

SLOVENSKÝ NÁRODOPIS



- Z OBSAHU: Z.ŠKOVIEROVÁ: Kooperácia v dedinskom spoločenstve.
Y.A.JELINEK: Židia na Slovensku v 19.storočí.
Z. BEŇUŠKOVÁ: Prejavy religiozity v spoločenskom živote slovenskej dediny.
E.KOWALSKÁ: Kláštory františkánov na Slovensku a národnostný problém v 17.
a 18. storočí.
G.KILIÁNOVÁ – E.KREKOVIČOVÁ: Research on Slovak Erotic Folklore.

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K článku G.Kiliánovej a E.Krekovičovej: Research on Slovak Erotic Folklore.

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OBSAH

ŠTÚDIE

- Škovičová, Zita: Kooperácia v dedinskom spoločenstve 259
- Jelínek, Yeshayahu A.: Židia na Slovensku v 19. storočí: poznámky k dejinám 271
- Beňušková, Zuzana: Prejavy religiozity v spoločenskom živote slovenskej dediny v 2. polovici 20. storočia 297**
- Kováľská, Eva: Kláštory františkánov na Slovensku a národnostný problém v 17.-18. storočí 304
- Kiliánová, Gabriela – Krekovičová, Eva: Research on Slovak Erotic Folklore 313**

DISKUSIA

- Rozhovor s Prof. Jerzy Bartmińskim (Milan Leščák) 326

MATERIÁL Y

- Srb, Vladimír: Romové v České republice 1991 331
- Petráš, Milan: Klenovské syrce 338
- Churý, Slavko: Z obsahu majetkových inventárov závislého obyvateľstva v Liptove koncom 18. a v 1. polovici 19. storočia 348

ROZHLADY-SPRÁVY-GLOS Y

- PhDr. Ján Tibenský, DrSc. sa dožil 70 rokov (Ondrej Pöss) 355
- Dr.György Tábori osemdesiatnikom (Ján Botík) 357
- Rudolf Žatko a národopisná veda (1913–1976) (Elena Prandová) 358
- Anna Zambrzycka-Kunachowicz (1931–1993) (Leszek Dzięgieł) 359
- XII. valné zhromaždenie Slovenskej národopisnej spoločnosti pri SAV a vedecká konferencia Ludová kultúra a etnická identifikácia (Hana Hložková) 360

21. etnomuzikologický seminár (Jana Drobová) 364
- Sympóziu m o kultúrnych hraniciach a národnej identite (Soňa Kováčevičová) 366
- Konferencia „Velkoměsto – prostor společenských a kulturních inovací“ v Liblicích (Viera Feglová) 368
- Výstava zo zbierky K.L. Zachara (Juraj Zająonc) 372

RECENZIE – ANOTÁCIE

- Palen J. John: The Urban World (Alexandra Bitušiková) 373
- Rosman A. – Rubel P.G.: The Tapestry of Culture (Alexandra Bitušiková) 374
- Folklore, Folklorism and National Identification (Marta Botíková) 376
- Kováčevičová, S.: Liptovský Svätý Mikuláš (Peter Salner) 377
- Lidé z příměstí Prahy (Zuzana Beňušková) 378
- Alltägliche Stalinismus? (Peter Salner) 378
- Keller J.: Nedomyšlená společnost (Rastislava Stoličná) 379
- Karpińska G.A. – Kopczyńska-Jaworska B. – Wozniak A.: Pracować żeby żyć, żyć żeby pracować (Peter Salner) 381
- Lami Š.: Stratila som partu (Kornélia Jakubíková) 382
- Anotácie 382

CONTENT

STUDIES

- Škovičová, Zita: Cooperation in the Rural Community 259
- Jelínek, Yeshayahu: Jews in Slovakia in the 19th Century: Some Remarks on their History 271
- Beňušková, Zuzana: Expressions of religiousness in the social life of the Slovak village in the 2nd half of the 20th century 297**

K o w a l s k a, Eva: Franciscan Monasteries in Slovakia and the Ethnic Problem in the 17th and 18th Centuries 304

Kiliánová, Gabriela – Krekovičová, Eva: Research on Slovak Erotic Folklore 313

DISCUSSION

Interview with Professor Jerzy Bartmiński (Milan Leščák) 326

MATERIALS

S r b, Vladimír: Gypsies-Romanies in the Czech Republic in 1991 331

P e t r á š, Milan: Klenovec's Cheeses 338

C h u r ý, Slavko: From the Contents of the Property Inventory of the Inhabitants in Liptov in the End of 18th and the First Half of 19th Century 348

HORIZONS

PhDr. Ján Tibenský, DrSc. turns 70. (Ondrej Pöss) 355

Dr.György Tábori is 80. (Ján Botík) 357

Rudolf Zátka and Ethnology (Elena Prandová) 358

Anna Zambrzycka-Kunachowicz (1931–1993) (Leszek Dzięciel) 359

XII. General Assembly of Slovak Ethnological Association and the Conference "Folk Culture and Ethnic Identification" (Hana Hlôšková) 360

