to new Spanish property conditions. Rudiments of the future ejido system of land ownership originate in this part of nuclear Mexico as early as the 16th century. The Crown introduced legal estates (*fundos*

4 The concept of ejido was perhaps mostly enlarged on the Mexican rural areas nevertheless we found out this administrative unity in many other Hispano-American countries as well.

legales) for each town which were located in the area 500 meters from church entrances. Community plots called ejidos were formed around these towns. These plots had to have an area of at least one square legua,[5] they could not be stolen and they were controlled by the village (town) council. From the territorial perspective, ejidos were located on the peripheries of colonial towns where they were used by the town population as free pastures or woods (as it was in the medieval and early-modern Spain). The original Castilian ejido was probably much smaller than the colonial Mexican one, and it was located near the exit of the town. Thus in New Spain, ejidos were transformed to those lands which were called *altepetlalli* in the pre-contact era. *Altepetlalli* were characterized by a relatively great area and included not only cultivated (agricultural) land but also woods and pastures, i.e., the same cultural and natural resources which are administered by ejidos even now. The Spanish, however, did not respect the inner division of the village land within the original clan culture. This was similar to the north, in New Biscay where the Jesuits did not respect the pre-contact forms of ownership of the Rarámuri, Tepehuan, Concho, Warojío, and other groups. Apart from this early (primary) ejido system of ownership, which was even then incorporative (i.e., it became a part of Spanish colonial legislation), for some time there were also village plots which were gradually included in the administration of newly established counties (*municipios*). Gains/profits from these lands were not meant for further development of the community but became the main subsistential instrument for keeping the local colonial power and for paying tribute. In northern Mexico, where colonization was a bit later and had been ruled by the Jesuits since the second half of the 17th century, early forms of ejido land ownership were not very successful. Instead of them, central villages were installed. Central villages were usually bigger mission bases into which the majority of the native population of Chihuahua, Sonora and Sinaloa was concentrated either directly or at least economically [i.e., Rarámuri had to pay tribute to the Jesuits usually in the form of maize, beans or, later, in the form of animal products (milk, cattle, etc.)]. The system in the north, where the Aztec (Nahua) villages were at least partly autonomous, was probably more incorporative than in central Mexico where Rarámuri villages were fully dependent. Another difference between these two areas is that the Aztec village system was transformed locally. The Spanish managed to use the current infrastructure, which had existed at least from the second half of

5 i.e., approximately 30 km².

the 15th century, and thus did not need to practice the more violent politics of centralization. It could be said with little exaggeration that the same thing that the Spanish were doing to the Aztecs, the Aztecs had done to the Otomi, Toltecs, and other groups which they had conquered or cohabitated with – they took over the existing institutions which they further developed, modified and improved. In the north, Franciscans and then Jesuits, with the help of soldiers, gold-miners and other colonists, had a much more difficult position as they had to concentrate relatively small, nomadic groups (such as the dreaded Tobosos) who were living on a huge desert and semi-desert territory. The majority of this north-Mexican population had to be, unlike the Aztecs, settled first. However, this was not the case with the Rarámuri who lived as settled or semi-settled peasants even in the protohistoric era, and wandered only for the reasons of complementary subsistence or when they were pressed out by a strange element (nomadic tribes or Spanish colonizers and Jesuits). The Rarámuri sedentary way of life was quite different from the central Mexican ethnic groups (apart from the Aztecs, among the Tarascans in Michoacán, the Tlaxcaltecs, and many others) and did not take hold for many reasons. The Rarámuri were perhaps just entering the way of political centralization, which was made difficult by the continuing dispersion of individual local subgroups. Nevertheless, from historical sources, we even know the names of significant regional leaders (*seríames*) who led several big panrarámuri uprisings. Stable Rarámuri villages were located relatively far from each other, or they were isolated by the numerous mountain valleys in the Lower and Upper Tarahumara. Thus, for their *pueblo centralization* politics, the Jesuits selected native villages (e.g., Sisoguichi, Carichi, Papigochi, Cerocahui, etc.) which had more advantageous strategic positions, i.e., villages that could be quickly connected to a communication network – in colonial times this meant by horse or mule paths. Of course in the majority of these cases, it was a violent or insensible interference which significantly changed the socio-economic system of Rarámuri families and villages. In fact, it was a *resettling* process even if it was not as dramatic as later during the porfíriato[6] when relocation took place over longer distances. Despite this, it resulted in the series of general uprisings, which the colonial secular and church power in central Mexico did not have to deal with.

After the Jesuits left Mexico in 1767, their land and possessions were placed temporarily in the hands of the government. Then, in 1770 by order

6 The era of Porfirio Díaz's government from 1876-1911.

of the Spanish king, Marquis Croix issued a regulation that ruled to sell all the haciendas where the Jesuits had lived. The only exceptions were the ones belonging to Californian missions.[7] After 1775, based on a decree, Indians were granted the right to own mission lands that they had lived on or been previously using. However, it was only in the second half of the 19th century, under the rule of Benito Juárez and after lengthy surveying, that Indian ownership of this dispossessed land was confirmed. Despite the fact that very little land was assigned to the Indians, the Rarámuri (e.g., those from Samachique in the central Tarahumara and its surroundings) remember Juárez' reforms as the period of hope, even if it was not ultimately fulfilled, since B. Juárez passed a constitution that liquidated collective landownership.

Despite the royal decree, indigenous communities continued to lose larger parts of their land until the end of the colonial era. Nevertheless, many villages (approximately 4,000) in central Mexico were able to survive to the year 1810. The situation concerning the land ownership of indigenous communities continued to worsen even after the Declaration of Mexican Independence. Moreover, polarization between private ownership of the land and the rural (especially indigenous) inhabitants increased as the governments of individual states started to issue colonization laws to sell off the land of abandoned communities. One of the first states to do so was the "Rarámuri" Chihuahua where a direct rule to parcel the indigenous land was issued in 1833.[8] Disposal of indigenous plots was thus one of the political goals of liberal Mexican governments as they viewed them as a deterrents to market relations. In a circular from the December 12, 1856, Secretary of the Treasury Miguel Lerdo de Tejada explicitly explains the reasons why the indigenous community land should disappear. Based on one of Lerdo's laws (*La Ley Lerdo*) from 1857, article 27, the old colonial ejido plots (ejidos) were considered to be anachronistic and, together with rural estates of church corporations, were included in so-called *assigned estates* (*bienes adjudicables*), which were in fact transferred to the hands of the new latifundists.

The continually worsening situation of indigenous communities reached its peak in the second half of the 19th century under the rule of the dictator Porfirio Díaz, whose goal was to liquidate communal ownership completely. The

7 The script is situated in the Archivo Histórico Municipal de Chihuaha, collection *Colonial*, series Gobierno, carton 36, document 5 (cf. Meza Flores 2001: 25).

8 Similar laws were passed in the years 1825-1857 in Jalisco, in 1828 Puebla and the west-Mexican states followed, in 1830 México and in 1833 Zacatecas, etc. (cf. Bartra 1974: 111).

Yaqui of Sonora and part of the Yucatan Mayas unsuccessfully revolted against him. At the beginning of the 20th century, several hundred of the Yaqui were relocated to sisal plantations in Yucatán within the politics of the so-called *swallow migration*[9] (the transportation of indigenous families and whole villages, similar to Stalin's later politics of relocation), where they almost died out. Only 2,000 individuals escaped to the USA, and others scattered in Sonora (cf. Spicer 1945: 274). People from other native Mexican groups were killed and their land was violently taken. According to some estimations, up to 90% of native communities in the area of Mesa Central lost their land at the beginning of the 20th century (cf. Bartra 1974: 112-113). In 1888 Díaz' government concluded a treaty regarding the exchange of plots with the Limantour brothers, who owned land in Lower California then belonging to the government, while the latifundists received a vast pasture area in Chihuahua, also located in the territory of the old Rarámuri ejidos, Arisiachi and Pichachi. The Limantours were unable to take over the pastures as there was a large uprising in Tomochi which affected post-Díaz governments and their respect of Rarámuri rights to land (cf. Meza Flores 2001: 32).

The first person to introduce the term *ejido* in the new context of agrarian reform was one of the leaders of the Mexican Revolution, Emiliano Zapata, who came with the request for people's ejidos in 1911 (cf. Reyes Osorio, et al. 1974: 434, Krantz 1991: 202). Porfirio Díaz was brought down in 1910 during the first phase of the Mexican Revolution. One of the first steps of the new post-revolution government was to issue a law regarding agrarian reform according to Article 27 of the new Constitution from 1917. Based on this article, the land belonging to private owners started to be nationalized and assigned to poor peasants or landless people in the form of a collective ownership called an ejido. However, this first post-revolution law did not specify the way of organizing possession of the land, or the way production should take place between individual users – *ejidatarios*. It also did not state the maximum area of a plot that a private owner could possess.

The greatest division of agricultural land in Sierra Tarahumara took place between 1920 and 1940 with its dominant form being the creation of a system of ejido. In this period, ejidos were founded more in Upper Tarahumara, while

9 Cf. namely Aguirre Beltrán 1992: 35, Aguirre Beltrán, Pozas 1954: 225, who define the swallow-migration as a type of alternative contact whose point is to move the indigenous people to the country estates lying far from their homeland and where they had to acquire new customs, modern ideas and practices with the aim of overcoming their ancient customs.

counties such as Guadalupe y Calvo and Guachochi,[10] in which there are virgin forests, Nonoava, Morelos, Maguarichi, Guazapares and Batopilas were left out of this initial assignment of natural wealth. Chihuahua and Sierra Tarahumara especially profited in the period of Cardenism (during the rule of Lázaro Cárdenas between 1934 and 1940). From the "Tarahumara" counties, Carichi in Upper Tarahumara and Batopilas in Lower Tarahumara got the largest amount of land, which could have been the result of the armed native movement fighting for the land and justice at the end of the twenties (cf. Meza Flores 2001: 33-35, Lartigue 1983: 44). More than 20,000 hectares of agricultural land were divided among 11,000 ejidos[11] during Cárdenas' administration (cf. Krantz 1991: 3) becoming a significant part of agrarian reform that this president aggresively executed and which should have helped to solve the question of Indians. Agrarian reform and establishing ejidos were a distinct demonstration of the new politics of indigenism – which in Cárdenas' view meant the Mexicanization of the Indians. However, Cárdenas wrongly understood ejido collectivization as a powerful acculturation instrument. He thought that this collectivization and the ejidos' inherently socialist way of farming would help *desacralize* the land and that this in turn would cause the indigenous ejido members to cut themselves off from their land in a natural way. Cárdenas, just like his predecessors and the majority of his successors, underestimated the strength of the roots with which the indigenous farmers in southern and central Mexico were and still are bound to their land. Therefore, even though the agrarian reform and the installation of the ejido system of control over the intercommunity natural resources were meant to be an instrument of indigenous mexicanization, they instead became an expression of new (or old-new intraethnic) social and cultural identity and resulting in greater biological reproduction of the native population of Mexico.

One of the essential questions we have to ask in connection with the ejido is: What is the place of indigenous ejido ownership in the context of modern capitalist production? R. Bartra 1974: 129-130 summarized characteristic features of Mexican ejidos into the following points: 1. The ejido is a product of the legal process of subsidies (*dotaciones*), on the basis of which the land that was confiscated from hacienda owners or part of it was taken away from the

10 Guachochi was until the sixties the part of the Batopilas district. After that a separate district came into being.

11 More than one half of all the ejidos registered in the middle of the sixties (cf. Eckstein 1966: 58).

state is assigned to part of the inhabitants. Ejido land was not obtained in the classic capitalist way of purchase. In fact, it was an assigned estate, in many cases it was a re-assigned estate, and this was probably the case in several older communities inside ejido Munerachi. It is assumed that at some point the Jesuits officially "assigned," for example, portions of forests, maize milpas and other plots to be administered by the inhabitants of Sorichique while *de facto* and perhaps also *de jure* the inhabitants of Sorichique had never lost these lands as nobody had been interested in them. The region of Batilopas was interesting for migrants because of its silver and copper, while agriculture and pasturage has never developed among the mestizos in this region. It was very similar in other home or subsidiary communities (ranches) as the ejido of Munerachi had been fully inhabited in 1930 when it was established. There were new borders established in order to prevent potential disagreements over the cultivated land, forest and submountain areas, but also over the potential ownership of newly found natural resources[12]. 2. Using the natural resources of an ejido comes under a great number of prohibitions and restrictions which are connected to this kind of communal ownership. Not everyone can get a subsidy. Only the following community members are liable: those who have lived in the location where they are applying from at least for six months; those who usually work on their own land but do not own greater plots; and those who have been of Mexican nationality since their birth. Another restriction is the limited amount of finances each ejido member may invest into industrial, agricultural or business capital, e.g., the purchase of a simple irrigation mechanism or heavy machinery.[13] Ejido plots cannot be sold or rented and their inheritance is also treated with special laws. These and other restrictions are the reasons why not all Munerachi Rarámuri are, or want to be, members of the ejido. The situation is similar in other ejido entities. 3. Ejido ownership is administered by a complex of state and para-state institutions, which thrust their own conditions upon ejido members. Each ejido has a firm organization structure, a hierarchic system of ejido authorities that is usually centered in the core of the ejido. It is usually, but not necessarily, the central community. As will be shown

12 In nearby Cerro Colorado in the territory of ejido Munerachi new copper pockets were detected which provoked disputes among the ejido-members and the members of the Canadian corporation which discovered this copper-field. Discrepancies within the ejido are mostly between "modernists" and "traditionalists."

13 E.g., the Mayo (Yoreme) people in Sonora and Sinaloa which are more like an agrarian-industry society today than only farmers.

later, for example in Munerachi, the ejido village (community) centralization is being relatively weakened by strong ejido peripheries such as Ranchería Sorichique, Cerro Colorado and Mesa Yerba Buena or by other relatively strong and independent communities such as Coyachique. The function of the ejido *seríame* is ruled by an irregular rotation mechanism influenced by such circumstances as current prestige, political influence, and natural authority inside the ejido rather than by a strictly set ejido centralization. However, all activities, and especially economic ones, are usually thoroughly controlled by the extra-ejido institutions. The most important of these institutions is the Department of Agrarian and Colonization Events (Departamento de Asuntos Agrarios y Colonización) but also the banks that grant ejidos loans. The banks situate their branches closer and closer to their customers (up to now there has been no bank opened in the county center of Batopilas and so the closest bank for the Munerachi ejido members is the bank in Guachochi). Until recently, Mexico had been a latently totalitarian regime. In real life, this meant that all ejido members were clients of the only party at power IRP (Institutional Revolutionary Party, PRI = Partido Revolucionario Institucional). Even though IRP lost the election to the federal parliament for the first time in Chihuahua in 1992 and in 2000, a representative of a different party won the presidential election after more than 70 years, Rarámuri from Batopilas, including the Munerachi Rarámuri, were supporters of the IRP candidates even as late as 2001.

As is visible from this short account, from the point of view of political science and sociology, an ejido cannot be simply considered a defined system of communal (collective) ownership. This was not true even in the Aztec power domain or in early colonial Aztec towns. An ejido is a form of organization where different kinds of ownership are mixed together: state (*nationalized*) – as almost all the land was nationalized after The Mexican Revolution and then distributed through the state back to the rural inhabitants who had, in many cases, been working on it for whole centuries (such was the case of some of the Munerachi Rarámuri); *corporative* – ejido plots are assigned to all who pledge to be the members of the ejido; *communal* – consisting of parceling the land to individual village units that are part of the ejido chain; and finally *private* – which is a kind of latent, though more frequently visible, form of intra-ejido ownership as it means the further division of the ejido and village land which is assigned to individuals or families, the members of which have the right to inherit it. These plots are becoming increasingly out of the control of the ejido, and their owners are using them not only for their subsistence

needs, but also for commercial purposes. The ejido is thus being transformed into both hidden and open forms of *small corporationalized private ownership* (*pequeña propiedad privada corporativizada*). Present-day ejido members are thus, despite all the restrictions, approaching another rural socio-economic type – *minifundistic* owners of small ranches and plots whose roots can be found at the beginning of conquista, as these owners were usually Spanish soldiers who had decided to settle in Mexico, marry indigenous women and were assigned smaller plots for their previous merits (cf. Whetten 1953: 118, Bartra 1974: 125).

3. Ethnography of *Ritual Compadrazgo* in Ejido Munerachi

The ejido has a specific structure of organization that is in many cases, including Munerachi, partly overlapping and partly mingling with the native political structure. This structure is partly independent from ejido authorities that were installed from outside. At the beginning, there was an allocation act that allowed several tens of communities to be semi-autonomous (i.e., their land ownership had been based on a principle of narrower communality,[14] but at the same time they had a different (*de jure*) owner – state, private owner, or county). Suddenly, these communities found themselves inside a new, broader entity that could be described as an *inter-community corporative unit*. Ejido Munerachi, the only one in the Batopilas county, is very different from most of the ejidos in Sierra Tarahumara because it does not border with any other ejido. Thus it is an ejido enclave as other ejido entities can be found further in the north of the Batopilas county, particularly in Upper Tarahumara where ejidos were established mostly due to the unification of pastures in order to raise cattle instead of the more traditional growing of maize. Ejido Munerachi (cf. Meza Flores 2001: 88) is thus from all sides (especially in the direction of Urique county, Urique canyon, and in the direction to Batopilas) surrounded by small, independent, mostly Rarámuri ranchería communities based on transhumance which are, in many cases, not autarchic from the point of view of subsistence. Today, these extra-ejido communities are more socially

[14] Before the installation of the post-revolutionary ejido, the people from the Chinivo community cultivated only their "common" land and they used natural resources freely in the neighbourhood of this community. After the installation of ejido, the Chinivo inhabitants were obliged to expand socially and "fuse" with adjacent communities within the frame of the unit within which they were found.

bound to sociological companies or to charity organizations[15] (for which some anthropologists work in Chihuahua) than to nearby ejido (Munerachi) communities from which they were officially separated eighty years ago. The early history of ejido Munerachi is practically unknown. Conversations with several older Rarámuri contacts living on the western border of the ejido (Sorichique) reveal that some communities refused to become members of a unit organized by non-native structures. Other communities were included into the ejido territory from unknown reasons. This lead to the breaking or weakening of some social, and especially familial, relations. To some extent, establishing the ejido lead to contracting broader Urique-Batopilas sub-region in Lower Tarahumara into smaller endogamized enclaves. Before this, the exchange of wives had taken place on a bigger territory. This endogamous marital exchange is almost absolute on the level of ejido and on the level of some demographically stronger ranchería communities (i.e., Coyachique). Because the familial network in the ejido is growing denser, various inter-community and interpersonal antagonisms strengthen the intra-ejido solidarity in relation to extra-ejido Rarámuri communities that are dependent on a more open ("exogamic") system of reproduction. This system of reproduction is only outwardly exogamic as the number of communities whose members get married is limited. Thus, the exchange is taking place in a relatively limited territory – its axis is part of the Urique River canyon. This "indefinable" microhabitat[16] is not only populated less sparsely,

15 Probably the best-known and the most effectual social organization, according to our findings, which involves both the Rarámuri and the northern Tepehuan, is the COSYDDHAC (Comisión de Solidaridad y Defensa de Derechos Humanos, A. C.) based in Baborigame.

16 e.g., a great deal of the territory between Munerachi and the ejidos Guagueyvo, Guaguachique and Samachique is relatively sparsely settled almost exclusively by the semi-Christianized Rarámuri and some mestizos today as well who hide out for various reasons in face of justice. Although the local land *de jure* belongs to the Chihuahua state or to some private dealer, it is *de facto* the no man's land, a certain vacuum or more precisely *(inter)-ethnic extra-marginal intermediary area* as we understand such space which is: 1. *extra-marginal* with the intent that it neglected not only by its legal users but by marginalized ejido's neighbours as well; 2. *intermediary*, i.e., in principle located in certain "interspace" from which there is no way out because their inhabitants are enclosed by organized related, political, economic or religious structure of the neighbouring hard-to-permeate ejidos, and 3. finally this intermediate area is minimal *ethnic* or *interethnic* space if mestizos or members of other indigenous groups (in this case, the northern-Tepehuan branch and one Warojío group) live here and where a "minimal ethnic program" take place despite many restrictions and natural disasters: e.g., enculturation conducted by members of family, kinship structure organized on the basis of intercommunity (exogamy) exchange of women which is continuously complicated due to weaker biological reproduction, interpersonal and interlocal economic solidarity during farm operations or more exacting domestic works, etc.

but also its area is much smaller than in ejido Munerachi. Ejido restrictions against these communities, which are located outside their borders, are not primordial but situational and formed by an "artificial" historicity which lead to the fact that natality is much higher in the ejido than it is outside. This is caused especially by the fact that when ejido members and their families fulfill the above mentioned conditions, they get quite high state subsidies meant for subsistence, but today also for non-economic activities, while other communities have to rely in many cases on help from non-governmental organizations, church institutions or irregular state "alms." Occasionally, they might get help from ejido members whose economic situation is much better.

Another factor contributing to higher natality inside the ejido is a significantly lower infant fatality rate (though this is still not insignificant inside the ejido). Ejido communities can now rely more on Mexican health institutions,[17] while the sick from other communities are taken care of by the native *owirúame*.[18] There used to be many more of them in Sierra Tarahumara than there are now. We found in 2001 that in the nuclear Tarahumara there are only ten active specialized *curanderos* (*healers*).

Another factor that affects or might affect the growth of the population is quite irregular on the community level. It is the improving economic situation of some (very few) ejido families who are not solely dependent on the regular yearly or half-yearly financial distribution from state or financial institutions. More and more Indians have financial means that they put into banks in Creel, Guachochi or Parral or Parral. Some of them even invest the money. However, most of their financial means (obtained legally from selling art objects, working in the woods, mills, and ejido buildings (or obtained illegally by growing marijuana) are used to improve their homes (traditional buildings from adobe with

17 The doctor and the nurse from the clinic of Batopilas to Munerachi periodically (every month) perform regular preventive medical examinations. They perform tests for malaria as a reaction to the death of six Rarámuri children in 1996 which we registered during our second research stay in the ejido within which the last "professional" owirúame ancient Luciano died in 2000. One problem of these preventive medical visits is the fact that they take place almost exclusively in the ejido centre in Munerachi where the people must have to go from a distance of 20 and more kilometres. This means practically that health barriers are imposed as for health in the ejido territory. As a reaction to this manifestation of the ejido *"kanírema centralization"* (*kanírema* is an abstract expression characterizing the healthy or physically satisfied person) the recurable tendencies appear in some communities aimed at a resuscitation of dying out existence of the community or the regional native healers (curanderos).

18 In reference to the healing practices cf., e.g., Merrill 1992: 179-219, Cardenal Fernández 1993, Anzures y Bolaños 1983, etc.

thatched roofs covered by leaves of the *sotole* palm[19] tree are being replaced by brick houses with roofs from corrugated iron, etc.). An economically well-situated family can support more children and can send them to high school for Rarámuri in Guachochi or Torreón in Coahuila or to other towns (in Munerachi there are only two levels of primary school, so called *escuela primaria* and *secundaria*; the closest high school is in Batopilas, but for unknown reasons Rarámuri rarely send their children there).

Finally, the last observable factor to why natality is high in the ejido is the strengthening of the natural, and more or less unconscious, defense mechanism against the surrounding mestizo substrate. A strong ejido, which acts as a single, coherent social body, can better defend against the varied attacks from the outside. We have to realize that there are one fifth of potential voters in an ejido. These potential voters are mobilized before each election through campaigns organized by the candidates for local authority or higher political institutions (county, Chihuahua or federal parliament in Ciudad de México, etc.). These pre-election trips to the Tarahumara do not take the form of typical meetings in town squares, sport halls or cultural centers as the ejido either does not have these places or uses them for their own intra-ejido and intra-community activities. The strategy of these meetings is noteworthy as it is always a one-sided act from the side of the politicians. While a Czech elector in Prague has to put approximately the same effort in meeting the politician at the appointed place as the politician (if they want to meet, they both have to leave their homes or the seat of the party and come to the appointed place), the Rarámuri almost always stay in one place. They are practically almost completely passive, and their otherwise high mobility approaches zero. It is the Mexican politicians who are forced and obliged to show the effort. They have to undergo a number of one-day long marches in extreme climate conditions[20] in order to contract an uncertain alliance with the ejido and community

19 This palm has got similar leaves as the yucca.

20 As early as June 2001 a delegation of about a 10 electoral candidates from the IRP to the Batopilas municipal council (plus the people who accompanied them) visited the central ejido community Munerachi. Their route proceeded so that they went eleven kilometres by car to the ejido settlement and the centre of one of the Batopilas sections Cerro Colorado. There they left the car and after short stop the majority continued to Munerachi up to river six kilometres by foot, some on the horse. They stayed in Munerachi some few hours and they got back in the afternoon by the same way to Cerro Colorado and in the evening they were in Batopilas again (total distance Batopilas-Munerachi-Batopilas is approximately 35 km, which takes about 6-12 hours by foot or 4-8 hours back and forth in the case of the motorized moving to Cerro Colorado).

authorities or with the individual native electors. These meetings are not accidental. They are carefully planned around a specific agreement between the ejido president or his representatives and the assistants of the political candidate. Even these verbal contracts usually take place on ejido land despite the fact that many meetings take place outside it – most frequently in Batopilas. What do these preliminary meetings consist of, why do they not take place in the county center and why are they still being organized when native representatives can persuade their subordinates themselves? These preliminary agreements are rather formal as they repeat regularly, but they are important because a date for visiting the relevant community has to be set. This matter cannot be underestimated even if the politician's assistant has to undergo a long journey pointlessly or have a conversation of only a few minutes and then return back. Rarámuri in ejido stay calm. They do not request an audience[21] and they are aware of this advantage. In most cases, these "bilateral"[22] dialogues take place. They are quite dignified and there is always a small *tesgüino* present (social life of all Rarámuri subgroups is connected with it). The ceremony of drinking tesgüino is one of the reasons why these meetings do not take place in Batopilas as the law enforcement would not have to like it. Drinking tesgüino often ends with bloody fights. If these take place out of sight of the relevant authorities, they are quietly tolerated.[23] This seemingly unimportant act is significant for two reasons: 1. it is the effort of the representatives of the "traditional" ruling party (IRP) to renew and strengthen the "permanent," unwritten bilateral agreement. IRP members have never lost the mandate of *alcalde mayor* (mayor of town) or *presidente municipal* (county chairman). In Chihuahua and now in other states and on the federal level, IRP has lost these positions. Hence, they are now trying to keep the influence in those places where their position has always been very strong, which is also the case of

21 In the majority of other cases, Rarámuri – e.g., in inter-electoral term, on the contrary, must pursue and visit the political authorities in Batopilas, Guachochi, Parral, Creel, Chihuahua and, exceptionally, as far as Ciudad de México – e.g., when they apply for an increment of the allowance of nixtamal (pinole), bags of beans, or for the financial support, tec.

22 In fact, it is not necessarily concerned only with a two-sided act, that means that from every side several people may participate in the dialogues more persons but this number is generally well-balanced.

23 If a major event occurs such as a homicide, murder or serious injury with the persistent effects, the ejido president is obliged to inform the representative of the Chihuahua government who detained the delinquent and they commit him to the Mexican justice. Before the foundation of ejidos all the criminal acts which took place in the territory of the native community were solved by the native political authorities.

Batopilas. This county, as it was said in the part concerning the demographic development of the region, is not populated very densely (approximately 2 – 2.5 inhabitants/km^2 compared to the average of 6-7 inhabitants/km^2 for the whole Sierra Tarahumara area) but its strategic position (Batopilas borders with the rich and agriculturally and industrially developed Sinaloa, it is close to the California Bay and to important Pacific ports), control over the woods (especially pine) and water resources make it more important than other demographically stronger counties. It could be said that, to some extent, those who have political power in Batopilas can control huge natural resources including poorly accessible marijuana (*chutama*)[24] fields that are the source of high (though illegal) revenues with little effort by local politicians and Indians. In this phase, politicians want to make sure that they have support from the ejido for a longer period. If they missed these short meetings, their growing political competition might use the opportunity to come to the ejido, i.e., members of a different party[25] who are attempting to break the "eternal" monopoly would come to talk to potential electors. According to the information obtained from older Munerachi men, political alliances between ejido Munerachi and the Batopi-

24 *Chutama* = the regional name of marijuana. The young Rarámuri *chutamero* works one week which is sufficient for such a salary to sustain him three months. Thus the cultivation of marijuana reinforces in Mexico the forceful phenomenon of idleness (*la cultura del ocio*) – cf. Hurtado 2001. This fact is undoubtedly one of the reasons why Batopilas does not depopulate more. The young people with the vision of an easy allowance stay and risk being caught and imprisoned one day. On the other hand, the tours of inspection from the Chihuahua force, the regular Mexican army serving in the Batopilas region, presumably safeguards interests of the absolute minority of the local population who come to their economic resources legally. Chutama can be the rubber from the red weed from which heroin is produced (cf. Cajas Castro 1992: 24). These fields generally are in the possession of the Rarámuri allied to the local politicians. These Rarámuri people mostly belong to a pagan subgroup (e.g., from Cuervo). These politicians have been dealing with illegal cultivation of marijuana throughout Mexico until today and they share the yields with them. According to our informations there is no marijuna field in the territory of ejido Munerachi, nevertheless the absolute majority of ejido people reputedly have their "extra-ejido" milpas or at least they are the go-betweens among the makers and the drug dealers in the central Chihuahua from where the goods are transported farther north to the United States. The drug pushers of marijuana make use of, e.g., the royal road (*camino real*) leading through Coyachique, Rekomachi, around Kirare, Samachique and farther to the Upper Tarahumara.

25 In the Batopilas region it is the Democratic Revolution Party (DRP) (Partido de la Revolución Demócratica, PRD) founded not until 1989 but belonging to the three most influential Mexican parties (in addition to the IRP yet another, the National Action Party = Partido Acción Nacional, NAP/PAN from which the former Mexican president Vicente Fox Quesada rose). At the time of our stay the candidate of the NAP for chief magistrate tried get in the ejido Munerachi but he succeeded in persuading only those members of the ejido who have special social status such as the Munerachi teacher Ángel.

las branch of IRP[26] have existed since the establishment of ejidos. However, its roots might reach even further into history as many IRP representatives are the descendants of the insolvent Batopilas aristocracy that had come into existence during the last gold rush in the second half of the 19th century or even earlier.[27] 2. This prelude to a big performance (as the encounter of two different worlds is) is full of dramatic elements and has one more aspect. While the first one is on the political level, this one is more social. There is a face-to-face meeting where the ejido president meets the political candidate or his assistant and thus a certain intra-ejido advantage of the community where the negotiator comes from is strengthened or newly gained (apart from the ejido president it can be the president of the Cerro Colorado section, if he is a Rarámuri; sometimes it can also be the headmaster of one of the local schools or his deputy;[28] it can also be *siríame* position is in many aspects superordinate to the position of the ejido president,[29] or it can be someone he appoints). If we know which ejido community the negotiator of the date and the place of the pre-election meeting is from, or if we know which communities he is allied with,[30] we can quite easily estimate who in the ejido will be in a certain economic advantage in the relevant term of office. It is not accidental that the negotiators take turns before each municipal election which are very significant for the every-day life

26 During its existence, the IRP changed its name twice. Between 1929 and 1938 it was called the Revolution National Party (Partido Nacional Revolucionario = PNR), between 1938 and 1946 the Mexican Revolution Party (Partido de la Revolución Mexicana = PRM) and since 1946 the Institutional Revolution Party (Partido Revolucionario Institucional = PRI). The political orientation of this party is social democratic up to centric but actually it is broader.

27 The roots of the present powerful Batopilas families probably date back to the late phase of the colonial era, e.g., kindred families of Bustillos, Monjarréz and some others with their offspring descended from older Rarámuri families in Coyachique, etc., and are up to the present relatively forceful and visible.

28 The so-called *biniríame* or the Hispanized term méstro, i.e., the teacher or in this case the director ("chief-teacher"). The Rarámuri teachers have a special place within the ejido, community and generally among the Rarámuri people. It is often the specific social and intraethnic level which distinctively distinguishes them from the "ordinary" Rarámuri.

29 Sometimes the function of the ejido president and the *siríame* can be double and if he is simultaneously section-chief even triple.But the Munerachi Rarámuri try to avoid this cumulation of functions because they are aware that such a president-chief magistrate-section-chief has at his hands relatively great political and economic power.

30 In respect to the kinship system of the Munerachi Rarámuri there prevails at the level of the ejido the *matrilocal postmarital residence* (e.g., the Rarámuri men from the Munerachi community most often try to find women from Mesa Yerba Buena, communities which arose by separation from the original Munerachi village unit). At the level of the larger communities –e.g. Coyachique – the matrilocality there is not as intensive and young marrieds can quickly disaffiliate and found a new nuclear household (*neolocality*), etc

of the ejido.[31] Here we can see an effort to keep a certain political and social balance inside the ejido which is probably influenced by the proclaimed social-democratic orientation of the IRP who this way affect, and to some extent weaken, the inner political interests of the individual ejido members. In spite of this, in order to remain loyal to Bartra, who claims that these communities are inseparably connected with the world's rural proletariat, social differences inside ejido Munerachi are increasingly more visible. We can observe traces of dominance of one community over another or one community unit (it does not necessarily have to be one family; two or more families can be connected) within such a community. These already existing social differences are clearly visible at such events as the pre-election meetings of ejido Indians and specific (IRP) mestizo political representation.

On Sunday, May 27, 2001, one of the biggest, preplanned meetings took place in the main ejido community in Munerachi.[32] One day before that, we were told by one of the local teachers that a delegation lead by Emilio Bustillos Monjarréz, an IRP candidate to the Batopilas council, would come. The only purpose of their visit was to bring several bottles of tequila to the ejido leaders as a bribe. However, we have to view this apparent purpose in the context of social interactions as a part of a complex process based on specific interpersonal relationships. This process will be explained later. The chronology of the event and its characterization could be described as follows:

Saturday evening (May 26) about 20:00-23:00: there is a pre-visit tequila fiesta ("tequilinada")[33] in the house of the organizer, Munerachi "owirúame"[34]

31 Also elections to the local authorities have a certain significance even though not so great. This local authority resides under the Rarámuri group in the semi-Rarámuri village Guachochi where indigenous representatives from the different ejidos and theoretically also those who are living in the ranch communities outside of ejido can run as candidates directly. This is not in practice realized since Rarámuri living in the traditional communities, including of course the ejido village units as well, are not interested in active political life and, mainly, they are unable to orientate themselves in the political situation. The *mestizo-Rarámuri*, as we could correctly indentify many Indians of Guachochi struggled successfully and for some political positions in 2001 and even one of them first (?) ran as a candidate for the Federal Council but to our knowledge without avail at that time.

32 As we wrote, canvasses of the IRP candidates were much more numerous in May and June in 2001 but we had the chance to participate only in this one which took place immediately at our base in Munerachi.

33 We introduce this term as an expression of the acculturation "competition" of the pre-Hispanic tesgüinada.

34 As noted previously all the ejido Munerachi does not have any native healer (curandero) now. The ejido authorities elected the ejido "doctor" with the support of Jesuits Alejandro García Cubesare which by this reinforced his intra-ejido position.

Alejandro García Cubesare. There are adult members of his family, some Rarámuri men who are related to him, very few women, and violin pascola music. The host organizes everything. He is the one who allots tequila to individual participants. There is a lively discussion in which the coming visit of the Batopilas politicians is being discussed;

Sunday (May 27) about 7:00-8:00: cleaning of the space in front of Alejandro's house, space in front of the school, church and dormitory;

8:00-8:30/9:00: first tens of Rarámuri men, young men and their female companions arrive at Alejandro's house. They start to drink the essential *suwí* (tesgüino);

8:30-9:00/9:30: more Rarámuri who have "friendly" relationships with Alejandro and other Munerachi inhabitants come to his house. They are mostly from Ranchería Sorichique, Chinivo, Santa Rita[35] and Repuchinare. Soon, there are about 50-60 Rarámuri men, women, children including infants in a 20-30 meter semicircle around Alejandro's house. Everyone tries to find a shady place as the temperature in the sun already reaches 40° C in the morning. They also want a place from which they will be able to see the "main event" – the dialogue between the candidate for the mayor and organizer Alejandro;

9:30-10:00: smaller groups of men are being formed. Young boys are rubbernecking around them and trying to find out what the men are talking about. A little further, women gather. Almost every one of them has at least one infant with her. Older women, who have no children with them, are preparing *suwí* in the shade of a smaller estate and they sample it quite often. It is visible that the men, who are the core of the negotiators, are a little bit tense even though the result of the meeting can be anticipated beforehand;

10:00-10:15: a Rarámuri man announces the arrival of the Batopilas delegation. They are coming across the bridge over the River Munerachi and they are slowly walking up the right bank towards the building[36] of the estate belonging to Alejandro García Cubesare. At about ten, people start to arrive.

