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СОДЕРЖАНИЕ ЖУРНАЛА ЗА 39^{МИ} ГОД ИЗДАНИЯ

THE BEGINNINGS OF FUNCTIONAL STRUCTURALISM IN SLOVAK ETHNOLOGY (To Commemoration of P. G. Bogatyriov)

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I

In spite of the fact that much enough was written about scientific work in Slovakia during the interwar period, the existence of the functional-structuralist school which played a significant role in the development of the Czech and Slovak sciences, has not yet been sufficiently clarified. The foreign scholars became only marginally familiar with the Slovak scientific context of structuralism of this period, and neither the belated translation of P. G. Bogatyriov's works, particularly the translation of his work *Funkcie kroja na Moravskom Slovensku*, re-edited by the Mouton Publishing House, Hague-Paris 1971,¹ nor the excellent selection of works entitled *Voprosy teorii narodnogo iskusstva* which was prepared by the author himself and issued together with the complete bibliography by B. Beneš in the same year in Moscow,² changed the situation.

B. Beneš made an attempt to comprehensively evaluate the contribution of P. G. Bogatyriov for Czechoslovak science already in his article *P. Bogatyriov a štrukturalizmus* issued in 1968.³ The evaluation of his work in Slovakia, significance of his activities within the framework of Bratislava's Comenius University and his cooperation in the establishment of the Association for Scientific Synthesis, is irregular. It is also similar in the other works.

The works of P. Bogatyriov was evaluated from theatrological aspect and at a high level by the Czech theatrologist J. Kolár who, in 1971 — the year of the Bogatyriov's death — issued a selection of his works in Czech.⁴ It is neces-

ary to mention that the very term "structuralism" was in that period unacceptable in the ČSSR for ideological reasons. Structuralism was in general considered, as a scientific trend, "antimarxist" and "bourgeois" and, therefore, the study of its history and the apparent application of its principles were also fairly undesirable. Therefore, today it is necessary to present the history of the Czech and Slovak sciences from a new point of view.

The clarification of value of the functional-structural method applied by P. G. Bogatyriov, A. Melicherčík, R. Mrlian, S. Kovačevićová and also by other Slovak scientists who were inspired by the semiotic motives, is of historical significance for the Slovak ethnography and folklore studies. It shows a progressive scientific thinking of the Slovak scientists, and their attempts not to loose contact with the world of scientific activity in the late thirties, as well as the war and postwar years. The significance of this movement was indicated by e. g. Hungarian semiologist V. Voigt who wrote: "The many-sided relation is functioning between the Czech and, to some degree, also the Slovak structuralism and the semiology between the two wars. This trend (having also its predecessors) developed in the twenties was the first scientific trend named "structuralist". It gained constant achievements primarily in the sphere of language theory, literature, theatre and ethnology. The main centres were in Prague and Brno, but after the origin of the so-called Slovak "general theory of science" (this is not only incidentally familiar name but a transla-

tion of the name of Chicago group General Theory of Science) in the forties similar works also emerged in Bratislava.⁵ The quotation comes from the knowledge of the scientific endeavours of the Association of Scientific Synthesis, which philologically was inspired by the motives of Vienna's scientism; in the sphere of particular analytical approaches, it drew from stimuli of the Prague Linguistic Circle. The Russian formal school had a strong influence in the beginning, especially in the sphere of literary theory; in linguistics, on the other hand, there were the principles of modern structuralist orientation, specifically in ethnology it was a modified application of linguistic structuralism which was developed as a functional-structural method and promoted, first of all, by P. G. Bogatyriov. While in the other disciplines broad cooperation has been developed between the inspirational Prague Linguistic Circle and the Association for Scientific Synthesis, in the sphere of ethnology the centre of interests and the establishment of an independent school was shifted to Slovakia. This phenomenon is connected with the educational functioning of P. Bogatyriov at Bratislava's university, and with the fact that some of his students actively took part in its application, both in designing the field research and in the theoretical sphere. The methodical orientation of the Slovak ethnology manifested itself most expressively in the work by A. Melicherčík, *Teória národopisu* (1945), in which the author included the functional-structural method as an equal trend in the methodological arsenal of contemporary ethnography, and determined its starting principles. He defended its efficiency against, in particular, the hitherto trends of the West-European positivist research.

The scientific synthesis arose as a purposeful attempt of the young Slovak artistic and scientific avant-garde in 1937. Its foundation described the leading personality — philosopher Igor Hrušovský: "In the middle of the thirties a pronounced turn took place in the scientific and artistic activities in this country." In another place: "While the avant-garde poets and artists developed modern lyrism adequate to the sensibility of the new generation, the theoretical workers elucidated in exciting discussions, the latest problems of the contemporary science, dialectics of scientific creation and methodological thinking."⁶

From 1937 to its dissolution by the Police in 1940, over 40 lectures were read at the Associa-

tion for Scientific Synthesis. As a matter of fact, it was here where ethnology was introduced in Slovakia as a modern discipline. In lectures by P. G. Bogatyriov and A. Melicherčík the new theoretical theses and untraditional ideas sounded rather breaking for the Slovak conditions. J. Hrušovský wrote about this in his memoirs: "The structuralist ethnology was developed in this country at the end of the thirties by P. Bogatyriov. According to him the structure of functions creates a contradictory unity: an extinction or change of the intensity of any function or an inclusion of a new function into the structure produces a change of the whole structure."