21 Ethnomusicological Seminar (Jana Drobová) 364

Symposium on Cultural Boundaries and National Identity (Soňa Kováčevičová) 366

Conference „Big City - a Place for Social and Cultural Innovation" in Liblice (Viera Feglová) 368

Exhibition from K.L. Zachar's Collection (Juraj Zajonc) 372

BOOK REVIEWS – ANNOTATIONS

INHALT

STUDIEN

Š k o v i e r o v á, Zita: Kooperation in der Dorfgemeinschaft 259

J e l i n e k, Yeshayahu: Juden in der Slowakei im 19. Jahrhundert: Anmerkungen zur Geschichte 271

B e ň u š k o v á, Zuzana: Äusserungen der Religiosität im sozialen Leben des slowakischen

Dorfes in der zweiten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts 297

K o w a l s k a, Eva: Franziskanerkloster in der Slowakei und das nationale Problem im 17.–18. Jahrhundert 304

Kiliánová, Gabriela – Krekovičová, Eva: Research on Slovak Erotic Folklore 313

DISKUSSION

Gespräch mit Professor Jerzy Bartmiński (Milan Leščák) 326

MATERIALIEN

S r b, Vladimír: Zigeuner-Romas in der Tschechischen Republik 1991 331

P e t r á š, Milan: Käse aus Klenovec 338

C h u r ý, Slavko: Aus dem Inhalt der Vermögensinventare der Einwohner in Liptov Ende des 18. und in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts 348

RUNDSCHAU

PhDr. Ján Tibenský, DrSc. feiert den 70. Geburtstag (Ondrej Pöss) 355

Dr.György Tábori achtzigjährig (Ján Botík) .. 357

Rudolf Zátka und die Volkskunde (1913–1976) (Elena Prandová) 358

Anna Zambrzycka-Kunachowicz (1931–1993) (Leszek Dzięciel) 359

XII. Generalversammlung der Slowakischen ethnologischen Gesellschaft bei der SAW und die wissenschaftliche Konferenz „Volkskultur und die ethnische Identifikation" (Hana Hlôšková) 360

21. Ethnomusikologisches Seminar (Jana Drobová) 364

Symposium über kulturelle Grenzen und nationale Identität (Soňa Kováčevičová) 366

Konferenz „Großstadt – der Raum der gesellschaftlichen und kulturellen Innovationen" in Liblice (Viera Feglová) 368

Ausstellung aus den Sammlungen K.L. Zachars (Juraj Zajonc) 372

BÜCHERBESPRECHUNGEN – ANOTATIONEN

RESEARCH ON SLOVAK EROTIC FOLKLORE WITH THE FOCUS ON CONTEXT STUDY

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Národopisný ústav SAV, Bratislava

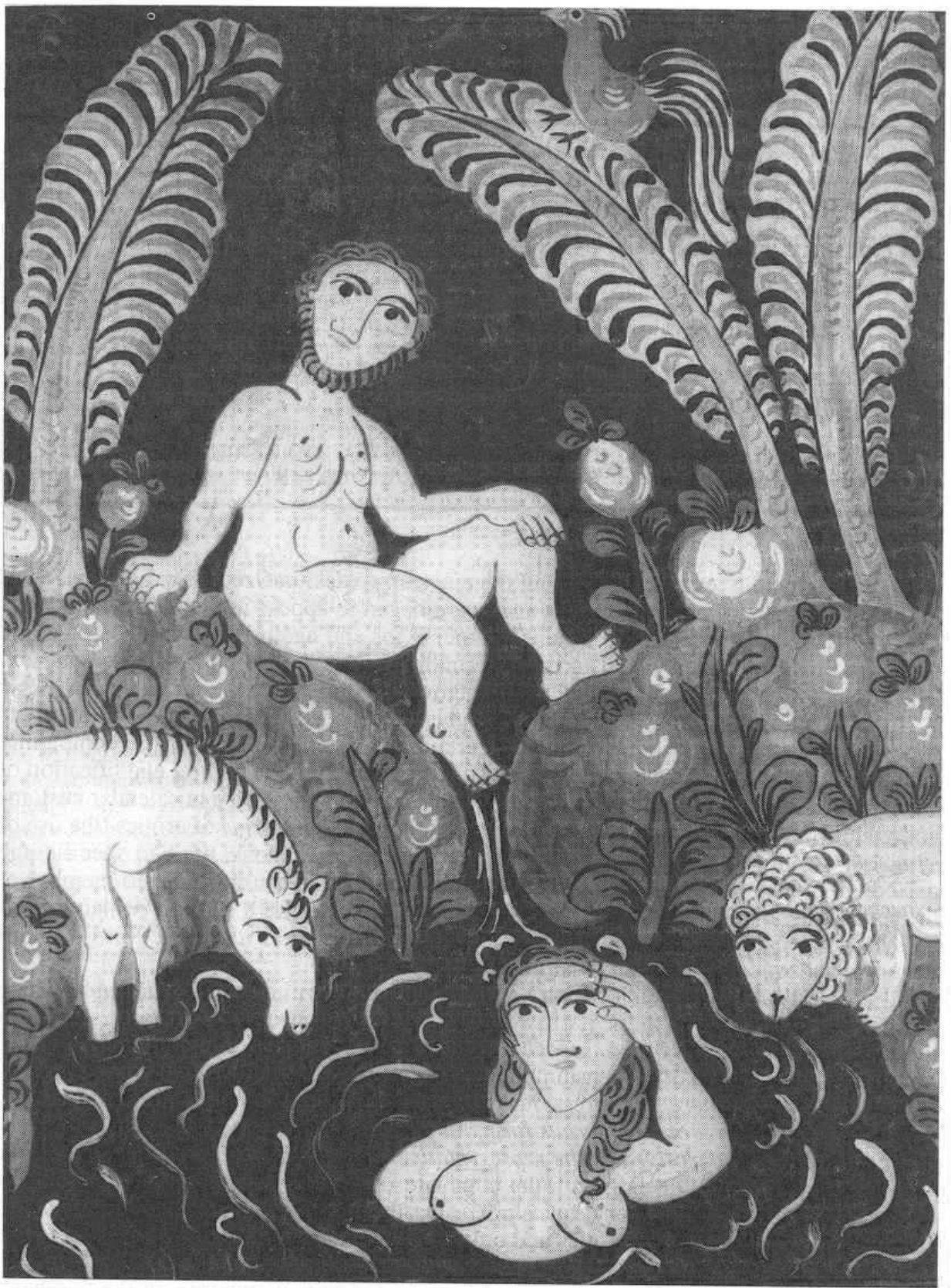
1. Following the sexual revolution of the nineteen sixties, in Czechoslovakia as well as in other countries, discussions on sex and taboo began to appear in the media.