35 At the time of our stay, Santa Rita belonged to the prominent communities within the ejido mainly because the ejido siríame and the section-chief descended from this submontane mesa while five years ago it was, in light of the intra-ejido influence, a rather marginal village. Santa Rita, which lies about 4–5 km from Munerachi and some 500-600 meters higher in the direction of Mesa Quimova, belongs to those ejido communities which the IRP rival candidates "must" separately visit during their canvassing on the basis of an agreement with another negotiator.

36 Alejandro has a small grange (grain storage) beside his farmhouse. He also has a small corral for a herd of goats.

Nine of them walked from Cerro Colorado, including the candidate himself and the section secretary, one of them is riding a horse.

10:15-10:30/11:00: Alejandro and his company greet all the members of the delegation with a gentle handshake[37] and he speaks a few introductory words in Spanish. Most of the people are standing further away and waiting to see what is going to happen next. This is the phase of stillness when everybody stands and almost nobody speaks. Perhaps it is due to weariness and rest after the difficult journey from Cerro Colorado. However, it also has the effect of some kind of social acclimatization, which is important for both sides.

11:00-11:30: first toasts of suwí follow after the short "acclimatization break." Rarámuri housewives, who are responsible for the "refreshments" at the meeting, start to bring out pumpkin containers[38] that are typical for drinking tesgüino. They give these containers to their husbands who distribute them to their guests.[39] At this moment, I slowly move towards Alejandro's house so I can watch the event that should reach its peak in a moment. More toasts between the members of the delegation and main organizers follow.

11:30-12:00: after about thirty minutes, the mood is more relaxed, first on the "stage" then also in the "audience" created by the Rarámuri. My estimate is that, at one point around noon, there are about 60-70 adults or young Rarámuri in both of these spaces, most of whom are men. In total, there are about 80 people. No other people come which means that, from Munerachi itself, there are not even a half of its adult population and adolescents (about 25 people). Other people come from close communities that are a part of the similar social network. Participants in the dialogues almost always stand, as if they were in a hurry or on guard (candidates' bodyguards are always in the delegation).[40]

12:00-12:30: the atmosphere in the "audience" is becoming more and more relaxed and spirited. Most of the audience has not even approached

37 When Rarámuri meet, they very strictly adhere to the custom of gently touching each other's fingers and palms rather than shaking hands. That manner of greeting has a symbolic character. If somebody shakes hands he expresses certain violent intentions whereas a mild touch often only of fingers, not the whole palm, expresses quiet and non-violence. During a moment of drunkeness this custom is not adhered to so strictly.

38 The capacity of this vessel is normally 0. 2 – 0. 5 liters whereas they try to lend "novices" like me much smaller vessels.

39 Traditionalist Rarámuri women never directly hand out the vessel with the suwí on the *chabochi* but always pass it to a Rarámuri man. We noticed this habit during our first stay in Mesa Yerba Buena in 1992.

40 The cases of fist fights between Rarámuri and chabochi are relatively common without reference to their political connection.

"the stage." "The event" is more and more static and boring – it consists of slow drinking. The audience drinks much more. The event is approaching its climax – giving the present of the case of tequila and smaller supplies of *nixtamal*[41] in case of drought. Before 12:30 I move closer to the "stage" as I want to observe the actors from both sides but, on the other hand, I do not want to miss what is happening behind me and in the "backstage."[42]

12:30-13:00: the main "show" has finished. Short debates in small groups take place. Rarámuri guests, who drink a lot and fast, are in most cases drunk. Only now I am noticed by some of the members of Batopilas agitation group. Mostly they just greet me by nodding their heads and, other than that, I have a longer (about 15 minutes) conversation with the candidate for mayor Bustillos Monjarréz[43] who has, apart from the teacher Ángel, become my main contact in this part of the ethnographic research. Because of this short meeting, I have broadened my horizon of knowledge about the situation in the ejido, and especially the relations between ejido and mestizo county structures.

13:00-13:15/13:30: the whole event seems quite chaotic and uncoordinated even though all the dialogues have taken place in a friendly spirit. At about quarter past one, the first delegates walk down to the school and, after that, the rest of the delegation leaves. They leave Munerachi very slowly, unobtrusively, almost unnoticed and without the company of their hosts who stayed in place and continue in negotiations. In the end, the delegation did not even go for the lunch that they had arranged in Cerro Colorado. After the Batopilas mestizos leave, both groups (main actors and onlookers) start to mingle and talk together. They keep drinking *suwí*. The space between the school and the church is quiet. It is Sunday and only those dormitory children who

41 The *nixtamal* (the Nahuatl word is a compound of *nextli* "ashes" and *tamalli* unformed corn dough, "tamal") is a corn-flour which is made from dry broken maize kernels soaking and boiled in an alkali solution, generally in limewater when the outer coat is separated from the kernel. The process of nixtamalization has been known in Mesoamerica since as early as the pre-formative period. For example, the people from the southern-Guatemalan Pacific coast knew it between 1500–1200 B.C. It spread from here all over Mesoamerica and abroad. The contemporary Rarámuri are more and more dependent on industrial nixtamal because their reserves of corn are decreasing.

42 We understand as "backstage" such a covered space where the majority of "viewers" and "actors" stood. In this case it was small porch in front of Alejandro's house entrance. Here a short but decisive scene proceeded which confirmed the contrasting act between one of Alejandro's men on one hand and Bustillos' assistant on other hand.

43 In the end, he became a Batopilas mayor in June 2001. He had earlier carried out this function from 1989 till 1992 and from 1995 till 1998. He intends to be put up as candidate for the fourth time this year, when the mandate of his successor ends.

live in distant communities and stay in Munerachi for weekends (Guimayvo, Gavilana) are getting ready for lunch.

13:30-16:00: there are still some local people and guests in Alejandro's house. They stay until there are tesgüino supplies that have been prepared especially for this purpose. I take advantage of this calm atmosphere and I have a conversation with a 22-year-old Rarámuri young man from Santa Rita, Lázaro Villegas Quimare, who, because of matrilocal residence, married into the small ranchería community, Papatare. It was the only community that was willing to accept him after he had killed his friend during a wild *omáwari suwí*[44] in Huisuchi four years before. Conversation with the young Rarámuri "murderer" ended my observation of this seemingly purely political pre-election event. At about 16:00 *omáwari* definitely ends as *sekorí*[45] is probably completely finished by now. Even the last family groups head towards their homes. After 16:00, life in the community returns to normal.

This relatively short section of the every-day life of the Munerachi Rarámuri and gradual uncovering and analysis of its hidden meaning clarify the functioning of the ejido and extra-ejido social network. It has been said that a visible feature of such meetings is their political aspect: candidates for important political positions in the local council come to the "chosen" community to meet their "traditional" electors. In this sense, the meaning of the meeting is the same or very similar to a pre-election meeting taking place in any democratic country.[46] However, there is a great difference. Batopilas candidates did not come to pledge publicly what they want to change in the ejido and in the county. They did not explain how they want to improve the living conditions of many Rarámuri families living in poverty below the subsistence level and they did not assemble the majority of the ejido inhabitants and introduce their program. Nevertheless, they came to Munerachi and they will continue to appear there. A purpose is hidden behind this seemingly nonsensical or useless act, however. It is essential to see the strengthening of *fictive inter-ethnic relational bonds* between the mestizo and Rarámuri behind these regularly repeated

44 *Omáwari suwí*, i.e., the tesgüino feast.

45 *Sekorí* is big crock in which the Rarámuri women leave suwí to ferment some days or weeks.

46 There has been relatively too little emphasis on the fact that Mexico appeared outwardly to be a democratic state, but, in fact, the Mexican revolution introduced absolute rule (IRP) which disintegrated only in the nineties. The well-known Peruvian writer Mario Vargas Llosa, after he had made the acquaintance of Mexican realia, stated in 1990 that the Mexican regime was "a perfect dictatorship" ("una dictadura perfecta").

journeys of Batopilas IRP members. In Latin America, this is a deeply rooted institution of *ritual (ceremonial, fictive) kinship* (*compadrazgo ritual, ritual co-parenthood, compadrinazgo, patronazgo*, *double baptism*, etc.).

4. The Concept of *Ritual Compadrazgo*

North American social anthropologists have been developing this concept since the beginning of the nineteen fifties (cf. Mintz, Wolf 1950, Foster 1953) and sixties (cf. Foster 1961, 1969, van den Berghe, Colby 1961, Colby, van den Berghe 1961, van den Berghe, van den Berghe 1966, Deshon 1963, Ingham 1970, Gudeman 1971, Ravicz 1975², Middleton 1975, Keesing 1975, etc.). This issue was developed in connection with Rarámuri only recently, for example, Slaney 1997 or Levi 1999. Despite the relatively large amount of anthropological studies based on empiric research, G. Foster pointed out that there still is a lack of theoretical works that would analyze various forms of fictive kinship (cf. Middleton 1975: 461).

This specific type of social culture has its roots even in pre-colonial Mesoamerica: in Mayan villages in Yucatán its traces were discovered by Robert Redfield and Alfonso Villa Rojas (1934). Jacques Soustelle (1935) discovered the traces in Otomi. However, the oldest evidence of ritual kinship probably comes from the first missionaries, Franciscan Diego de Landa from the Yucatán area, Bernardino de Sahagún from Aztec environment, and an author and one of the early Jesuit missionaries in north Mexico areas in the first half of the 17th century Andrés Pérez de Ribas (1645);[47] Ralph Beals (1934) noticed this while reconstructing the pre-Spanish cultural features of the Cahita of Sonora – cf. Ravicz 1975²: 238.[48]

It seems that one of the oldest and best-described institutions of fictive kinship in Mexico is Yucatán *hetzmek*,[49] beginning in the pre-Spanish period.

[47] His best-known publication is the monument *Historia de los triunfos de nuestra santa fe entre la gente más bárbaras y fieras del nuevo orbe: conseguidos por los soldados de la milicia de la Compañía de Jesús en las misiones de la Nueva España*. México, D. F.: Siglo XIX, firstly published in 1645 which is the first compact colonial "ethnography" of northern Mexico, above all, the Sonora ethnic groups (Yaqui, Mayo, etc.).

[48] The first anthropological reference at all about *compadrazgo*, at least from the point of the Mexican milieu, derives from the classic of anthropology, E. B. Tylor, who refers to it in one of his older works *Anahuac: or Mexico and the Mexicans, ancient and modern*. London: Longmans, Green, Reader & Dyer, 1861: 250-251 (cf. Gudeman 1971: 45).

[49] *Hetzmek* is the compound of two words: *jet's* = "facilitate, alleviate." and *mek* = "embrace,"

Its original purpose was to create a ritual alliance between two unrelated couples. This institution got a more syncretic dimension immediately after the arrival of Spanish clergymen as it was transformed into a new socio-religious structure. Native forms of ritual kinship gained a new dimension connected to Christianity; more specifically, with the act of baptism which was done at the age of three months (girls) or four months (boys). At this occasion "new parents" – godparents (*padrinos*) are chosen for the baby. Since the moment of baptism, a new permanent fictive (ritual) relationship is created. Its primary purpose is to give the child physical and mental skills and useful advice for the future. Mostly a married couple becomes godparents of the child. However, it is very common now that in *compadrazgo*,[50] the man is a godfather (*padrino*) of a boy (*ahijado*), and a woman is a godmother (*madrina*) of a girl (*ahijada*).

The *compadrazgo* has their roots in the southern European (Spanish, Portuguese, Italian or south Slavonic) social system but they were also well-known in medieval and modern Czech state and other countries in central Europe. Spanish clergymen first introduced it in the countries of Latin America in the early colonial era. It helped them penetrate the native social organization of various groups. Gradually, a dual social or socio-religious structure was created as the clergymen tolerated the original institution of ritual kinship. Apart from the Yucatán Mayas, this dual occurred strongly in the Tzeltal, Tzotzil, Otomi, Zapotec or Tarascans, societies (i.e., in larger Mexican indigenous groups). During the 16th and 17th century, it was spread among all the groups (Lacandons are probably the only exception) and it became an inseparable part of the process of Catholicization.

5. Rarámuri and *Ritual Compadrazgo*

Ritual compadrazgo was most likely brought to the Tarahumara in the sixteen-eighties. Joseph Neumann and Juan Maria Ratkaj were two of the initiators.

which expresses symbolically the sense of this initiatory transitional ritual which takes place to this day in some Mayan communities in Yucatán: to introduce the children to a new period of life and to prepare them to be good workers. Furthermore, during this ritual, they stand up with someone's aid and then they symbolically stretch out their legs again.. This will help them later to be good walkers, quick runners and not knock their knees (cf. Peón Arce 2000: 54-77, Redfield, Villa Rojas 1934: 189).

50 Some authors introduce in place of this more known Spanish term *compadrinazgo* which they consider as more concise (cf. Ravicz 1975²: 238), evidently with the intent that it insists more on the rituality and the non-consanguineous (fictitious) affinity which the expressions the *padrino* and the *madrina* (pl. *compadrinos*) describe better.

Even though we do not have direct testimony, it can be said that Batopilas Rarámuri were introduced to *compadrazgo* only during the 18th century. It was probably only after the town was founded in 1708. We know that in 1740, after there was a great fire, the church was built (cf. Pareja 1883: 30). At that time, the town had been more or less consolidated and it flourished due to its silver resources. It is known from various indications that the local Jesuits were greatly honored. This enables us to state that even in this first phase of the existence of Batopilas, there were ritual bonds between the families of Spanish colonizers and families of Rarámuri *pagótame*[51] established from the initiative of the Jesuit clergymen just as it had been happening in the Upper Tarahumara. As far as northwestern ethnic groups are concerned, this institution is very strong even now especially among the Yaqui.

This issue in connection with the Rarámuri has been researched especially by Frances Slaney who studied the question of *double baptism* in the Panalachi region in the eastern part of the current Rarámuri habitat. This Canadian social anthropologist noted that, in some places, Panalachi Rarámuri still observe the pre-Christian habit of *fire baptism* as part of the complex life cycle connected mostly with agriculture. This ritual has its sequence and is conducted by a specialist in agrarian cults. In colonial times, this ritual was prohibited by the Jesuit clergymen who considered it to be the instrument of "devil's threats." In the 17th century, apart from this original cult feature, the "classic" form of baptizing by holy water (*water baptism* or *pagó*[52] in Rarámuri) was also spread. It failed to disappear even after the Jesuits had left. Spicer 1997: 505 mentions that during the 19th century, when there were almost no clergymen, the native rituals became independent again. However, even he admits that the Catholic ritual of baptism had spread its roots among the descendants of the baptized Rarámuri and has survived until now. Unlike Slaney, current Jesuit missionary Pedro de Velasco Rivero, who focused on ethnography of dance, religious (syncretic and native) rituals in the region of the Upper Tarahumara, questions the occurrence of any rituals symbolizing baptism, cleansing, etc. that are con-

51 A specialized study that would examine ethnographically or theoretically some forms of the compadrazgo among the Batopilas mestizos and the Munerachi Rarámuri, as far as we know, is not yet known. Our conclusions are based here above all from our ethnographic investigation in May and June 2001 whereas we appreciate that we could have realized only some manifestations of this social organization.

52 In Rarámuri *pagó* means above all "wash," "wash up," "purify," e.g., some subject with water. This term began metaphorically to be used after the introduction of baptism with the meaning of "to baptize" as well.

nected to water despite their great importance for agriculture: "*...no poseía un simbolismo vivificante sino que más bien se le temía – y se le teme aun hoy día – como una fuerza destructora y mortífera.*"[53] Also for this reason, introducing water baptism among Rarámuri was not automatic (cf. Velasco Rivero, S. J. 1987: 74).[54] As the first missionaries and some ethnographers in the 20th century recorded, reasons for fear of water can be found in ecological and climate differences between these two main ecosystems (plateau of Upper Tarahumara and hot valleys of Lower Tarahumara[55]). In general, there is more rain in the mountain areas which causes more frequent floods followed by landslides and erosion. Once fertile pluvial mountain valleys often change into silt that destroys crops. It could be said that because of this, people migrate to towns. Earlier, when urban migration was not possible, the upper Tarahumara had probably moved to neighboring mountain valleys where they had to face a similar fate later. Not water itself but its unwanted abundance in the certain phase of the yearly cycle made these Rarámuri worried about their future at least twice a year. Thus, the Rarámuri had developed a continuous fear of this climatic balance between the subterranean and terrestrial, which had probably started long before they moved to their colonial and current habitat. This fear is still deeply rooted in the "upper" subgroups. On the other hand, rain is quite rare in the lowlands and valleys of the Lower Tarahumara. It is a substance which is valued by all the communities. Batopilas Rarámuri who live in the lowlands also fear the ecologic balance but for exactly opposite reasons. They fear that the rain might not come at all. Hence, if the inhabitants of, e.g., ejido Munerachi are scared, they are scared by the lack of water, not water itself. There is a stream called Munerachi which runs through the community of Munerachi. It does not dry up in the dry season and, due to its clean water, the inhabitants use it for recreational purposes, fishing, diving, etc. Munerachi people are definitely not scared by water. However, those members of the

53 *"... it wasn't any life-giving symbol, rather they were afraid of it – and even today they are – because of its destructive and mortal force."*

54 According to Velasco Rivero, S. J. the old (colonial) indications that talked of the use of water for this purpose do not exist. It is rather on the contrary: we have many data about how water, according the Rarámuri imaginings, harms and has negative magic power, which T. de Tardá y Guadalajara noted as early as in the late seventeenth century, or venomous snakes based on the legends live in it, which the ethnographers Bennett and Zingg noted in the Samachique area, etc. (cf. Velasco Rivero, S. J. 1987: 426).

55 It is impossible make the equation "altiplano = Upper Tarahumara," "valleys and canyons = Lower Tarahumara" because the altiplano area overlaps its territory and on other hand we find many canyons in the territory of the Upper Tarahumara.

ejido who live in alpine mesas and rarely come to the valley (e.g., people from La Gavilana, Mesa Quimova, Sorichique) share the same fears as people from the alpine mountain nikas in the Upper Tarahumara. Differences in the perception of the water element have religious consequences: in the Panalachi area, Carichi, Bocoyna, Creel and in other areas of the Upper Tarahumara, water baptism is not very frequent. The same is true also for the inhabitants of ejido Munerachi who live in higher altitudes. This means that *ritual kinship* is not very frequent either. Most of the cases of this type of social relation was observed among those inhabitants who permanently live in the lowlands or who cyclically change their residence, but their life is connected to the lower part of their microhabitat socially, culturally, and ecologically.

Some ethnographers who did field research among the Rarámuri attempted to study both types of baptism as two independent variables because they viewed the parallel existence of this "double baptism"[56] as a kind of *collective schizophrenia* (cf. Fried 1969, 1977: 267). They failed to realize the baptisms' symbolic organic coherence of structure: Rarámuri perceive the world as a unified whole full of binary oppositions. This is still one of the most important ones: fire (*na'i*) = sun (*rayénari*) = terrestrial world = masculine element vs. water (*ba'wí*) = moon (*mechá*) = water (subterranean) world = feminine element.[57] Mexican Indians, not only Rarámuri, frequently identify this binary opposition with Virgin Mary of Guadalupe and her native denominations (e.g., Warupa in Rarámuri – a garble of the Spanish expression Guadalupe). These two worlds have to exist next to each other in harmony and balance so that life on earth can be possible, harmonic and balanced. This Rarámuri ritual thus attempts to create climatic balance by using symbolic forms, making sure that the family small fields are repeatedly and regularly prosperous and individual can lead a good life.

By accepting Christianity and its act of baptism by "holy water" which was subsequently syncretized (if not even *synthetized* as it was in the case of for example Chiapas Tzeltals),[58] Rarámuri enter the road of "second ethnic-

56 Slaney somewhat simplifies when she speaks about the *double baptism*, because the first case is not concerned with baptism but evidently with the ancient symbolic agrarian ritual connected with the Cult of the Sun which is identified as fire which she awakens (cf. Slaney 1997: 282).

57 One more principle is extended in the cosmology of Panalachi Rarámuri. It is identified with the female element – the serpent – connected, as we mentioned, among the other northwestern groups with water, rain and the cult of fertility.

58 Cf. Maurer 1984. Among the Tzeltals but among the Yucatán Maya as well exist both religious "levels" side by side as more or less equivalent and culturally balanced, i.e., neither of these levels is superior or inferior to the other.

ity". On the ethnic level, it is quite symbolic as it does not have a very strong influence on an overall change of ethnicity, unless it is followed by further steps that could lead to such a change [permanent migration, acculturation with the mestizo (monolingual) environment, etc.]. This "second ethnicity" thus mostly reveals itself on an individual, social level as it directly concerns the native newly-baptized, parents and godparents (*padrinos*). Based on the ritual, which is called *water baptism* (we could also speak about the second baptism) by Slaney, they all enter a permanent ritual (fictional) kinship. By the ritual connection of *padrinos* with *padres* they become *compadres* and the institution of *ritual compadrazgo* is established.

On a general level, ritual compadrazgo has several main features: 1. relationships between the biological parents and the fictional parents are based on *bilateral principles* (mutual rights and obligations – respect (*respeto*) is the most important one) that stress the ritual character of the dual system and its crucial importance to the social structure.[59] 2. *Padrinos*, who are often chosen by parents,[60] will determine the first social *status* of the child by their assisting at the baptismal font. The act of baptism can take place in three different places: traditionally in church where the act is conducted by a professional Roman Catholic priest. Then it can take place at the home of the biological or social parents where the Catholic priest may again conduct the act. However, it is more frequent that, in the case of baptism at home, a native clergyman conducts the act. If none of them is available, the padrino can take their place. 3. During this act, the baptized child gains a "double personal identity": parents give the child a name and the child also gets a name of a saint who will become the child's patron saint. 4. More than entering the church life, the act of baptism is the setting of the relationship between the child and all its godparents. Within this institution, there are obligations the child has to his/her godparents. These obligations within *compadrazgo* are often more important than the obligations to the Catholic Church even though ideally, padrinos should oversee the child's socialization within the church.[61]

59 The compadres must carry out many obligations after closing of the social affinity. Among the Rarámuri mutual aid is obligatory during all rural works and with it connected rituals, a house construction, organization of community or ejido works, preparations of political or religious events, etc.

60 Where the choice of *padrinos* by the parents of a child prevails, some authors speak about the *compadrinazgo* accentuating a larger share of the padrinos in the socialization of the baptized child.

61 This check on the religious development of the baptist is particularly valid where the padrinos are mestizos or ladinos and the godson (ahijado) is indigenous but, e.g., among the Batopilas or the Munerachi Rarámuri the institution of social affinity is more complicated.

These four features were selected as they are the most important for the analysis of ritual kinship on a more general level in the researched subarea (ejido). It is important to remember that each of these features might be different among the individual native Mexican groups as well as within one indigenous group or even within a subgroup of the same ethnic group like was shown among the Rarámuri. We also cannot forget that apart from these features there are many individual differences. Some of these will be discussed and analyzed in the following section.

6. *Fictional Kinship* in Ejido Munerachi (Munerachi, Mesa Yerba Buena)

Let us now go back to the meeting in Munerachi described above. In order to better interpret this event, it is essential to answer the questions that have been asked in connection with it. First of all: Why does this meeting take place in front of Antonio García Cubesare's home? What is the real (hidden) meaning of this meeting and how to place it in the broader context of the ejido or in community events? At first, we had thought that the event had a purely political and promotional purpose. This was partly true especially for those inhabitants of the ejido who came from other communities in order to take part. After the pre-election event ended, and after several conversations, we learnt that there is a relation between Emilio Bustillos Monjarréz and the family of Alejandro García Cubesare. Referring to the theoretical concept of Sidney Mintz and Eric Wolf (1950), this relationship could be labeled as an expression of *vertical solidarity* which is based on connecting people from two different social classes. Originally, Mintz and Wolf suggested that, when communities are closed (*self-contained*) or when they constitute the only social class in a class society, *compadrazgo* becomes primarily an intra-group mechanism. However, if the communities consist of several juxtaposed social classes, then this institution helps to organize exchanges between the classes. Predominance of one of these patterns depends on the meaning and frequency of socio-cultural and economic mobility, which can be real or presumed (cf. Mintz, Wolf 1950: 358, Gudeman 1971: 45). The case that was observed in Munerachi does not come under any of the types mentioned above, as in this case the institutionalization of social kinship is not developed inside one community. It is not intra-community or intra-group kinship and thus, in this case, it is not the "instrument" of strengthening adaptive mechanisms of persons who share a mutual *intra-ethnic*

space and usually belong[62] to the same social class. In Munerachi, we can now find all three main "types" of ritual kinship. However, they all have other varieties and all mingle together.

The first type is the *horizontal, intra-group, intra-ejido* type of kinship. Before certain social stratification, this used to be the only type as almost all the inhabitants engaged in it. It did not matter whether they were or were not ejido members (people from the community Kirare might be an exception, but we do not have direct information about this community). In Munerachi, this type is in the hands of the native inhabitants. It is a pre-Hispanic socio-cultural feature, and it is horizontal as the exchange takes place among more or less socially equal partners.

The second type is the *vertical inter-group extra-ejido* system of fictional kinship. On the general level, this type is characterized by creating a fictional relation between a member of mestizo (Ladino) society [it is usually a man (padrino) but it can also be a woman (madrina) or both at the same time (padrinos)] and the baptized child and its parents. Biological parents and padrinos become compadres. The different social and economic position between mestizos and the majority of Munerachi Rarámuri, as well as the fact that they belong to different social classes, set the verticality of this relation. This exchange is also interethnic and it usually originates and is developed outside the borders of the native community or the ejido. It usually takes place in the Batopilas church where the Munerachi children are baptized. During baptism, there is at least one biological and one new (fictional) mestizo parent present. This type of ritual kinship is the only one connected with the act of water baptism.[63]

62 Neither the Rarámuri in ejido Munerachi are a homogenous social mass because within the ejido there are also social differences.

63 Maybe the only exception within the scope of this type of the "ritual extended family" is the North American white man Romayne Wheeler, who was socially affiliated as an *ahijado* into his new family not on the basis of a Catholic baptist ritual but on the basis of the Rarámuri custom when the tesgüino feast was ordered in Ranchería Sorichique in ejido Munerachi on the occasion of Romayne's ritual affinity. This is perhaps only a case of the vertical (in this case with the exception that is concerned with intra-ejido alliance) inter-ethnic and inter-group fictitious affinity in the territory of ejido Munerachi when a member of one (higher) social level was adopted by the family members from a lower (Rarámuri) social level. The mestizos from Cerro Colorado were not brought in, to our knowledge, in 2001 on the intra-ejido fictitious social plexus. This is probably due to the fact that practically each Munerachi Rarámuri family at the time when they began to settle (they are mostly recent immigrants from Veracruz as noted previously) was already long ago part of the *regional plexus of compadrazgo*.

The third type is currently marginal and is the *vertical intra-group intra-ejido* system that is approaching the second type. This is due to a fast "mestization" on the part of the Rarámuri population in the territory of the ejido. We encountered this type during our first stay in Tarahumara in 1992 when doing a shorter research in the community of Mesa Yerba Buena. We put this type in a separate category, but we could as well consider it to be a variant of the first as it originated a relatively short time ago and its form is still developing. The origin of this intra-community social division can be seen in several factors: one is found in the building of a dirt road in the second half of the nineteen-eighties which originated as a diversion from the main road connecting Creel and Batopilas. This road leads only to the lower side of the community where most of the people now live. In this place, there is an elementary school, a small CONASUPO[64] grocery shop which also sells other basic goods, a volleyball and basketball field, a church of the Virgin Mary of Guadelupe, a small prison and most importantly, *komerách*i.[65] The community of Mesa Yerba Buena can be characterized as a vertical sedentary location divided into two parts (subcommunities). The lower (main) zone is located on the *mesa* itself at an elevation of 800m. In this horizontal part, almost every important political, economic, social, and cultural event of the community takes place. The second (upper) part consists of ten to twelve dispersed estates located in a much bigger vertical territory at about 1,000 – 1,600m above sea level, 3 to 6 kilometers away from the lower part.[66] During the nineties, several families succeeded (apart from other things thanks to economic help from ritual relatives) in moving to the lower part of the community. In this way, they were able to escape poverty and growing social marginalization. For various reasons, a few families have not succeeded at this inner, local migration

64 CONASUPO (*Compañía Nacional de Subsistencias Populares = National Company of Popular Subsistences*) is a vertically integrated distributional system of the basic commodities which is mainly wide-spread in the marginal (above all indigenous and rural) areas of Mexico. It is also an autonomous public company which competes with the private distributors and vendors who also invest in the developmental programs in the backward regions of the country where almost all the territory of Sierra Tarahumara belongs, including mestizo cities such as Batopilas (for more details, cf., e.g., Tharp Hilger 1980: 471-494).

65 The greater Rarámuri communities have a place generally called *komerách*i (which is probably derived from the Spanish word comunidad). There all the important community events take place. They are generally of profane character, while the tesgüino feasts take place mostly on the land of some family or other.

66 Only this one community on the eastern fringe of the ejido has by estimation 40 km² or perhaps a little more.

and thus are trapped in social isolation. It could be said that they have to face a *second marginalization* as the community itself is placed in a high level of marginality. In 1992, these differences that had originated only shortly before, were so strong that the relation between the lower and the upper inhabitants was reminiscent of social interaction between the indigenous and mestizos in many ways. This ethnically, linguistically and culturally purely native community has been so socially dichotomized that this rapid phenomenon could be called *social mestization*. In some individual cases, this has lead to temporary *social parvenuism* – disruption of once firm intra-community and family commonality. During a very short time, blood-related relatives have stopped communicating. When one of the men got rich due to closer relations with the Batopilas retailers (e.g., by selling his wife's products in CONASUPO and thus creating a bigger demand for her *watowéke*[67]), the "parvenu's" brother stayed "under the overhanging rock."[68] Lower Yerba Buena has quickly become an estranged social space for the inhabitants of the upper part and so they attempted to avoid it. The events of modernization brought about a multiple process that has disturbed old social stability, intra-community social cohesion, and economic egalitarianism. At first, the community was divided into two antagonist subcommunities, "lower" and "upper." This was due to "mestization" tendencies which were started by the penetration of modernizing elements to the lower "half."[69] Then there was a short adaptation phase during which two differentiated social groups were formed. Their different social status could be observed well during various celebrations taking place in komeráchi. One of the Mexican holidays was administered by the ejido authorities, supervised by some Batopilas politicians, and assisted by all the

67 The Rarámuri women produce many baskets and scuttles of different sizes from natural material, above all from the leaves of sotole (*ru'yáka*), a botanic kind of agave. These products are sold by vendors in shops such as the Artesanías Tarahumara in Batopilas but above all in Creel, Guachochi, Chihuahua, etc. Sometimes the Rarámuri women themselves vend them in places frequented by tourists (e.g., railway-station Divisadero, the falls nearby Cusarare, etc.).

68 This is how one of the native informants living in the low part of Mesa Yerba Buena alluded to the dwellings of some upper inhabitants of the community.

69 In 1992, Mesa Yerba Buena had a permanent population of approximately 120, including children younger than five. Some of these people spent part of the year in Batopilas where they later wanted to move indefinitely. The approximate proportion between "lowers" and "uppers" was 70:50. The majority of the inhabitants were concentrated in the lower part. It is impossible to say that 70 persons of lower Mesa Yerba Buena were socially and economically at a higher level than 50 persons from the upper part of the subcommunity. Some families from the lower part lived socially on the fringe and their status was closer to the upper subcommunity.

inhabitants of the lower part. The ceremony consisted of several short political-historical speeches that were presented in front of the Mexican flag held by several older Rarámuri pupils. The speeches were in Spanish and they were delivered by one of the Rarámuri teachers and a regional politician. The whole event took place around the same time as the Cárdenas mexicanization of the indigenous people. While all the inhabitants of the lower subcommunity were direct actors in this event, the people from the upper parts, if they were present, stood further away, at the brim of or right behind the line of komeráchi, and they simply watched. The spread of this social gap was so rapid that that Patricio[70] and his relatives, who came to visit from another ejido community, were prevented from taking part in this acculturation ceremony by their own shyness and fear.

However, this social isolation cannot be perceived as resistance to acculturation or as defence against the penetration of modernity into the minds of the native inhabitants of the upper Yerba Buena subcommunity. This social intra-ethnic *splitting* was precipitated by rapid external events. It did not originate because of a spontaneous and slow process of adaptation. This new situation from the beginning of the nineties could perhaps be compared to the same period in our society after the break-up of a would-be egalitarian social system when some people got rich quite quickly and became, though often for a very short time, the same social parvenus as the Rarámuri from lower Yerba Buena. Both cases have the same principle: At the turn of the eighties and nineties in Yerba Buena, and after 1989 in Czechoslovakia, a social class of parvenus originated very quickly. This was not as evident in Tarahumara as in the post communist countries of central and southern Europe. Nevertheless, the result was the same in both cases: arrogance by these *nuevos ricos* towards "plebs." On one hand, the inhabitants of upper Yerba Buena became even more marginalized than they had been during the period of communary commonality; on the other hand, the fact that they were in this artificially created social isolation does not mean that they gave up the possibility of social approximation to mestizo society. It was quite different. The feelings of subordination inside one's own community make some inhabitants of the upper part travel the 20-kilometers to the county town of Batopilas more frequently. They offer their services for various municipal jobs and some of them have been successful after some

70 Patricio Gutiérrez Luna from the upper subcommunity was our main informant during the stay in Mesa Yerba Buena in November 1992.

time.[71] Patricio and some of his relatives have *resocialized* in the mestizo environment, but they have not succumbed to this cultural mestization. They have strengthened their intra-ethnic identity and despite the division of the territory, they have become respected members of the community. Even those who used to overlook them few years ago respect them. Thus, the social differences originally caused by different positions within the processes of acculturation were demonstrated at the level of "artificial" mental supremacy from the side of the lower ("we live like mestizos") rather than at the level of negation of mestizo culture from the upper ("we would also like to live like the mestizos but we can't as we live in the upper part) – cf. Halbich 1998: 61.

Over the past ten years, the gradual partial cultural (economic) and social mestization of some of the men from the upper part of Yerba Buena, which consisted of their engagement in the process of small accumulation of capital (work for county authorities or private companies), has wiped out the old social differences to an extent.

Probably caused by the penetration of elements of modernization, two types or ritual kinship have developed in Yerba Buena in the last twenty years. These types are known from Munerachi but here it is doubled in some cases: 1. the older type – fictional kinship between Batopilas mestizos and Rarámuri (*vertical, inter-group extra-ejido*). This most common type of ritual relation, where a mestizo becomes a patron of the baptized child, had probably existed even before the community of Mesa Yerba Buena was founded. Ancestors of the native settlers used to live in Munerachi, and before that they had lived even closer to Batopilas and thus they had been in closer contact with mestizos. However, after founding the ejido of Munerachi and settling of one group in Mesa Yerba Buena, their relationships were disturbed and contacts were broken for several decades. They were renewed only after the new road was built and the community was not in isolation anymore. Some Batopilas and Rarámuri families from the lower part established ritual kinship based on the principles of *compadrazgo*. Mestizo padrinos were then consciously strengthening the occurring social differentiation of Yerba Buena ejido members, and they supported the creation of a hidden intra-ethnic border between the inhabitants of the lower and upper part that meant splitting the community into two

[71] In 1992 P. G. Luna, a poor unemployed "upper" resident supported his family by selling small art products. In 2001 he was a day-laborer; he worked more in Batopilas than in M. Y. Buena where he lived with his extended family in a new little house in the upper part.

subcommunities.[72] A detailed analysis of the reasons for re-establishing these social relations lead us to the conclusion that it is due to economic and political interests. Small deposits of silver were discovered in the river valleys in the territory of the community. Members of a supranational mining company wanted to access these deposits and so got together with some Batopilas citizens who then approached the local foremen who were leading the community and had certain authority in the territory of the whole ejido. From 1992 to 2001, there were some ruptures after the real purposes of these "ritual" relations. The situation got better only after all the parties (company representatives, "selected" mestizos and representatives of the community and ejido authorities) pragmatically agreed to co-operate and share the stake of exploiting the ejido's mineral resources. During this time when the two disunited parties did not communicate much and the social relations between the native *ahijados* and Batopilas *compadres* were broken, some inhabitants of the upper part were mestized in the way described above. That is how the second (sub)type of ritual kinship was developed in Mesa Yerba Buena.