In this country he especially attracted for modern ethnology A. Melicherčík, who then also used the functional structuralist method in the research of folklore phenomena. He treated in detail the problems of folklore fact, sign nature of folklore and all the differentiating qualities which ensure the independence of folklore structures and their components.⁷

Not only the Slovak functional-structuralist school, but also the significance and results of Slovak structuralism as a whole have not been evaluated comprehensively in Slovakia, yet. The attempt of A. Popovič at *Štrukturalizmus v slovenskej vede 1931—1949*, is marginal and is more an anthology of the most relevant works. It is also a result of the liberating of political conditions in 1968, and was issued in 1970. Also, the studies and articles which appeared on functional structuralism in Slovakia, were based more upon material rather than synthesis.⁸

This paper is written for two reasons: to commemorate the twentieth anniversary of Bogatyriov's death, and primarily, to point out the necessity of unravelling the mysteries in the history of Slovak science. I believe that it is the beginning of the gradual re-estimation of influence of the functional-structuralist method in our sciences since many ideas and impulses of this short episode continued in future work, and are continuously present in the works of the younger generations of Czech and, especially, Slovak scientists. In addition to these arguments, I also consider it necessary to personally clarify the significance of P. G. Bogatyriov and A. Melicherčík. I knew both of them personally and thus I know many facts and attitudes of theirs which have not been published. In 1969, I spent, for example, with P. G. Bogatyriov many days and had an opportunity, together with S.

Švehlák, to record his recollections, a part of which were published soon after the death of Peter Grigorievič in 1971. A. Melicherčík was my teacher, under whose guidance I wrote my thesis, and I was his intern postgraduate.⁹

The work of P. G. Bogatyriov (1883—1971), however, cannot be understood without knowing his dramatic peripetia. Therefore I will first recall his life and career.

II

In 1918 Bogatyriov graduated from the Philological-Historical Faculty of Moscow University. As a student, he already mixed in scientific and artistic circles in the effort to gain as much as possible from the intellectual discharges of the founders of the young intelligentsia in the pre-revolutionary years. He was one of the founders of the Moscow linguistic circle in which a permanent contact with modern linguistics, with the elements of structuralism and literary science, where a formal method dominated, enabled him from the very beginning to base a special style of scientific work in ethnology on the achievements of the latest methodological trends of both scientific disciplines. Even during his studies he showed an interest in ethnology and folklore. Together with R. O. Jacobson he took part in common ethnologic research projects and wrote reports and reviews. He said the following about that period: "Already as a student in Russia I found a post in the Commission for Folk Literature at the Academy of Sciences. I had been — so to say — quite well-known by then. Roman Osipovič Jacobson continuously led me to linguistics which was positively reflected later in my work. At one time we worked together in the Moscow Dialectologist Commission at the Academy of Sciences. I was engaged there in ethnographic topology. At the same time, we worked in a folklore section of the Commission in which we gave lectures on our works. I was in the Commission as early as 1914, Jacobson came later. We also used to go to the Ethnographic Society among our professors, where we were welcomed and had a larger space for free discussions. Thus the Moscow Linguistic Circle originated, which, after the revolution, became a kind of official circle. Professors used to come to us, and even the Leningrad scientists. Tomaševskij, Šklovskij, Tyňanov, I can say that all of the outstanding people came. In that period in Leningrad OPOJAZ was functioning with which we had close contacts. In the circle

we worked collectively at many interesting problems. Discussions were conducted there on various issues. For example, one of the themes was an analysis of Gogol's *Nose*. It was, in fact, primarily Jacobson's doing that writers and poets also took part in the literary-scientific work. Such an approach to work was also reflected in the activities of the Prague Linguistic Circle."¹⁰

At the beginning of the twenties he emigrated to Czechoslovakia, where he worked first at the Soviet Embassy in Prague, and later, the Soviet government nominated him as a worker of the Literary Museum in Moscow. In this post he visited archives both in Czechoslovakia and abroad and collected by that time unknown Russian documents.

In Prague, he joined the scientific events in the Prague Linguistic Circle with R. O. Jacobson and worked within the framework of his conception at theoretical issues of ethnology and folklore. During his stay in Prague he entered into close relations with the Czech and Slovak progressive intelligentsia. He was a friend with Nezval, Mukařovský, Seifert, Novomeský, Clementis, Horov, E. F. Burian. In the thirties, the centre of his activities transferred more and more to Slovakia. He recollected: "One of my first theoretical works, drawing from Slovak materials, is a rather small study which I wrote in German, and which was published in *Germano-Slavica*. It deals with the problems of the aesthetic and magic functions of a Christmas tree. Theoretically, it is a very interesting problem. Usually the fact is that, in folklore, artistic phenomena have a rather magic function, primarily, and then an aesthetic one; the former is dominant in structure and transforms into other functions. As an ethnologist and folklorist I gradually started working in the Sub-Carpathian Ukraine. My interest in folklore later passed on to Slovakia, where I was especially attracted by ethnology and folklore of Eastern Slovakia. It is, better to say, that I started working in Slovakia almost simultaneously with my work in Sub-Carpathian Russia. Specifically, each time I travelled to the East, I stopped in Martin in *Matica Slovenská*. In that period, about 1927, I began to write about Slovakia, its culture and science. There were articles about *Matica Slovenská*, its past, reviews of publications and, especially, on the Collection of Slovak Museum Association. I attempted to illustrate to the public an ethnographic collection of *Matica*

Slovenská. Many of the articles have an exclusively popular character. I was a witness of the foundation of the Slovak National Theatre.