However, the *vertical-horizontal intra-group* kinship cannot be considered fictional as it was formed in many cases between the members of one bigger family. Then the following question has to be asked: Why did this unexpected return to social bonding occur? One of the answers is the understandable reaction of the lower inhabitants who felt cheated and they stopped believing in the *horizontal* social adaptation to the mestizo way of life. The second reason was the fact that they started to realize that they were becoming estranged from their relatives and they tried to renew old relationships and communication. The last, but perhaps the most important, reason was the pragmatic purposes – the attempt to have more influence over the share of the possible fortune from silver and other metal deposits in the bed of the local stream. In order to prevent the situation when the company representatives and mestizos would look for allies in the upper part of the community, it was essential to renew old family relations. This rare type of social compadrazgo was established mostly by a pre-Hispanic ceremony of drinking tesgüino or sometimes by Catholic water baptism directly in the communities or in Batopilas' church.

This fast social *demestization* was not simple and direct as many of the upper inhabitants had been ritually connected to Batopilas' mestizo families.

72 Personal communication with the emeritus Jesuit missionary P. Gallegos, who has worked on missions in Sierra Tarahumara since 1959 (Batopilas, June 2001).

However, there was a certain advantage and that was that contacts with these families were quite sporadic and they had become more formal. People from upper Yerba Buena thus did not feel as loyal to their Batopilas padrinos as in other ejido communities (in Munerachi or among some families in Coyachique, Santa Rita or Sorichique). In this situation, nothing prevented the "reconciliation" process between the two "differentiated" subcommunities to be successful even though it was undoubtedly based on pragmatic reasons. One of its visible results was a certain weakening of the social parvenuism as the family relationships would not be renewed if there had not been at least a formal evening of social gaps. Starting in the second half of the nineties, this *mixed (double)* type of social kinship started to appear in Mesa Yerba Buena. Within this type, one native *ahijado* had at least two *padrinos*: one older mestizo parent who was fictional (ritual), and one native parent who was a blood-related person. This subtype is unique not only in the ejido but it probably does not even exist in other sub-regions of the current Rarámuri habitat. We could name it *schizophrenic compadrazgo* as it best describes its nature – a real disunity of these relations. Despite the broken contacts mentioned above, this institution still has its rules and obligations. This new social situation complicated old bilateral "contract" relations and became the starting point for the strengthening of social positions for people from the lower part. Their position was strengthened within the community, but it also influenced their relationship with mestizo padrinos who started to be overshadowed. Thus, there is a very interesting paradox: on one hand, repeated (though more hidden and perhaps not very strong) social superiority led to the strengthening of an intra and extra-ejido ethnicity. On the other hand, because this "second godparenthood" could not occur only formally, i.e., "once in a blue moon," it had to be constantly revitalized in the spirit of the "ancient"[73] Rarámuri tradition which required regular strengthening of ritual and social cohesion. These dramatic and quickly changing social events could perhaps reflect the thesis of Radcliffe-Brown regarding the development of any community. When the members of this community get into a conflict or they are estranged for some reason, things return to the same *social equilibrium* after some time. However, we think that the situation in Mesa Yerba Buena is more complex or at least more ambiguous. In any

73 We think that the Rarámuri custom of the ritual reinforcing of social relations dates back to the time when they lived a sedentary life but in small, relatively isolated little groups separated by natural barriers, that is, most probably shortly before the arrival of the Spaniards.

case, even such a small community of not even a hundred permanent inhabitants is not a stable and static social body where no social divergences or strong interpersonal and inter-family disagreements could take place. Even this small village community, which has been socially coherent for many years, is not completely immune to changes and pressures caused by the external social environment; local, extralocal and economic interests attempt to penetrate this community if this community controls (or shares the control of) natural resources. In this case, it shows that if the inter-community or inter-group alliance is not based on *social horizontality*, then at the moment when this dominance is obvious, leaders of the community and instigators of the social stratification provoke the process of renewing the original intra-community unity – social equilibrium. At the same time, it is apparent that these individuals want to keep a certain social dominance within the community and so look for such a mechanism of *regeneration* that will secure their future dominance. Outwardly, in relationship to mestizo society, which they have to co-exist with in some way, it might seem that this is an expression of so-called Durkheim *mechanic solidarity* as a mechanism of defense which is introduced by every community at the moment of external peril. However, development in the community up to now shows that once the social equilibrium is disturbed, it is very difficult to return to the original situation. In other words, the process of return to intra-community social horizontality is initiated. This horizontality has holes, though, and it is bent to some extent. Generally, all the Rarámuri subregional groups (from the mountains or lowlands, upper or lower, based on transhumance sedentary, ejido or extra-ejido, pagótame or pagan) are *communities of fiestas* (cf., e.g., Kennedy 1963,[74] Velasco Rivero 1987, Bonfiglioli 1995, etc.), which are the basic and constantly repeating mechanism of socialization that strengthens and renews the inner social commonality. In the period when the inhabitants of lower Mesa Yerba Buena started to be mesticized, this mechanism was strongly weakened as the rotation method of organizing tesgüinadas, which made the community stick together, was being abandoned. Even in this most important socio-cultural feature, the village community was split into the "rich" tesgüinadas organized by the inhabitants of the lower part and "poor" or even no fiestas accompanied by ritual drinking in the upper part. Apart from

74 E.g., J. Kennedy 1963: 24 estimates that each Rarámuri consumes about 100 days a year in activities connected with suwí drinking. Whereas the pagan community Aboréachi lies in the Batopilas district, it is possible to suppose that it is similar to some communities of ejido Munerachi.

this social splitting, local inhabitants also suffered a smaller disaster[75] caused by a deluge of water during the period of rains. This led to a local humanitarian catastrophe. Some lost their houses and their food supplies for the dry period, but more importantly, small maize milpas, pastures, palms and other plants, from which many artistic or utility goods were made, were completely destroyed. These places had to undergo a several-year-long recuperation. The affected were helped partly by the state of Chihuahua, less by the Jesuit mission in Creel,[76] but almost by nobody from the lower part, which was not damaged by the silts of mud and stones. This catastrophe brought together the families from the upper part which were forced to permanently or temporary leave their homes and move somewhere else within the upper part. In some cases two or more complete or incomplete nuclear families moved in together[77] into one suitable place where they built new homes together. The principle of "mechanic solidarity" really occurred only at the moment when interests of several richer Rarámuri started to be endangered by mestizos, mestizo-Rarámuri and the mining company. Tesgűinadas, the organizing of which is a very prestigious matter in Rarámuri society, could be due to the natural disaster held only in the lower part (there were some exceptions though). They could be organized only by those families who had either an abundance of crops meant for their own consumption, or they could afford to buy enough corn *nixtamal* in the CONASUPO store or in one of the Batopilas shops.[78] After all the social upheaval that happened in Mesa Yerba Buena in the last twenty years, it seems that Mesa Yerba Buena still suffers from certain *social schizophrenia* inside the community. Its inhabitants found themselves in a chaotic

75 This landslide happened in M. Y. B. in the summer months (June-August) of 1991.

76 The Jesuit mission in Batopilas does not now have an influence on the events in the Rarámuri communities in this district or strictly speaking its membership does not make it possible to go to the native settlements in order to baptize, to celebrate mass or only to visit. Therefore the Jesuits from Creel and Norogachi shuttle back and forth although the Batopilas region does not belong formally to the jurisdiction of these missions.

77 This was the case of the family of Patricio Gutiérrez Luna which was involved in the flood. At the time of our stay in November 1992 eleven people from three nuclear families lived together below a small overhanging rock with a simple shelter which measured some 5 m². Later in the years 1996 and 2001 we were not directly in the community M. Y. B. but on the basis of an interview with P. G. Luna in April 2001 in Batopilas we found everyone disaffiliated and each family had its own little house near the lower part.

78 Rarámuri try to make tesgüino from the self-cultivated corn which they consider as sacred and as a gift of the supreme god *Onorúame*. The store-bought nixtamal or provisions acquired from resources other than their own dramatically lowered their social prestige as compared to their community neighbors.

state resulting in an inability to orientate well in the current maze of intra- and extra-community or intra-ejido interests. Because of this, as a community unit, they enter a certain isolation from socially related communities inside ejido Munerachi, and from their ritual patrons in Batopilas, and even from their own relationships. Within the whole ejido, Mesa Yerba Buena is one of the economically richest communities. However, due to its social schizophrenia undoubtedly caused by the territorial division, it is in such social isolation that its foremen are not even considered for more important ejido positions. Only the future socio-economic development in the county of Batopilas will show whether there is enough of a microethnic feeling being formed to lead into a break from the mother ejido.[79] Economically, this would mean shifting to the minifundist way of production relationships which work now.

Let us now return to the second (*vertical inter-group extra-ejido*) model of social kinship observed and studied in the territory of ejido Munerachi. This type of social and interethnic relation is most common in ejido Munerachi and can be found in all the types of ejido communities. Mesa Yerba Buena (in which the situation is more complicated), Kirare and some other smaller ranchería communities in mountain valleys and mesas (e.g., Urichique) are exceptions.

Based on the conversations and further observations in and out of the ejido environment, we can conclude that the main reason for the Munerachi meeting from May 27th, 2001, was not mere cheap political promotion, but instead an elaborated expression of bilateral relations that were established long ago between the "colonial"[80] family of Bustillos and the "sedentary"[81] family of García Cubesare. Thus it was a *ritual of symbolic compadrazgo,* the organization of which was essential not only for primarily political purposes but also as a result of mutual obligations resulting from the families' old ritual connection through Catholic water baptism in Batopilas' church. This alliance is quite

79 In fact, it is not simple to leave the ejido formally because this one is *de jure* in the ownership of the founder, i.e., of the Chihuahua state which is not interested in the process of the economic and partially political independence of the partial ejido entities.

80 Emilio Bustillos Monjarréz is a descendant in direct line of one of the first immigrants to Batopilas in the middle of the 18th century. The Bustillos continue to belong to an esteemed family with a high social status at whose hands the economic and political power are concentrated, not only in the district but in the county.

81 The García Cubesare family belong rather to the more sedentary families in Munerachi who do not make a practice of vertical agriculture and pasturage. Antonio is the grandson or great-grandson of one of the first inhabitants of the Munerachi community founded probably in the early 20th century.

a complex maze of mutual social relations that have their detailed rules and so-called timetable that depends on the number of Catholic holidays (especially Semana Santa and La Guadalupana, but also celebrations connected with local saints – St.Martin de Porres, Corpus Christi, San Juan Bautista, etc.). If these holidays take place in the ejido komerách, they are always syncretic or perhaps synthetic (?) and they are often connected to a certain phase of the yearly agrarian cycle. These socio-religious relations are not being kept in their pure (religious) form within the mestizo-Rarámuri compadrazgo. If they take place in Batopilas' church or at Easter in a nearby church in Satevó, they become a mere formality. Apart from these socio-religious relations, there are also other reasons that are more visible and have essential meaning for interethnic and intersocial balance.

The majority of Rarámuri families from ejido Munerachi have their socio-ritual mestizo counterpart in Batopilas. Occasionally, their counterparts are found in towns that are further away, but these connections are being weakened.[82] The frequency of family meetings within the institution of compadrazgo thus differs depending on many variables: one of them is the *time period* when the kinship was established. If a relation like this has been continuing for several generations, the social bond between these families is usually much stronger than in the families where compadrazgo was established only short time ago. Another factor is a different *level of traditionality* in Rarámuri families. The level of traditionality seems to be much stronger at the ejido periphery (e.g., Ranchería Sorichique, Ranchería Urichique, San José, La Gavilana, Ocorare, etc.) than in its core (Ranchería Munerachi, Santa Rita). This strong traditionalism is surprising, for example, in the most populous ejido community Sorichique. There is a natural path from Sorichique and Samachique and then further to Upper Tarahumara. Several years ago, one of the four or five schools that are in the ejido was built in a daughter community in Huisuchi. Teachers in this school are mestizo or mestizo-Rarámuri and they commute.

82 If, e.g., the ahijado from Coyachique has his padrino in Creel or outside Batopilas such connection is reminiscent most of all of "adoption at a distance" because the ritual relatives practically do not meet and the mestizo godfather sends presents to his godson (e.g., cash) through another transmitter (Rarámuri or mestizo) who may go to the Upper Tarahumara and he transfers these presents at a prearranged point. The other case of the weakening or even the "dissolution" of the alliance is permanent migration of the Rarámuri families to Chihuahua or other big cities where there generally occurs an absolutely new socialization process whose one pattern is the finding of new inter- or intra-ethnic fictitious relatives (cf., e.g., Ramos Escobar 1997). The less common cases of the severing of ties is the migration of mestizo families from Batopilas to Chihuahua or much farther.

The inhabitants of Sorichique are not resistant to other elements of modernization – e.g., Centro Coordinadora de la Tarahumara installed a distribution system for drinking water in huge plastic barrels in Chihuaua; people take medicine brought from the Jesuit mission in Creel, etc. The main reason for their social traditionalism, which is reflected in preferring intra-ethnic fictional kinship, is probably the fact that the best maize in the whole ejido is "traditionally" grown in their milpas in horizontal valleys of the plateau. Maize, as the most holy "object" of Rarámuri life, is also *the most adhesive* social factor in almost every native community, and it is strongly ritualized. It is generally true that those members of the ejido whose lives are more connected to the agrarian cycle and especially maize are more bound to their land and contact with their mestizo ritual relatives (if they have any) is very limited and occasional.

A newer factor that is known in nearly every country of Latin America is the "*retraditionalization*" *of religion*. Ideas from non-Catholic and even non-Christian denominations and religious sects enter the pagótame of Rarámuri households with greater intensity. As a result, compadrazgo relations are ending as the implantation of new denominations is incongruous with preserving the rituals. This phenomenon appeared in some communities of ejido Munerachi, especially in Coyachique, in the middle of the nineteen-nineties.[83]

Another frequent reason for weakening or canceling the ritual relation is the worsening *economic situation* of mestizo padrinos who are then not able to pay for the expenses they promised to cover for their ahijado. In those cases, there is an attempt to find a different and richer padrino. In some cases, an ahijado's biological family might have *extreme requirements* – e.g., when a Rarámuri family requires more food supplies than the padrino family is able to provide, or when an ahijado's parents request education out of Batopilas county, etc.

Most of the meetings, motivated either by "secular" or religious reasons, take place in the house of the padrinos or in a church in town. When the compadrazgo ritual is connected to a political (pre-election) meeting, it takes place in the *komeráchi* of an important ejido foreman or in the komeráchi of one of the politician's ritual relatives. We could see the last case in Munerachi before the election in 2001. Based on observations of this meeting and of several other "bilateral" meetings, we can draw some **general conclusions**:

83 During our stay in Coyachique in 1992 all the local inhabitants were pagótame (baptized Catholics) while in 1996 and 2001 some individuals converted to a Protestant denomination.

1. In fact, the institution of compadrazgo is in its basic form a *dyadic (bilateral) contract* (usually with these relations: *compadre-compadre*[84] a *padrino-ahijado*),[85] usually there are also some other accompanying individuals who are caught in the compadrazgo social network.[86] This contract is based on *asymetrical reciprocity* (cf. Foster 1953: 9, Gudeman 1971: 46) given by the different social status (social verticalism).

2. Unlike the ejido, ritual dyadic compadrazgo is not a corporative social body but is based on the *selection* of patrons. This choosing of ritual relatives from the side of the natives then might be, and often is, a certain regulator of the intra-ethnic (intra-community) relations in the native population as well as mestizo community. That means that a higher social status on one side of the dyadic bond within one's own community might increase the status of the second side of this bond in the local society. This was also the case of the *compadres* we observed.

3. In most of the cases, the asymmetric (vertical) reciprocity means social dominance of the mestizo element. However, if a native compadre gains certain social prestige and influence in his community or in the whole ejido, certain *social status approximation* can be observed. This means that the social gaps seem to disappear in the compadre-compadre bond. The above-mentioned Munerachi ceremony has to be understood along the same lines. The roles of native compadre, host, and meeting organizer combined in one person demonstrated his social, economic, and political superiority over a certain part of the ejido and his community, even though he held no official position at that time (he was a semi-official distributor of medicine from outside).[87]

4. This type of compadrazgo can also be perceived as a (rather weak) *element of acculturation*. This element, however, does not lead to a cultural change.

84 Mintz, Wolf 1950: 341 focus more on this tie which is the decisive principle of compadrazgo which some authors (cf. Gudeman 1971: 46) rightly criticized because the relation padrino(s)-ahijado(s) is much more important.

85 E. Bustillos Monjarréz and A. García Cubesare are each other's *compadres* and the former is simultaneously the *padrino* of the Antonio's eldest son Rubén, who is his *ahijado*.

86 The number of individuals who are connected through the compadrazgo institution can be very high. So, e.g., Julio de la Fuente (1949) found out during his field-work in the Zapotec Mountain community Yalalag that the parents and grandparents of a ten-year-old child could be the godfathers (compadres) of as many as sixty people. (cf. Ravicz 1975[2]: 249). Ralph Beals 1946: 100-104 stated that the majority of the people in Tarascan Cherán had 20-25 compadres, Robert Redfield 1941: 222-223 reckoned about a thousand ahijados in relation to one padrino (!).

87 A. García Cubesare was not introduced into this function by the ejido authorities but by Creel Jesuits who provided medication to ejido Munerachi.

It is quite the contrary in many cases: cultural characteristics of a socially weaker group (Rarámuri in this case) might be significantly strengthened and declining cultural expressions of the native community might be revitalized. Interethnic compadrazgo thus unknowingly helps to renew those cultural characteristics which have been forgotten by the community (e.g., some families have given up organizing tesgüinadas for economic reasons or they have had to reduce their number – hence their social intracommunity status was decreased). Mestizo-indigenous godparenthood is thus primarily a social mechanism (an expression of social identity) which can influence the weakening or strengthening of cultural identity.

5. The type of relation that we could see in the case of compadrazgo between Bustillos Monjarréz and García Cubesare can thus be named a *transitive type* between the complementary and symmetric schizmogenesis (cf. Bateson 1935). An originally socially unbalanced relation has changed into a more symmetric (more equal, horizontal) form of mutual contact. According to Bateson, this type of contact can be observed among European nations, villages, clans, etc. It seems that both sides of the dyadic contract have become part of one community without having had to leave their own microhabitat permanently.

6. In order for compadrazgo to be at least partly socially horizontal, it has to be *mutually advantageous*. Obligations resulting from the ritual kinship have to be acceptable for both parties of the contract even though in fact, one of the sides can be in a more advantageous position at some point (as we could see in the Bustillos Monjarréz – García Cubesare case). As said above, most of the compadrazgo meetings take place in Batopilas. Theoretically, even this preelection meeting could have taken place in the house of a mestizo protégé or in the open space in the center of the town that is meant for these purposes. All the ejido members could have been invited to this space and they could have been introduced to the program of the IRP candidate who is traditionally elected by the Munerachi. If this had happened, it probably would not have influenced the election results. Nevertheless, it is necessary that the ritual communication took place in the home environment of the native part of the contract party. Thus, the Bustillos Monjarréz – García Cubesare and many other similar meetings can be perceived as a *symbolic social ritual*. Its main purpose is to strengthen the prestige within one's own community or ejido by making this "family" meeting public. By organizing such a meeting, the importance of the native ritual partner is also demonstrated – prestige is strengthened in the

relation to him. Even though the meeting had a great significance from a social perspective, to some extent, it seemed quite comical – as a certain persiflage of the fictional kinship that was viewed by a large audience of native guests.[88] Actors of this meeting probably did not realize the ridiculousness of the situation, but we perceived it as a certain *act of humiliation*, a hidden revenge for the continuing differences in both neighboring communities.

7. Finally, the institution of the mestizo-Rarámuri compadrazgo has an obvious *extending sociability character* as local interethnic and intersocial spaces are being widened, extended and interconnected so that one social space grows into another and vice versa. Because of compadrazgo,[89] the ejido and Batopilas habitat are growing externally and coming together in a social sense as we can observe the process of a certain *social spatial coalescence* that brings advantages to both sides. In this sense, this is probably a subtype that was named by Mintz and Wolf 1950: 357 *compadrazgo de voluntad* (godparenthood based on mutual agreement established in order to strengthen local intersocial bonds), i.e., establishing fictional kinship with the aim of preventing aggression in the territory of the relevant subregion.

7. Upper Tarahumara and the Causes of the Disintegration of Interethnic Relations

Mestizo-Rarámuri ritual kinship, which is confirmed formally especially by water baptism, is not that common in the subregions of Upper Tarahumara (Creel, Bocoyna, Sisoguichi, Panalachi, Carichi, Cusarare, Tomochi, etc.) or in some areas of Lower Tarahumara (Balleza, Nonoava, etc.) even though it is here where the pagótame Rarámuri live. Reasons for this cannot be found in the fact that Rarámuri from these areas are generally lukewarm to the Catholic way of baptism or are so scared of water that they refuse it for this reason. It is true that at least the Rarámuri from the plateaus are often afraid of water,

88 The road from Cerro Colorado to Munerachi is not simple. It is full of natural obstacles and it is hard to imagine that anybody had the courage to walk there voluntarily or because of some electoral votes. The arrivals had to come to the Cubesare house, which lies only some meters above the level of the community komérachi, where local meetings or other meetings with the mestizo visitors take place.

89 On the basis of our investigation in 2001 we estimate that in ejido Munerachi the majority of the population participate in the system of mestizo-native ritual affinity (about 80%, maybe more). The community Kirare is of course an exception as well as M. Y. B. where the *mixed (parallel) type* of the ritual affinity is developing now.

however, they usually accept baptism. In many cases, they do it in churches in town rather than in their communities which is very different from those in Batopilas who are often baptized in their *karí*.[90] Nevertheless, the act of "direct baptism" is more common here. The priest baptizes the child without the assistance of mestizo social relatives. In these cases, a child's biological parents or his blood-related relatives are the child's godparents.

The reason why the ritual mestizo-Indian compadrazgo has not taken root in these areas or why it has not been institutionalized can be found in several factors. Upper Tarahumara and the eastern and south-eastern part of Lower Tarahumara are a more open space, and now, thanks to more quality roads, they are more apt to the migration processes of the indigenous, mestizo, and creole population. This means that mutual relations between the two basic ethnic and social groups (Rarámuri and mestizos), if they ever existed, are more and more often being disturbed or are dying out under the influence of the movement (lasting several days, seasons or permanently) of both parts of inhabitants to large towns. This spontaneous and often very wild social mobility[91] within the Upper Tarahumara habitat practically disables establishing narrower and stable neighbor (interethnic) bonds. A good example of this is Creel, the most dynamically developing town of the northern Tarahumara subarea. Creel consists mainly of immigrants as 90% of its inhabitants come from different parts of Mexico, and now also from the USA and Europe. These people settled in Creel only twenty or thirty years ago. The situation in Bocoyna and Nonoava is very similar to Creel. On the contrary, the Batopilas microregion, thanks to its enclosed natural space, is more stable from the perspective of social mobility. There can still be found descendants of several "old resident waves" of mestizos with very close relations to local Rarámuri. The coexistence of mestizos and Rarámuri in the north does not require establishing complex social bonds in the form of fictional kinship as this subarea is being melted in the postmodern flow of uncontrolled social mobility by its inhabitants.

Even though the institution of compadrazgo is very rare, or at least less transparent, in these northern subregions, it does not mean that there would be no contact between the local Rarámuri and the majority mestizo group.

90 *Karí* = in Rarámuri "house," "dwelling:" more or less in accordance with how we understand it.

91 We understand the "savage" form of the social mobility to be the chaotically organized migration processes whose result is the creation of the tens of ghettos on the fringe of Chihuahua, Ciudad Juárez and some other cities.

Mestizo Creel[92] was founded at the beginning of the twentieth century, at the close of the porfiriat. For a long time, it was an inconsequential village where the first regional *aserraderos* (lumber mills) were established. Since the middle of the sixties, it has become one of the new-found tourist centers. It was the bases of further expansion to the natural and "ethnic" reservation, Barrancas del Cobre, on the boundary of Upper and Lower Tarahumara. At the beginning of the eighties a bigger tourist boom started, and Creel and its surroundings became the centripetal space for thousands of Rarámuri who had permanently settled outside the plateau. Wide horizontal valleys surrounding Creel have become home for hundreds of Rarámuri immigrant families who have quickly adapted to two means of subsistence: *traditional* (growing maize) and *modern* (both sexes are engaged in tourist activities, men can also work in the wood industry). Local Rarámuri were thus involved in a regular (legal) process of capital accumulation and started to partake directly (and for payment) in both the modernization of the whole area and also its uncontrolled exploitation. Because many Rarámuri men and women are employed as paid workers in lumber mills and shops of *Artesanías Tarahumara/Rarámuri*,[93] there have been some radical changes in interethnic relations. When compared to occasional meetings within the institution of compadrazgo, the intensity of mutual relations between mestizos and Rarámuri is much stronger as it is often daily and omnipresent. If we perceive compadrazgo as an element which strengthens social stability and, to some extent, gives Indian compadres a feeling of their own importance in the relationship to mestizo society, then in those areas where this institution has disappeared or is very weak, we cannot speak about this stability. Mutual relations are usually based on a strict relationship between employer (in most of the cases it is a mestizo, creole or a white person) and worker (Indian, mestizo, or creole). This means that any Rarámuri employee working in the lumber mill could be dismissed based on the employment contract just as any other employee. In the middle of the nineties, there was a massive wave of dismissals as hundreds of lumber mills were closed down in a short time due to the reckless felling of pines and oak trees. In

92 E.g., 5000 permanent population lived in Creel in about 2000. The majority were mestizos, creoles and white men. Rarámuri had their shabby dwellings on the fringe of the village below the cave dwellings in the surroundings of Creel.

93 These are small shops with the regional „ethno-products" whose sale was in the nineties on the increase but the market with these products is saturated now and their distribution is more and more difficult (with the exception of the production of violins).

this situation, the gaps between these two groups showed once again. While, due to their great social mobility[94], mestizo employees quickly moved to other lumber companies in other subregions[95] of Rarámuri or completely changed fields[96], Rarámuri employees must have experienced a "cultural shock"; instead of commuting from their unfinished houses in the valleys of Onárasi, San Ignacio, Gonogochi, Arareco to their work in Creel or Bocoyna, they suddenly found themselves without jobs and unable to understand what was going on and why. The progressing process of socio-economic inclusion stopped, and they had to face social exclusion and cultural readaptation. These "mestizo-Rarámuri" (some of them spoke better Spanish than Rarámuri) had to return to their desolate maize milpas, to the horizontal shepherding of cattle or raising poultry. Some of them (only a minority) succeeded in readaptation (deacculturalization) and returned to their "culture of maize" and tesgüinadas. Nevertheless, most of them did not know how to cope with this unexpected situation, and they have been oscillating between the "culture of tequila" and the old tradition. In the majority of cases, it is the Rarámuri men who have existed between the village and town, and thus they find themselves unable to fully integrate into the modern social space and also unable return to the places where they used to be socialized and encultured. Unlike men, women are usually not touched by modernity. Their everyday life is still centered on bringing up children, selling small art objects for little money, and making corn griddle cakes for personal use and profit. One of the most typical result of massive unemployment is the disintegration of the Indian family unit. There are more and more *matrifocal* Indian families as it is typical for other Mexican families. Rarámuri men have adopted patterns of behavior that are characteristic of the mestizo *machos* who leave their wives, with whom they usually had many children[97], and start new

94 On the basis of a passing inquiry we found out that the majority of immigrants moved to Chihuahua from many federal states of Mexico (e.g., Baja California Norte, Sonora, Sinaloa, Michoacán, Veracruz, Oaxaca, etc.).

95 About ten years ago the majority of saw-millowners moved from the area around Bocoyna, San Juanito and Creel to the southern subregions of the colonial Tarahumara to the districts of Guadalupe y Calvo, Guachochi or Morelos.

96 Those mestizos who did not find a place in new lumbering companies moved to cities where they opened, e.g., small night clubs, eateries (among others, the known *tortillerías*) or they work as laborers, etc. Some of them stay in the rural milieu, e.g., as staff in the extensive fruit haciendas of the Chihuahua new latifundists.

97 In Baja California Sur in June 2001 we met a Mexican man who had 17 children with his first wife in Sinaloa Culiacán. This did not stop him from leaving them and starting a new family. He had no information about his original family.

families thousands of kilometers away. In many cases, these men change their identities. Only the close future will show us where this development might lead. Today, it seems that mestizo-Rarámuri tend to permanently leave their native communities and ranches and stay in towns where they often struggle even more than in their milpas. It seems that exchanging suwí (tesgüino) for tequila, scarves for *sombreros* or sandals *aká* for shoes is so tempting for many men that their assimilation (no matter how chaotic it is) is inevitable.

The relatively new phenomenon of Rarámuri *machoism* has another negative social consequence: the movement of large matrifocal families (often more than ten members) to large towns, especially Chihuahua, where there are several hundreds of them living in many marginal districts. In some cases, the families split: one part stays in the original habitat, the other moves out permanently. As many native inhabitants leave Upper Tarahumara, mestizos are starting to gain a majority in this subregion as the social movement of this group is much more intensive than in the indigenous group. If in the first case, the following pattern can be traced: *immigration: short time settlement : repeated migration* ; in the case of the (upper) Tarahumara, *longer time settlement* is followed by *permanent* or *short-term migration* to towns. These are only a few explanations for the development of social contacts between the Rarámuri and the majority society in some subregions of Upper Tarahumara and the county of Batopilas.

8. Conclusion

We can conclude that local Rarámuri tend to be influenced by mestization, acculturation, and assimilation. However, because these processes are more spontaneous and chaotic and not based on any social or interethnic "contract", there are also huge social status gaps where the "pure" Tarahumara stand on the lowest level of the social hierarchy. Nevertheless, those we called mestizo-Rarámuri are probably in a less advantageous position as they have been uprooted from their native environment but have not quite assimilated to the new one. The new social environment, where the largest part of the population are mestizos, considers these mestizo-Rarámuri to be an inferior group that has been encultured in a different context and so is without a culture and thus unable to be integrated to current circumstances. The social interaction of these three basic groups (mestizo, mestizo-Rarámuri or meso-Rarámuri, and "pure" Rarámuri) can be best observed in the pedestrian area in the center of

Chihuahua, where clearly separated *microislands* are formed. These *microislands* communicate rather sporadically (if at all), and thus there has not been any significant exchange of information or the creation a local commonality[98].

On the other hand, the well-developed institution of compadrazgo among the mestizo citizens of Batopilas and many current Munerachi ejido members (in many cases descendants of Rarámuri inhabitants from the pre-ejido period[99]) is the result of a complex history of regional social relations. These relations have been developing in certain history sinusoids since the end of the 17th century when both groups (mestizos and Indians) were coexisting in the region for the first time (until the beginning of the 20th century, the area was inhabited by Rarámuri, Tubar and northern Tepehuan who have recently started to immigrate or re-emigrate to the area, and thus have helped to increase the slowly growing demographic majority of the native population). In certain periods, blacks, mulatos, zambos, North Americans, and people from many European countries moved to the area. After the great displacement in the area, which took place after the Mexican Revolution and the last gold rush at the turn of the nineteen-tens and twenties, the ethnic dichotomy (mestizos and Rarámuri) as we now know it has been gradually established in the county of Batopilas. This dichotomy will probably soon be equal in numbers. An obvious Rarámuri population explosion, coupled with an apparent mestizos demographic stagnation, helps to create (together with the neighboring county of Urique where the Rarámuri population is also increasing) a very unique

98 Totally different socially urban space formed, as we have already seen, e.g., in Ciudad de Guatemala or in Ciudad de México and in the other Latin American metropolitan cities in which the native population is more represented. In these metropolitan centers some indigenous groups created their own (intra-urban) social space, generally concentrated around the market place where the social, cultural and economic resurgence of these groups proceed. The Chihuahua Rarámuri are disunited and so few so that they could form a similar homogenous socio-cultural "area" in the center of the capital. Therefore they live in smaller groups more or less in the same way as in their original habitat.

99 The older "pre-ejido" intra-ethnic substrate is hardly identifiable. We consider as the oldest inhabitants of the Munerachi habitat the members of families in which there occurs at least in one of two surnames the native anthroponym which can be patrilinear as well as matrilinear, i.e., if a Rarámuri has two surnames (which is not always the case) there can be a male Spanish surname followed by a female native surname, and vice versa.Thus we register among the Munerachi Rarámuri names like Antonio García Cubesare, Marcos Mendoza Químare, Serafina Químare Recalache or Mario Villegas Mendoza, etc. Thus, e.g., *químare* (*kímare*) can mean "ninth" or even maybe "nine stones" (*kima* or *kimakói* = "nine," *re* či *ree* = "stone"). Mainly in the land registry of Ranchería Sorichique we find some toponyms and anthroponyms which contain the word "stone" in their name. The first names are almost exclusively "Christian," derived from a Christian patron saint and they are given out in most cases within the subtype *compadrazgo de rosario* (cf. Ravicz 1975²: 248).

bond between these two socially differentiated groups. This bond seems to have a tendency towards *horizontal social convergence*. As there are still deep social, economic and cultural differences[100] between these groups, we do not attempt to claim that there might be a future status equalization (general and complex social change) between at least some Munerachi families and mestizo families in Batopilas while keeping the mutual "*cultural status quo.*" In any case, we suppose that the social processes in the interactions between Batopilas and ejido Munerachi are so strong that they might lead to social change in individual cases without significant effects on the cultural patterns of these groups.[101]

Ritual compadrazdo between the Batopilas mestizo and Munerachi Rarámuri is perceived as a *socially adaptive mechanism* practiced for the reasons reflecting the demographic situation in this, till now, isolated social space. Ritual compadrazgo between the Batopilas mestizos and Munerachi Rarámuri can be understood as a *socially adaptive mechanism* developed, to some extent, for the reasons reflecting the demographic situation in this isolated social space. Local mestizos and Rarámuri establish ritual kinship and, through real or presumed social balance, help to keep a permanent, no matter how relative, social harmony and thus they prevent serious interethnic conflicts. Most importantly, by *tending* to social change, they can maintain their cultural and ethnic identity. As P. Bourdieu said it in his *Distinction*,[102] the meaning of such a *social contract* like compadrazgo kinship is searching for a meaningful *"existence in space, if only like one point, individual in space"* which by itself, it means *"to differ, to be different"* (cf. Bourdieu 1998: 16). Motivation of such action is thus not the effort to be different, as Bourdieu point out, but it is the awareness that staying (being) in a certain social space as one of its means to be different.

100 All the important political functions in the Batopilas district and the decisive share of its legal economic richness are almost exclusively in the hands of the local mestizo elites.

101 E.g., J. H. Steward 1955: 53 referred to the fact that social change does not always need to lead to cultural change while on the contrary the latter almost always produces social change. We illustrate: if a Rarámuri shifts his status to the level of one Batopilas mestizo, e.g., on the basis of his political function in the ejido and in the section which is territorially its part it need not necessarily lead to a change in the traditional culture of clothing (the native officer who reached a certain social status in the region continues to wear a head scarf, *tagora* and *aká* and only rarely dresses like a mestizo – tights, shirt, hat and leather nailed shoes). If a mestizo has more connections with Rarámuri individuals, that does not mean that he becomes a *suwí*-drinker and that he prefers to drink it to aguardiente, tequila or lechuguilla, etc.

102 See his book *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984.

Ritual compadrazgo can strengthen this awareness, especially in the regions like Batopilas, as it usually keeps all the actors within the boundaries of their social and intraethnic space and does not prevent them from being *different* and it does not significantly affect their personal and cultural integrity.

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ANCESTORS AND POSTERITY. The Religion of the Domus and its Message [1]

Jan Sokol

Abstract: ***Ancestor worship has attracted the attention of many scholars, of ethnologists and anthropologists more than of scholars studying western religions or theologians. Its sometimes odd expressions have been treated in the West – with some exceptions – rather as curiosities without asking about their deeper meaning. In the following article, I do not pretend to make a comparison between various highly developed religions, which is clearly beyond my competence. I shall merely try to bring together some traces left by the religion of the domus or home religion, whose various forms ethnologists have described in numerous cultures all around the world, and to show ancestor worship as a part of this larger system of customs and convictions. This simple yet ingenious system of mutual obligations between generations efficiently formed human behavior for millennia and probably shaped many of our present-day views and institutions, too. However evidently obsolete in some of its expressions, it perhaps contains some very fundamental ideas about humans and their relations to the past and to the future that went into oblivion in modern western societies. However modern societies cannot be organized in separate lineages; a deeper look at this ancient framework of human lives might remind us about things lacking and perhaps urgently needed in contemporary and future societies.***

Keywords: ***ancestor worship; home religion; procreation; heritage; patrilinearity***

[1] This work was supported by the research project MSM 0021620843 of the Czech Ministry of Educarion. I would like to thank my colleagues at the Harvard Divinity School who helped me to finish it during my stay at the Center for the Study of World Religions in 2008/9.

The system of religious – or pre-religious – customs of the early settled farmers, which I shall call for brevity family or home religion, and in particular its most conspicuous part, ancestor worship, has been the subject of many a scholarly work from Fustel de Coulanges and Herbert Spencer up to contemporary authors.[2] Yet due to some of its rather queer expressions, it was often treated as a sort of ethnographic curiosity. Some of its modern revivals, as, e.g., the Chinese custom of afterlife marriage (Yao 2008), give the impression of something hopelessly alien, making no true appeal to our understanding. Moreover, the designation itself is a problematic one: was this "family religion" a religion at all? Lacking most of the commonly expected traits of religions – e.g., a separate institution of priesthood,[3] a creed, any sort of sacred text and even of a more or less clear idea of God or gods, – it is rather at the margin of interest of religious science.[4]

However, what I call family religion (and part of it, "ancestor worship") seems to be of almost universal extension, at least among settled farming cultures. Its ritual is described in the "Laws of Manu" (*Manusmrti*); it appears throughout the whole of ancient Greek and Latin literature; it is a common living custom in China, in India and elsewhere and it is at least tacitly supposed by the Bible and other ancient texts. It was the typical form of "heathen" religion; Christian missionaries encountered all over Europe up to the high Middle Ages and some of its customs seem to be present – at least as a sort of "superstitious background" – in large parts of the contemporary world. As we shall see, it left remarkable traces both in Christian popular piety and in the surprisingly similar cemetery cultures in various parts of the world.[5]

In what follows, after a short summary of its typical traits and expressions, I shall try to get closer to its kernel and to show the intrinsic logic, which probably connected the seemingly *disjecta membra* of its customs, actions and sometimes merely supposed convictions. The very sharp polemic against ancestor worship in the Avesta, as well as the more or less implicit polemic remarks in the New Testament, will help us to discern what was important and

2 Among the most important: Fustel de Coulanges 1873; Spencer 1877; Freud 1913; Fortes 1959; Goody 1966; Wolf 1974. For a recent example, see Friesen 2001 and the rich bibliography therein.

3 At least in its simple forms, best known from Africa, from the ancient Mediterranean area and from Europe, which are the focus of my attention.

4 In contrast to the rich literature focusing on India or China, M. Eliade's monumental *Encyclopedia of Religions* (1987) devotes to it two short articles, Ancestor worship (1: 263-267) and Home (6: 438-441).

5 For popular piety, cf. Nilsson 1998.

what was peripheral in the eyes of their believers. Its visible traces in popular Christian piety and – as an example – in Roman Catholic liturgy will help us to reconstruct the partly forgotten sense of individual customs and perhaps allow us to appreciate more adequately its basic convictions.

In the material I shall use, there is nothing new. Everything has been published and is readily available. My only claim is to bring together pieces of dispersed knowledge, let them illuminate each other and to try to draw from the conceptual scheme of "family religion" some instruction as to the nature and function of religious behavior in general. My main inspiration for this undertaking came from the classic work of Fustel de Coulanges, *The Ancient City*, first published in 1864.[6] In the first two parts of the book, Fustel brought together with unequalled diligence heaps of material on "family religion" out of Greek and Latin antiquity and worked out the basic traits of this simple system of acting and living.

To this first and most important inspiration, other materials from various sources acceded in the course of time, and out of their convergences a broader picture emerged which encouraged me to try to elaborate a more "sympathetic" insight in the somewhat surprising logic of our ancestors. Besides following a purely antiquarian interest, I shall do it in the hope of showing some tenets of family religion which perhaps do not deserve to be so completely abandoned and forgotten.

Family Religion

Probably no one today would subscribe to the opinion of Herbert Spencer (1877), namely, that ancestor worship would have been the most ancient and original form of religious worship of all. Many authors have justly criticized the somewhat simplistic vision of 19th century evolutionism and we have no evidence as to the supposed originality of this unusual "religion." On the other hand, its very impressive historical and geographical extension seems to recommend it as an object of deepened study.

As already mentioned, even the designation of this object presents some difficulties, as it does not fit most of the commonly expected features of

6 The most recent English edition: *The Ancient City*. Baltimore 1980. – It is the first part of the book which is in my opinion of actual interest, whereas the latter part about the social history of Rome, based mostly on Tacitus' and Livy's accounts, may be by now rather obsolete. Moreover, Fustel was wrong in believing "family religion" had been an exclusivity of "Aryan" cultures only.

a religion. First, it was a practice, not a belief or a conviction. This practice was performed at home, not in public, and by every single *pater familias*, the "father of the house"; this "house" means here the ancient *domus* or *oikos*, a large household, embracing people, domestic slaves, cattle and both landed and real property, all the *res mancipi* of Roman law. Family religion had no priests[7] and no expressed creed: its "cognitive" basis was obviously considered as evident, not requiring any further explanations. It was always merely oral with nothing in written form and was transmitted directly from father to the heir and did not need any sort of sacred text or even myth. In addition, perhaps most salient of all – it had no idea of any divinity, of gods or God, except for the dead ancestors or fathers of the individual "family" or lineage.

This fact led most of the modern scholars to concentrate their attention just upon these deceased and their graves, the place of some of the religious actions, and to overlook the other sides of domestic religion. For obvious reasons, burials are among the earliest unambiguous discerning signs of humans and human cultures (cf. Mithen 1999), but it does not seem that the simple fact of burial would be at the same time a sign of "family religion." Rather, it seems that a distinctive feature of domestic religion is a close connection between the grave and the family house and lineage.[8] This is not the place to treat the extremely rich archeological and ethnological material on burial customs and rituals, but there is some evidence to burials in the house itself, as, e.g., in some early neolithic excavations in present-day Turkey. In earliest Greek antiquity, the dead were buried under or close to the threshold of the house and the permanent domestic fire was considered a visible sign of their living presence.

If there is a distinctively "religious" trait in family religion, it is the conviction of the participants that they live in the permanent presence of their dead ancestors, alive in the domestic fire and carefully observing whatever is happening in the house. There, around the domestic fire, which was by no means to become extinct during the whole year, most of the actions of "family religion" were performed.[9] As far as we know, these daily performances were not particularly conspicuous and consisted in regular libations, offerings of food

7 However, as we shall see, already in the Avesta the offerings are made by a (domestic) priest.

8 For my purpose, it is not important whether the dead were buried as corpses, as ashes or as mere bones in a "two-phased" process. Already the *Laws of Manu* (e.g. 5.65; 10.50) mention a "burial-ground," probably outside the settlement.

9 Thus since Herodotus the family is sometimes called *epistion*, literally "those around the domestic fire" (e.g. *History* 1.176; 5.73).

and drink at the beginning of every family meal, most probably accompanied by ritualized prayers. Attendance to this "liturgy" was strictly obligatory for all the members of the household, but equally strictly excluded all other persons.

Thus, the family house served daily as a "sanctuary" of this curious religion, as the permanent common dwelling of both the deceased and living family members and as the place of a simple, but daily repeated service. According to Fustel and his sources, this sacred character of the house was underlined by a vessel with "lustral water" at the entrance door, used by all the people to wash their hands upon returning home. This conjunction of grave, fire and water was probably so obvious and matter-of-fact that Aristotle can characterize an Athenian citizen as one who has the "community" of these three things, whereas those who are lacking it were – at least in theory – excluded from political life, from both *agora* and *búlé*.

This sacrificial side of family religion, the obligations towards deceased ancestors, is described in much detail in the Indian "Laws of Manu" (*manusmrti*).[10] Here, ancestors are not buried in the house and their descendents have to bring them special food, honey and milk on certain occasions. The feeding of the deceased testifies to rather materialistic ideas about their "living" in the grave, as paste balls and milk had to be thrown and poured into holes in the earth. Thus, according to the Laws of Manu, family religion consists of the ritual of ancestor worship and of a strict duty of every *pater familias* to engender a male heir. "Immediately on the birth of his first-born a man is (...) freed from the debt to the manes. That son alone on whom he throws his debt and through whom he obtains immortality is begotten for (the fulfillment of) the law; they consider all the rest the offspring of desire."[11]

This other side of family religion is clarified in an interesting way by the unexpectedly sharp polemic of the Persian Avesta against burial ceremonies in general. In Fargard 3, "The Earth," Zarathushtra asks Ahura Mazda, "the Maker of the material world, the Holy one" about the worst places, causing the most acute grief to the Earth. The first of them is the "neck of Arezura," the

10 *The Laws of Manu*. Trans. W. Doniger and B. K. Smith. London, The Penguin Classics 1991, in particular 3.122 ff.

11 *The Laws of Manu* 9.106 f.; "...a son delivers his father from hell," 9.138. According to Plato the house whose owner "leaves no posterity, but dies unmarried, or married and childless" is considered "unfortunate, and stained with impiety" (*Laws* 877). – For a prohubition of celibacy see Cicero, *De leg*. 3.7. Plato in *Laws* (721b) proposes a yearly penalty and the bachelor Kant a particular tax for singles (*Metaphysik der Sitten*. In: *Werke in 6 Bänden*. Köln 1995. 5:392) .

gate to hell, but the second most abhorrent place is "... the place wherein most corpses of dogs and of men lie buried,"... the place whereon stand most of those Dakhmas on which the corpses of men are deposited." To prevent any misunderstanding, he asked: "Who is the first that rejoices the Earth with greatest joy?" Ahura Mazda answered: "It is he who digs out of it the most corpses of dogs and men,"[12] and in the following verses he prescribes harsh punishments for those who would attempt a burial. A similar meaning might perhaps be expressed by the otherwise really dark fragment of Heraclitus: "Corpses are more fit to be thrown out than dung" (DK 22 B 96), rather unique in Greek literature.

These prohibitions and curses are obviously a polemic against "ancestor worship," the form of family religion which was completely turned towards the dead and their graves. Against this wrong and for the abhorrent Ahura Mazda version, the "positive" program of the home religion, the description of the ideal state of a place on the Earth according to Avesta runs as follows:

"It is the place whereon one of the faithful erects a house with a priest within,[13] with cattle, a wife, children, and good herds within; and wherein afterwards the cattle continue to thrive, virtue to thrive, fodder to thrive, the dog to thrive, the wife to thrive, the child to thrive, the fire to thrive, and every blessing of life to thrive."

It is of no surprise that such a radical rejection of burials had to meet an equally indignant opposition of other religions and evoked later persecution by the Moslems, but this is not our topic here. What seems to me of interest is a sort of discovery of the other side of family religion, which obviously exceeds the piety towards the deceased, but, at the same time, reveals a deeper sense or meaning of family religion as such.

It is towards dead ancestors that the living are obliged by gratitude for almost everything they appreciate most of all. It is from them that they received their life; from them they inherited the house and the land, their livelihood and so on.[14] Woe to those who did not have such good luck. Thus, it is to them they have their sacrificial duties, but this is the less important part of the whole. According to Fustel, the principal obligation consists in ensuring the contin-

12 Avesta, *Fargard* 3, verses 8 and 9. Translated by J. H. Peterson. At: http://www.avesta.org/vendidad/vd3sbe.htm

13 Zoroathrism is a monotheistic religion with an elaborate hierarchy of divine beings, not a simple domestic religion. Thus, in Avesta domestic priests are supposed, but the framework of religious life is still the family house.

14 Cf. Plato, *Laws* 717

uation of this service and thus of the family. As the afterlife of the ancestors depends on the services of the living, the living in their turn shall one day depend on the services of their descendents. Thus, however obliged towards the ancestors, it is by caring for legitimate posterity that the *pater familias* fulfills the most substantial part of this obligation.[15] At the same time, this permanent posterity is equally important for himself as the condition of his own afterlife.

This simple and yet ingenious sort of interwoven duties is an early form of "transcendence," linking together the following generations and ensuring the stability of households, so much stressed even by the classical authors.[16] According to Fustel, home religion kept firmly together the individual households, supported their cohesion and stability and at the same time separated the households and their land properties with sacred borders. In classical times, a particular deity, the Greek *theos herkeios*, whom the *pater familias* had to honor once in the year by offering flour and honey, protected the balks and boundary-marks.[17]

Beyond the Family House

According to Fustel, the idea of strictly delimited land property protected by the dead ancestors buried there is at the beginning of the idea of private – i.e., family – property. Whether we accept this hypothesis or not,[18] it is obvious that the overall scheme of household religion sustained a clear view of such a division and supplied convincing arguments in its favor. This almost complete separation of neighboring households, on the other hand, presented non-negligible difficulties on the only occasion when the households were not allowed to be autonomous, that is at marriage. The household was a strictly exoga-

15 According to the Bhagavad gítá, "the sin caused by destruction of family" destroys its "immemorial holy laws" and thus "lawlessness" prevails (I. 39-41). Fustel further cites Dionysius Halic. IX. 22, Lycurgos, Pollux and Cicero, *De legibus*.

16 E.g., Plato in *Laws* IV., 721f. According to the *Laws of Manu*, an infertile woman was to be replaced after eight years (9.81), but under certain conditions an adoptive son was a valid solution as well (9.10).

17 A Czech folk tale, registered in the 19th century, mentions a similar ceremony connected with Christmas night. K. J. Erben, "Štědrý večer" in: Kytice (1853).

18 According to Cicero, the house with the altar, fire and ancestor worship is the most sacred of all places (*Pro domo* 41). The surprisingly exalted attribute of "untouchable" property, in many languages still common today, seems to support it: it was the grave of the other's ancestors which was considered dangerous even to touch. This is – among others – a possible explanation why graves in many European countries have their metallic fences.

mous group and young people had to look for partners in any case outside of it, sometimes even in another settlement or village. How to bridge the otherwise prohibitive frontier of the household?

The traditional wedding customs shed interesting light on the nature of family religion and their surprising tenacity is a testimony to the depth of these traditions. According to Fustel's material, variously supported by ethnologists, the wedding is a typical transition ritual or *rite de passage*.[19] First, the bride has to be released from the bonds of her home religion; from now on, she does not belong to it and in her home, she becomes strictly speaking an alien. This step, on the other hand, has not to be seen by her ancestors as a sign of irreverence; thus, the bridegroom's friends have to mimic a kidnapping. Even in neolithic cultures where nobody ever thought about traveling in a cart, the bride is "kidnapped" in a covered wagon and veiled. The critical point is the entrance of the husband's house, more precisely its threshold: here the protecting spirits might well take the bride for an alien intruder – and kill her. Thus, it is up to the groom to take the bride in his arms, carry her over the dangerous threshold and present her first to the domestic fire. The act of marriage is then realized by the couple eating together small round cakes of white barley flour; its name, *farina*, gave the name to the traditional Roman wedding ceremony, *confarreatio*. Surprisingly enough, many of these customs survive until today and are meticulously observed in many regions of Europe, in China etc.

Family religion separated the individual households, but on the other hand, as shown by the example of Avesta, it allowed for various symbioses with more developed religious systems. Not only in daily practice, but even in religious texts, it was able to combine with the later monotheistic religions and form various syncretisms with them. Thus, the Old Testament accepts in fact that the importance of posterity[20] refers to the deceased as having "joined their fathers" and mentions their graves. Though by no means places of actual worship, they are nevertheless kept in reverent memory and visited by their descendents. Similarly, the family house is not completely profane: a new one had to be "dedicated" (Deut 20:5) and a blessing be written on the doorposts (Deut 6:9; 11:20).

The Fifth commandment,[21] placed between the duties toward the Lord and towards fellow humans, differs from the other commandments of the Decalogue

19 The Greek called the three phases of it *engyésis* (*ekdosis*) – *pompé* – *telos*.

20 Cf. the promises to Abraham, Genesis 13:16, 17:20 etc.

21 "Honour your father and your mother, that you may live long in the land which the Lord your God is giving you." Exodus 20:12 (*New English Bible*).

by bringing a characteristic justification: a long life in the land. The levirate marriage (Deut 25:5-10) pursues the same goal as home religion, namely, to ensure the continuity of the family and of the "name." The guilt of Onan consists in preventing the conception of a child for his childless and deceased brother Er, which qualifies as non-fulfillment of his duty (Genesis 38:8).

In the New Testament, there are some critical remarks by Jesus as to burial practices[22] and in the earliest Christian literature, graves and burials don't seem to have played any religious role.[23] The graves of the martyrs in Rome and elsewhere are not connected to their families and there seems to be no idea of a permanent posterity. On the other hand, Christian and in particular Roman liturgy took over many of the features of the transformed "family religion." As Fustel documents from ancient literary sources, the emergence of the *poleis* or cities led to an interesting adaptation of home religion to the new coalescence of households. What the Greeks called *synoikismos* has obviously had to overcome similar obstacles we observed at the wedding.[24] As any individual *oikos* or house, the *polis* had its common house, the later *prytaneion*, with similar religious functions and furnishings. Up to the classical period, the Athenian *tholos*[25] had its permanent sacred fire of Hestia, in Rome served by the Vestals. There was lustral water, too, and the "founding fathers" were remembered here as common ancestors of the city.

Several features of this public house as an expression of a common *pietas erga parentes* entered into the traditional shape and functions of Christian church buildings. In a Catholic church building, there is still holy water at the door and the altar was erected above the grave of a saint (or was at least to contain some relics). In front of it, there is an eternal light, since the high Middle Ages interpreted as a sign of the presence of the Holy Sacrament, but stemming from the tradition of the ancient family and city house. The saint, to whom the church is usually dedicated, plays the role of the "founding father" of the local Christian community[26] and all around his grave or later around the church, there is a churchyard, the common burial ground of the deceased part of the local church or Christian family. Until very recently, in many parts of Europe,

22 "Let the dead bury their own dead," Matthew 8:22, Luke 9:60.

23 The tradition of the graves of Jesus himself, of his mother and of the Apostles is surprisingly late and unsure, not having been fixed until Constantine's times.

24 Cf. Aristotle, *Politics* 1319b, on the need to limit private cults and to introduce a common one.

25 A round building at the *agora*, office of the city council.

26 In France and in Italy it is often indeed the first local bishop who is buried beneath the altar.

the names of these deceased have been read and explicitly remembered at every Sunday mass. On their graves, the most common inscription has been for millennia the same formula *Hic iacet* or *Hic requiescit*, "Here rests ...," hardly acceptable in the framework of either Jewish, Christian or Moslem orthodoxy.

Legacy of Home Religion

Though repeatedly criticized by Episcopal synods in the early Middle Ages, the culture of graves showed a remarkable persistence in Christianized countries, as well as during the recent secularization: in many parts of Europe, visits to family graves on All Souls day are the most conspicuous expression of religious behavior. Besides this rather episodic legacy, it probably marked many other aspects of social life and culture, in the West as well as elsewhere.

According to Fustel de Coulanges, home religion shaped the most important traits of social life of settled societies: the structure of the patriarchal family, the role of *pater familias* and the rules of heritage, the far-reaching separation of the neighboring family houses, the ideas of property and of the individual obligations both among the living as towards the deceased and to the yet unborn members of the lineage. The idea of a self-sustaining and permanent family house, the *oikos* of the ancients, on the one hand protected by the deceased ancestors and on the other ensuring their afterlife, established some characteristic views and customs of the family, on its property and its relations toward both the social and the natural environment. This thesis inspired Fustel's pupil, the French sociologist Émile Durkheim, to describe this type of society and social relations as "segmentary," as it replaced or at least complemented the synchronous relations among the living members of a tribe by diachronous relations and obligations among the following generations of each of its separated segments.

Fustel's original thesis about the role of home religion in shaping the social life of settled and in particular farming societies has been criticized for its obvious one-sidedness, e.g., by E. E. Evans-Pritchard (1965: 49 f.). However, as Evans-Pritchard treats Fustel along with Durkheim and other "evolutionists," his criticism seems to me only partly justified. In contrast to Durkheim and his followers, Fustel did not try to explain religious forms by a sort of "social fact" (*fait social*), but just the opposite: to explain social forms by religion. In doing this, he obviously neglected such other important factors as, e.g., the prevailing type of "technology" by which people procured their sustenance. Farming

and plough farming in particular seems to be connected with such social traits as patriarchate, appropriation of land or the rules of inheritance.

Contemporary social science would be thus rather suspicious about any monocausal explanation of complex social or religious facts (cf. e.g., Clarke – Byrne 1993). On the other hand, this cautiousness should not lead us to overlook the impressive extension of home religion, both in space and in time, as well as its perfect harmony with the way of life of farming cultures. In establishing a sort of religious autonomy of each household, it supported the idea of property and its limits, important in restraining mutual conflicts. The ideas of home inviolability, privacy and responsibility for inherited family property probably originated from here. State boundaries, however much less important in prosperous modern societies, nevertheless remain "the boundaries between order and chaos," as Plato put it.

Some of the characteristics of family religion – e.g., its patriarchal absolutism or its rigid segregation of households – are obviously obsolete. What home religion established was an extremely "closed" society, to use the Bergsonian distinction, in which there was no place for incoming strangers. However tempered by the obligatory hospitality, it continued the generally xenophobic nature of ancient societies.[27] On the other hand, it seems to me that the idea of heritage and some of its consequences far from being mere ethnographic curiosities are of more than an antiquarian interest. Compared with the modern conception of rather unlimited private property as it developed in European cities from late antiquity until early modern times, the ancient idea of heritage established very different social structures, efficiently supported by family religion.

First, family heritage was inseparably tied up with the people who earned their livelihood from it. Even if unable to pay – according to Fustel – the debtor was not expropriated and if confiscated, he became a *servus* of his creditor.[28] Second, although in the hands of the actual *pater familias*, it did not belong to him, but rather to the line of ancestors; thus, he had not the right to sell it, but

27 "I think one should do with regard to human beings as we do with certain animals: one should, according to ancestral law, kill an enemy in every ordered society, unless a law forbids it." Democritus, frg. DK 68 B 259. – For other sincere expressions of ancient xenophobia, see, e.g., Plato's *Laws* or the colorful expression *en borboró barbarikó*, "in the barbarian mud"; Plato, *Republic* 533d.

28 Fustel's argument is based on a statement of the *Law of 12 tables*, Table III., according to which the debtor, if he wishes, may live "on his own", *si volet suo vivito*. However, there is no mention of confiscation in the *12 Tables*. Rather, their stategy of punishment seems to aim at his own person and life.

was obliged to pass it to the heir. In modern terms, he would be better described as a temporary custodian or trustee of the family property than a full-fledged owner. There, the role of family religion has been to establish a diachronous link of mutual obligations between the following generations.

Let us have a look at this curious set of relations from the point of view of an actual family head, of a *pater familias*. He was obviously indebted to his ancestors, who gave him his physical life, but from whom he also inherited the means to support it, the livelihood of the present family. He had to acknowledge this obligation with the prescribed rituals of "ancestor worship," but at the same time taking into account that his own afterlife would depend on a similar service rendered to him by his posterity. In contrast to common debts and obligations which are to be repaid to the creditor, in this case the relations were more complicated. Though "indebted" to his dead ancestors, it was in his own, as well as in their vital interest to compensate this debt by caring for a permanent posterity. Though he was obliged to perform the actual offerings on their graves, it was only by ensuring the continuation of this service that he could have acquitted himself of his debt.[29]

Conclusions

In contemporary societies, most people do not live out of an inherited livelihood and thus the idea of an inborn debt is no doubt rather strange if not absurd to us. It was most probably so in city societies since classical antiquity and in Europe in particular since the emergence of individual piety in the cities of the high Middle Ages. As early as in the Bible man is seen as indebted not to his ancestors, but to God the Creator, from whom he receives his life and all the other precious gifts of existence.

Whereas the Gospels still reflect the conditions of living in the countryside, where the character of life as a gift was obvious enough,[30] the further development of Christianity took place mostly in the cities. A typical city-dweller does not depend for his livelihood on inherited land property but makes his living in exchanges with other – mostly alien – people. It is up to him to seek and to build up such relations and his success is much more in his own hands. Thus, a city dweller is naturally inclined to think of himself as an autonomous indivi-

29 Cf. *The Laws of Manu* 9.106 and 9.138 cited above.

30 Cf. Matthew 5:45; Mark 4:27.

dual and to attribute his success (or failure) to himself or to his contemporaries, not to his ancestors.

As life in a city does much less depend on the achievements of the preceding generations and as there is no actual need of children as a working force, it is present relations which become of prime interest. However, as each individual's success has to be built up more or less by himself, a typical city dweller is much more inclined to believe that his future can be improved. Whereas the best thing a farmer could have dreamed about was a stable continuation of the present conditions, Eliade's "eternal return," (see Eliade 2005) a city dweller might have experienced periods of rapid growth and blossoming of a city and learned to hope for a better future.

This change has been paralleled – or perhaps anticipated – by the Jewish discovery of the hope for a great future and of a faith based on God's promises. This "Abrahamic" faith, first formulated as a tribal hope,[31] became gradually more individual and in the Christian revelation, it has been individualized as the hope for an individual future, which exceeds any human imagination.[32] This momentous turn to the faith and hope and thus towards the future prepared the way for the modern idea of progress and at least partly eclipsed the idea of balanced obligations between past and future, typical for family religion.

We should gratefully acknowledge that it was this deep change in our understanding of our own place in the world and in society which gave us individual freedom, liberated us from the bonds of lineage and inherited property and opened the way to all the achievements of modern societies. On the other hand, a growing number of our contemporaries have a feeling that something got lost. Even if we do not live on inherited land and cannot be organized in fixed lineages, we have inherited a great number of other valuable things which we should perhaps view not as much as our property but rather as a sort of entrusted heritage. It is, first of all, our life as such and of course the earth and cultivated nature, out of which we get all we need. It is our language, our culture, including the arts and sciences, institutions and social customs that we have been given free, but which our ancestors, our teachers and others did not intend to be for our consumption alone.

For Jews, Christians and Moslems, the idea of our common task and responsibility for the human heritage has been clearly formulated in the Book

31 E.g. Genesis 12:2: "I will make you into a great nation."

32 E.g. 1 Corinthians 2:9: "Things beyond our seeing, things beyond our hearing, things beyond our imagination, all prepared by God to those who love him."

of Genesis. The rigid structures of family religion are not a viable way for us, but could perhaps be a useful reminder of our responsibility for the Creation, which we have inadvertently forgotten. As Paul Ricoeur (1991: 216) wrote, "the Yes to being, spontaneously pronounced by every life, becomes on the human level an obligation."

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ZIRIAB – ARABIC MUSIC IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC[1]

Zita Skořepová Honzlová

Abstract: ***With its four musicians of Syrian, Lebanese and Iraqi origin, Ziriab is the only and very first ensemble in the Czech Republic whose members declare their aim to be to perform "original" Arabic music. This idea of "original" Arabic music is a concept shared by the group, as has been articulated by the musicians. Their intentions have been expressed in relation to the character of the repertoire and its presentation. It is possible to depict four categories of performance – each one of a different context and audience type. The musicians' choice of the repertoire as well as their behavior during the concert, then, reflect main aspects at each kind of performance. The founding members of the ensemble came from Syria to the former Czechoslovakia as exchange-program students in the '80s and finally decided to stay in Prague as permanent residents. They mastered the Czech language and have fully integrated into the local society, as have the other two musicians from Lebanon and Iraq who joined the ensemble a few years later. Ziriab members' opinions reveal the fact that their hobby of "dealing with Arabic music" arose during their several years of uninterrupted stay in the Czech Republic. As young men still living in their homeland, they never performed in public or studied music with a mentor's guidance. This paper thus outlines specific conditions of the relationship between their long-term stay in a foreign country (and culture) and a need to perform music somehow related to the musicians' – in this case ethnic and secular – identity.***

Keywords: ***ethnomusicology; Arab minority music in the Czech Republic; music as self-representation***

1 The work was supported by the grant SVV-2010- 261701.

Subject, Topic and Theoretical Concepts of the Research

Music – defined and regarded as human behavioral activity – is a phenomenon present all around the world. But does "music" mean only intentionally man-made and somehow cultivated "sound"? Since the publication of Merriam's pivotal book *The Anthropology of Music* there is no doubt that music is strongly rooted *in* the culture, or the culture *is* music itself (Merriam 1977: 202, 204). All attitudes and practices related to musical phenomena represent embodiments of cultural conceptualizations which determine a character of shared status, role and function of musics in the society, their sound design, form of apprenticeship, performance concepts and conditions of acceptance by the audience. This basic fact became a fundamental assumption of every scholar dealing with music from an anthropological rather than just a music-analytic perspective. Merriam's model was thus innovative in the sense of equilibrium of an anthropological and musicological level of research methods and is admitted as the referred approach.[2] An endeavor to depict a scientific image which should not only describe, but also seek an explanation and understanding for the incredible variability of musical concepts guiding different cases of "musicking" and their sociocultural impact and implications is the goal of ethnomusicologists and their contemporary inquiries. For that reason ethnomusicology should use not only musical analysis but also methods and research techniques as fieldwork and semistructured interviews, rather typical for anthropology.

My choice of a subject of research was, considering my personal preferences, unsurprising[3] – I decided to deal with "Ziriab" – the sole musical ensemble performing Arabic music whose members of Middle-Eastern origin declare devotion to genuine Arabic principles and rejection of European musical influences. At first I was impressed with apparently non-European music performed by foreigners living in the Czech Republic for many years. What motivated them to found such an ensemble? Where are they from and where

2 A combination of an anthropological and a musicological approach is mentioned, e.g., by Bruno Nettl (Nettl 2005: 8) as a basic assumption of contemporary ethnomusicology inquiries.

3 In autumn 2003, I attended Ziriab's performance for the first time and I was impressed with character of the performed music which was especially interesting to me. In addition, the choice of the research topic reflects my sympathy to the Arab world and its culture. This paper is based on my bachelor's thesis "Ziriab – Arabic Music in the Czech Republic." fieldwork research realized between autumn 2006 and spring 2009.

is the performed music from? Where and for whom do they perform? Are they professionals or just amateurs? Does any one of them compose his own music? What kind of songs are performed? Questions like these emerged at the beginning of the research. In fact, it is not always possible to create strict formulations of the topic and delimit the area of research in ethnomusicological projects at the beginning. One must attend a certain number of musical or music-related events, become familiar with the researched people and make first introductive interviews to obtain significant data which can help to outline the direction of later research. During the first months of my inquiry – as a beginner bachelor's student – I was thus not sure *what* exactly should attract my interest and which concrete shape I might give to my research design. Continual progress in the research process then provided a lot of information, but which of it should have been of greater value? I was practicing the strategy which Professor Adelaida Reyes calls "guessing-testing."

Advance in research nevertheless pointed out key subjects of interest. At first I was occupied with the **topic of music and its presentation in completely different conditions**[4] – that is, the case of Arabic music played in the Czech Republic. Members of the Ziriab ensemble insisted on the notion that their performances fulfill the criteria of a classical Arabic concept. On the other hand the ensemble performs for Czech audiences on various occasions and at various events, so is this circumstance somehow reflected in the musicians' intentions and behavior during the performances? Both the fieldwork realized during concerts or rehearsals and semistructured interviews conducted with all the musicians provided a fruitful source of information. However, musical analysis – in my opinion – still represents an important research tool because sound remains a not negligible basis of every musical phenomena. This seemed to be true in my case where musical analysis revealed significant knowledge and supported important presumptions formulated during the analysis of fieldwork notes and transcriptions of interviews.[5] Systematic participant observation enabled me to identify several types of performance, each one of a different context, repertoire presentation and kind of audience. I found out

4 The music which is played by the Ziriab ensemble is based on an Arabic musical concept which significantly differs from concepts existing in the Czech Republic.

5 There is a correlation between the musicians' statements and music-making related behavior with performed music and its sound features. However, an analysis of musical pieces provided deeper knowledge which sometimes differed from the declared principles in certain aspects, especially in the cases of borrowed songs in Ziriab's repertoire and their comparison with the originals.

that the "classical" Arabic concept as it is described by scholars differs from its presentation by Ziriab in a few key elements.

In addition, I concentrated my interest on the **nexus of music-making practices with the ethnocultural identity of the researched people – foreigners living out of their homeland for a long time**. Why is it so important for Ziriab's musicians to play "their" music here in a "foreign" country and different culture environment? Especially a notion expressed by the frontman of the Ziriab ensemble during one of our interviews in the first year of the research became a turning point:

"You know, this traditional Arabic music – which we play – has very deep roots in all of us. No one deals with it here. And if someone dealt with it, he would play modern music for dance which doesn't mean anything... And I think we miss genuine music here a lot especially because here we are living in a foreign country. When listening to this music, a listener immediately remembers old memories..." (Marwan Alsolaiman, 27. 4. 2007.)

Marwan Alsolaiman mentioned a deep relation to his ethno-cultural origin and the fact that all the members have been living in a foreign country and culture for a long time. Similar statements also appeared during continual interviewing with the other members of the ensemble.

Merriam's concept, works of Bruno Nettl and other ethnomusicologists[6] provided the necessary theoretical fundament of research design and also contributed as a source of information for comparative purposes. I concentrated my research on music conceived as a three-leveled phenomenon (Merriam 1964: 32-33), so I studied sound area[7] together with behavior[8] to discover the conceptualization[9] of Ziriab's music making. My research was based on participant

6 Particularly of those specialized in regional ethnomusicology of the Middle East such as al Faruqi (1975, 1981), Stephen Blum (2002), Virginia Danielson (1997), Baron Rodolphe d'Erlanger (2001 [1930, 1935, 1938, 1939, 1949, 1959]), Hachlaf (1993), Scott L. Marcus (1992, 2002), C. Poché (2000, 2002), Ali J. Racy (1986, 2000, 2002, 2003), A. Shiloah (1995), Habib H. Touma (1971, 1996) and music of minorities such as Kay Kaufmann Shelemay (1998), R. Qureshi (1972) and A. Reyes (1982, 1999) .

7 I concentrated on song repertoire, usage of musical instruments and process of arrangements creation and its melodic and rhythmic character.

8 I observed verbal and nonverbal communication of musicians at rehearsals as well at public performances of Ziriab, including behavior during music making, vocal and instrumental technique, postures and gestures, overall visage, chosen clothing, verbal presentation of the musicians themselves and their repertoire – as well as at rehearsals. I found out how they reflect different conditions of each performance, and discern behavior in front of distinct types of public.

9 Conceptualization includes verbally and nonverbally articulated attitudes to one's own music

observation or fieldwork during public or private musical performances which provided both "musical" and "nonmusical"-sociocultural data together with semi-structured interviews and musical analysis. I thus used a combination of methodology applied by anthropology and musicology. The collected data and their analysis in this case study finally supported Nettl's thesis that musical concepts are continually changing[10] instead of being constant and stable entities (Nettl 2005: 280), but rather they receive various implications when used by musicians in specific conditions of actual, live reality. On the other hand, some elements still tend to remain typical if not emblematic for some musical styles and genres. I was thus interested in which components of the "classical Arabic music" concept are important for members of Ziriab and why. When dealing with the case of the Ziriab ensemble I studied references related to the general problem of **ethnic minority music and its characteristics when performed for the majority public.** Are some features of ethnic minority musicians and their music making, its performance contexts, and types of audience of a similar kind in other parts of the world? At this point it seemed evident that my inquiry should have been enriched with other useful theoretical sources related to this project and its conception. I found relevant information especially in an article dealing with the topic of Lebanese musicians living and performing in Canada by Regula Qureshi (1972), whose conclusions surprisingly coincide with my findings in some points.[11] Musical activities tied to a community feeling, the topic of nostalgia and remembrance discussed by Kaufman Shelemay (Kaufman Shelemay 1998) in her remarkable publication about Syrian Jews in America and research of Vietnamese immigrants in the USA by Adelaida Reyes (1999) became inspirational for my work as well.

making. The former presents declared the aims and imaginations of one's own music making concept; however the latter is expressed in the musicians' actual behavior related to various levels of music performances.

10 This thesis was again emphasized at Bruno Nettl's lecture given in Prague, the 3rd of May 2010, when Nettl mentioned that ethnomusicologists do not study products, but live processes of music-making.