My Slovak friends gave me suggestions on where and what was interesting to see in Slovakia. I remember how once Vilém Pražák recommended me to go to Chorvátsky Grob on a Corpus Christi Day. I did. It was a beautiful sight: women with broad sleeves of national costumes embroidered in gold, an experience I will never forget. I admired the respect for their own cultural heritage.

I became familiar with Comenius University in Bratislava. Here I defended my dissertation work in 1937. After its successful defence, the Ministry nominated me a docent of Bratislava's university.

Bratislava's students creatively participated in my work with their comments. I presented them with raw material in my lectures, and they were like the first editors. They contributed to my works by completing my theoretical ideas with factual knowledge from the field. My lectures always came from problems presented at seminars and the seminars drew from lectures. I primarily concentrated on enabling students to take an active part in scientific work. I gave them lectures on my preceding works on the East Slavs and on Slovak folklore. At the University I was concerned with spiritual culture, while material culture was presented to them by Vilém Pražák. I was glad that my work at the faculty was taken over by the talented scientist Andrej Melicherčík, who contributed a great deal to the development of the Slovak folklore studies and whose untimely death was a great loss for Slovak science.¹¹

In 1940, in order to avoid the expansion of fascism he left for his homeland to continue his scientific and pedagogical work. For his book, *České a slovenské ľudové divadlo*¹² the author was awarded the degree of doctor of philological sciences soon after his return to the USSR. In the second half of the fifties he was nominated as a professor of Moscow Lomonosov university. Besides his scientific activities both the Soviet public and scholars especially appreciated his translating activities. Bogatyriov was the author of an accomplished Russian translation of Hašek's *Dobryj vojak Švejk*, which was issued in a number of editions in various regions of Soviet Union.¹³

Even the brief bibliographic data indicate that P. G. Bogatyriov was close to Czechoslovakia, where he worked for almost 20 years. He

entered equally the Soviet, Czech and Slovak sciences. I will outline, in main features at least, the development of Bogatyriov's scientific thinking and his significance for ethnological and folklore theory. His interest in folk theatre represents one of the key theoretical stages.

The first work devoted to the problems of people's theatre is by volume a rather small comparative study *Češskij kukolnyj i ruskij narodnyj teatr* (1923)¹⁴. From this, essentially comparativist work up to the structural analysis of folk theatre in the "České a slovenské ľudové divadlo" (Prague 1940)¹⁵, an interesting theoretical crystallization of P. Bogatyriov took place. In the first stage of his scientific development he drew from his linguistic proficiency in the scholarly method and applied the principles of Saussure's synchronic linguistics in ethnological material. His experiment considerably shifted the view of the folk culture to a qualitatively different level. From reconstructions of genesis and the historical development of ethnological phenomena and their complex comparison (that is, from an approach which prevails in the contemporary positivist ethnology), Bogatyriov comes, also under the impact of Zelenin and later on of Lévi-Bruhl, to the psychology of their bearers and to the contemporary functional reality of a rural environment.¹⁶ He gave lectures on the synchronic method in ethnology at two ethnological congresses where he discussed on the inevitability of using the synchronic analysis in ethnology. As though concluding the discussions he published a book in Paris *Actes magiques, rites et croyances en Russie Subcarpatique* (1929). He practically proved how a synchronic analysis discloses the complexities of formal and functional changes which take place in the structure of folk rites and customs. He revealed an interesting regularity of the study of folk culture, mainly of folk art, which, in addition to the analysis of formal structures, accentuates more the analysis of structure of functional structures. In his view the changes of functions of ethnologic phenomena are more important than the changes of their forms. To understand development of ethnologic phenomenon, he considered it as significant to determine hierarchy of functions, particularly, the dominant function of the examined phenomena in one demarcated development stage. Bogatyriov showed through particular material an alternation of their magic and aesthetic functions. The synchronic analysis is the beginning on the road

toward the gradual improvement of the functional-structural method in ethnology and folklore studies in the thirties, since it gave him the possibility to grasp the complexity of the dynamics of changes in folk culture as one relatively closed structure¹⁷. This work also had a great relevance for his next study of folk theatre. He disclosed in it the significance of art in individual customs and rites.

Bogatyriov introduced a new more pregnant terminology to ethnology and often adopted impulses from structural aesthetics and linguistics. He was an honourable member of the Prague Linguistic Circle. He was also influenced by events in it while, at the same time, he himself influenced it, as he used the most complicated material to raise the value of his theoretical work. This cooperation with linguists increased his interest in theory.¹⁸

In cooperation with R. O. Jakobson he issued theoretical study "Die Folklore als eine besondere Form des Schaffens" (1929), a suggestive attempt to define specific features of folklore creation as independent art. The study had, at the same time, a polemic and instructive character, it was an attempt at semiotic clarification of the basic categories of folklore creation, with an emphasis upon the specificity of the collective character of processes used to interpret folklore. This attempt was continued by their further common, in this country sufficiently well-known, study "*K probleme razmeževaniya folkloristiki i literaturovedeniya*" (1931) in which the authors point out that the study of folklore as a specific creation also requires, in contrast to the literary — scientific approach, an adequate methodical approach. Both studies open the way to a new understanding of folklore as an autonomous scientific discipline.¹⁹ In the first study they wrote: "In folklore relation between the artistic work on the one hand and its materialization on the other (i.e. between the so-called "variants" of this work during performance by various persons), is analogous to that between "langue", and "parole". A folklore product is, similar to "langue", suprapersonal and exists only potentially. It is but a complex of certain norms and impulses, a basis of a topical tradition which the lecturers vivify by a model of individual creation, equally as it is done by the narrator (parole's actor), in relation to 'langue.' The degree to which the individual neologisms (eventually, in folklore) answer the community's requirements and anticipate the lawful

development of 'langue' (eventually, folklore), is the same as the degree to which the facts of 'langue' (eventually, elements of folklore work) are socialized and created.