11 There is an apparent coincidence of two kinds of Ziriab concerts with "structured" and "unstructured" types of performances which Qureshi described in Canada. When the former are intended for a non-Arabic audience, the latter are typical for Arab community gatherings. Other conclusions of Qureshi similar to the case of Ziriab are the following: the high prestige of amateur musicians, a simplification of the traditional concept in the sense of usage of basic *maqamat* and *'iqa'at* – rhythmic modes, a shorter duration of the songs as well as less complex improvised passages. Performing borrowed, not new and original songs, is a favorite practice. On the other hand – as is true of the Ziriab ensemble – Arab musicians in Canada also prefer "typical" Arabic instruments like the *'ud*, *darbukka* or *bendir* (Qureshi 1972: 381-393).

"Ziriab – a Concert of Arabic Music"

The 20th of October 2008, 8:12 PM. Eight days earlier I had received an SMS message from Marwan Alsolaiman, the frontman of the Ziriab ensemble. It was a short invitation to their concert: "*Dear friends, the Ziriab band is playing next Tuesday at 8:30 PM in Prague, Atlas cinema, Sokolovská 1.*" There were no posters for the ensemble's performance; the concert was mentioned only in a small cinema program lying near the cashier's. Probably I could hardly have found out that today Ziriab is playing here without Marwan's invitation. The concert took place in one of the downstairs film theaters with a capacity of approximately 150 people. Following an employee's instructions, I entered there at 8:25 PM. The theater was designed in the "classical" style quite typical for Czech cinemas built 30 years ago – red velvet theater-like seats, a black rug on the stage and a grayish-green curtain. There were three chairs on the stage, three microphones on stands and one big loudspeaker standing on the right side. Every observer could see four "exotic" musical instruments situated near or placed on the three chairs. They were a *darbukka* drum, an Arabic *'ud* lute, a *nay* flute and a *riqq* tambourine. Listeners came during the next thirty minutes till half of the seats were occupied. Most of the people were middle-aged men and women wearing informal clothing. One fifth of the audience was comprised of young students. There were only a few *mashriqi* (Middle East) Arabs, some of them with their Czech wives. Musicians – three middle-aged Arabs wearing black trousers and white "folklore-like" blouses were already on the stage, finishing the rehearsal and discussing the sound equipment installation and settings with employees.

The start of the performance was delayed about thirty minutes due to technical problems. Marwan Alsolaiman, the oldest member and leader of the ensemble, greeted the audience with a few words in informal, but basically correct Czech. He briefly introduced today's repertoire, mentioning mainly the origin and authors or famous performers of the songs but not giving any further information about the songs' lyrics except their Arabic dialect characteristics. The performance suddenly started with a sound of the lute breaking the recent silence. Everyone concentrated on the introduction to the song represented by a solo lute motif. It was an improvised, delicately ornamented melody without a stable metric structure. After a while, the *darbukka* drum and the tambourine joined the performance playing *masmudi kabir*, one of the rhythmic modes so typical for different genres of Arabic music. The *Darbukka* player started to

sing the first part of the song alternating with another musician-singer playing the tambourine; the refrain was rendered as a unisono chorus of all three musicians. Voices moved in a tenor and baritone ambitus and followed the "oriental singing" style: their melodies coincided with lute motifs. Sometimes one could hear quarter-tone intervals within a bit complicated, melismatic melodies. The program comprised 12 songs, each one followed by applause of 20-second duration; I recognized a few very famous Arabic songs among them. People were listening carefully; only a few Arabic listeners clapped their hands and sang refrains together with the members of the ensemble.

Repertoire Characteristics

The members of the ensemble declare as their aim to perform "original" Arabic music. What does this notion mean and how is the concept of "genuine" Arabic music articulated in their musical activities and music-related attitudes? First, there are remarkable sonic characteristics of the presented repertoire. The musicians intentionally choose musical instruments "typically" used in the region of their own origin (e.g. Qassim Hassan 2007). Each piece is thus accompanied by one melodic instrument – the *'ud* lute or the *nay* flute– and percussions like the *darbukka* goblet drum or the *bendir* frame drum and the *riqq*[12] tambourine. On the other hand there is a strong rejection of instruments such as keyboards, electric guitars and other instruments considered as typical for modern but nevertheless also "Arabic" genres like the *raï*.[13] Tonic material, the main melodic line as well as accompanying motifs are based on Arabic musical theory, which means within the system of melodic and rhythmic modes – *maqamat* and *iqa'at* – with strict omitting of the harmony.

The repertoire then consists of popular or folk strophic songs with melismatic melodies sung in a Middle-Eastern Arabic dialect[14] by a soloist or unisono choir with the usage of some amount of vocal and instrumental improvisation. Since its foundation, the ensemble has been performing basically two kinds of songs. On one hand, there are folk songs, the majority of them from various regions of Syria and Lebanon originally played by local amateur musicians.

12 Sometimes called *daff*.

13 The ensemble's frontman characterizes this music as "imported" (Marwan Alsolaiman – interview, April 27, 2007). From his point of view, many contemporary popular Arab musicians thus do not perform "Arabic music" even if the lyrics are sung in Arabic.

14 e.g. Syrian, Libanese or Egyptian colloquial Arabic.

The musicians remember them from their own youth when they were still living in their homelands. Listening and memory are also sources for the rest of the repertoire, which encompasses their own adaptations of original interpretations of popular Arabic songs performed by famous singers with relatively large ensembles or orchestra which were broadcasted by various radio stations. These are the most famous songs performed in the whole Arab-speaking world mostly in the '60s, '70s and '80s by stars such as Sabah Fakhri, Fayrouz, Fareed al 'Atrash, Wadi as Safi, Nadhem al Ghazzali and other performers mostly of Middle-Eastern origin.[15] Despite the presence of modern elements and remarkable European influences, these songs are considered by Arab listeners as "classical" Arabic songs in the present day not only because of their arrangements, but especially due to their longer duration and higher complexity in the sense of more complicated melodic line, style of singing, lyrics and their language. All these elements are conceived to be much more sophisticated than creations of the majority of contemporary performers.

However, the choice of songs of both types is not random. When seeking a suitable piece for their own interpretation, the musicians follow certain rules which they have developed as criteria for selection. A song performance shouldn't last more than six minutes,[16] but it must fulfill characteristics of Arabic musical theory. In other words, some of Arabic melodic and rhythmic modes must be present there. Nevertheless, the musicians do not adapt songs with *maqamat* or *'iqa'at*, which are considered too complicated.[17] They also refuse to borrow songs of such stars as *Om Kulthum* because of their extreme requirements. Those songs are not only too difficult for the performers themselves; in addition, they are hardly admissible for Czech audiences from the Ziriab members' point of view. On the other hand, there is an apparent rejection of recent Arabic songs which the musicians obviously evaluate as too simple.[18] The musicians thus tend to an average or medium complexity of their repertoire.

15 Raï is a a genre of popular music of North African, especially Algerian origin. However, Ziriab has in its own repertoire a few of the probably most popular songs of the Algerian contemporary singer Khaled, with the nostalgic song "Ya Rayah" about longing for his homeland among them.

16 This reflects the musicians' assumption that the European audience is not able to listen to songs of long duration which are perceived by Europeans or Czechs as boring in their opinion.

17 e.g. melodic modes with several quarter or three-quarter tone intervals such as *maqam rast* or *sika* and their subtypes; the majority of the songs in Ziriab's repertoire are accompanied by the most favorite Arabic rhythmic modes such as *masmudi saghir/baladi*, *malfuf*, *masmudi kabir* or *maqsum*.

18 "This simple, modern music...I can compose it every day...five songs – music and lyrics together. And I can sell it and it will be successful. But that's empty music." (Marwan Alsolaiman, 12. 3. 2009).

According to the musicians' statements, the textual level of songs in Ziriab's repertoire has an inferior significance.[19] However, the character of a chosen text seems to be somehow reflected by the musicians; some themes are preferred while others are avoided. The majority of the songs are based on love poetry with typical motifs of unfulfilled love and emotional struggles. A number of song texts are also devoted to the beauty of the homeland and remembering it when one has lived abroad for ages.[20] The authors or famous performers of these songs quite often live in emigration as the Ziriab members do. It is important to notice the absence of religious songs in Ziriab's repertoire. The musicians also strongly reject any pieces with political allusions.

The ensemble's interpretation follows elements typical of the original. In comparison with its "model," the adaptation performed by Ziriab is thus easily recognizable. The main melodic line, its melodic mode[21] as well as some basic introductive or interlude motifs coincide with the genuine rendition. Nevertheless, there are significant differences. The ensemble's frontman Marwan Alsolaiman sometimes composes short introductions or interludes differing from the original. Also chosen rhythmic modes are often not identical with those used in the originals.[22] Musicians also usually perform the first two verses of a song and sometimes omit the long recitative *mawwal* that is present in the original.[23]

Finally, there are no original songs in the ensemble's repertoire. The musicians – even the frontman Marwan Alsolaiman who consider himself to be a creative artist – mention a lack of free time for compositional activity. Even other members of the ensemble do not compose their own music. Choosing of "model" folk or popular Arabic songs, their eventual combining with each other and making of their own arrangements, that is the core of the Ziriab members' musical creativity. However, this fact has a significance for later interpretations.

19 "The song is about....love....you know, these silly things.." (Marwan Alsolaiman during a Ziriab performance at the "Mezi ploty" festival, May 31, 2009)

20 It is remarkable that such songs are often in the repertoire at performances for Arab audiences.

21 Or chosen *maqam*.

22 Rhythmic modes performed by Ziriab members sometimes differ from rendition to rendition and do not strictly coincide with the mode used in a "model" song. The metric character of the song remains unchanged; however the usage of a certain rhythmic mode often depends on spontaneous and random choice.

23 On the one hand, a song performed by Ziriab is closer to an "original" Arabic music model as it is perceived by the musicians because of its arrangement without usage of electric instruments and harmonic elements; however there is a simplification in the sense of omitting a part of the lyrics and longer improvised virtuoso passages of the vocal or instrumental soloist.

Four Kinds of Performance

The ensemble performs under diverse circumstances and at various events. Basically, it is possible to depict four categories of performance – each one of a different context, structuration and audience type. The musicians' choice of repertoire as well as their behavior during the concert thus specifically reflect these three aspects in the different types of performance.

Since its foundation, the ensemble has organized its **own concerts**. Performances of this kind are not part of a festival nor do they accompany a cultural or community event. The musicians organize them by themselves or with a help of some friends. There are no limitations of choice of the concert venue and repertoire in this case, so Ziriab members can fully express their intentions.[24] Concerts of this type take place in smaller theaters, tearooms or in other public places suitable for music performances, but generally with a non-mainstream or "alternative" program conception.[25] A professionally organized advertising campaign informing about a concert of the ensemble does not exist. If a theater or tearoom has its own leaflets with a program, then Ziriab's concert is mentioned there. Occasionally, there are amateur-made leaflets which are available near the entrance of the venue of a concert. Sometimes one can find an allusion to a Ziriab concert on Internet servers informing about various cultural events, but the musicians are usually not responsible for these invitations. Instead of this, the members of the ensemble inform close friends about the concert personally by sending an SMS message or e-mail. An audience of this kind of performance then consists of 60 – 110 people, friends of the ensemble's members – with a few middle-Eastern Arabs[26] among them, connoisseurs and lovers of Arabic music, students and other rather intellectuals with some relationship to the Arab world and its culture. The program of these concerts encompasses about 10 – 15 songs of various character. There are "serious" songs of longer duration with meditative parts comprising short vocal or instrumental improvisations as well as shorter songs in a faster tempo and dance-inducing character. People are fully concentrated on music listening at these concerts, clapping their hands only occasionally when a song

24 Except for financial limitations, of course.

25 Smaller theaters – Solidarita (Prague 10), Gong (Prague 8), various Prague "culture centers" – *kulturní domy*, Casa Gelmi (Prague 2), cinemas – Atlas (Prague 8), tearooms – Amana, Rybanaruby (Prague 2), the Dahab (Prague 1) restaurant, clubs – Vagon (Prague 2), Awika (Prague 1).

26 It is remarkable that Arabs of North African origin do not attend Ziriab's concerts.

with a lively rhythm is performed. Marwan Alsolaiman tells a few basic facts about some songs. The other musicians do not usually give comments but they communicate with audience with smiles and gestures. All the members wear formal clothing – dark trousers with blue shirts or white blouses. There is thus apparent unity in the chosen style of clothing.

Because of their Arab origin, the musicians are sometimes invited to give a concert at **benefit events** related to some kind of current political crisis or environmental disaster in the Arab world. This is the case of meetings organized at moments of escalation of the Israel-Palestine conflict (December 1, 2006, March 14, 2009), a performance at the "Benefit Concert for Lebanon" (October 17, 2006), the "Concert for Algeria" (June 23, 2003). These events are organized by official representatives of Arabic countries in the Czech Republic, Arab community organizations (e.g., the "Lebanese Club in the Czech Republic"), from time to time by Czech NGOs such as the "Multicultural Center in Prague" or the "Czech – Arab Society." Places suitable for public lectures, meetings of organizations, smaller concert halls or theaters are usually chosen by organizers.[27] Arab residents represent the majority of the audience. Some Arab women with but most of them without a *hijab* accompany their relatives. The number of Czechs in the audience depends on the publicity and character of the event, but Czechs represent rather the minority of the public. Ziriab usually performs very popular pieces and especially patriotic or nostalgic songs with motifs of longing for an Arabic homeland which is far away. Their performance represents only a part of the program; there are film projections, speeches of Arab or Czech speakers and sometimes symbolic acts, such as a minute of silence for deceased victims of a war or disaster. While avoiding any political motivations, the musicians mention their human and cultural relationship to especially Middle-Eastern Arabic compatriots. They regard this relationship as especially motivating for such performances. There is thus apparent interest in contributing to those events by their own music performance, which is conceived by the musicians as a means of proclamation of their ethno-cultural identity.

Within its more than 10 years of existence, the Ziriab ensemble has performed at various **festivals** in the Czech Republic. One thing they have in common is a preference for "ethnic" or "world," "alternative" or "traditional" music and the phenomena of "multiculturality" or "polyethnicity" (Etno Brno, Color Meeting, Festival staré hudby Český Krumlov, Etnofest, Multikulturní

27 e.g. hall of the Municipal Library in Prague (Prague 1), Charitas Palace (Prague 1).

Olomouc, Refufest, the program accompanying FebioFest and Jeden Svět film festivals, etc.). Most of these festivals are organized in the summertime; the concerts thus take place on outdoor, strongly amplified stages. People in the audience obviously attend Ziriab's performance for the first time; they prefer dancing rather than careful concentration on each melodic movement. The ensemble's about-one-hour performance consists of rather simple songs in fast tempo, without providing any introduction or information about the repertoire; there is only sporadic communication with the audience. The music performed there has an entertainment or dance-accompanying character and the musicians are conscience of a rather non-attentive audience who watch and listen to Ziriab's performance only occasionally. However, if the atmosphere of a festival is nice and friendly, the musicians enjoy these concerts and do not refuse to participate in them.

Ziriab also performs at **private gatherings**. However, there are two completely different subtypes of these performances. On one hand, there are business companies and other organizations whose managers decide to arrange a private entertainment meeting for employees intended as an "Oriental Evening." Live Arabic music is then a desirable accompaniment for such events. The ensemble then routinely perform simple dance songs without any special effort because very little attention is paid to their performance. As at some festival performances, the musicians do not communicate with the audience, which consist of people sometimes wearing "oriental" costumes, sitting at tables with colleagues and enjoying tasty food and drinks.[28]

On the other hand, sometimes there are private meetings of Middle-Eastern community members often living in the Czech Republic for decades. The musicians welcome invitations for these performances.[29] There is usually an informal, relaxed atmosphere. Members of different Middle-Eastern minorities cordially greet each other. The majority of the people drink beer or wine; occasionally someone serves sweets, tea or one of the typical *mashriqi* dishes. Both Arabs and a few Czech friends of theirs talk about everyday life, their joys and worries during Ziriab's performance. Nevertheless, there is lively communication between musicians and audience. People clap their hands happily, sing together with the performers and some of them ask for a specific song.

28 Entrance to such gatherings for private companies is sometimes strictly restricted. However, I had an opportunity to witness some performances on these occasions.

29 e. g. annual cultural events organized in Prague on the occasion of the anniversary of the death of the famous Syrian poet *Nizar Qabbani*.

Most of the participants thus understand the lyrics and are familiar with the performed songs. Sometimes a few people start to dance a *debka*, a folk dance typical for the region of the Middle East. Generally, the program has no prepared structure. The musicians do not use microphones or other additional technical equipment and they do not arrive at the venue before time needed for even a short rehearsal. Often they wear informal clothing. The Ziriab members often perform songs which never appear at concerts intended for Czech audiences. Instrumental improvisations and vocal *mawwal* are apparently longer and more complex than for Czech audiences. Again, there are songs related to their origin or, on the textual level, to youth and homeland shared by musicians and at least by part of the audience.

"Original" Arabic Music played in the Czech Republic. Creativity or Ethno-Cultural Identity Remembrance?

Although the musicians expressed remarkable notions of music-making as a hobby and desired activity, is it possible to regard creative musicianship as the main motivation impulse for founding such an ensemble with this repertoire and performance-related circumstances? The musicians themselves repeatedly mentioned their common status as Middle Eastern secular Arabs long living abroad – in this case in the Czech Republic. This fact seems to be a key motive for their musical activities with respect to the following reasons which are evident not only in the statements of the musicians, but also in the level of their repertoire and performance characteristics. In addition, it is necessary to outline an aspect of the adaptation of the musicians' concept of "Arabic" music with respect to performing in front of Czech audiences and at various events mentioned above.

The founding members of the ensemble came from Syria to former Czechoslovakia as exchange-program students in the '80s and finally decided to stay as permanent residents in Prague, the capital. They learned the Czech language and have fully integrated into the local society as well as the other two musicians from Lebanon and Iraq, who joined the ensemble a decade later. Marwan Alsolaiman together with Haitham Farag, the other founding member of the ensemble, started to perform at meetings of the Association of Arabic Students. Initially, there were no concerts for non-Arabic audiences. After some time various musicians joined the ensemble till 1997, when three members created its stable "core." Since the end of the '90s, the range of performance

types together with the number and kind of listeners have enlarged. The idea of performing "Arabic" music has persisted and the musicians have developed an evaluation of a repertoire suitable for each type of performance and audience. The members of the ensemble thus delineated a distinction of Czech versus Arabic audience, a festival performance versus an independent concert. Nevertheless, opinions of the members reflect the fact that the hobby of "dealing with Arabic music" arose *during* their several years of uninterrupted stay in the Czech Republic.[30]

Let me note that all the members of the ensemble have several features in common. All four musicians were born in three different Arabic countries[31] but their shared Middle-Eastern Arab (*mashriqi*) origin is a priority here in the Czech Republic. There is also the (non)religious aspect of their personal identity. Three members of the ensemble are Druze and one is Christian, however none of them practice their religion and they rather admit their secular conviction. Because of these circumstances, the musicians choose folk songs from various regions of the Middle East or popular songs originally sung by Middle Eastern performers mentioned above. In addition, their secular orientation is reflected in avoiding songs with any religious allusion. The musicians also have their Middle-Eastern origin together with rather secular attitudes in common with their Arabic listeners who prefer to listen to Arabic "oldies" about love and the beauty of the homeland. There is thus apparent correlation of the musicians' personal features and the character of the pieces chosen for their own adaptation and performance, which is, in addition, in accordance with Arab audiences' expectations in the cases of performances in majority for the Arab public.

These stable and clearly defined characteristics of the ensemble's repertoire, its arrangement and presentation to the audience represent the first level of the musicians' intentions to follow an "Arabic" music concept which consists of various assumptions expressed and realized during private (at rehearsals) or public (at concerts) music making activities. Another level of following a "classical" Arabic concept is present in the sense of the negative attitude of the ensemble members to professional musicianship. As young men still living in their homeland, they never performed in public or studied music with

30 All the musicians loved music and practiced it as a hobby during their childhood but none of them intended to become even a semi-professional musician as they are in the present day here in the Czech Republic.

31 Syria, Lebanon, Iraq.

a mentor's guidance. Music was not considered as something important for life and all of them had to interrupt their small musical hobby efforts in their youth because of study or work. On the other hand, they appreciate a knowledge of musical theory. Marwan Alsolaiman, who has mastered Arabic melodic and rhythmic modes – *maqamat* and *iqa' at* by self-study, is thus the naturally respected leader of the ensemble. Other members of Ziriab have no such advanced knowledge nor the ability to play several musical instruments. They also do not intend their musical performances as commercial activities, with the exception of the youngest Iraqi member. Anas Younnis is a professional percussionist but his prestige in the Ziriab ensemble is bit lower than the prestige of the other amateur musicians.[32]

As we have seen above, there is also apparently little care for promotion of the ensemble and its activities. With the exception of its mention in various reviews of festival or theater programs and also a presentation on the website of Ziriab's CD publisher, their own Internet website or a presentation of the ensemble, e.g., on MySpace or Facebook sites does not exist. For these reasons it is not possible to consider a pure desire of musical creativity as the main motivation motive for membership in the ensemble. The musicians of Ziriab thus adhere to their genuine intention of remaining amateurs, which is a preferred and positively valued kind of Arabic musicianship. In addition, they regard their music making as an activity which can help to promote their own culture in an alternative way.[33]

Neither instrumental nor vocal virtuosity[34] is a priority. Song arrangements are based on spontaneous ideas presented by various musicians at rehearsals. Marwan Alsolaiman then decides on their appropriateness. Rehearsals, then, rather provide time and an occasion for a friendly gathering. Music-making during rehearsals is thus an enjoyable activity when the participants repeat

32 This is evident from statements of older and founding members of the ensemble.

33 It was Haitham Farag who aptly expressed this conviction: "We would like to show people here in the Czech Republic that Arabs....you know I don't like to talk about this, I don't want to talk about politics at all, but...we want to show that Arabs are not like those people the newspapers write about, Arabs who are terrorists or criminals." (Haitham Farag, November 3, 2008). Other members of the ensemble also expressed an effort to "promote" Arabic culture by means of their musical activities which represent a positive, unreligious and non-political way of proclamation of their opinion.

34 Only the ensemble's frontman Marwan Alsolaiman intends to improve his musical abilities and is learning to play new instruments such as the *qanun* zither. On the other hand, members of the ensemble, except for Annas Younis who is a professional percussionist, do not continually practice playing their instruments or singing at home.

songs they like. Its function is thus not primarily improvement of the musicians' tasks. If a percussionist does not bring his own instrument, it does not matter. Marwan Alsolaiman lends him another although it is an instrument of different type. Creativity in the sense of composing original pieces is also not a priority. Let me remind you that the repertoire of the ensemble consists of borrowed popular and folk songs which are arranged by the musicians themselves, but according to original "model" characteristics. The choice of each song then reflects the musicians' preferences – they seek typically "Arabic" pieces but do not intend to perform too sophisticated creations. A long *mawwal* or other very complex improvisational elements are thus absent, even in performances for Arabic audiences.

We can thus see rejection of an important level of "typically" Arabic creativity[35] in this aspect of the musicians' intentions. But this is not only because of a lack of musical abilities – which is not totally out of discussion – but is also due to their performing for Czech audiences and in specific contexts. With respect to the "classical" Arabic model, the members of the ensemble prefer unstructured performances with attentive audiences. "Informal musicking" for a smaller passively or actively participating, mostly Middle-Eastern audience is thus one of the most enjoyable performances for the musicians. They can perform favorite pieces in a preferred way – with a bit longer improvisation and *mawwal* and they intensively reply to reactions of the audience who explicitly express their joy and understanding. During these occasions, the musicians, together with the audience,[36] remember through specific songs their commonly missed countries and evoke positive memories of their homeland by singing in local dialects and using the musical system which definitely belongs to Arabic culture. On the contrary, Ziriab musicians do not enjoy performing as even well-paid "Oriental sound decoration." Just for these reasons there are only simpler and usually "dance" songs on a program and improvisational instrumental and vocal elements are often missing in performances intended for Czech and also inattentive audiences of such events.

35 Which is – on the other hand – admired by the musicians.

36 This notion refers to findings of Kaufman Shelemay (1998) that music provides a means of remembrance of shared nostalgia and common memories of a specific community. In the case of Ziriab, it is the community of Middle Eastern Arabs of secular orientation, long living in the Czech Republic. For them, Ziriab concerts given at community gatherings represent an occasion for remembering a part of Self, present and past which is shared by all participants. That is the reason for the absence of, for example, North African Arabs at Ziriab's concerts.

My aim was to demonstrate here an evident continual change of definitions of musical conceptualization; in this case members of Ziriab admit to only a part of a "classical" Arabic musical concept, not only because of their potential talent limitations but also due to reflecting a completely different musical and sociocultural environment. When performing for Czech audiences, members of the ensemble choose pieces "not too difficult for listening" because they are conscious of performing for listeners with different expectations from Arabs. On the other hand, the paper has tried to deal with the phenomenon of musicianship as a means of expressing some levels of the Self. In other words, the case study of the Ziriab ensemble presents aspects of proclamation of the ethno-cultural identity[37] of Middle-Eastern Arabs living in the Czech Republic by way of musical activities and their specific character. Musicianship – in the sense of specific musical and lyrics features of chosen songs and their performance – then can provide a mode of remembrance of such parts of the Self-concept which are missed in a different sociocultural area where a person is living. Research thus revealed that Ziriab members' choice of the repertoire character, attitude toward musical activities and preference of a certain public and performance type is quite firmly related to their personal identity. It is thus possible to consider the activities of the Ziriab members as a reference to the part of the Self which is missed with respect to living in the Czech Republic for a long time. Music-making then represents the possibility for constant remembering of missed language, homeland culture and memories of certain people, situations and atmosphere.

In my opinion, none of the members would have dealt with this kind of music as much as here in the Czech Republic if they had lived in their homelands. And if they had dealt with it, would they have been devoted to "genuine" Arabic music? That is the question.

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37 In the term of ethnomusicologist Thomas Turino (Turino 2008: 115-116) members of the Ziriab ensemble together with their Arab listeners thus belong to a specific *culture cohort*.

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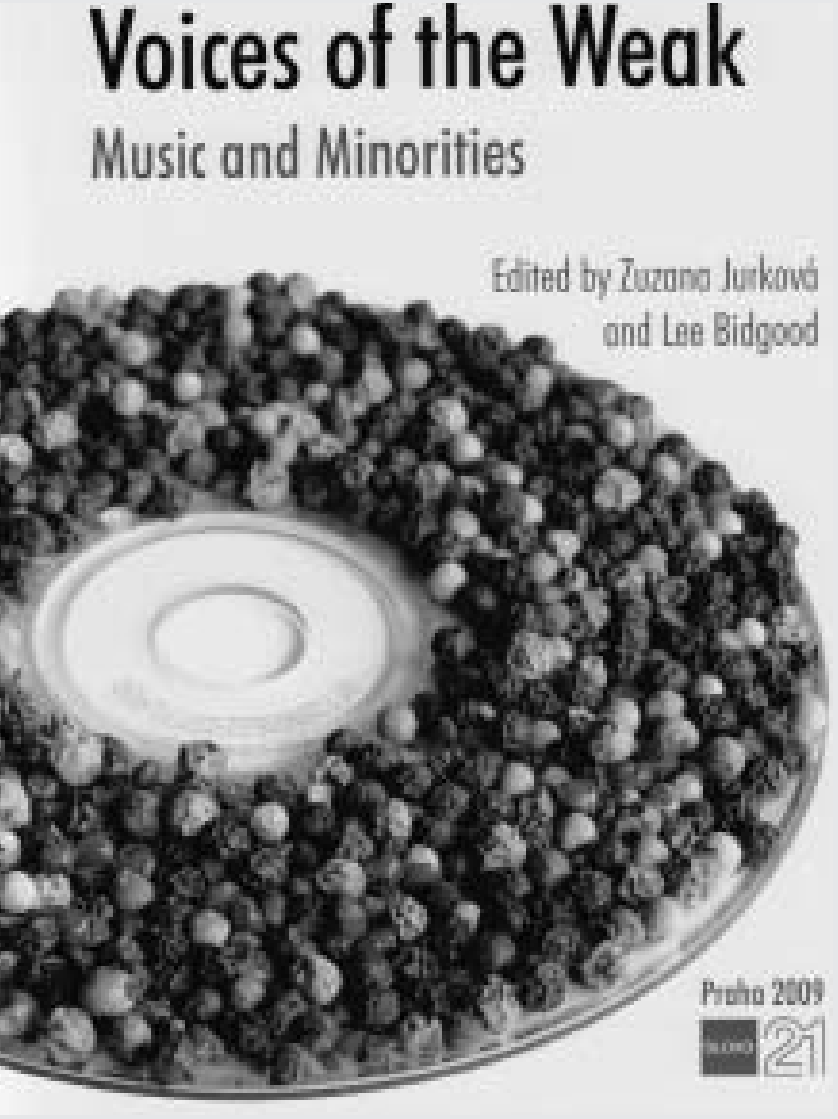

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ECHOING THE BEATS OF TURBO-FOLK: POPULAR MUSIC AND NATIONALISM IN EX-YUGOSLAVIA

Markéta Slavková

Abstract: ***This paper discusses the popular musical phenomenon in the region of former Yugoslavia known as "turbo-folk" – also referred to as "the music of the war." In the late 1980s and early 1990s, "turbo-folk" partly emerged from a postmodern mix of more readily accessible modern technologies (turbo – techno-pop beat) and the desire for "retraditionalization" (folk). Therefore, it could be seen as part of the occurrence of "the invention of tradition" in the process of re-constructing a group's identity. This peculiar synthesis of transformed tradition combined with modernity could also be traced back to the communist-led social engineering and rapid urbanization, which, in fact, led to mass "ruralization" of the cities in Yugoslavia at the time. Noticeably more than any other music genre, "turbo-folk" has closely been linked to the expansion of nationalism, in which it played an important role in spreading the nationalistic discourse and "satisfying" the emotions of the masses. I argue that "Turbo-folk," as a "form of identity," continues to be closely related to the broader socio-political trends in the former Yugoslav countries.***

Key words: ***former Yugoslavia; Serbia; turbo-folk; popular music; nationalism; identity formation***

Introduction

This article was written as part of the "(Post) Yugoslav Identities Conference" that took place on the 26th and 27th of September 2008 at the University of Melbourne. At the conference former Yugoslavian identities were discussed from various angles. The conference presentations were divided into three thematic

groups: War and Reconciliation, Retraditionalization and Nostalgia, and Cultural Representations, Inclusions and Exclusions in Post-Yugoslav Spaces. In a way, this article encompasses all of these topics. Social reality is of a fluid, interconnected nature, and we, as human beings, experience it as an undivided continuum. But in order to make sense out of our daily lives we tend to cut it into pieces, like slicing a cake. It is through individual, thematic presentations that we can grasp certain problems, but it is particularly the collage of all of them that creates the body for a deeper understanding of post-Yugoslav identities. Thus, in the following, I will present my own fragment of how post-Yugoslav identities can be perceived through a music genre.

As the title of my article suggests – "Echoing the beats of Turbo-Folk: Popular Music and Nationalism in ex-Yugoslavia," I have decided to deconstruct music, nationalism, and the invention of tradition and identity in the former Yugoslavia. Several authors have theorized the turbo-folk genre in the past, but mostly in the context of the socio-political situation in the former Yugoslavia (Gordy 1999, Ramet 2002, Wilmer 2002). In addition, several articles have been written that depict certain aspects of turbo-folk, often in its relationship to the regime (Hudson 2003, Kronja 2004). In this article, I would like to show a more complex approach towards theorizing the turbo-folk genre and draw attention to its various aspects and impacts upon society. Rather than viewing it strictly in the context of the political situation in former Yugoslavia in the first half of the 1990s, I will discuss turbo-folk in a broader context: as a socio-cultural phenomenon. I understand turbo-folk in the framework of Arjun Appadurai's mediascapes, as landscapes of images distributed and spread by electronic media such as newspapers, magazines, television stations, and film-production studios (Appadurai 1996: 35).

turbo-folk, by some called "the music of the war," is a popular musical phenomenon in the region of the former Yugoslavia. I would first like to draw attention to a few aspects of turbo-folk that I will further discuss in this paper.

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, turbo-folk partly emerged from a post-modern mix of more readily accessible modern technologies (turbo symbolizes the techno-pop beat) and a desire for "retraditionalization" (folk). This peculiar synthesis of transformed tradition combined with modernity can be traced back to the Communist-led social engineering and rapid urbanization, which, in fact, led to mass "ruralization" of the cities in Yugoslavia at the time.

Considering the fact that many turbo-folk performers are women, I will also attempt to capture the role of the objectification of women and the

mechanism in which they come to embody the ideological discourse. More than any other music genre, turbo-folk has been closely linked to the expansion of nationalism and has played an important role in spreading the nationalistic discourse and "satisfying" the emotions of the masses. It became an effective tool of manipulation in the hands of different politicians; for this reason, turbo-folk is often labeled as "the rhythm of the Milošević era." I will try to explore this link using the example of the marriage of Serbian pop queen "Ceca" (Svetlana Veličković) and Serbian paramilitary leader "Arkan" (Željko Ražnatović). Their marriage literally objectifies the complex relationship between the media, commodities and the world of nationalism and politics. Furthermore, I would like to argue that turbo-folk serves as a form identity at multiple levels and belongs to the genre of the "invention of tradition" in the process of construing one's identity.

The Rise of the Turbo-Folk Genre

It is not possible to clearly identify where turbo-folk as a music genre originated, yet we can trace its roots to a few different musical styles. I suggest that it was the combination of these styles that later gave birth to turbo-folk. Chronologically, the earliest origins, mainly of the Serbian tradition of turbo-folk, are to be found in the peasant tradition of folk singing and oral recitation. Songs and poems[1] have been well known media for preserving shards of history in the form of myths. According to Hudson, there are two separate sources of inspiration: "the traditional liturgical literature of the church and the peasant traditions of folk singing and the oral recitation of narratives in verse by illiterate and sometimes blind singers (*guslari*)" (Hudson 2003: 158). Moreover, *guslari* accompanied by their typical musical instrument – the *gusle* (a one-stringed, bowed instrument) would, according to Robert Hudson, "*become the composers and keepers of the people's history*" (Hudson 2003: 158). Thus, we can see a strong connection between song, myth and historical event in this particular musical tradition. Many songs accompanied by the *gusle* (at least the more contemporary ones) are often inspired by actual historical events, but, when sung, they acquire mythical form.

Goran Tarlac, a Belgrade-based journalist, writes that: "*the rise of nationalism in the mid-1980s was accompanied by the restoration of the gusle"*

[1] Hudson notices that in Serbian both poem and song are referred to as *pesma* (Hudson 2003: 158).

(Tarlac 2003). It is not just a coincidence that this was the time of desire for retraditionalization as I will attempt to show later. Tarlac supports his argument on Ivo Žanić's statement (1998) that follows: "*On the eve of war, fiddling in Yugoslavia became like a press center with a reliable translation service that was in charge of translating the current political messages of Serb leaders into old epic images, and vice versa*" (Tarlac 2003). The *gusle* is still played today, even though it has been mostly abandoned or "exchanged" for other stringed instruments, most commonly the guitar (see Hudson 2003: 165-168). Still the use of the *gusle* represents a bridge between the contemporary and traditional. Guslari in the 20th century would sing of the contemporary events but they gave them the coating of time wrapped in the form of myth, for song was a type of a narrative – a means of remembering the past.

Mircea Eliade showed the unique notion of time connected to myth in his famous book *The Myth of the Eternal Return* (Eliade 1954). He argues that the mythical time appears in periodical cycles that tend to re-enact the rebirth of the already established social organization (see Eliade 1954, 62-92). In its core, Eliade's theory proposes prolific assumptions but lacks to a large extent agency of the actors and inner diachrony of the social structure. In the contemporary world there is no clear distinction between mythological and post-mythological thinking; they both appear simultaneously. Yet there is a desire for imposing continuity to selected fragments of history so they can become part of the nationalistic myth that could be instrumentally revived and re-enacted. Čolović defines this process when he concludes that "*in some cases what was at stake really was an endeavor to seek and revive a connection with the distant past, to establish a continuity of certain ideas and projects from a contemporary perspective and for the sake of contemporary needs*." (Čolović 2002: 13)

Parallel to the *gusle*, another musical genre – *narodna muzika* (traditional national music) was played. *Narodna muzika* was often from the beginning of the 1990s referred to as *izvorna muzika* (which means – authentic music). Turbo-folk itself emerged from *novo komponovana narodna muzika* (newly composed folk music) as a fusion of traditional folk music and a modern beat. Folk music as such was already popular during Tito's times and Tito himself liked this genre. Hence also *narodna muzika* became a good base for the birth of turbo-folk.

While the tradition of playing *gusle* established a strong link between myth, history and song, it was *narodna muzika* that led to understanding of song in terms of nationalism.

Helm explains: "*The acceptance or rejection of folk music as a basis for composition has been a primary question for many years in Yugoslavia – and in a way that is for Western composers perhaps hard to understand. Folk music was a factor in the nationalist and pan-Slavic movements of the 19th century, in which the regions of today's Yugoslavia participated, and whose influence is still felt in many Eastern European countries. Over and above this, composers of the territories that constitute present- day Yugoslavia saw (and in some cases still see) in folk music a means of arriving at a 'national form of expression*.'" (Helm, 1965 :220)

Paradoxically the most important inspiration for turbo-folk came from rock 'n' roll, even though it traditionally stood in opposition to the regime. Rock 'n' roll was, similarly but more radically than the *gusle*, employed in political discourse but, more importantly, it was the rock 'n' roll musicians that started combining traditional music with new influences. Sabrina Ramet argues that the first group to do so was Goran Bregović's *Bijelo dugme* (White Button) and Bregović himself considers ethnic and folk music as the richest source of inspiration (Ramet 2002: 99).

In this brief introduction, we can see that turbo-folk emerged from a few different musical genres. The first source of inspiration comes from the tradition of playing the one-stringed instrument called the *gusle*. The songs accompanying the music were inspired by actual historical accounts, hence when sung they carried the form of myth. This became crucial during the time of retraditionalization before and during the war in the early 1990s in the former Yugoslavia, as Ivo Žanić's statement reminds us. I suggest that the turbo-folk genre used a very similar technique, the fusion of the mythical and "objectively" historical, which can be also understood as a metaphor of its interconnection to both tradition and modernity.[2] Second, the genre of *narodna muzika* has shifted music – a medium preceding the birth of the nation-state, to the role of attribute or even indication of a nation-state. Therefore, music became a tool of nationalistic discourse and a means of stimulating such a discourse. Turbo-folk clearly drew upon this particular possibility. Third, an important role within the rise of the turbo-folk phenomenon was derived from rock 'n' roll in the former Yugoslavia, since it started to increasingly combine modern musical influences with the traditional ones. Moreover, rock 'n' roll

[2] The traditional can serve as a metaphor of a "mythical" mode of thinking characteristic for its cyclical concept of time, whereas modernity can be perceived as prevailingly characterized by a linear concept of time (see Eliade 1954).

had effectively functioned as a mediator of political discourse in the former Yugoslavia even though it stood on the opposite side of the political spectre in comparison with turbo-folk. In the following part I will draw attention to the ambiguous position of turbo-folk between modernity and tradition, which will more closely explain the rise of this phenomenon in the context of the socio-political changes in the region.

"Turbo" and "Folk" – Aspects of Modernity & Postmodernity vs. Searching for Folklore & Tradition

Music can't simply be separated from society. Turbo-folk didn't just emerge as experimentation with different musical genres but, as I would argue, it emerged from the desire for retraditionalization that became strong particularly towards the end of the communist era and continued till the mid-1990s. This desire for retraditionalization didn't stay neutral but was used as a part of political discourse.

Retraditionalization is closely linked to the phenomenon of "ruralization" – a mass urbanization of Yugoslavian cities during the communist era. Bougarel notes that, in 1948, 73% of the total population was still living on farms; by 1981 this number had dropped to 27%. Bougarel further argues that "*Forty years of accelerated modernization and urbanization have shifted the traditional antagonism between town and countryside into the towns themselves, endangered the balance of the urban social system and broken the structures of the rural one"* (Bougarel 1999: 165). And it is this drastic shift from traditional to modern that opened up a space for the desire of retraditionalization and ended up in one of the biggest military conflicts of the 20th century.

It was logical that the sphere of musical taste didn't stay politically neutral after Tito's death. The new nationalist elite used the folk genre to gain support from rural and semi-rural bases. State-controlled media began to intensively play newly composed folk music that later emerged into dance-pop-folk referred to as "turbo-folk." Despite the gap between urban and rural spaces, turbo-folk quickly occupied the cultural spaces in urban areas and dominated over rock 'n' roll. Turbo-folk didn't end up having the same status as rock 'n' roll. Whereas rock 'n' roll music was generally anti-regime (the communist one), turbo-folk became the new regime's powerful weapon. American journalist Adam Higginbotham reflects upon these processes and at the same time uncovers the power of state-held media when he writes:

> During the eighties, Yugoslavia had been renowned for its vibrant countercultural rock scene. But with the war came music custom-built for a profiteering regime peddling ersatz nationalism to an isolated populace: "turbo-folk," a brash, plastic mix of traditional folk and modern electro-pop beats. It became the house style of expensive new venues in New Belgrade, such as the Folkoteka, and the sound of the trashy new Milošević-sponsored television stations – TV Pink and TV Palma – which broadcast turbo-folk videos almost to the exclusion of all other music. (Higginbotham 2004)

Such a rapid establishment of turbo-folk was possible only due to the state media intervention and its monopoly over popular culture. Not everybody supported the rise of turbo-folk, but few alternatives were left. Gordy argues that "*Musical taste became an important signifier, not only of the distinction between urban and peasant culture, but also of orientation toward the regime, the war, and the environment created by the regime and the war*" (Gordy 1999: 105).

Official support of turbo-folk wouldn't be sufficient, if turbo-folk didn't already enjoy the support of the masses. Communism, with its solid influx of the rural population to cities, created a space for a later demand for turbo-folk. And as Gordy explains: it was these rural people, generally poor and working in rapidly developing industry, who never truly integrated into the city culture and whose music taste accommodated turbo-folk (Gordy 1999: 106). Moreover, as Hudson concludes, the political supremacy of Serbia was shaken to the grounds after the fall of the communist regime. Hudson writes: "*With the break-up of Yugoslavia and the growing sense of isolation, first in one conflict and then in another, with all the attendant horrors of identity politics, Serbia was banished from the so-called European mainstream. Popular music became important in furthering the cause of Serbian national identity, and as something to hold on to for a community that had lost its once privileged position both within Yugoslavia and in the international community. This Serbness (Srpstvo) was found in some of the cultural elements of the past that were considered to be purely Serbian, as opposed to Southern Slav or Balkan. This was the cult of the folkloric.*" (Hudson 2003: 169).

Nevertheless, during communism, turbo-folk (neofolk) was still marginalized and its audience, as Gordy describes it, consisted of "peasants" (*seljaci*) and "primitives" (*primitivci*) (Gordy 1999: 108). But not long before the war broke out the position of turbo-folk and rock 'n' roll suddenly became inverted. Turbo-folk shifted from marginalized towards mainstream as rock 'n' roll diminished.

So in this part we can see that it was the hunger for the return of tradition in combination with new political visions that gave rise to "newly composed folk music" (*novokomponovana narodna muzika*) and turbo-folk. Moreover, we can trace the rise of the phenomenon in the context of actual socio-political change. Before I elaborate on the mechanisms of spreading the nationalistic discourse via music, I will take a closer look at the turbo-folk performers themselves; for the role of the individual, active creators should never be underestimated. Since most of the performers are women, in the next chapter I will analyze the performers in terms of gender issues – objectification of women in general.

The Observer's Gaze – Objectification of the Turbo-Folk Women

The turbo-folk music genre is not only a coincidental creation of the socio-economical situation in the former Yugoslavia, but has its own active creators – the performers. I argue that this relationship is truly mutual. Turbo-folk as a genre emerged from the socio-economic situation, but at the same time its creators played an active role while responding to such a situation and also it is they who have the power to reproduce the ideological schemes of turbo-folk on a larger scale.

This raises the question of the turbo-folk performers. Therefore, I would also like to pay attention to turbo-folk women and the problem of objectification of women as performers in general. It is true that amongst turbo-folk performers a significant role was filled by men, but I would argue it was mainly the women that appealed to larger audiences (as we will see in the case of Ceca in the following chapter) and they have embodied the ideological concepts that turbo-folk carried and has carried until present.

Distinctive to the turbo-folk genre are the techno-pop beat and the catchy, even cheerful melody. The lyrics are either romantically naive or play on male themes and associate with violence; at first innocent but profoundly biased at the same time. Double meanings are often included in the songs, which is typical of the turbo-folk genre. For example, Ceca sings in her famous mournful love song *Kukavica* (meaning both cuckoo and, in this case, coward): "*Hug me and go off on the road of cowards. My wandering eyes will follow you. Female heart tender as a little martin that dies of pain…*"

The female performers are slim and often blonde, wearing sexy, minimalistic pieces of clothing. The turbo-folk women glisten in the spotlights, with

mirror balls reflecting their fame, covered in jewelry, their height accentuated by high heels. But there is a "dark" side to this "fairy-tale realm"; thus I would like to critically examine the problems of the representation of the women in this world of pop-music.

As Pierre Bourdieu has noticed: "the perceived body is socially doubly determined" (Bourdieu 2001: 64). On one hand it is the physical aspects of the body that are a social product of various social conditions and on the other hand the bodily properties are apprehended through schemes of perception of the evaluating observers (see Bourdieu: 2001: 64). Therefore, the bodies as they appear already contain and adhere to a particular social structure. Hence, it is important to discuss the turbo-folk women partly as an embodied discourse of the ideas in post-communist Yugoslavia.

Women, as such, are according to Bourdieu being objectified; they are objects whose being is "being perceived" (Bourdieu 2001: 66). Hence, women are the objects of the gaze that is already socially determined; I argue that women in popular music, in this sense, can be understood as "maps" for reading "social landscapes"; the turbo-folk women themselves already mediate the ideologies of the genre.

Laura Mulvey in her article "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema" theorizes women as objects in the context of feminist film studies (Mulvey 1989: 14-26). Mulvey analyzed the (male) gaze in relation to visual pleasure as women increasingly came to appear in film (Mulvey 1989: 14-26). And since music videos are an inevitable part of turbo-folk music, I find this concept very useful for explaining the role of the performers of this genre.

Mulvey argues that the world, from the gender perspective, is already biased and, in such a world, the pleasure of the observer is divided into an active male sphere and a passive female one (Mulvey 1989: 14-26). The woman becomes fantasy and an object of (male) gaze at the same time (Mulvey 1989: 14-26). Also for Mulvey, it is more significant, in this sense, what a woman represents rather than her taking action herself; she evokes love or fear in the male hero but, on her own, she isn't granted much significance (Mulvey 1989: 14-26).

Therefore, women play an important role as the objects of gaze. Their performances are considered to be pleasurable and it is precisely for this reason that music videos and performances create a very felicitous gap for the reproduction of ideologies.

John Corbett pushes Mulvey's theory further when he argues that, while music is played, the visual is often missing; and for him it is the lack

of visual stimulation that initiates desire (Corbett 1990: 84). Furthermore, Corbett argues: "*Recorded music, at once the site of intense pleasure and the producer of a similar threat of lack, is therefore constituted in its object-form as erotic-fetishistic, and the aural is mystified as 'something satisfying in itself.' The threat of absence, of loss, creates a nostalgia for the fullness of a mythical past; pleasure is inscribed in its memory – the gap*" (Corbett 1990: 85).

In my case, it is both the performances and the experience of music itself that helped in the mediation of turbo-folk's ideological message. It was both "visual pleasure" performed on stage and the fantasies behind the "seductive" voices of turbo-folk performers. And it is Corbett's last statement that brings us back to the core of the rise of turbo-folk; for the music is capable of creating "nostalgia for the fullness of a mythical past." In the next chapter I would like to focus on mechanisms of spreading the nationalistic discourse in which song became an indicator of political and national identity and in which the history (not coincidently) was prescribed in the form of myth.

Spreading the Nationalistic Discourse

> Oh, Serbia my mother, do not fear the war,
> You'll always have two sisters
> when your brother is no more,
> these two sisters the world has not yet seen,
> the Bosnian Serb Republic and the Serb Krajina!
> The Serb nation is defended,
> Serbs lands are protected,
> by Arkan's heroes, warriors without fear,
> These valiant boys, Serb volunteers! (Wilmer, 2002: 191)

In the previous part I have already concluded a strong connection between turbo-folk's link to politics and nationalism. In this section I would like to specify this relation and manifest it on the marriage of Serbian pop queen Ceca and paramilitary leader Arkan. I have also chosen to introduce this section with a song that praises Arkan in order to illustrate how nationalistic discourse penetrates the form of song. Moreover, even though this text doesn't exactly belong to the turbo-folk genre (songs typical for turbo-folk mostly do not contain such explicit images; it is rather the context that gives it political tone), it is a clear example of a song as a medium of various discourses and functioning on

mechanisms explained in the chapter above. These verses throw us into a realm of mythical presence – imagery of "heroes" and "warriors without fear." Yet they are inspired by actual real-life individuals and reflect on the true historical event – the war in the beginning of the 1990s in the former Yugoslavia. The words soaked with a solid dose of nationalism are calling for and informing about both political and military conflicts waged.

Despite the destruction and horrors of recent wars in former Yugoslavia, the nationalist Milošević's rhetoric seems to be still in favor. One of the reasons is that it is maintained through various media from which one of the most significant is popular culture, particularly turbo-folk. The rhetoric of nationalism still remains hidden and grounded in daily experience from where it permeates ordinary lives. There was little possibility of escape from this subtle but firm propaganda because, as Gordy argues, the Serbian regime made other alternatives unavailable (Gordy 1999: 6).

What I found important about Gordy's argument is the influence of the state on the rise of turbo-folk in an attempt to establish it as a mainstream musical genre. Even though I don't believe it was only for the nation-state and political elites that turbo-folk celebrated such a great success, it is the nation-state that has the power to decide what is going to be played and what will become marginalized. Cloonen has argued that nation-states play an important role in the control and censorship of broadcasting (Cloonen 1999: 193). This was exactly the case with turbo-folk from the beginning of the 1990s to the mid 1990s when it lost the favor of the regime. This also shows how easily a nation-state can accelerate the spreading of nationalism amongst the masses.

Hence we cannot understand the rise of turbo-folk only through the involvement of the Milošević regime. If it weren't for its appeal to the masses, it could never have become as successful. Therefore I argue that the success of turbo-folk was mutually stimulated by both the elites and the masses.

The relationship between the nation-state and the masses' taste for turbo-folk isn't as straightforward though. In order to show the complexity of this relationship, I will shortly introduce the example of the marriage of pop-Queen Ceca and paramilitary leader – Arkan. Many scholars have mentioned Arkan's and Ceca's marriage as an example of the interconnection between politics, nationalism and turbo-folk.

Ceca was born as Svetlana Veličković in the small Serbian town of *Žitorađa*. She started singing when she was five and at the age of ten was already performing all over the Balkans at weddings, hotels and *kafanas* (Stewart

2008: 221). At fourteen Ceca recorded her first album, *The Nagging Flower* that established her as one of the stars of turbo-folk (Stewart, 2008: 221). She was singing about the love and hard life of rural people. In an interview Ceca said: "*If I were American, I would definitely be singing country music. It is the same as Serbian folk – it speaks to the people*." (Stewart 2008: 221)

In her late teens, Ceca slightly changed her style and started presenting herself as a sex symbol – wearing tight tops, miniskirts and performing seductive dancing on stage (Stewart 2008: 221). When the war broke out in the 1990s, Ceca's career grew bigger – her records sold in the hundreds of thousands (Stewart 2008: 222). It was the time of the expansion of turbo-folk and Ceca emerged as the queen of this genre (Stewart 2008: 222). Ceca met Arkan – Željko Ražnatović at his training camp Erdut on October 11, 1993 (Stewart 2008: 223). He invited her to perform in order to celebrate his paramilitary group Arkan's Tigers (Stewart 2008: 223). The Tigers, even though it was never officially admitted by Milošević, cooperated with the former Yugoslavian army forces and were responsible for ethnic cleansings in various places. Before Arkan became a paramilitary leader, he was already a well established gangster. Just for illustration, the Hague Tribunal had linked him to 24 counts of war crimes and apart from this, 177 countries had him on their criminal records with the United States placing a $5 million bounty on his head (Stewart 2008: 9).

Ceca didn't seem to care about Arkan's controversial personal history. Later, when Arkan became a politician himself, Ceca supported him through performing for his Serbian Unity Party and encouraged the fans to vote for her husband. She even said, "*You can be as happy as me... ... just join the Serbian Unity Party.*" (Stewart 2008: 223)

About 16 months after they met they were married. In an interview with Adam Higginbotham for The Observer Ceca comments on their first encounter: "*He was very cute, very handsome and very masculine... ...I fell in love with him instantly. I respect people who are fighters, who succeed in life, who don't give up – because life is a constant struggle*" (Higginbotham 2004).

Arkan and Ceca's wedding ceremony began in Ceca's hometown and continued in Belgrade on February 19, 1995. It was broadcast on state television, an example of how the nation-state intervened in media broadcasting. There was also an official tape available, which Dina Iordanova insightfully characterizes when she writes:

> The tape offers an edited version of the several acts of this glamorous wedding, during which the couple proves fit to handle such a hectic day and preserves composure throughout the marathon variety show it performs for its various audiences. For the 140 minutes duration of the tape the groom will change costumes three times, the bride, four. He will display wealth, stability, good looks, and humble reticence. She will display confidence, stability, beauty, and will dance, sing and entertain. For the peasants the couple will pose as villagers, honoring the tradition and even coming up with folklore elements invented especially for the wedding. For the fans of Orthodoxy and monarchy, they will perform as a royal couple. For the secular urbanites they will engage in an elegant civil ceremony. For global audiences they will stage an American-style gala dinner at a restaurant called *Intercontinental*. And for popular tastes there will be turbo-folk and belly dancing (Iordanova 1998: 8).

Iordanova's description captures the importance and thoroughness put into the choice of dress; it wasn't a coincidence that Arkan had three different robes and Ceca four. All of the different dresses are clearly indicators of identity and share striking resemblance to motifs typical for turbo-folk such as: nationalism, the desire for retraditionalization, a link to the actual history and nostalgia for the "return" of the mythical past. Therefore, what the bride and groom wear is an embodied statement of their identity on multiple levels.

"*Before dawn. Orthodox mass is celebrated at the home of Arkan. He is cleanly shaved, wears a traditional Montenegrin costume and a massive golden cross on his chest. Men in tuxedos surround him. The priest refers to him as "voyvoda" (leader) as Arkan humbly kisses the cross,*" as Iordanova describes the morning before the ceremony (Iordanova 1998: 8). The scene evokes a strong sense of spirituality. The size of the golden cross Arkan wore made it clear that his religious (and in the Balkan case also national) identity was that of Orthodox Christian. Moreover, the Montenegrin costume Arkan wore is a regional variation of the Serb costume that was traditionally worn by the Serbs of Montenegro. His outfit didn't even miss the typical Montenegrin cap, which in itself is a symbol of a grief for the loss in the Battle of Kosovo.

As he got off the jeep at *Žitorađa* (Ceca's hometown), Arkan was holding a pistol in one hand and a Heckler & Koch machine gun in the other (Stewart 2008: 225). "*Folk music plays from loudspeakers and crowds fill up the streets, the surrounding balconies, and yards. Before being let in, the groom is to shoot an apple that hangs from the top of the three story house… …He is then let into the house*

where he is intercepted on the staircase and has to pay off his way to the bride. A briefcase full of cash and gold jewelry changes hands and ends up with the bride's sister. Only then does the sister open the door to an adjacent room where Ceca, in a folk traditional costume, expects the groom. In a minute they go downstairs to the musical score of folk song melodies," writes Iordanova (Iordanova 1998: 9).

I suggest that this moment is a response to the desire for retraditionalization. Both Arkan and Ceca have already used this socio-political "clima" in order to gain the popularity of the masses. Through the choice of folk-motif clothes they embody the celebration of tradition; they have instrumentally used the tradition to emphasize and publicly reaffirm their identity at multiple levels.

For the ceremony at the Holy Archangel Gabriel, Arkan changed clothes for a World War I general's uniform and Ceca put on a white silk dress inspired by the movie *Gone With the Wind* (Stewart 2008: 226). The ceremony evokes a festive, but serious (almost sacred) ambience. An Orthodox ritual is performed. After the ceremony the celebration continues till late hours at a sleep gala party, where Arkan and Ceca promenade in luxurious robes. "*The guests will eat, drink, cheer, dance, and sing. Ceca's colleagues, other turbo-folk stars, will perform. Ceca herself will join the kolo soon. She is joyful and cheerful and readily dances while Arkan rarely leaves the table and stays reticent, looking on and smiling. The Gypsy musicians play a prolonged melody and Ceca sings for the guests while Arkan holds a little girl on his lap and sings along. The audience rhythmically sways and claps,*" writes Iordanova, skillfully depicting the scene (Iordanova 1998: 10). Moreover, Ceca chooses to sing Goran Bregović's song originally written for the film "Time of the Gypsies" (Iordanova 1998: 10). I believe that this is not purely coincidental, since I have previously shown that turbo-folk and rock 'n' roll relate more than they appear at first sight.

In any case, in the last summary we can see two other motifs related to the turbo-folk genre. Arkan's World War I general's uniform is a factual link to history but the rest of the context is rather that of myth. Their marriage is depicted as a fairy tale materializing before the eyes of Serbia.

In this short example we have seen the complexity of turbo-folk. Despite the genre presenting itself as being simple, popular entertainment, in reality it is wedded to larger socio-political processes: nostalgia for tradition mixed with MTV-style entertainment that reduces femininity to an object, masculinity and guns – the premonition of the war, organized crime and underground economies, nationalism and politics. Turbo-folk, whether explicitly or implicitly, became a celebration of all of these.

Turbo-Folk as a Form of Identity

In this section I would like to argue that turbo-folk can be perceived as a form of identity. And it is this point that takes us back to the *gusle,* because, as Bougarel has concluded, *gusle* hadn't just remained popular since the old times but were reinvented by the Academy of Science, literary circles and soccer fans (Bougarel 1999: 167). Therefore, like *gusle*, the 1990s so-called traditional identities weren't traditional but invented and this is especially true of turbo-folk. Turbo-folk lies somewhere between modernity and tradition; this is a combination that makes it not only genuinely postmodern, but also invented.

We can link turbo-folk to identities on several levels. First, I will mention turbo-folk as of a form of national identity in the case of Serbia. Hudson argues that the traditional song has been embedded in Serbian cultural identity and has been inspiring Serbian nationalism since the 19th century (Hudson 2003: 157). Turbo-folk with its link to traditional songs kept this feature, and many nationalistic motifs can be found in the lyrics. Hence, it is important to realize that the majority of turbo-folk songs don't have explicitly nationalistic content. It is the socio-political context in which they are produced (shown in the case of the marriage of Ceca and Arkan) that links them directly to the war and nationalism as Hudson has concluded.

Hudson links the nationalistic context of turbo-folk to ethnification when he writes that "*in the 1990s the stimulation of nationalism by popular and traditional Serbian songs involved a process of ethnification – a cult of the folkloric – in which popular music contributes to the estrangement, alienation and distancing of the Other*" (Hudson 2003: 157).

turbo-folk has also been employed as a signifier of political orientation. Listening to turbo-folk often means identifying oneself with Milošević's regime and the war or its refusal as the common expression states: "*Don't listen to the folk music – Die a natural death!*"

Nevertheless, we cannot forget that turbo-folk could appeal to one's individual identity, as in the case of younger generations that grew up listening to it and perceiving it through the romantic fantasies of fame, success and the world of money. And, as other scholars have concluded, turbo-folk became for the masses a space for escapism from the harsh reality (Gordy 1999: 135).

I find it particularly helpful to look at this phenomenon of romanticizing turbo-folk through Appadurai's concept of mediascapes. Appadurai sees mediascapes as the capability of electronic media to produce and disseminate

information which can be further effectively reproduced on a mass scale all around the world (Appadurai 1996: 35). But most significantly as Appadurai puts it: *"(mediascapes) provide... ...large and complex repertoires of images, narratives, and ethnoscapes to viewers throughout the world, in which the world of commodities and the world of news and politics are profoundly mixed"* (Appadurai 1996: 35). Furthermore, the influence of mediascapes is so significant that the lines between realistic and fictional landscapes intertwine so that the audiences might create imagined worlds at the level of individual romantic fantasies (Appadurai 1996: 33).

This is exactly the case with turbo-folk; as a medium, it was capable of creating fantasy worlds detached from the harsh reality and also generating a fictional space for the legitimization of the Milošević's regime despite the horrors involved. Furthermore, it is crucial to realize, as Appadurai concludes, that media are capable of embodying large and complex repertoires of images, narratives, and ethnoscapes that can easily be reproduced to numerous audiences. As I have previously shown in the case of Arkan and Ceca, mediascapes, commodities and the world of news and politics mingle to such an extent that after some point it is nearly impossible to tell them apart.

Considering the given arguments, turbo-folk can be seen as part of the occurrence of "the invention of tradition" in the process of re-constructing a group's identity. In the following section I am going to look more closely at turbo-folk as invented tradition.

The Invention of Tradition

"I'm looking in the sky, centuries passing by, for distant memories they are the only cures. Wherever I go, I come back to you again, who can take away from my soul Kosovo. St. Vitus' Day like an eternal flame in our hearts, the Battle of Kosovo remains the truth. St. Vitus' Day, forgive us God for all our sins, grant with heroism daughters and sons," sings turbo-folk star Gordana Lazarević in a song titled *Vidovdan* (St. Vitus' day). I begin this last section with a song that can be perceived as typical and characteristic of the turbo-folk genre, as I have previously portrayed it. This song recalls crucial moments of Serbian history and in a way is a marker of Serbian identity – "the battle of Kosovo." At the same time it shows how turbo-folk reflects on historical events and transforms them into myth. Therefore, in this section I will try to explain the socio-political context hidden behind these superficially innocent lines and take a closer look at the

formation of tradition and its instrumental use to create something seemingly ancient but indeed contemporary at the same time.

As I have concluded, there are several aspects that connect turbo-folk to the genre of Invention of tradition. Eric Hobsbawm understands the tradition as something not of an ancient origin, but something more contemporary and often invented (Hobsbawm 1983: 5). According to Hobsbawn invention of tradition occurs "*more frequently when a rapid transformation of society weakens or destroys the social patterns for which 'old' traditions had been designed, producing new ones to which they were not applicable, or when such old traditions and their institutional carriers and promulgators no longer prove sufficiently adaptable and flexible, or are otherwise eliminated*" (Hobsbawm 1983: 5).

The situation in the former Yugoslavia meets Hobsbawm's definition very well. Hence, as many scholars argued, the fall of the communist regime was partly responsible for the upcoming war (Bougarel 1999, Ramet 2002). I would argue, following Hobsbawm's concept, that rapid transformation of the society after the fall of communism created an opening for the rise of new regimes, for instance Milošević's in Serbia. And the reason for this was that at the given moment the old patterns, internalized during communism, were no longer adaptable and flexible; they were eliminated and replaced by the discourse of increasing ethnification, neo-religious awakening and nationalistic passions.

Whereas certain authors characterize the conflict in the former Yugoslavia as an "ancient ethnic hatred" (see Gordy 1999: 3), Eric Gordy suggests that the nationalistic consciousness needed to be awakened (Gordy 1999: 3, 4). During the communist era, nationalistic discourse in terms of belonging to singular national unities wasn't in favor and people often referred to themselves as "Yugoslavs." Not everybody adopted the Yugoslav identity, but, as Gordy further states, Yugoslav identity could have indicated ideological views such as the communist "non-national" ideology or "mixed" ethnic background (Gordy 1999: 5). In this example I have attempted to show the contrasting positions of the two different regimes towards the issue of nationality; the communist one and Serbian Milošević's.

Furthermore, Gordy characterizes Milošević's regime as partly adapting the communist infrastructure; only later did the emerging national homogenization become necessary in order to maintain the regime (Gordy 1999: 5). Opposing ideological aspects of the communist regime needed to be eliminated according to Gordy, and therefore a dictatorship became an appealing form of state leadership (Gordy 1999: 5). Gordy's main argument is that the

nation-state under Milošević created a social and cultural vacuum by making other alternatives unavailable (Gordy 1999: 5). I would suggest that what Milošević's regime brought was not an empty space (or as Gordy writes: a vacuum). Contrary to this, new social and cultural patterns emerged in order to reproduce the regime's ideology and turbo-folk was one of them. I am not dismissing the idea of unavailable alternatives; yes, they became increasingly unavailable, but I perceived them rather as an effect of dictatorship. After all, communism was a dictatorship as well and as a regime was already internalized in political structures of everyday life; therefore it remained appealing even when the shift of the regimes emerged.

Another important characteristic of invention of tradition is that of its symbolic nature and relationship with the historic past. Hobsbawm concludes the following characteristics: *"Invented tradition is taken to mean a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past. In fact, where possible, they normally attempt to establish continuity with a suitable historic past."* (Hobsbawm 1983: 1) This is particularly visible in the case of Serbia and its self-perception as a "heavenly nation." Milošević adapted both nationalistic and populist rhetoric when he linked the notion of Serbian unity and Serbhood to the imagined landmark in the Serbian history – the "Battle of Kosovo." Historically, the Battle of Kosovo took place on June 28, 1389, the day of St. Vitus (*Vidovdan*), when the army of the Kingdom of Serbia under King Lazar was defeated by Ottoman armies. Nevertheless, I am more interested in the legend that surrounds this event. The story goes that King Lazar had a dream in which he was told that the Kingdom of Serbia was going to lose its earthly lands but it would gain the "heavenly" kingdom. Based on this event Serbians referred to themselves as a "heavenly" nation, and, deep in the mythology, there was the idea of long lost territories they had once dominated. *Kosovo polje* – the place where the battle was enacted had become a symbol of Serbhood.

That is precisely what launched the political career of Slobodan Milošević. On April 24, 1987, Milošević gave a speech at Kosovo Field where he reassured the crowds that Yugoslavia would not give up Kosovo (Cohen 2002: 108). Within the nationalistic myth it was not just a regular day in history; it was the 600th anniversary of the Battle of Kosovo Field. And Slobodan Milošević was not just another politician; he resembled the reincarnation of Prince Lazar himself and was about to change the destiny of Serbia yet again. He appealed

to the crowds when he called: "*First I want to tell you, comrades, that you should stay here. This is your country; these are your houses, your fields and gardens, your memories. You are not going to abandon your lands because your life is hard, because you are oppressed by injustice and humiliation... ...You should stay here, both for your ancestors and your descendants. Otherwise you would shame your ancestors and disappoint your descendants... ...Yugoslavia does not exist without Kosovo! Yugoslavia would disintegrate without Kosovo! Yugoslavia and Serbia are not going to give up Kosovo!*" (Milošević in Judah 2000: 29)

As Hobsbawm argues: "*However, insofar as there is such reference to historic past, the peculiarity or 'invented' traditions is that the continuity with it is largely factitious. In short, they are responses to novel situations which take the form of reference to old situations, or which establish their own past by quasi-obligatory repetition.*" (Hobsbawm 1983: 2) This is exactly the case of *Kosovo polje* in 1989; it was as if King Lazar had risen as an incarnation in Milošević: "history" was repeated once again and Serbia got the "chance" to re-establish its "ancient" kingdom; no longer was the kingdom only heavenly but with the upcoming war it intended to rebuild on the Earth's surface.

Conclusion

In my essay, I have tried to show how something at first sight as innocent as pop-music mixed with a hint of traditional music can become a powerful weapon for manipulating the masses, spreading nationalistic discourse, supporting the process of ethnification and contributing to the war.

My main argument is that turbo-folk in the former Yugoslavia was part of the phenomenon of invention of tradition and furthermore was employed in constructing one's identity. Identity was reinvented at multiple levels – national, ethnic, political and personal. But invented in this case doesn't mean less "real"; there are multiple evidences of what Milošević's regime was capable of; but since it is invented, it is possible to critically look at such processes and detach them from any possible primordialistic thoughts – simply stop perceiving them as inevitable. Therefore the phenomenon of turbo-folk offers a special insight into the problems of the recent war and the rise of nationalism in the former Yugoslavia. And last but not least, it shows us the dangerous potential of music as a medium of political discourse.

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Jiří Večerník: CZECH SOCIETY IN THE 2000s: A REPORT ON SOCIO-ECONOMIC POLICIES AND STRUCTURES.

Prague, Academia, 2009. 286 pp.

In most European countries social reports are published with awesome regularity. To wit: the oldest among them, the British *Social Trends*, will celebrate its 40th anniversary this year. Germany has its *Datenreports*, France *Données Sociales*, Spain *Barómetro Social de España*, and Hungary (since 1998) – *Social Reports*. Nothing comparable to these, however, exists in the Czech Republic. What comes closest to them is the extensive research by the country's leading sociologist Jiří Večerník, whose *Markets and People: The Czech Reform Experience in a Comparative Perspective* (Avebury) appeared in 1996 and the edited volume *Ten Years of Re-building Capitalism. Czech Society after 1989* (Academia) three years later.

Czech Society in the 2000s is Večerník's third contribution to closing this embarrassing intellectual lacuna. The text is articulated into twelve chapters assembled in four sections – socio-economic policies, inequalities, structures, and values – and it offers a wealth of relevant data about contemporary Czech society. Its sequencing deliberately does not follow any accepted academic model. For, as the author emphasizes, the virtual infinity of mutual connections between dynamic social history and stratified social structure makes it futile to ascribe a privileged position to any among the welter of particular theoretical perspectives.

The book aims at providing a comprehensive portrait of Czech society substantiated by statistical and sociological surveys as well as by numerous other sources, and strives to pin down the systemic changes underlying quantitative fluctuations. It is required reading for anybody seeking information about the socio-economic development of Czech society over the last twenty years in terms of employment, social policies, economic inequalities, social structures (with special regard to the situation of the middle class, retirees, and the poor), and issues related to the value of work, consumption and welfare.

The first section of the book discusses social policies in three broad areas: the labor market, the welfare system and social inclusion, with a focus on the implementation of EU policies. Each chapter presents basic statistical and sociological data and concludes by sketching challenges in the offing – the problems of work commitment and stimuli to boost labor motivation, the feasibility of further reforms in welfare, and the importance of a functional framework – an inclusive middle-class society – for the successful social integration of marginalized groups.

Disparities in earnings, inequalities in household incomes and redistributive processes implemented by the state through taxes and social benefits are the subjects of the second section. It illustrates well how the system of work-reward has fundamentally changed since 1989 and it identifies the sources of this change. While in the *Ancien Régime* gender and seniority were decisive factors in determining one's income level, now edu-

cation is the primary determinant. This section surveys in detail tax and benefits reform, calculating how the new system contributes to income inequality. And, finally, it also examines public opinion on taxes and benefits.

The book's third section turns to social structures and examines them from three perspectives. The optics of social stratification is applied to the middle class. A socio-political standpoint serves to elucidate the condition of retirees and the intricacies of pension reform. The latter is a particularly contentious issue not only because the Czech population is aging fast but also because of the obvious implausibility of sustaining a pay-as-you-go pension system while maintaining at least some equivalence between past earnings and current pension benefits. The section concludes with a chapter cast in terms of economic disparities that deals with the poor, the different ways of measuring poverty and some causes of this condition (unemployment, single parent family, number of children, etc).

The final section broaches the sphere of socio-economic values and examines it through a multiple cognitive lens. It describes how work values and job attitudes have evolved over the past decade and portrays the rapid expansion of a consumer society together with the profound impact it is exerting on the values and the behavior of individuals and groups. But consumerism is not, the section suggests, the only force unraveling the fabric of local economic culture. Opening to the world beyond, the section culminates in canvassing "European values" and it ponders the potential consequences of their collision with the contemporary Czech economy and society.

As is to be expected in such a rich and complex work the individual chapters vary in their compositions, each presenting different ratios of methodological reflections, empirical data, and their interpretations. Anybody familiar with Večerník's scholarly output might detect in some segments of his new book traces of previously published articles. The text is also not entirely proportional in balancing the author's critical attitude toward past developments with his forward outlook. But leaving these petty complaints aside, *Czech Society in the 2000s* is a signal contribution to our understanding of contemporary Czech society and a handy instrument for all foreign students and researchers who might face difficulties in accessing on their own the data Večerník's book presents. It is an indispensable volume for any library concerned with Czech studies.

Peter Steiner

Michaela Ferencová – Jana Nosková: PAMĚŤ MĚSTA. OBRAZ MĚSTA, VEŘEJNÉ KOMEMORACE A HISTORICKÉ ZLOMY V 19.–21. STOLETÍ. [Memory of a City. Image of a City. Public Commemoration and Historic Turn of the 21st Century.]

Brno: Etnologický ústav Akademie věd České republiky, v.v.i., pracoviště Brno, Statutární město Brno, Archiv města Brna, 2009, 407 pp.