A literary work is materialized, it exists concretely and independently of the reader and each next reader turns directly to the work. The way which is applied here is not the one of folklore from one performer to another but that from the work to interpreter."²⁰

At an example of an analysis of functions of a Christmas tree in rural environment he proved that also an opposite alternation of dominant functions is possible. Naturally, the first prerequisite of the functional-structural analysis was an application of synchronic method.

The basic task of a synchronic folklore which was formulated by R. Jakobson and P. Bogatyriov as "a characteristics of the system of artistic forms creating a topical repertoire of a certain collective" is based upon the F. de Saussure's teaching: "The object of general synchronic linguistics is a determination of the basic principles of the complete idiosynchronic system of constructive factors of any state of language."²¹ He does not grasp the state of language as a static point, but as, more-or-less, a lasting time period during which minimum changes occur. Therefore, the very concept "state of language" is considered approximate. Bogatyriov specified that a synchronic analysis in ethnology usually represents in practice a study of the present state of folklore or ethnographic tradition. Demarcation of the period of life of folklore phenomena depends upon the comprehension of a formal and functional determinancy of a set of folklore elements as a relatively closed system in which continuous changes occur. He properly grasped that the synchronic folklore will be obliged to design an independent methodical approach partly different from the method of synchronic linguistics. He did not put forward the observance of changes in the form of folklore facts, but the constant changes of structure of their functions.²²

He intervened in scientific events in Slovakia more essentially by his article *Funkčno-štruktúrna metóda a iné metódy etnografie a folkloristiky* published in *Slovenské pohľady* (1935).²³ The clarification of position of the functional-structural method within the framework of methodological trends of ethnology and folklore studies was especially revealing for

Slovak science and corresponded with the efforts of a younger progressive generation of Slovak scientists to revive scientific thinking in humanities.

In Slovakia Bogatyriov found a nursery for his ideas. In Martin he issued his principal work *Funkcie kroja na Moravskom Slovensku* (1937). While in the preceding functional-structural interpretations of ethnographic materials we come across an unstable terminology and some more vague definitions, "Funkcie kroja..." is an example of the consistent use of the functional-structural method. We consider it, even after over 30 years, a classic textbook example of the application of functional-structural analyses in ethnographic material.²⁴

On concepts of a structure, function and sign: At defining the structure he came from Koffko's definition and he characterized it as a set of elements functionally connected. Specifically, these inner functionalities (as a rule relations of components in a structure) depend on development, or, on changes of the whole structure. On the outside the structure of functions is manifested in a role of the structure of functions.

Distinction of the function of a phenomenon (of a thing) and the function of structure of its functions is important for the evaluation of process within the structure, in which the changes in the function hierarchy or a weakening of individual components' function take place. A change of the function also then has an impact upon a change of a form of phenomenon. This interdependence of form and function appears in the whole range of structuralist works. According to B. Beneš, Bogatyriov adopted it from the works of his teacher, Zelenin.²⁵

The function of the structure of functions is relevant as a manifestation of the value of subjects' and phenomena's use in relation to its users. Bogatyriov applied the interrelation of function and form to the classification of ritual material from Sub-Carpathian Russia.

In an introduction to a Russian selection of his works he wrote:

"A synchronic analysis enabled us to show that we have to do with continuous changes of the form and function of these ethnographic facts. It allowed us to transfer the classification of ceremonies in dependence on topical relevance of their magic function and to find out how the aesthetic function becomes dominant in the transition of the motivated magic effect to unmotivated ceremony."²⁶

This internal and external distinction between the function of the phenomenon and structure of its functions and the functions of the structure of its functions leads Bogatyriov, on the one hand, to an understanding of the psyche of social environment and to the ability to distinguish values at the level of our culture — their culture, and, as a final consequence, also to semiotic analyses. Here Bogatyriov, in harmony with the views of J. Mukařovský, distinguishes a sign of thing and a sign of a sign, which is, after all, a modification of the linguist Saussure's teaching on a sign that Bogatyriov had applied in his works in thirties and the early forties, esp. in theatrological works.²⁷

At the end of his stay in Czechoslovakia a monography *Lidové divadlo české a slovenské* (1940) was published in Prague. Here Bogatyriov's interest in folk theatre culminates, an interest to which he was driven because of his contemporary scientific and other interests. He profited much when writing his first monography on the relation between the puppet and folk theatre, while, especially when studying his first book, he has to undergo a double level of comparison. The comparisons of the principles of puppet theatres and theatres of living actors revealed to him some staging laws by which folk theatre is ruled.

The comparison of the Czech and Russian material on the other hand, made him face the basic problems of genesis and development of theatre performance. This comparison, the study of the connection of folk theatre with customs and rites, its syncretist forms and variety of its structure, formed a key problem; on a theoretical level he was faced with various views, each of which represented a special quality and each demanded a special approach. Bogatyriov remained on the principles and positions of functional structuralism, but at the same time, he did well considering the traditional literary methods used in the analysis of pronunciation used on the stage (e.g. when analysing the poetics of stage pronunciation). Throughout his work, a modern and original approach to the theory of theatre is also apparent.

Bogatyriov knew the puppet theatre which he examined very well, especially in view of the most essential theatre symbol — a change, for a specific theatre form. He not only wrote about the Czech and Russian puppet theatres but, at the same time, he often visited them. He participated in a short tour of an outstanding

Russian puppet theatre as a guide and interpreter; thus he could penetrate into the "behind-the-scene" details.

The second pole of his interest was the then-avant-garde professional theatre. He knew it from the stage as well as from works of prominent theatre theorists. In books, therefore, we often come across references to Nemirovič—Dančenko, Stanislavskij, Tairov, Zich, Burian and others. The knowledge of the two opposite poles of theatre enabled him to see the folk theatre as an autonomous synthesizing artistic structure with its common as well as diverse features in relation to both of the above poles.

Experts might object that he did not know folk theatre from field research and that work is based upon relatively imperfect records of amateur collectors. This objection is to a great extent correct. Admittedly, until completing his work *Actes magique, rites et croyances en Russie Subcarpatique* Bogatyriov very often visited the field in Sub-Carpathian Russia where he studied in detail the calendar and family ritual folklore intertwined with relatively developed dramatic expressions also containing a magic function, most frequently the entertainment one. This field knowledge is evident especially during the analysis of hierarchy functions in the structure of functions of folk theatre. Here he pointed out an important moment that in the folk theatre the aesthetic function is not always hierarchically dominant but, that similar phenomena is not strange to a functional structure of contemporary theatre. The other parts of the work are marked by an insufficiency of Czech and Slovak material. Therefore, he often quotes the Russian material. While he pays attention to the analysis of functional structure only in the first chapters, he devotes all the other chapters to analysis of the structures of theatre form which, in his contemporary concept of functional-structural method application is a new qualitative approach. Reasons for this methodical procedure must be looked for in the aims which the book was to observe.

When analyzing folk theatre Bogatyriov strived to consider equally the views of theatrologist and those of ethnologist and folklorist. He perceived folk theatre primarily as an artistic structure and he noticed it through the signs of structure of artistic forms creating modern theatre. He made it clear that only by a complex study of the different artistic elements creating theatre is it possible to grasp the artistic essence

of the resulting theatre performance as aesthetic information. He paid special attention to the function of audience, decorations, setting of lights, collective and individual forms of creation, costume, actors, producer, theatre speech, etc. That is, through a view of modern theatre elements in which each of the above components has a special artistic function, he looked for and analyzed similar components in folk theatre. However, he always underlined only their specific forms. This view seemed to be from the "outside", new and unusual for ethnologists and folklorists studying folk theatre. But for the study of the aesthetic forms of folk culture, not only of folk theatre, it appears to be inevitable. How could Bogatyriov have so unambiguously determined the artistic capacity of individual examined elements of the complex structure? The answer is to be found in his cooperation with E. F. Burian. Burian was motivated by Bogatyriov's scientific work to present on his stage D-38 the famous performance *Folk suite*. Bogatyriov had the opportunity to confront which elements of folk theatre could be performed in contemporary theatre and which were functionally and directly connected to their ecological substance in the environment of their natural existence. Therefore, the book was favourably accepted by the avantgarde producers Honzl and Burian and, therefore, we recommend it also as theatrological literature.

With this book, Bogatyriov completed his activities in Czechoslovakia although he returned to folk theatre in the last years of his life. In his extensive and interesting study *Chudožestvennyje sredstva v yumorističeskom yarmaróčnom folklore*.²⁸ (*Artistic Means in Humorous Market Folklore*, 1968) he analyzed the specific form of dramatic folklore, market-place performances of the Russian "balagannyj ded", merry-go-round attendants, salesmen, etc. whose shouting, monologues and dialogues represent a form of folk theatre traditions so far unexamined by folklorists.

In 1939 Bogatyriov returned to Moscow through Slovakia under dramatic circumstances. His emigrant past cost him dear. In the fifties he was evacuated from Moscow. He encountered Stalinism both at work and in his private life, and, although some Soviet scientists supported him, he returned to semiotic study as late as the end of his life in cooperation with the school in Tartu.²⁹ However, this all belongs more to the history of Russian folklore

studies or of the Soviet avant-garde intelligentia).

The significance of Bogatyriov's scientific activities cannot be evaluated according to thousands of written pages but according to the number of bibliographic entries, although even the evaluation of such mechanically applied criteria would appear in favour of the author.

Bogatyriov is set beyond the usual images of a cabinet scientist by the style of his scientific work which is, after all, also proven by the book. For him science was like an interesting chess game which requires the constant abuse of one's imagination and the invention of new and original moves, which make the opponent nervous and give the game just the right exciting feeling. Reading Bogatyriov's books, studies and articles is, for anyone who knows anything about the theoretical development of ethnology and folklore studies, a great experience. In contrast to a great majority of his predecessors, contemporaries and followers, he did not mechanically describe the quantum of collected material and did not attempt to classification or comparisons.

He preferred to speculate about things. His works are admirable due to one fact: he succeeded in collecting a multitude of original ideas in limited space, which he never broke down by simplification. It was as if he presupposed that their specification and the explanation of material arguments is the further stage of his work to be done by the following generations...

III

From among Bratislava's pupils and followers it was Melicherčík who was more systematically devoted to the functional structural method.