A collective work of Brno, Banská Bystrica and Bratislava ethnologists, a Prague and Opava historian and a German researcher from Oldenburg, Tobias Weger, rather disputably called a monograph, brings out thirteen studies of the problematics of the city and memory. Under the extraordinarily careful editing of Brno ethnologist Jana Nosková and the Bratislava social anthropologist Michaela Ferencová there resulted, on the basis of the conference *Memory of the city. The city and its inhabitants in the 20th century* (Brno 2008) a collection mainly of thoughtful and inspirational texts that is thematically and methodically in accord with the direction of European as well as Czech anthropology and historiography. In the introductory study, its authors Nosková and Ferencová pointed out that it is a frequently discussed topic and attempted to present the most influential theories of memory of the present. Anyone who chooses this road logically reaches for the work of Maurice Halbwachs, the French sociologist and creator of the concept of social memory, the English historian Peter Burke, the author of the thesis of historiography as a construct and of the plurality of memories, French historian Jacques Le Goff and his idea of two mutually interwoven histories (of collective memory and the history of historians) and the idea of memory as a manipulatable pillar of identity, as well as the work of Le Goff opponent Pierre Nora, who divided memory from history. It is possible to call successful the presentation of Halbwachs' and Jan Assmann's own work, whose concept of communicative and cultural memory as parts of collective memory is today also used in Czech and Slovak anthropology. Further Nosková and Ferencová polemicized about the equation of the social group experience being equal to collective (group) memories and they called them strongly problematic. I consider particularly contributive their pointing out the necessity of dialogue of the social-science fields with psychology. On the other hand I consider the outline of the development of Czech and Slovak urban anthropology as insufficient. For example, the dismissal of the influential monograph *Stará dělnická Praha* (Old Blue-Collar Prague) (Prague 1981), a characteristic "anachronism" of the 1950s, does not testify to coherent reflection of that work or monographs of mining regions of the '50s.

The editors divided the texts of the other authors into three thematic units, however aware they were of the permeability of their own borders. The first thematic unit *Memory and image of the city* is made up of four texts. The interesting study of Opava historian Martin Pelc follows the creation of the image of Opava in the second half of the 19th and the first half of the 20th centuries by important Opava personalities, but also by tourists, the authors of guides and scientific works and the dominant features of this image: promenade parks with their nationalistic monuments, parks to which Opava town hall devoted extraordinary care [as the author emphasized, it is possible consciously to build an image of a city (p. 57)]. Probably today the best known feature of Opava, the former Little Vienna, Graz North, as a white city, a feature having its roots in the Bezruč poem, was deliberately supported after 1945.

A somewhat methodically more problematic text of the social historian Jakub Machek deals with the old Czech daily the Pražský Illustrovaný Kurýr (Prague Illustrated Courier) (1893-1918, but he actually discusses only the year 1898), a mass Czech sensational illustrated publication which, according to Machek, on a mass scale distributed the memory of the city (p. 67). Although the author drew attention to some conclusions of theorists dealing with the influence of the media, the linkage of the Courier and its impact on the *collective memory of ordinary inhabitants of the city* remained unproved. I would rather consider the proposal of the seemingly interesting subjects of contemporary society; I would analyze party interest reflecting in the news service; I would compare the depiction of one event in several periodicals, etc. The topic of interest of Banská Bistrica ethnologist Katarina Koštialová became the image of Zvolen as for 140 years a city of a railroad and railroad workers and further the railroad and its employees as a commemorative topic of the inhabitants of Zvolen. It was actually the railroad, along which the city was constructed, and it was actually the railroad workers who became a qualified personal socio-professional group with inherited (carried over) values, interests and with their own meeting places, a group with a specific memory permeating the city, a group in whose development was reflected the history of states, changes in the ethnic situation and social development in the city. Koštialová's colleague, Jolana Darulová pointed toward how the mining tradition in two Slovak cities Banská Štiavnica (until 1989 it maintained the mining tradition – and Banská Bystrica, where mining ceased to exist 200 years ago. The main topic of her interest became the reflection of this tradition and its use in celebrations, graphic arts, and folklore. The famous tradition is today reproduced mainly by institutions. In the case of the former city, according to researchers it is primarily about nostalgic reflection, while the latter city is revitalizing its image of a mining city mainly for commercial reasons (the development of tourism).

The second portion, *Memory with Identity,* contains three studies. One of the best studies in the anthology from the pen of Tobias Weger is devoted to two neighboring border cities that, after 1945, went through a deep demographic change. Görlitz in Saxony and Polish Zgorzelec served the author as examples of a strained relationship between city and memory. After a historical excursion Weger presented Görlitz as a city which oscillates between Upper Lusatian and Silesian identities. The partner Polish city, on the other hand, amply exploits its Upper Lusatian orientation. Political rhetoric of the type *one city – two nations*, according to Weger, contravenes the reality of persistent mutual isolation caused mainly by dissimilar historic experience. Its expression is anti-Polish stereotypes and different items of memory. The Brno ethnologist Daniel Drápala then concentrated on changes in Rožnov pod Radhoštěm and the role (and its limits) of the open-air Valašské Museum v přírodě institution and their personalities in the formation of local memory. Another Brno researcher Helena Bočková developed, following the traditions of Brno ethnological research, the idea of the importance of folk culture in

the formation of national society in Brno. The main importance was attributed to the Vesna association and Lucie Bakešová. One can only regret that the topic was not presented as an expression of competition with the majority (before the revolution of 1918) of German identity.

The editors grouped five studies of Slovak ethnologists into the third part called *Memory and historic rupture/Transformation*. Katarína Popelková and Juraj Zajonc, both of Bratislava, studied Nitra – an important part of Slovak national mythology (p. 243) after 1918. Popelková analyzed the reflection of extensive political changes in the memory of the inhabitants of the city. The lucidly structured text captured the situation in Nitra before and after the rise of the republic (it contained a compilation of historic literature, complemented with archival sources) and reflections of this situation among contemporaries (unfortunately only seven). From the same sources Zajonc then reconstructed the memory of contemporaries of social life (state and local holidays, religious celebrations and theater) during the First Republic and during the period of the Slovak State. For him also, Nitra is a memorial place in the process of Slovak emancipation. Despite the quantity of valuable data, this study is, however, disturbing to me in that it insufficiently distances itself from the formation that was unambiguously a satellite of the Hitler state of Germany, a state that was emphatically anti-Semitic. The ethnologist Alexandra Bitušíková of Banská Bystrica deals with "her" city in the stage of transformation after 1945. Her paper answers the question of how does the memory of a city have an influence on the name of a public space and its formation and on urban symbols. The post-socialist city is, however, studied as a city of pluralities and often also of competitive interests, as a city in which a *struggle over memory* takes place. An analogous topic (however only in the case of a monument) was also analyzed by Michaela Ferencová, methodically using the work of Katherine Verdery [reference to the work of Zdeněk Hojda and Jiří Pokorný *Pomníky a zapomínky* (Memorials and Forgetting) (2nd edition Prague – Litomyšl 1997) is surprisingly missing in the anthology], in the city of Nové Zámky, where Slovak and Hungarian memories compete, in the years 1918-1945 and after 1989. In the last text, which is the only one dealing with the problematics of socialism, Bratislava ethnologist Monica Vrzgulová analyzes contemporary memories of the city of Trenčín of the 1960s among one group: youths of that time. In all the biographical narratives the topic of spending free time in a city and the topic of August 1968 as an emphatic turning point in the life of young people arises. It is a pity that our colleagues did not take into account the influence of later careers of that generation on their memories. Monika Vrzgulová, like most of the other contributors, defended the concept of group memory.

In conclusion it is necessary to state that the reviewed anthology, despite a range of partial remarks of individual authors, is one of the best that have been published in recent years in Czech ethnology. The concentration of the text rather on the small city and on Slovak, Moravian and Silesian problematics is then something that the editors could hardly influence.

Blanka Soukupová

Peter Salner: BUDÚCI ROK V BRATISLAVE ALEBO STRETNUTIE. [Next Year in Bratislava or a Meeting.]

Bratislava: Albert Marenčin PT, 2007, 200 pp.

The publication, whose title paraphrases the words of the Passover hagada ("Next year in Jerusalem") (the book about the exodus of the Jews from Egypt which the father reads at the seder, the family religious service) relates the story of a meeting in May 2005 of young former inhabitants of Bratislava who are emigrants after the occupation of Czechoslovakia in August 1968. The unusually elegant book, in an edition typical for the Albert Marenčin publishing house (a blue jacket, art paper) with many photographs of the meeting and with period photographs of Bratislava, describes both the idea for the origin of the four-day commemorative holiday of today's sexagenarians (the first impulse came from Toronto), and the half-year of preparations for this meeting, including disputing over the location of the Bratislava meeting, the course of the event itself and finally also its aftermath and preparations for another event. In May 2005, finally, there met in the city of their childhood and youth 200 Jews from 18 countries along with members of the local Jewish community, mainly children of the Holocaust. The meeting, inspired by regular get-togethers after 1989 of the so-called Children of Maisel Street – Czech parallels of the Slovak youth movement group, took place in the courtyard of the Jewish Community, in a former Jewish kitchen, in Limbach, in a synagogue, on Děvín, in the Hotel Carlton, in the Chatam Sofer memorial and always, in the evening, in the U Rolanda café. The author of the book is Peter Salner, a successful publisher of many professional works and books for the general public, a Bratislava ethnologist and president of the Jewish Religious Community of Bratislava. In May 2005, being the host, he described the atmosphere of the meeting and the immediate memories of it as an extraordinarily emotional affair. However, if the importance of the text consisted only in relating the story as a sort of ethnography of one event, it would be hard for us to recommend it to someone other than its participants, for whom it would have documentary value. Fortunately, however, Salner, in this case, also shown himself to be a professional anthropologist: a perceptive and sensitive observer and reader who sees below the surface of phenomena. As one of the first researchers he used e-mail as the main source of his investigation (11,000 e-mails from the Fórum website, which was founded by participants of the meeting). Salner's text thus has a second plan: he brings a great amount of material, which presents original testimony about what Bratislava means to an emigrant after 40 years, with which places he connects, which attributes have Bratislavan childhood and youth. Virtual contacts, however, also brought original memories of the year 1968 and the Soviet occupation, just like the period of totalitarianism. What seems to me most interesting are the experiences of the phenomenon of emigration, home

(which can also have the appearance of a Slovak kitchen or a place of origin of a Slovak Jewish family), homeland (including relation to Czechoslovakia and to Israel), religionism, just like views of Slovak Jews who stayed home. Salner's aim was not to subject these experiences to qualified analysis (for which, besides, he would need an abundance of works of foreign literature and many more pages). The resulting reflex thus remains to the reader who, however, can lean on the author's historic sketch of the development of the Jewish community after 1945 (with emphasis on the fact of the post-August 1968 emigration). But here Salner's overview is completed with annotations of his informants. A careful reader, among others, will also find the voice of the daughter of Žo Langerová, whose husband was sentenced in the Slánský trial. As an anthropologist, though, he follows with the greatest astonishment how one large meeting kicked off a chain of smaller meetings all around the world and the preparation of a new large undertaking in Slovakia. It attests primarily to the fact that the longing to belong somewhere and to someone is a basic anthropological constant and that the organizational principal of society can be a city of childhood and youth and/or the sum of similar experiences.

Blanka Soukupová

Přemysl Mácha (ed.): LIGHTING THE BONFIRE, REBUILDING THE PYRAMID. Case Studies in Identity, Ethnicity and Nationalism in Indigenous Communities in Mexico.

Ostrava: Ostravská univerzita 2009, 184 pp.

The reviewed collective monograph represents the result of a long-term interest of the youngest Ibero-American Studies generation in different manifestations of ethnicity of some contemporary Mexican Indian groups. Five authors territorially covered a substantial part of Mexico: from the northwest regions (the Rarámuri, Yaqui and Toboso peoples), via central and mid-western regions (the Purépecha and Aztec peoples) and down to today's apparently politically most distinctive area – the federated state of Chiapas in the south of the country (the Tzeltal, Tzotzil and eventually Chol peoples).

The monograph opens with a short study by its editor Přemysl Mácha. In his text he writes about news in political manifestations of ethnicity in the attitude of the Mexican state and ways of writing about it. In the latter he draws upon argumentations of a North American anthropologist Les Field, who compares the attitude of the state to the Indian question in the USA and Mexico. It seems that Fox's administration (since December 2000) has started or rather speeded up the reform process, which should result in a significant change in the attitude of the political center, or, in the case

of federally organized Mexico, of political centers, to at least several (more numerous) native groups. These reforms should lead to quick growth of ethnic awareness and creating of a rigid ethnic system of closed, ethnically "clean" communities. Mácha rightly points out the fact that the result of the rather chaotic though well-intentioned reforms, firmly embedded in the Constitution, can become the absolute opposite of a tolerant multicultural society. One of the main problems lies in the considerable inequality of almost sixty Indian groups. There are one million Yucatan Maya on one hand and on the other there are groups of only several hundred people. These groups live poorly, scattered in tiny villages of the Sonoran Desert (e.g., the Papago people), in the Chihuahua canyons (a large part of the Rarámuri and northern Tepehuan peoples) etc., or they politically join more powerful groups as, e.g., the Seri people whose chieftains swiftly communicate with headmen of Rarámuri or Pima subgroups. Such cases can be found elsewhere in Mexico, though the badly informed public does not know about them at all. Generally better-known conflicts between the Zapatista movement and the state and the representation of a "new" ethnicity of the demographically strong Nahua and Purépecha peoples are also reflected in the monograph.

Markéta Křížová deals in her paper with the forming of ethnic identity of some north Mexican groups (mainly the Rarámuri and Yaqui/Yoreme peoples) during the colonial times, particularly within Jesuit missions. On the grounds of archaeological finds from the southwest, she argues that the forming of ethnic and cultural identity had undoubtedly started before the Spanish and the first missionaries came. The collapse of the sedentary (Neolithic) power center of Casas Grandes/Paquime, probably caused by climatic, demographic, ecological, as well as by social and political changes in this area, was one of the key moments for the ethnic space-forming in the Mexican north-west in protohistory. The Rarámuri people have belonged since protohistory (since approx. 12th century) among the most developed agricultural groups of the Mexican north-west. However, under the influence of pugnacious nomads and, even worse, after the arrival of conquerors they had to adapt to other subsistence forms in order to survive; agriculture lost its importance. The Rarámuri people adapted to various forms of transhumance as a way of life (also called the *ranchería* system), which helped them to save themselves as an ethnic group, but they also descended to a lower socio-economic level and split from a relatively homogeneous group into many local/micro-regional or later *ejido* groups. This is a persisting problem, as they do not have any political structure which could promote the interest of the whole group. So far a strong local (micro-ethnic) cultural and social identity persists and it is often so firm that any ethnic integration is out of question. Křížová notices practically only the Jesuit impact on forming the identity of Mexican Indians in the colonial times, though it is also important to realize that in about the last fifty years of the period and until the end of the 19th century mainly the Franciscans worked among the Rarámuri and other local people. It is a pity that we

have known only a little about their work so far. There is a lack of primary sources. Nevertheless the different attitudes in Jesuit and Franciscan evangelization enable us to ethnographically research their impact on the material and spiritual culture or social organization. There are so far visible differences within one single *ejido* (i.e., an economic and political unit in which a great part of the country inhabitants are concentrated). Those who were acculturated by the Jesuits often head communities or a whole *ejido*; men more often wear trousers, a sombrero and other attributes of the mestizo way of dressing, while the descendants of those who were under the Franciscan influence live more commonly, are more conservative in their clothing and usually do not have such political influence in their environment, etc.

In another text, Slovak ethnohistorian Radoslav Hlúšek deals with the cult of Our Lady of Guadelupe as a national symbol. After a rather long historical introduction to the cult, he analyses what is important for us from the point of view of ethnic and political resistance to the majority society: other guadalupanismo (*otro guadalupanismo*) as a demonstration of the anti-Catholic attitude of a part of the native population of Central Mexico (Hlúšek did his fieldwork in the Santa Clara Huitziltepec community in the federative state of Puebla, where this "new" cult originated). We agree with the author that the *otro guadalupanismo* can be best characterized as a national movement and not as a religious sect, because *Guadalupana* is understood by the Indians and other followers of the movement more as a symbol of Earth and Cosmos than as a saint or a goddess. The cult of Our Lady of Guadeloupe is no doubt a factor which unites various social classes and ethnic groups of Mexico. If we can very well observe significant cultural differences among the north, center and south of the country, then *Guadalupana* works as a cultural phenomenon that has its dynamics in Lower California Tijuana as well as in Chiapas towns in the south.

Přemysl Mácha follows the process of the shift from *ethnie* to national self-determination among the Purépecha (Tarascan) people in the federative state of Michoacán. Besides Yucatan Maya and Nahua and part of the Zapotec peoples, the Purépecha probably have the strongest influence within Mexican indigenous movements of national self-determination, even though there is geographical and ecological fragmentation (e.g., there are four basic sub-groups of the Purépecha people). Their strong ethnicity historically comes from at least two factors: their awareness of their absolute difference from other Mexican groups (from the linguistic point the Purépecha language is an isolate) and therefore specific and not fully explained ethnogenesis, and the influence of the bishop, Vasco de Quiroga, whose missions in the 16th century led to strong concentration of the dispersed Purépecha groups. Mácha refers to a still-living legacy of Tata Vasco and he also mentions Cherán as a community where the first coordination political Purépecha center was founded (let us remember a monograph on this village by R. Beals from the 1940s which started systematic anthropological research of

chosen Mexican and other Middle-American communities by North American cultural anthropologists). In the 1940s in Pátzcuaro a big conference took place during the course of which the Inter-American Indian Institute was founded (*Instituto Indigenista Interamericano*) and the Mexican president Lázaro Cárdenas in his famous speech pre-determined the direction for native identity based on corporatism, i.e., on incorporating indigenous villages to the Mexican political and economic system preserving their cultural specificity. With the arrival of modernity which often brutally hit even remote Mexican villages, such politics seems to be rather unrealistic. Being aware of this, Mácha speaks about two types of Purépecha identity: *old* and *new*. The latter is typical not only for the Purépecha people, but for practically all rural inhabitants. It is grounded in a strong de-flux of inhabitants into towns where they are acculturated by Mexican educational institutions. These newcomers settle down in cities and do not come back to their previous homes. However, this "pattern" of the new identity is not valid everywhere – e.g., in Guatemala or in the southern part of Mexico the Indian population keeps double residence, i.e., people stay in a city for several months but spend a substantial part of the year in their villages by working in their *milpas*. Simplified, it can be said that the "old" Purépecha people bear older traditions, understood as what A. Smith calls *ethnie*, while the "new" Purépecha people are those who change their identity and they form a *national* identity now. While the former organize "traditional" village fairs, the latter participate in wider supra-village activities within the Mexican state.

The forming of public space and its change in south-Mexican Chiapas is the topic of a text by Bohuslav Kuřík, a student of general anthropology. He follows in detail the roots of the Zapatista movement (it would be more correct to speak about movements), in particular mobilization of Indian inhabitants and their entering into public space from the beginning of the 1970s till today. Around the end of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s, a deterritorialization of borders among Tzeltal and Tzotzil villages and Mexican cities peaked, or more precisely, long-time unsolved problems of ownership of Indian land and other natural sources became so relevant that it overgrew into a huge revolt, culminating with the known events from the beginning of 1994, when the Zapatista entered onto the international scene and their political aims became known to the whole world. Kuřík, who did his fieldwork in Chiapas, then analyzes the onset of the official Zapatismo and researches it mainly in so-called *comunidades rebeldes* (revolting villages), which are significantly differentiated from others. The study can be understood as a preview to broader research which would deal in greater detail with the forming of social nets not only inside the revolting area, but also outside its limits, with the relations between the Mexican state and the rebels, and also with the movement from inside, because it would be very interesting to decode the relations inside such a broad movement, etc. The author finishes his text with many questions which he wants to deal with during his

starting research project and therefore we can look forward to a detailed study which could help the broader public to be better oriented with the rather confusing information about the Zapatista movement which is now available.

The Chiapas Zapatistas are also the topic of the final text of the monograph, written by Petra Binková. However, she researches them from another point of view than Kuřík. She is interested in visual representations, mostly *murals*, which fill public space of Chiapas villages, squares, houses, walls, etc. Binková differentiates two aspects of art in public space – she distinguishes between the rather traditional aspect and the one that expresses the political opinions of its creators. After that she analyses the understanding of public space on a theoretical level and concludes that Zapatista murals correspond to Habermas' concept of *public sphere*, representing rather a virtual or imaginary community which does not have to exist in defined, delimited space. The manifestations of Zapatista muralists instead of supporting their own identity, i.e., aiming at least at regional ethnic coherence, have so far the rather opposite effect: the discussion of the conflict in Chiapas is led mainly outside the Zapatista autonomous zone and the dichotomy inside the zone deepens because many of its inhabitants for different reasons refuse the Zapatista ideology or do not much identify with it.

As was already said in the introduction of this review, this monograph is probably the first attempt to present some problems of forming the "new" ethnicity of well-known Mexican Indian groups. All the authors did a lot of fieldwork or (as in the case of M. Křížová) do long-term research in archives and try to enrich the never-ending flux of debates on this topic which are led not only in Mexico but also in many other countries. It is good that Czech and Slovak Mexico studies, some of whose representatives published parts of their long-term research here, do not stay behind in the trend.

Marek Halbich

Victoria Pitts: IN THE FLESH: THE CULTURAL POLITICS OF BODY MODIFICATION.

New York: Palgrave Macmillan Press 2003, 239 pp.[1]

Victoria Pitts-Taylor, Professor of Sociology at Queens College of the City University of New York, is one of the most prominent scholars interested in the issue of the body and body modifications. In 1999 she was one of the authors of a monothematic issue of the journal Body and Society devoted to body modifications, alongside Christian Klesse, Bryan S. Turner, Paul Sweetman and Sheila Jeffreys; it was later published as the anthology *Body Modifications* edited by Mike Featherstone.

In her book *In the Flesh: The Cultural Politics of Body Modification* she addresses the issue of non-mainstream body modifications and the agency and power relations that shape them.

The term body modifications usually mean alterations of the human body for non-medical reasons. In its broad-

[1] Creation of this text was supported by grant GA UK No. 114708.

est sense it consists of such practices as dieting, body building, plastic surgery or breast implants. But more often it is used in its narrower sense for body piercing, tattooing, scarification, branding, incisions, sub-dermal implantations and similar practices.

Although body modifications are considered cultural universals, in their narrower sense they were long condemned in Western society. Since colonialism, modified bodies of the Others were perceived by Westerners as a sign of their inferiority and primitivism. The most established form of body modification in the West, tattooing, was associated with the working class and thus perceived as marginal, even deviant and pathological. A rise of interest in body modification comes with some subcultures of the 1960s and 1970s, BDSM, punks and later modern primitives. Mainstream interest comes with the so-called *Tattoo Renaissance* in the 1990s that resulted in the constitution of the body modification movement or subculture, which is the main topic of this book.

In her research Pitts focused on "people who define themselves as body modifiers" (p. 20). From 1996 to 2000 she conducted 20 interviews with a diverse sample of people constructed by the snowball method, ranging from ages 20 to 53, a "mostly white, adult, gay-friendly, middle-class, New Age, pro-sex, educated, and politically articulate group" (p. 20). In addition she studied corresponding subcultural texts (mostly magazines and websites) and representations of body modifications in cyberspace (especially *Body Modification Ezine*). She also analyzed articles on body modification in 12 major newspapers over the years 1995–2000.

In her analysis she embraces a post-essentialist perspective according to which the body is always "culturally shaped and socially ordered" (p. 26). Drawing from both post-modernism and post-structural feminism she attends "to questions of self-definition, to the powerful forces that may territorialize and reterritorialize the body, and also to the historicity of the social and material technologies used in body projects." (p. 48).

In order to find out "how radical body art practices reflect, consciously and otherwise, the social and political locations of individual bodies in the larger power relations of society" (p. 14), she concentrates on body modifications of women, gays, modern primitives and cyberpunks.

Chapter 2 deals with women body modifiers, many of whom perceive body modification as a way to reclaim their bodies, especially after sexual or physical abuse. Pitts sets their assertion into a discussion of radical and pro-sex feminists which evolves around the issue of whether women body modifications internalize patriarchal hatred of the female body or whether they reclaim female sexuality and desire. While generally supporting the later position, Pitts strongly reminds us of intersubjectivity of meanings which somehow limits its inscription.

In Chapter 3 Pitts shows how queers use body modifications for "visibly queering" by "inscribing the body with badges celebrating prohibited pleasures and identities" (p. 114). The queer body is used as a "space of rebellion and self-actualization" (p. 114) and "body technologies as potential practices of agency" (p. 114).

Just as women body modifications contest patriarchy, queer body modifications contest heteronormativity.

While Pitts seems to be pro-woman and pro-queer, in Chapter 4 she provides a radical critique of modern primitivism. Modern primitives are body modifiers who simulate body modification practices of indigenous cultures (e.g., Plaino Indians *Sun Dance*, Mandan *Okipa* or Tamil Hindu *Kavadi*) in a romanticized attempt "to rescue the body and self from the problems of the modern world" (p. 3). Pitt's critique of modern primitivism concerns the problem of appropriation of non-Western practices, but also the reproduction of racist and colonial discourse and fetishization of the Other by "project[ing] white Western desires onto the bodies of non-Westerners" (p. 137). Moreover she shows that modern primitivism implicates not just in subculture, but also in pop culture and high culture.

Chapter 5 addresses the last of the presented perspectives on body modification, that of cyberpunks. While modern primitives gain their inspiration from indigenous cultures, cyberpunks find it in science fiction. Influenced by the work of William Gibson, they see body modifications as a "post human experiment" (p. 153). Through denaturalization of the body they aim for "hybridity of humans and machines" (p. 152) resulting in the cyborgian body. Pitts further discusses Orlan and Stelarc, body artists using high technology in their performances, and also cyber communities of body modifiers, such as *Body Modification Ezine*.

One of the main strengths of this book lies in its theoretical richness. While primarily grounded in post-modernism and post-structural feminism, Pitts draws on many other paradigm including cultural studies, radical feminism, the queer theory, etc. But the author's high theoretical competence might be the reason why the "voice of the people," their informants' perspective, is somehow limited. Personal narratives present in chapters of women and queer body modifiers are missing in accounts of modern primitives and cyberpunks. Limited seems to be also the usage of analyzed newspapers, which Pitts used only to claim "that body modification has been framed in public discourse as a social problem" (p. 21). Although it might be the most usual representation of body modifications and body modifiers, as she states, it is certainly not the only one present.

Another point I would like to address is the ambiguity of the central term, nonmainstream body modifications. In a number of instances, Pitts used this term in contrast to mainstream body modifications, although she did not explicitly define it anywhere. This becomes important especially in regard to body piercing and tattooing and their increasing acceptance in the mainstream. Although it might be intentional that author did not want to draw a clear line between these two, in some instances it creates doubts and uncertainty about what kind of body modifications are addressed.

I would also welcome more detailed descriptions of each scene, even though this book is not an ethnography. It would not only help those readers unfamiliar with these groups to gain more understanding but it would also bring the issues depicted more to life.

In the Flesh: The Cultural Politics of Body Modification gives an account of four different parts of the body modification movement and their perspective on body modifications. While doing so, it clearly shows not just that body modifications have the potential to be subversive or transgressive and that the body is a place of both resistance and power, but particularly "how the Western flexible body, or the body-seen-as-project, (...) is saturated with political meanings and is symbolically, culturally and even materially stratified" (p. 197). I recommend this book to anyone interested in issues involving the body, body modifications and body politics.

Martin Heřmanský

Thomas Turino: MUSIC AS SOCIAL LIFE: THE POLITICS OF PARTICIPATION.

The University of Chicago Press
2008, 258 pp. + CD.

After Thomas Turino, professor of ethnomusicology at the University of Illinois in Urbana-Champaign (IL), had thoroughly studied two different cultures, that of the Peruvian Conima (*Moving Away from Silence: Music of the Peruvian Altiplano and the Experience of Urban Migration*, 1993), and the Shona of Zimbabwe (*Nationalists, Cosmopolitans, and Popular Music in Zimbabwe*, 2000), this time he worked on theoretical soil, understandably in the sphere of theory, nearer rather to the social sciences than to classical musicology. This has to do with the prevailing affiliation of American ethnomusicology (alias musical anthropology) to anthropology. His initial understanding of music continues along the line of, e.g., Small's book *Musicking* (1998). In sum: music is not a "thing"; it is not primarily "sound structure"; it is an activity which not only sounds different in different cultures, but also has very different meanings and represents very different values. The only thing that these various musics have in common is the very fact that people "make" them. Turino considers the main sense of the very existence of music to be an expression and reinforcement of individuals, and mainly of collective identities: *Music and dance are key to identity formation because they are often public presentations of the deepest feelings and qualities that make a group unique* (p. 2), that are decisive for survival.

For an explanation of how music functions for the integration of the individual, he uses Bateson's concept (the connection of stimuli from the unconscious in the primary process), and Csikszenmihalyi's concept of "flow"– a transcendental experience of heightened concentration which a person reaches, e.g., through the performance of music.

However, Turino pays greatest attention to the effect of music on the human collective. His basic approach is semiotic: he earlier adapted Peirce's doctrine to musical material ("Signs of Imagination, Identity, and Experience: A Peircian Semiotic Theory for Music," *Ethnomusicology* Spring/Summer 1999, 221–255) and here he repeats it in simplified form. Afterwards (in the second and third chapters) he presents his own typology of existences/modes of music: "participatory" and "presentational" performance

of music and two types of studio modes: "high fidelity" and "studio audio art." What is important is in the basic argumentation of what the values are like for each of the above-mentioned types and also what kind of sound consequences these values have in the way of performance.

The fourth chapter leads the reader back closer to anthropological discourse, concretely to the delimitation of the terms "self," "identity" (I like Turino's emphasis on its distinctive features: I show to whom I belong and to whom I don't) and "culture." He recommends that this term be replaced by two hierarchically arranged formulations: cultural formation (a group of people sharing most habits which constitute the "self" of individuals) and "cultural cohorts" (within the framework of the cultural formation of a group of people who develop and emphasize selected habits). In my experience the term and concept of cohorts are relatively widespread in American ethnomusicology.

The next three chapters are applications of the above-presented concepts. In the fifth chapter he describes the development of the approach of music in Zimbabwe in the 20th century: with massive influence of British colonial culture at the turn of the 20th century, along with the restructuralization of society, western values of presentational performance begin to advance, which also understandably influenced further development of local music. The sixth chapter begins with a very personal memory of the beginning of "folk revival" in the USA, in which the author participated as a teenager. In this connection he also describes two contexts of "square dancing": on one hand as an ordinary part of the community's social life in the most various parts of the USA and Canada (e.g., on Cape Breton), on the other hand with the participation of "white middle-class participants" in an urban setting; this context is strongly influenced by the very concept of folk revival. Both of these types of performance – although in different ways – fill the need of the members of their cultural cohorts. The seventh chapter describes various cases of the use of music by political movements, beginning with the German Nazis and ending with the American civil rights movement. The concluding chapter "For Love or Money" expressively summarizes the necessity for music for individual and collective integrity.

Music as Social Life is primarily intended for students of humanities and social sciences. However, I definitely recommend it to everyone who in today's noisy world still has the remains of his hearing because here it is again clear that – in the words of Congreve – "Music hath charms to soothe the savage breast, to soften rock, or bend a knotted oak."

Zuzana Jurková

Ingrid Monson: FREEDOM SOUNDS. Civil Rights Call out to Jazz and Africa.

New York: Oxford University Press, 2007, 402 pp., photographs, music illustrations, appendices.

Ingrid Monson describes *Freedom Sounds* as a "critical essay on the relationships among music, racism and society in a particular historical period..." (p. 23). It is that among a number of other things. And since Monson is an ethnomusicologist (among other things: she was a performer on trumpet for many years and is now a professor at Harvard University with a joint appointment in the Departments of Music and African and African-American Studies), this review will underscore the truly ethnomusicological nature of *Freedom Sounds*. Jazz is here treated as both a musical and a social phenomenon; the historical and the ethnographic are not merely accessory but essential to explaining the music.

An introductory chapter lays the groundwork for what is to follow: the boundaries of the study are clearly delineated; the larger issues that the book intends to address are outlined, and the conceptual framework within which events and issues will seek elucidation is presented. Monson sets her temporal focus on the period between 1950 and 1967. The major social forces that were to have a transformative effect on jazz—the civil rights movement, the cold war and anticolonialism—played particularly significant roles during that time. Three concepts undergird her narrative as it unfolds: 1) *discourse,* a property not only of "talk about music" but of the music itself; both have the capacity to mean; 2) *structure*, the sum total of laws, social categories, and systems that "define the terms of social experience" for social groups; and 3) *practice* , which "is about agency in everyday life, that is, the implementation of cultural ideas... through various kinds of social action" (p. 25). The consistent use of these concepts goes a long way to ensure coherence in this multi-part, multifaceted and difficult undertaking.

Complexity is immediately evident in some of the issues that have to be confronted: the festering wound that is racism in the United States with its repercussions in the social, political, economic and musical lives of both African Americans and non-African Americans in the States and abroad; the conflicts between self-interest on one hand and moral and aesthetic principles on the other, between jazz as a way to gain access to the world of high art and as a banner of black nationalism, between jazz as "colorblind or fundamentally black" (p. 71). These issues were frequently debated and acted upon in an atmosphere of great tension. Political events—regional, national, and international (with special emphasis on Africa)—often echoed, provoked or exacerbated conflicts. Because music was used as protest, as manifestation of activism in support of causes, as response to what was happening around it, music, inevitably, had to change.

Monson addresses these matters with a skillful interweaving of theory, biography, journalistic reports, and musical description, analysis and illustration. Interviews with key figures and reports of musical activities from one side of the racial divide are juxtaposed to those from the other side. Data were drawn from a multitude of sources: labor (musicians') unions, record companies, clubs, contractors, musicians black and white, writers on jazz, commentators and politicians as well as historical records and

extant literature. True to the concept of music as discourse, musical illustrations are both rendered in words as well as allowed to speak for themselves (through musical notation). The narrative traces the emergence of jazz from its status as a degraded and marginalized music to the elevated status of a valued American contribution to the world of music.

Prodigious research lends authority to the work. Monson's analysis reveals dynamic processes that are multiplex, a mix of mutual rejection and reciprocity; multi-directional, dialectical and recursive, a term that Monson uses "where a cultural resource borrowed from one group becomes indigenized and transformed over time and in that new state is borrowed back by the first group" (p. 103). The documentation is copious and meticulous, yet the book is readable and engaging.

Only in the eighth of its nine chapters does the book call for a level of musical expertise that can deal with the vocabulary and techniques of musical analysis. In what seems to have a synthetic intent, chapter 8 trains its spotlight on George Russell and his *Lydian Concept of Tonal Organization,* to illustrate "the quest for a theory of improvisation and a comprehensive musical system" that would systematize the practice of jazz and make it accessible to a wider public. At the same time, Monson uses the chapter to explore the linkages between the spiritual and the aesthetic that are to be found in African American music-making. Leaning on the work of Cornel West, she observes that "the belief of many musicians in the ethical, spiritual, and moral qualities of music...and simultaneously in modernity's values of progress, individual rights and self determination seems to be particularly tied to black music's view of what it is to be human" (p. 305).

This entails a big leap, difficult to justify in a few pages. Monson seems to acknowledge that much in a section called "Back to Earth" where she notes that "spiritual in the context of the black arts movement was often a code word for blackness" (p. 311).

Throughout the book, Monson maintains a careful balance and treats her subject with great sensitivity. But in the Coda she allows herself to voice what to this reader sounds like a personal and deeply felt plea. She argues for "a better interracial dialogue...[in which] non-African Americans think through the *particularity* of their own needs and expectations of [African American music]. No one's relationship to the music, after all, is universal; everyone comes to it from particular places on the social and historical map. To acknowledge this is the first step in learning to respect each other's differences" (p. 316). She ends by calling attention to "the ethical dimensions of this music history, and the pure pleasure and beauty of the musical sounds." (p. 321).

This is a book well worth reading for those interested not only in jazz and African American music but in the music of urban America and the history of the nation as a whole. It provides food for thought to those concerned with what makes a work ethnomusicological.

Adelaida Reyes

Jacques Bouët – Bernard Lortat-Jacob – Speranta Radulescu: À TUE-TÊTE: CHANT ET VIOLON AU PAYS DE L'OACH, ROUMANIE.