His relatively short life was without any special peripetia. At the end of the thirties he finished the Faculty of Arts of Comenius University in Bratislava where he worked in Bogatyriov's seminar and took part in the activities of the Association for Scientific Synthesis. He defended his dissertation in 1941. Later on, he became an assistant of Ethnography at the Faculty of Arts. After the end of the second world war he moved to Matica Slovenská in Martin where he worked as the Secretary of the Ethnographic Department. After 1949 he worked briefly as a chairman of the Ethnographic Institute of the Slovak Academy of Science only to move up to docent in 1952 and, in 1963, to

a regular professorship at the Department of Ethnography and folklore studies at the Faculty of Arts in Comenius University in Bratislava.³⁰

A. Melicherčík did pioneer work for the development of functional structuralism in Slovak folklore studies. Especially after the departure of Bogatyriov for the Soviet Union, he developed and defended his conception. Melicherčík concentrated his knowledge in numerous articles, but, particularly, his work *Teória národopisu* (Theory of Ethnology), written during the war and published when the author reached the age of 27.

What led the 27-year-old, undoubtedly talented Slovak scientist to take this enormously courageous step: to write a basic theoretical work that was then lacking in majority of Slovak sciences and European ethnology offering far from a "plentiful" number?

A partial answer is to be found in the situation which prevailed in the then amateurishly pursued ethnography.

In the introduction to *Teória národopisu* Melicherčík wrote with a juvenile's openheartedness "When reviewing the ethnographic investigation in this country from the very beginning until the present, we can see that apart from a few exceptions, the scientific work is reduced to a collector's work. In clarification... dilettantism and methodical eclecticism prevail for the most part."³¹

Another answer may be found in the quite subjective factors of author, in the courage to think, and in the use of one's ability to think synthetically. The aims set for the Slovak ethnography in the *Teória národopisu* are, as a rule, the same as those striven for by the contemporary generation of Slovak ethnologists and folklorists: "To examine and objectively clarify one's own culture... and, on the other hand, to build up the theoretical and methodological foundations..."³² corresponding to the development of scientific thinking in European relations.

Teória národopisu was to fulfil, and by now it partially fulfils, two tasks and in that way it was also designed. The first part is a critical analysis of evolutionary tendencies in European ethnology. The second part, "the Problems of contemporary ethnography", is an attempt to clarify one's own theoretical conception, coming from reactions to the solution of the basic problems presented in the first part. The methodological part is determined by the functional-

structural approach, as it was in the foundations formed by P. Bogatyriov in his separate works. In this sense the dedication to his teacher "with pupil's compliments" also sounds.

The development of theoretical thinking (Part I) has an instructive-polemic character. Melicherčik not only informed us of the main tendencies in ethnological theory, but he also analyzed them unusually perceptively and critically. He can distinguish the essential from the methodical ballast and attacked especially the idealistic opinions in the individual theoretical trends, although he worked up to the Marxist methodology roughly ten years after completing the book.

The selection of problems and theoretical orientations was also marked by a period context. The German (in a broader sense) orientation got to the foreground at work and some more remarkable theoretical concepts (Russian historical school, Finnish school, functional school) but, in particular, domestic science (e.g. B. Václavěk) were neglected.

Melicherčik chose as a basis for his comments Bach's work *Deutsche Volkskunde*, Mühlmann's *Methodik Völkerkunde* and, further, works by H. Naumann and his critics (Spamer, Strack, Meier, etc.). He inadequately stressed, e.g., the merits of H. Riehl for the development of scientific investigation in ethnology, but he could adequately appreciate the theoretical contribution of Lévi-Brühl, whose ideas reappear as sparkles in the arguments of the present ethnology. He fully omitted a critique of psychoanalytical Freudian concepts, developed especially by C. Jung and his pupils, overestimating "pro domo" significance of the theory on cultural circles. Naturally, this may be stated from the present positions. In that time, however, the instructive view of the development of ethnographic thinking was unaccessible. He showed a complexity of the ethnological theory, its advantages and coherences with the other scientific disciplines (sociology, psychology, cultural history). "The endeavour for scientific ethnology" documented by Hoffman-Krayer at the beginning of the century, results for Melicherčik in raising of a principal question: what forms the subject and object (sphere) of ethnographic research? Raising the question constitutes a line of division between the expiring Romantic conception "of the national spirit" of the Štúr's followers and the modern scientific concept of ethnology.

In the centre of Melicherčik's polemics is,

once quite explicitly and another time more implicitly, Naumann's theory of two strata which took hold for some time in the German bourgeois science. It seems that the terminologically elaborated system of Naumann's clarification enabled him to best show the advantages of the exact functional-structural approach. It is here that the problems of individuality and collectivism of creation comes to the foreground; relation of high and low culture, or logic and prelogic thinking, etc. Melicherčik correctly pointed out the shortages and onesidedness of Naumann's approach.

Melicherčik and, before him, Bogatyriov straightly contradicted the mere reproductive ability of folk strata declared by Hoffmann-Krayer and Meyer and, most expressively, by Naumann. Melicherčik assured: This part was remarkably split especially by the methodological approach of functional-structural investigation.³³

Melicherčik paid rather great attention to sociological school of J. Schwietering. Namely, its effort to synchronically describe folk culture, emphasizing its bearer, and the moment that this school was "the first to raise the question of semiology of folklore"³⁴, suit to the functional-structural orientation.

If it is stated that Naumann's concept attracted Melicherčik by raising problems, Schwietering's conception (Bringhemeier, Hain, Brinkmann) was attractive for him because of their concrete solution, which is close to the comprehension of the aims of synchronic ethnography, formulated by P. Bogatyriov. The reduction of the ethnological investigation object to "villagers" as enforced by the Schwietering school, was vehemently opposed by Melicherčik.