Nanterre: Société d'Ethnologie, 2002, 533 pp., CD-DVD.

Starting in 2000, the French Ethnomusicological Society (*Société française d'ethnomusicologie*) published, in the edition *Hommes et musiques*, several remarkable monographs dedicated to the music of various parts of the world and covering a range of basic contemporary ethnomusicological research topics. Their common characteristic is thorough field research, with the aid of which were brought to light not only musicological, but mainly cultural anthropological aspects of the problematics which were investigated.

Fourth in the series of this edition was *À tue-tête: Chant et violon au Pays de l'Oach, Roumanie* by three distinguished ethnomusicologists (Jacques Bouët, Bernard Lortat-Jacob and Speranta Radulescu), who, in the course of the nineties, set out a few times for this poor agricultural Oach region on the northern border of Romania with Hungary and Ukraine. Here music is mostly heard at weddings and at Sunday dances, but it is also heard during work in the fields. It is sung in a particular way, "at the top of one's voice," that is, in an unusually high position with characteristic initial exclamation or shouting, after which follows a descending melody. According to local custom, men play the violin either alone or with a peculiar accompaniment of the guitar; in addition, a flute, leaf or Jew's harp may be used**.** The area is famous for its musical tradition; in the introduction to the book the authors characterize it as "extremely unusual and bewildering, unfamiliar to West Europeans and even to Romanians from other regions" (p. 7). Local people point out with certain pride that scholars barely understand their music: not one of the researchers was born in this region, so they could not "absorb" it from their childhood. Despite that, or even for that reason, it is necessary to carry out research. When one says, "music of the Oach," however, one uncertainty emerges: did not the famous Béla Bartók (and after him a few other researchers) already investigate this region from a musicological point of view and make tens of transcriptions which are legendary today?

Not only the world and, along with it, musical tradition, but also the methodological approach to both, however, change. Facts in the publication corroborate both. Despite considerable esteem for Bartók and his remarkable work, the authors feel a certain need to juxtapose themselves with his and Constantin Brailoiu's methods and goals. The time of one-shot forays with the purpose of "a hunt for a tune" collected from peasants, from whom it is necessary to get to know "only" their name, age, religion and marital status, is over. Replay of Bartók's transcriptions of local musicians, nevertheless, will help to nail down certain findings.

From the information of researchers, it is clear that the music of the Oach was still, in the 1990s, a component of daily life; it accompanies both special and ordi-

nary occasions. For all of this to come to light, it is often necessary to obtain and maintain the fragile confidence of the people and spend hours and hours in the field, from which gradually, as from a landscape covered by fog, there emerge miscellaneous facts that it is necessary, with initial insecurity and confusion, to *(re)construct*. According to the authors, the contents of the publication were produced in the field, where the researchers became witnesses to a considerable number of weddings, watched Sunday dances, conducted interviews with a number of people, with the aid of their own sense of hearing and modern technology recorded hundreds of musical performances, lived in village buildings and, with local people, drank *horinka* spirits out of a common glass, as was the custom.

In the introductory part we find a synopsis and the above-mentioned methodological assumptions. The authors conceived the publication deliberately to corroborate the approach of their research work. The uniqueness of the monograph is the segmentation of its chapters into two parts, of which the first is often perhaps too literary, while the second is a professionally conceived presentation of the problem or situation described in the first part. In the "literary" parts of the chapters the researchers do not hesitate to depict subjectively tuned perceptions of observed facts, impressions of the people researched and their assumptions; they admit occasional doubts, dilemmas and fatigue caused not only by a musically specific and for them foreign environment.

All of this, although not always outwardly admitted by a number of researchers, undoubtedly belongs to field research. Although in the text one finds diverse and rather disturbing allusions, for example, to oppressive social and economic conditions of the local inhabitants, one does not get bogged down in an interpretation of details which would exceed the field of relevant information. The publication is mainly about the music of the Oach, but without knowing the people, their fates and the world in which they live, it could not exist, nor could its interpretation be formulated by the researchers. Although the authors claim that the first part of the chapters can be left out during a reading of them, they have their importance in their ability to confirm the contextual background, formulations of ethnomusicological conclusions.

At first, readers are also shown the equivocality of the first information obtained and key questions of the researchers which are clarified in the following chapters. At first they cause considerable difficulty as various informants conflictingly defined musical terms such as *dant, pont, figura,* and *tipurit*, whose role in local music is, however, basic. The authors of the book decided to hold onto original Oach terminology, supplemented by their Western musicological characteristics so that there would not be a flattening, a simplifying of reality in the field. All things considered, the goal is not *to take possession* of music in our way, but to get to know and understand it as a peculiar tradition, a system organized according to its own, not coincidental rules.

The first chapter is oriented toward the musicological side of the problem: Which Oach musical expressions are considered

music and what distinguishes it? At first, researchers are confused: everything, whether it is about solo singing, violin playing or playing another instrument, during dance or without it, is termed as *dant* by the locals. A second crucial term is *pont*, which evidently is immediately connected with *dant*. With increasing knowledge, researchers are capable of ascertaining that the *dant* is the emblematic musical form for the region, whether sung or played on an instrument, which is composed of various numbers of eight-beat melodic-rhythmical segments (*pont*) and is similar to another Romanian (and also Balkan) form (*strigatura*), for which "shouting" verses in dance rhythm is typical. Each *dant* has a range of one and a half octaves and characteristic progression: at the beginning there is the introductory "shout" (*tipuritura*), along with a descending melody whose range of intervals narrows toward the conclusion. A *dant* that is sung seems to be a relatively simple form which increases in complexity if it is played on a violin or sung with guitar accompaniment. Basically it has two forms: the "dance" *dant de jucat* – in a lively, quick tempo, while a slower *dant* is interpreted locally with characteristic singing "at the top of one's voice." The higher the singing and the noisier or "rougher" the singing, the better the *dant*. In private, however, it is possible to sing more quietly and in the middle position. Every *dant,* nevertheless, has its appropriate position – some should be sung/played low (*dant pe jos*), while others high (*dant pe sus*). The delimitation of the position is, however, relative: with singers, the category of "low" or "high" depends on the abilities of the individual; just as with instruments, it depends on the highest or lowest playable position. This basic information complements a detailed musical analysis of all parts of the *dant*, which are the introductory *tipuritura,* the "beginning" *inceput,* the *figura/refren* = ritornel (typical for music and dance in Transylvania) and the concluding *terminat*.

The basis for all interpretive assumptions is the thoroughly worked transcription of sound materials along with transcripts of sung texts in the original version and in a French translation. A valuable supplement of the monograph is a DVD on which there are sound and audiovisual examples which capture a Sunday dance, a wedding, the course of an evening visit to some girls, and an excerpt of an interview with one of the informants. Musical transcriptions can also be heard in sound form. Scholars' information of field research suitably complements the basic, broad characteristics of the region studied and an essay about predecessors who carried out research here. Mainly, the musicological information confronts the authors with the results of research done in the past and also records basic changes substantiated with facts which showed organological research of local musical instruments. The authors refer to the findings of Béla Bartók in the years 1912 and 1913, the research of Constantin Brailoiu of the '30s and the development studied in the '60s and '70s. Despite the disappearance of many musical forms, the *dant* has been the core of local music since the beginning of the twentieth century and it still plays a dominant role today. With the advance of time, however,

violin playing and the way of accompaniment, both the pitch of tone and the speed of tempo have had an ascending tendency. The violin is an important musical instrument here. Despite the fact that in the Oach region Roma are in the minority, the introduction of violin playing has been attributed to them. The people of the Oach themselves consider the Roma the best violinists simply because they "have no other work." At the time of Bartók's research, violinists, *ceteras*, were almost exclusively "Gypsies"; later, however, the number of Romanian violinists increased. A most interesting fact is, however, that there was a considerable shift in playing and singing, in comparison with the time of Bartók's research; today the singing and playing are in a much higher position, which enabled an important modification of construction of the Oach violin and *zongora* guitar. So that violin playing resembled the strenuous singing "at the top of one's voice" at the limit of the physiological possibilities of a voice, violin tuning and the position of the individual strings were adjusted, which also permitted typical local playing with progression of parallel fifths.

Musicological character soon alternates with interesting cultural anthropological findings. The authors pay special attention to the fact that the performance of the *dant* is personal, but it is also a family matter. It turns out that the *dant* is passed down in the family through the male line to descendents, including to women. *Dants* are thus some sort of historiography of the area and credit for their maintenance goes mainly to the violinist (*ceteras*) who remembers many *dants* that are the "emblem" of local families and thus he also preserves them for his descendents, who would forget them. After puberty, thus, each has his "own" inherited *dant*, to which, however, he must add something personal. Therefore one *dant*, according to informants, has so many varied forms. Researchers further find that the *dant*, concretely singing "at the top of one's voice" and dance music, are mostly performed by young people and they notice its important role in the period of courtship, described evening visits to girls and Sunday dances, and during a wedding ceremony. There appears again the well-known hypothesis about the connection of musical performances with the period of youth, i.e., concurrently with sexuality and preparation for entrance into marriage. It is confirmed by the fact that especially young people sing in a high position with considerable vocal tension; at the same time, however, they do not use a suitable head register. High, but, despite that, chest singing "at the top of one's voice" has, namely, according to the authors, a relation to the lower part of the body connected with sexuality. The *dant* also belongs not only to the world of youth but mainly to that of the *living*. Music proclaiming death and crying over the dead is not a *dant*, which is evident from the musical instruments used and also from the way of singing/playing and the shape of the melody.

The authors attempt to confirm the very understanding of the *dant* and its peculiarities by having *dants* composed by themselves judged by one of the most skillful local musicians. How surprised were they when Gheorghe Meti considered a *dant* composed by Sper-

anta Radulescu as original, typical for a certain village of the region. Meti also considered other *dants* as indigenous if there did not vibrate in them elements that were atypical for the people of the Oach. Scholars then came to the conclusion that the *dant* must become whatever fills certain local musical criteria. The people of the Oach can adapt any melody to their own musical taste and, thus, accept it as their own. And so can also be explained the initially confusing variability and quantity of verses of the *dant*: the people of the Oach do not inherit a precise form of a melody, but a form or way of its formation. The *dant* is basically an "open" musical form which characterizes, apart from a few relatively common musical features, mainly a (cultural anthropological) *context* of its performance.

The epilog is a rather nostalgic musing over the future of this very unusual musical tradition that has been appearing in Europe to date. Does the music of this small region, despite the influences of modernity and the growing emigration of the inhabitants of the Oach, have a chance to survive? The conclusion ends ambiguously, but the validity of contemporary speculation can be confirmed only by the future.

Zita Skořepová Honzlová

Conference POSSIBILITIES AND LIMITS OF RESEARCH OF THE HISTORY OF COLLEGE EDUCATION AFTER 1945.

October 14-5, 2009, Hradec Králové, Czech Republic.

The above-mentioned conference was devoted to colleges which are typical urban institutions. And it was and is also a college educational system for which cities are considered to be centers of cultural life and focal points of innovation. On the other hand, universities often changed into fuses of conflict, or in them in concentrated form loyalty to totalitarian regimes arose.

The aim of the organizers of the conference was to encompass schools of all levels and types in Czech cities after 1945 as well as the problem of education and intellectuals in a totalitarian regime. The history of colleges was to be embedded in the general social frame, but not compared to the history of college education in other socialist states.

In the introductory paper, Jan Mervart, a Hradec Králové historian, focused on characteristics of the communist regime in the 1960s. In doing so he cautioned against the assessment of those years as a time of continual liberalization and/or eras in which communist power stood on one hand and opposition intellectuals on the other. At the same time he pointed out a certain programmed helplessness of the intelligentsia who did not go against the essence of the regime.

The first thematic session was devoted logically to Charles University. In his paper, Prague historian Petr Cajthaml characterized the mechanisms which the Communist Party – despite certain periods of relative social relaxation – attained a leading position at the university. Vice deans and assistant professors, as well as applicants for studies abroad were approved by the City Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. Party groups were also founded as part of scientific councils and the influence of communists at the university gradually strengthened. Departments of Marxism-Leninism existed independently of the heads of the universities. Michal Svatoš, Cajthaml's colleague from the Historic Institute of Charles University and Charles University Archive, presented the history and results of his institution (founded in 1959), which he termed *a little island of positive deviance*. His criticism concerned only the dominance of older history in research and its certain fragmentation. Bohdan Zilynskyj of the Faculty of Social Sciences of Charles University chose the topic of Ukrainian students as a specific national, linguistic and religious group at the university in the years 1945-1949. He was concurrently interested in where this group came from and what its ethnic and political orientation was.

The second session, focused on the most controversial faculty of Charles University – the Philosophical Faculty, was the domain of young and very critically humored historians, its contemporary workers. Kateřina Volná focused mainly on the role of the State Police at the faculty. In contrast to the generally reigning myth about the "screened" school, she pointed out that the awareness of the STB (State Police) was not absolute,

despite the fact that this repressive institution watched over foreign teachers, broadened the atmosphere of fear and worked in cooperation with the heads of the faculty. In the years 1974-1985, then, youths became, from the viewpoint of the State Police, the main surveilled group. Jakub Jareš criticized the mechanisms of the admission of students into college studies in the fields of history and ethnography in 1987. Ideology, according to him, compromised, however, with unrestrained clientelism. Examinations became untransparent and politicized. Matěj Spurný then rejected the image of the Prague Philosophical Faculty as a victim of communist terror and the image of the society of totalitarian Czechoslovakia as a society generally longing for liberty, controlled by only a handful of the powerful.

The third session focused on medical and pedagogical faculties. Local historian František Dohnal presented the history of one of seven medical faculties, that of Hradec Králové, which was founded in 1945, and generally the development of the idea of military medicine. Cajthaml's and Svatoš's colleague Petr Svobodný spoke of the specifics of medical faculties and of the difficulties which historians encountered. Brno historian Jaroslav Vaculík dealt with the model case of the fate of pedagogical schools: the school he attended, the Pedagogical Faculty of Masaryk University. He mainly presented to the audience opinions about the mission of pedagogical faculties and their place in higher education. In the last paper of the first day, Pilsen historian Naděžda Morávková portrayed Adolf Zeman (1902-1985), a college teacher and recognized social and economic urban historian who did not succeed in obtaining scientific esteem for his work in the society of the time.

On the next day, two sessions were also devoted to colleges. Ostrava archivist Jindra Biolková focused on the history of a mining college – the Technical University of Ostrava and/or the character of research sources. Brno archivist Alena Mikovcová attempted to understand the fate of the Agricultural College in Brno after the Second World War, when the school found itself in danger of being closed. Finally it went through the system of so-called political cleansing and it became Sovietized. At the same time it was victimized in the process of so-called collectivization. Local historian Michal Strobach described the specifics of the Hradec Military Aviation Academy as a type of post-war military education. Markéta Devátá of the Institute of Contemporary History of the Academy of Sciences in Prague presented research of the history and functioning of the Political and Social College (1945-1949), research also carried out by her colleague Doubravka Olšáková. A similarly controversial school – the University of November 17 (1961-1974), which was founded because of a decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, was the subject of extensive research of the young historian Marta Edith Holečková. She described the problem of the structure of the institution, characteristics of the students, relation to foreign students from the so-called Third World, and contributions of the college.

The third thematic session of the second day dealt with college teachers.

Olomouc historian and archivist Pavel Urbášek attempted to describe the relation of the regime to college teachers and the composition of their profile in the '50s, in the '60s and in the years of normalization when a new generation of teachers allegedly understood the party membership card pragmatically, like a workbook.

The concluding session of the conference, called *After college*, was opened by Prague anthropologist Blanka Soukupová with the paper "The role of intellectuals in post-war public opinion." It was followed by Jana Švehlová's (read by Eva Bláhová) emotional paper about the daughters of farmers in the '50s. The subject was the psychic world of women who could not, for political reasons, study and still feel the handicap today. Today a group of them made up of 100 members work under the patronage of their benefactor, Meda Mládková.

In conclusion let us add that the Hradec conference, which was to have been linked to a conference in Olomouc in 2011, brought out a large quantity of data, methodical and civic stimulants. Open and in places explosive discussions clarified the fact that the topic is scientifically and socially enormously topical and stimulating; and this especially today, when again there is strong influence of the incompetent powerful, who would gladly get rid of the true mission of the university: scientific work and the training of intellectuals and competent specialists. Thanks for the exemplary organization of the conference go mainly to the historian Sylva Sklenářová of the university archive in Hradec Králové.

Blanka Soukupová

Conference THE POLITICS OF CULTURE. PERSPECTIVES OF STATELESS NATIONALITIES AND ETHNIC GROUPS.

April 9-10, 2010, Warsaw, Poland.

The international conference with almost thirty speakers was organized by Professor Nowicka -Rusek under the patronage of the Institute of Social Studies of the University of Warsaw. The aim of the conference was to focus, from various points of view, on stateless ethnic groups and nationalities which try to negotiate and vindicate the legitimization of their very existence and their (mostly cultural-language) demands in today's world. The conference had seven thematic sessions in which scholars from several social science disciplines, mostly sociology, anthropology, ethnology and political science, addressed the audience.

The first, opening session, called "Theories and Perspectives," outlined key themes and concepts which all the researchers into stateless ethnic groups and nationalities have to deal with in their research. Ewa Nowicka–Rusek presented her ideas on the so much-discussed concept of ethnic identity which in her interpretation can encompass three different variants: "multi-story" identity ("sandwiched"), "additive" identity ("assembling" identity when to an A identity another B identity is added as an equal one) and "anti-ethnic" identity, which stands for a situation when a person refuses to express his/her identity in ethnic terms. Professor Szpociński discussed in his paper topics of historical memory and politics of its keeping,

which are key factors in construction of ethnic identities. After that Katarzyna Warmińska focused very interestingly on researchers themselves, who via their research not only describe, analyze and interpret ethic groups – but also co-create them. Besides the performative character of social science research, she came to think of the fragility of minority research at home ("anthropology at home"), which cannot avoid the dangers of folklorization, exoticization and the loss of "sensitivity to difference." She talked about the Internet as a relatively new and, at least in Central Europe, unsurveyed phenomenon and its impact on both the formation of ethnic groups and minorities and on the formation of their image: unprecedented possibilities of spreading information forms both images and knowledge of majority in minority and self-understanding and self-presentation of given groups. The session ended with a paper by Przemyslaw Nosal: "Flag, Anthem, Sports team. Sports as a tactic of stateless nations and ethnic groups," in which, inspired by Michel de Certeau and his concepts of strategies and tactics, he conceptualized minority ethnic group constituting as tactics, i.e., acting beyond official institutions and structures of power. Further, he interpreted this way performances connected with sports events as possible (and very persuasive) public representations of ethnicity and ethnic identity. Thereby he introduced to the discussion another two topics connected with the politics of culture and stateless groups: power and representation.

The second session of the conference was devoted to the Aromanians. The most interesting point of the session was possibly the fact that in one session scientists (Dimitris Michalopoulos, Markéta Vaňková) and minority activists (Nikola Minov, Vlatko Dimov) met, so the conference participants had the occasion to compare on one hand a self-presentation of Aromanian activists and their vision of desirable and effective cultural politics – and on the other hand scientific interpretation and a critical analysis of these activists' efforts. Moreover, the papers covered a wide range of a paradigmatic scale of points: from significantly primordial and essentialist points (Minov) to clearly constructivist ones, emphasizing the performative and processual character of ethnic identity forming (Vaňková).

The next session (and in the Central European context the expected one) regarded the Romani people. Identity politics of the Roma was researched both in the wider context of post-socialistic transformation (Jennifer Mitchell) and also in particular minority politics of nation states (Malgorzata Glowacka-Grajper, Izabela Bukalska). Different concepts of the Roma were very inspiring: Izabela Bukalska concentrated mainly on what she called "Romani culture and tradition" and researched possibilities of realization and performing of the culture and traditions within the limits given by Hungarian cultural (minority) politics. On the other hand, Malgorzata Glowacka-Grajper doubted understanding of Romani identity as based primarily on shared culture features and pointed to the fact that it is social position rather than culture which defines the Roma and their identity politics in Central Europe.

The last session of the first conference day was devoted to minorities and emigrants. The first paper summarized the complicated situation of the Chinese Uyghurs in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonous Region (Martyna Weronika Duda). The next two papers focused on the situation of working migrants in Europe, in particular Polish female emigrants in London (Marta Bierca) and Chechen emigrants in Poland (Karolina Lukasiewicz). In their presented research, the authors inquired into the topic of transnationalism and they were interested in the possibilities of identification with the receiving society as well as in the influence of the original, sending country and the relationship network mainly rooted there. Chechnya was also the topic of Jan Kruszyński, whose presentation provoked a heated discussion – however, as an explicit critique of the Russian aggression in the Chechen war from the point of view of human rights it was not a scientific analysis of the conflict. Hence, the discussion had two courses – on one hand the historical background of the conflict and "justification" of the speaker's point were debated; and on the other hand the question whether such a presentation is acceptable at a scientific conference was being solved. The debate is all the more interesting in that activist and as well "non-scientific" presentations of the Aromanians did not cause similar critical response – evidently because they did not evoke any negative emotion in the audience contrary to the painful and bloody Chechen conflict.

The second day of the conference had three thematic sessions. The first one, called "The Ruthenians and the Kashubians" was, as is clear from its name, devoted to the situation of two minorities in Poland – the Ruthenians (the Lemkos) and the Kashubians. The common theme of the papers was the topic of identity and status of the minorities in the Polish society and the question of their recognition as a minority or a regional group. Jacek Nowak was interested in the crucial role of (de)territorialization of the Polish Ruthenians' identity and in his paper he stressed the importance of place, memory and civil society in the processes of Ruthenians' ethnic identity forming. Slawomir Lodzyński talked about the Kashubians and the Silesians, whose different situations were presented via the prism of state institutions' influence. He aimed his analysis at classification strategies through which the state creates categories as "ethnic minorities," "regional groups," "minority language," "indigenous people," etc. – he analyzed the National Population Census and the Law of National Minorities from 2005. The last paper of the session dealt, for organization reasons, with the Silesians: Grażyna Kubica-Heller in her presentation drew attention to the importance of local and regional identities which, in the case of some groups, can play a more important role than ethnic identities.

The following session called "Various situations, various answers" was on one hand more heterogeneous – however, on the other it brought a possibility of a very interesting comparison of differences of the situations of several minorities, as well as differences of theoretical backgrounds to their research. The rather general presentation of Katarzyna Środa-Wieckowska about "using and abusing of

a tradition" in the construction of ethnic groups was followed by a nicely empirical study by Marta Petryk, who in her research describes the process of forming and negotiating of not evident identity of the Norwegian Kvens and their minority status in Norwegian legislation. Adam Stepień also pursues his research in the Northern Europe. He is interested in the Saami people (the Sami) and in his presentation he focused on the Pan-Saami trans-border cooperation and integration processes, which he presented from the point of view of political science with an accent on the legislative background for international cooperation of trans-border minorities. In the following paper, Kristin Pfeifer dealt with the question of cultural preservation strategies which she presented on the example of the Moroccan Amazigh Movement and she, as well as previous speakers, pointed out the importance of official recognition of the status of a minority. Dominika Michalak, author of the last paper of the session, talked on a rather different topic. The presentation, called "The Trouble with Recognition: What Do the Jazz School Handbooks Teach Us About the African American Roots of Jazz" summarized the results of her content analysis of jazz textbooks.

The last panel was devoted very symptomatically (regarding where the conference took place) to Silesia and the Silesians. The three presented papers concurred and in a complex way they introduced the situation of the Silesians, whose identity varies on the scale from ethnic indifference via regional identity (based on historical-geographical features of the region) to identity evidently ethno-national. An interesting presentation by Kazimier Wódz and Maciej Witkowski dealt with the public discourse of Silesian regional identity, which is formed by public visual representations and performances. Elźbieta Anna Sekula and Marek S. Szczepański focused rather on political aspirations of local actors and their relationship to various traditions of Upper Silesia which are the basis of current collective identity. Robert Geisler's presentation was the most theoretical one in the session – backgrounded by interpretative anthropology, it tried to view Silesia and its development in the 20th century as a parallel to the (post)colonial situation.

Two things must be said at the end. Willingness of the conference participants and the speakers to discuss was a very beneficial aspect of the conference. Discussions usually mediated communication within the panels and they changed the sessions into meaningful and coherent units. On the other hand, it cannot pass unmentioned that the scope of the conference (almost 30 papers in two days) demanded much attention of the conference participants and their ability to absorb the presentations. On the whole and according to talks among the participants, I guess that the conference was generally understood to be very successful and stimulating. Even though it did not offer a particular prognosis of *perspectives of stateless nationalities and ethnic groups*, it enabled an intensive discussion about a wide range of culture politics of ethnic groups and minorities.

Markéta Vaňková

Czech-Slovak Conference MINORITY MEMORYSCAPES. COMPETITIVE SOCIETIES OF MEMORY?

June 10-11, 2010, Prague, Czech Republic.

The "Minority Memoryscapes. Competitive Societies of Memory?" conference organized by the Faculty of Humanities, Charles University in Prague and the Jewish Museum of Prague, took place in Prague on the premises of the Jewish Museum on June 10-11, 2010. Blanka Soukupová, Zuzana Jurková, and Hedvika Novotná were the chief conference organizers. Costs of the conference were covered from a Charles University Special Research project called "Postmodern Society – Memory – Culture – Identity."

The conference was started by Miloš Havelka, who welcomed all the participants and introduced Jan Sokol, who gave the opening speech. In it, he stressed two aspects of minorities that are important for a majority. Minorities are crucial, Sokol argued, because they can initiate a change in a society, which is almost impossible for a majority in its homogeneity and sterility; and they are nonetheless important because a minority provides confidence and elementary coherence for a society. After that Blanka Soukupová summarized the development of Czech urban anthropology and presented the three main topics of the conference, i.e., city – minority – and the plurality of memoryscape.

The first day of the conference was devoted mainly to the Jewish minority in Czech, Moravian and Slovak cities and towns. Peter Salner presented nine possible Jewish views of Bratislava in the 20th century. Then Ivica Bumová talked about the relation between the Slovak majority and the Jewish minority memoryscapes in Dolní Kubín (Žilina region) in the 1930s-'40s. Prague in Jewish memory after the Shoah was the topic of Blanka Soukupová's paper, in which she was mainly concerned with places of memory (Nora 1984-92) and their changes in time. Memoryscape of Brno in the period between the wars was the topic of the paper presented by Jana Nosková. In her analysis she identified the topos of Brno as a "children's paradise," as a forgotten time of co-dwelling of Czechs, Germans and Jews; however the analysis also showed that Czechs and Germans stressed different time periods in their stories and among all the three stood unambiguous borders. Hedvika Novotná was also interested in places of memory and paid special attention to the construction of tradition in today's Jewish town in Prague, e.g., the Disneyfication of the sites. In her analysis, she used the concept of communicative and cultural construction of memory (Assman 1992). The morning session was ended by Zuzana Skořepová who sketched for the audience a mental map of the life of Bedřich Feigl, a Jewish painter of the first half of the 20th century, who lived in Prague, Berlin and London.

The afternoon session was opened by Daniel Luther, who followed up on the theme of construction of collective memory by analyzing how the official institutions operated with historical knowledge. He discussed symbolical contents in the varying topography of

Bratislava's streets and squares during the 20th century. But the topic of a synagogue and the Jewish minority in a small town was discussed mainly in the afternoon. Both Blanka Altová and Jaroslav Alt were concerned in their linked papers with the synagogue in Uhlířské Janovice. The former dealt with its cultural and historical memory while the latter with the design of the liturgical space and its conversion (into a hairdresser's). Magdalena Myslivcová talked about the synagogue in Písek. She inquired into the construction of memory and whether in this case we can talk rather about a majority or a minority construct. Zuzana Jurková presented the former synagogue in Kladno as a place of getting together, which was the crucial occasion for establishing contact and dialogue between British and American Jews and The Czechoslovak Hussite Church in Kladno.

The second day of the conference was devoted mostly to other minorities in Czech, Moravian and Slovak cities and towns. The morning session was opened by the paper of Helena Nosková on Králíky (Ústí nad Orlicí region). She described changes in social and cultural capital in Králíky, created on the basis of memories of local Germans, Czechs, Slovaks, Hungarians and Polish Czechs. After that Slavomíra Ferenčuchová and Petr Kouřil discussed contemporary "provoked memory" in the originally German landscape surrounding Brno. On one hand, they concentrated on documenting the crosses placed in the landscape and, on the other hand, on presenting the activities followed in order to remember the traditions of villages – such as the St. Wenceslas feast (in Czech "Svatováclavské hody"). They mapped the strategies of re-interpretation and confrontation of different memories based on interviews and fieldwork research. The morning session finished with the paper by Libuše Groberová on the reflection of the capital, Prague, in a north-Moravian village X.

In the afternoon session, Petr Gibas, Karolína Pauknerová and Bedřich Čížek devoted their paper to a special minority of Prague allotment gardeners and the changes this type of gardening has been undergoing in the post-socialist era. They presented a brief history of these allotments, the legal changes that affect allotment gardening and the discursive analysis of newspapers and webpages about Prague allotments, the concept of greenery in particular, and the debate on why allotments should stay or disappear. The last paper, presented by Barbora Vacková and Lucie Galčanová, dealt with (non)existing minorities within the modernistic town of Zlín. The authors concentrated on the period between 1920 and 1940, the times of the development of the Bata factory and "Bata-ville," and on narratives of modernity and its impact on the town of Zlín.

The conference was ended by a discussion on the course of the conference and the possible future direction of Czech urban anthropology (or urban studies) and, in particular, how the participants of the conference will cooperate in the future and what their points of concurrence are.

During the conference, various attitudes about how to investigate memory, memoryscapes and minority memory within the urban context were presented.

Places of memory (papers by H. Novotná and B. Soukupová) and the concept of provoked memory (S. Ferenčuchová and P. Kouřil) were among the most interesting ones. Jewish minority and construction of Jewish memory (or memoryscape) formed a dominant interest in the presented papers. Only a few papers concentrated on other minorities: e.g., the German minority (J. Nosková in Brno between the wars) or the coping with ruins of originally German landscape around Brno (S. Ferenčuchová and P. Kouřil). The very special case of minorities represented the minorities of the modernist Baťa city of Zlín (inhabitants of the original Zlín, seniors, etc., in the paper of B. Vacková and L. Galčanová).

Even though such a conference cannot act as a representative overview of Czech and Slovak urban studies or urban anthropology, in this case it showed a coherent picture of how social sciences can deal with minority memory. The outcomes of the conference will shortly also become accessible to other interested scholars and students, as the conference will have permanent form in a collective monograph called "Unquiet Memoryscape of a (Post)Modern City" which will be prepared from chosen conference papers.

Karolína Pauknerová

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SIXTH SYMPOSIUM OF THE ICTM STUDY GROUP ON MUSIC AND MINORITIES

July 19-25, 2010, Hanoi, Vietnam.

The international ethnomusicological organization the *International Council for Traditional Music* (ICTM) has its world conference every odd-numbered year (the most recent one took place last year in the South African city of Durban; the next one is planned for July 2011 in St. John, Canada). In the even years the majority of its study groups meet; the work in them is usually considered the main reason for the ICTM.

The *Music and Minorities* study group is one of the newest (founded in 1999) and most numerous (approximately 300 members). Its last, sixth meeting took place June 19-24, 2010, in Hanoi, North Vietnam. In comparison with the next-to-last meeting in Prague (May 2009, see *Urban People* 2008, 2: 228) the number of active participants decreased and their composition changed. This was the understandable consequence of the relatively high travel costs, which prevented the participation of the majority of South and East European researchers, who otherwise are very numerous. Of the approximately 40 active participants, one-fourth were directly from Vietnam, and a further eight from Southeast and East Asia. More important than the home country of the researchers, however, were the unsurprisingly various discourses which became evident both in the participation of conference topics and in the approach to them. The topic *Other Minorities* was chosen only by the Finn-

ish group, who dealt with the Swedish linguistic minority in Finland; the Australian Cornelia Dragusin, who using the example of Japanese Tenrikyo demonstrated the formation of a new minority and two case studies of African material (the mendicant Ethiopian group Hamina and a Ghanian hiplife singer who use the Ga minority language). Similarly, few researchers chose the otherwise favorite topic of *Music and Minorities in Education*: Kai Aberg spoke about *The Transmission of Musical Knowledge and Music through Formal and Informal Education among Finnish Kaale (Roma)*; Hande Saglam focused on bimusicality among Austrian students of music, and Larry Hillarian dealt with teaching materials that acquaint secondary school pupils with (minority) Malaysian music in Singapore, thereby opening room for a further discussion of cultural plurality.

The absolute majority of contributors chose the third conference topic, *The Role of Music in Sustaining Minority Communities*. Within the topic, two tendencies loomed large: "conservational" (in the titles of the papers various forms of the word "preserve" appeared) and "observational." To the former group belonged not only papers of our Vietnamese colleagues (e.g., the director of the hosting Vietnamese Institute of Musicology Le Van Toan spoke about *Collecting and Preserving Music of Ethnic Minorities; Experience from Vietnam*), but also, e.g., the paper of the Belgian ethnomusicologist Anne Caufriez, *The Female Polyphony of North Portugal*.

While the former tendency can be perceived rather fatalistically (even with the best attempt at preservation, cultural expressions change, and this is understood as an impoverishment of cultural diversity; and "preservation" whether in the form of technically perfect recordings or, on the contrary, the introduction of the genre in the framework of, e.g., a musical festival is at least subconsciously felt as an unequal substitution), representatives of the other – "observational" – tendency usually attempt to ascertain how the changes in music relate to changes in culture (and this is whether music is considered a reflection of culture or as a constitutive element of it, and then as a possible agent of change). Both of the Czech papers belong in this area: Zuzana Jurková's *Romani Worlds of Contemporary Prague,* about strategies of performances of Romani music, and Zita Skořepová Honzlová's *Ziriab – Arabic Music in the Czech Republic*, about music as an expression of ethnic culture and religious identity of foreigners living in the Czech Republic for a long time. The papers of Dan Lundberg (about changes in relations between the Swedish majority and local travelers and musical reflections of these changes), Bozena Muszkalska (using Bachtin's concept of dialogicity in music in research of the Polish minority in Brazil) and Yoshitaka Terada (*Kulintang as a Pan-Filipino-American Identity*) were interesting.

The meeting of the Music and Minorities study group (which this time was called a Symposium) was linked to the meeting of the newest study group of Applied Ethnomusicology. I don't consider very fortunate the partial connection of both groups on an organizational level (e.g., a common business) and personal connection (e.g., Music

and Minorities vice chairman Svanibor Pettan is, at the same time, chairman of Applied Ethnomusicology), but it is understandable. Mainly the concept of music cultures as irreversibly disappearing traditions in a globalizing world calls directly for a great variety of guidelines for their preservation. I heard two interesting papers, also during the connected sessions of both groups. The Nestor of Norwegian ethnomusicology Kjell Skyllstad, the painstaking and convincing advocate of the obligations of scientists to look for applications for their findings, told about a project connecting the concept of economic and cultural maintenance in Laos with the sustainability of a network of tens of NGOs. Here music becomes a building block of conscious ethnic identity in a new context. Todd Saurman, who has been working with his wife for a long time among ethnic minorities in Thailand, spoke about the reflective method in which through dialogues they help members of local communities to find what they consider to be culturally important, and to discover a way for viable transformation of what is basic.

Never before had a meeting of the *Music and Minorities* group received such official and visible support (Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism, Vietnamese Institute of Musicology, Vietnam National Academy of Music), which was much more than just declared on the program pamphlet. The sessions took place either in a large hotel in the very center of Hanoi or in the unbelievably well built and extensive Institute of Musicology; newspapers and television reported on the conference before the opening and during it... Musical ensembles from distant Ho Chi Minh City and also from Thailand and Java came to one of the concerts for participants of the conference. Not even such support, however, offset the rather depressing fact that the absolute majority of Vietnamese researchers did not speak English, the only language of the conference, and thus – despite the fact that they had simultaneous interpreters – there remained a human and professional separation. And thus one of the important "applications" was the very fact of the conference in Vietnam: to locals and to foreigners it was clear that no massive (even state) support replaces expertise and insight, without which it is again difficult to aspire to involvement in the main scientific stream. Despite all kinds of barriers, expenses and logistic demands, it is quite fine that this symposium could be organized outside of the Euro-Atlantic space. If (collective) science is to contribute to (collective) knowledge and understanding, it is only successful if it goes beyond the borders of "kindred" regions, which share not only language, but also style and the spirit of complete communication. How otherwise can we understand those whom we still don't understand?

Zuzana Jurková

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