In the part on the subject and object of ethnology, written from the functional-structural view, Melicherčik set the following basic principles:

- the functional-structural method was for him one of the numerous methods of contemporary ethnology, besides the historical, sociological, psychological and geographical methods,
- he refused methodological syncretism ensuing from the mechanical adoption of methods from allied scientific disciplines,
- ethnology and folklore studies are characterized as a science on collective phenomena, and for a subject of ethnological research he took "folklore as such" (p.90),

similarly as Mukařovský took "Literature" when defining the subject of literary-scientific research; that is, the aim of ethnology is a clarification of the "collective mental character" of those collective entities of which the nation consists and which are their bearers. Thus he spread the subject of ethnological research to all social strata of a nation,

- he defined tradition as a belief in the correctness of observed norms, while folklore must only be sought for in connection with the tradition "in spiritual life defined by tradition",
- tradition is grasped by him as an developing category,
- he emphasized the moment of creative collective production and reception, while underlining the variant process as a form of existence of phenomena with a given degree of folklore character,
- he explained the structure motion on the principle of alternation of dominant functions and their various mutual relations as previously formulated by P. Bogatyriov,
- a criteria of phenomena vitality is a topicality of their structure of functions.

According to Melicherčík each new function changes the original form of the phenomena. He pointed that to the significance of studying the sign systems of folk culture and put ethnography in "the order of general science of a sign — semiology".

The last two chapters of the book: 1. the demarcation of the sphere of investigation in ethnology, 2. the exact division of allied scientific disciplines are a summary of previous considerations, unfortunately, they do not exactly fulfil the set aims.

As early as the postwar years Melicherčík published some interesting analytical studies connected with his earlier works. It was first, the *Príspevok k skúmaniu funkcií ľudovej roz-*

právky (1946), in which he pointed to an example of alternating individual dominant functions of a story- the change of its social value.³⁵

The study *Svadobný obrad ako znak* (1946) is an application of Bogatyriov's methods, known from his earlier works. His work *Funkcia nefolklornej piesne v dedinskom prostredí* was influenced by the German sociological school, and solved the problem of "nationalization" and "popularization" of artificial songs in rural environment.³⁶ The group of sociological works also includes additional articles. Special attention is deserved by an independent work *Spoločenský spev na Slovensku* (1944)³⁷, and especially by his published dissertation *Funkčné premeny v dnešnom dedinskom speve* (1947) in which the principles of synchronous analysis are applied.³⁸

At the beginning of the fifties A. Melicherčík refused functional structuralism and directed his attention to the development of Marxist methodology.

Together with A. Melicherčík, S. Kovačevičová also was concerned with ethnological semiotic study. It is testified by an analytical study on the semiotics of folk costume.³⁹

Marginally, R. Mrlian may also be included in the group which paid attention to the functional-structural method because of his introduction to work on the function of folklore in literature of the national renaissance period.⁴⁰

At the conclusion, it may be stated that in the thirties and forties a nucleus of the functional-structuralist school originated in Slovakia whose achievements were remarkable. But, as V. Voigt stated on Czech structuralism, its result is almost unknown abroad, due in part to the unfavourable political circumstances of the next four decades and also to language barriers.

In this way we have strived at least partially to fill the blanks on the map of European history of science.

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- 10 *Ibidem*.
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- 13 c. f.: KOLÁR, J.: c. d., p. 172.
- 14 Češskij kukoľnyj i russkij narodnyj teatr. (Sbornik po teorii poetičeskogo yazyka VI.) (The part „Programma po sobiraniyu svedenij o narodnom teatre“ in cooperation with R. O. Jacobson.) Berlin—Peterburg 1923, 124 p.
- 15 BOGATYREV, P.: Lidové divadlo české a slovenské. (Czech and Slovak Folk Theatre.) Prague 1940, 314 p. Slovak translation *Lidové divadlo české a slovenské*. Bratislava 1976 (epilogue by M. Leščák). Also this article is partially based upon the conclusion to the Slovak version. Russian version also in the selection of P. G. Bogatyriov, c. d. in the note 2.
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- 17 BOGATYREV, P.: Actes magiques, rites et croyances en Russie Subcarpathique. Paris 1929, 162 p. Russian translation in the selection of P. G. Bogatyriov, *op. cit.*, note 2. The next studies also may be added to the former: *Die aktiv-kollektiven, passiv-kollektiven produktiven und unproduktiven ethnographischen Tatsachen*. In: II. Congrès international des sciences anthropologiques et ethnologiques, Copenhagen 1939, pp. 343—345; *K voprosu ob etnologičeskoy geografii*, *Slavia* 7, Prague 1928—29, pp. 600—611; *La chanson populaire du point de vue fonctionnel*. In: *Travaux Cercle Linguistique de Prague* 6 (Études dédiées au quatrième congrès de linguistes), Prague 1936, pp. 222—234; *Le folklore de la construction rurale en Slovaquie orientale et en Russie Subcarpathique*. *Revue de Synthèse* 17 (Synthèse historique 9), Paris 1939, No. 1, pp. 105—108.
- 18 LEŠČÁK, M.—ŠVEHLÁK, S.: *op. cit.* P. G. Bogatyriov appreciates mainly cooperation with R. O. Jacobson, which is proved by the study: *Slavyanskaya filologiya v Rosii za gody vojny i revolyutsii* (in cooperation with R. Jacobson). Berlin 1923, 62 p.
- 19 The studies are written in cooperation with R. O. Jacobson. The first study published in German: *Die Folklore als eine besondere Form der Schaffens*. — “Verzaameling van Opstellen door Oud-leerlingen en Bevriende Vakgenooten”. *Donum Natalicum Schrijnen* 3. Mei 1929 pp. 900—913. Translated from revised edition of the German version. R. JACOBSON: *Selected writings*. T. IV. *Slavic Epic Studies*, The Hague-Paris 1966, pp. 1—15. Translated by B. L. Ogibenin. The study was translated into Italian (*Il folklore como forma di creazione autonoma*. — *Strumenti critici*. *Rivista quadrimestrale di cultura e critica letteraria*. Anno I, giugno, 1967, fascicolo III, Torino 1967, r. 223—238) and into Hungarian (*A folklór sajátos alkotásmedja*). — R. JAKOBSON: *Hang-Jel-Vers*, Budapest 1969, s. 329—346). The study on problem of demarcation of folklore and literary science, the first edition *Lud slowianski* 2, Krakow, 2B, pp. 229—233. Slovak translation in the almanac: *Teória literatúry*. Compiled by N. Bakoš and K. Šimončíč. Trnava 1941, 4—6, 2nd edition Bratislava pp. 113—115 (accumulating in three theses conclusions from the previous study).
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- 21 SAUSSURE, F. de: *Cours de linguistique générale*, Paris 1922, p. 147.
- 22 Treated in the Slovak folklore, see LEŠČÁK, M.: *Niektoré teoretické problémy štúdia súčasného stavu folklóru*. (Some theoretical problems of study of the present state in folklore.)
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- 27 *Príspevek ku skúmaniu divadelných znakov*. Contribution to investigation of theatre signs. (*Slovenské smery umelecké a kritické* 5, Bratislava

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- 31 MELICHERČÍK: Teória národopisu. (Theory of ethnography.) Turč. Sv. Martin 1945, p. 9.
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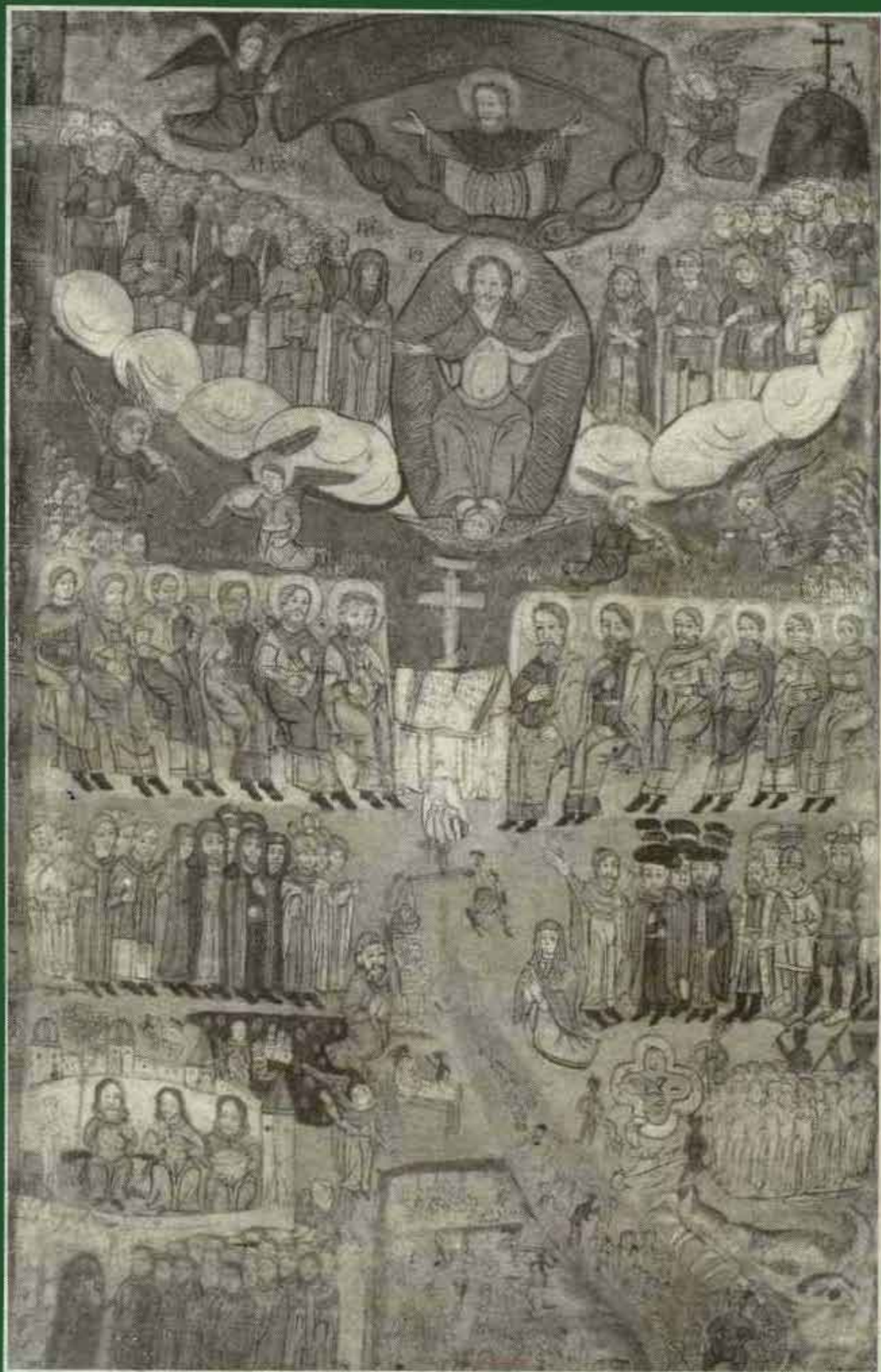
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