The discussions unceasingly weigh arguments for and against the presence of erotic scenes in films and on television and debate children's exposure to information about sex. They do not appear to have reached a satisfactory solution.

In folk culture, it seems, a solution was somehow reached. Folklore with erotic motifs functioned more or less openly, and at a certain age, every member of the community spontaneously became acquainted with it. This is indicated in the natural classification of such manifestations in folk rites, in the rites of the life cycle, and also in calendar customs and youth rites. With it can be assumed the relation of hidden forms of erotics (the use of symbols, developed systems of metaphors, equivocal expressions, etc.) to specific age periods in human life. At a certain age, an individual becomes a full-fledged member of the community by being "initiated" into the "secret" language of the group (which included the knowledge of erotic symbols). This can be considered as a specific form of "intimate" socialization of the individual into the community.

In this respect, erotic folklore can be thought of as a form of *sexual education* which clearly was not restricted to the narrow sphere of family but, on the contrary, shared by the wider community. In concrete circumstances, folklore with erotic motifs always functioned as an expression of the tension between *convention* and *anticonvention*. *We understand erotic folklore here as expressions of the sexual relations between men and women presented in anecdotal and humorous form,¹ in which eroticism is unambiguously evident and interpreted and perceived by the representatives themselves in the first semantic plan.* We are not, therefore, dealing with the complete range of erotic motifs in folklore but only a strictly delimited category, focusing, primarily on the folklore manifestations of the so-called "low style" of folk erotics and only to a limited degree on manifestations of the "high style".²

Within the genre the analyzed material is restricted to two spheres: on the one hand folk tales, anecdotes and jokes; on the other hand, jocular erotic songs. Erotic motifs in



D. Benický: Adam a Eva. Malba na skle 1975. U súkromného majiteľa. Foto K. Šilinger.

Slovak folklore are most frequently found in anecdotes and humorous songs. Using published and archival materials supplemented by our own field research, our study concerns the period from the end of the nineteenth century to the present.³ Our study is the first attempt to analyze erotic motifs in Slovak folklore.

In Slovakia, traditionally an agrarian country with few developed industrial centers, manifestations of the traditional folk culture could still be traced in the rural areas almost until the first half of the twentieth century. This culture, although it was not isolated and was subjected to various non-traditional influences, nevertheless preserved a certain archaic type of peasant-pastoral culture. The serious and rapid deterioration of the archaic folk culture began during the middle of the nineteenth century and accelerated after World War II as a result of planned industrialization, urbanization of rural areas and the collectivization of farming. However, even in the nineteen seventies and the nineteen eighties the specific cultural development of Slovakia made it possible to study many prose and musical forms from older periods of development, as well as the newer forms which are part of the contemporary repertoire. We carried out this research under natural conditions and under the conditions of uninterrupted intergenerational continuity. Thus, our attention is focused above all on contextual study, and the question of erotic symbolism is left aside.

2. So far little attention has been devoted to the study of erotic component of Slovak folklore. Folklore collectors and folklorists at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century simply avoided the question of erotics in their works, as did their counterparts in other European countries.

Erotics and sexuality received only marginal attention in the ethnographic study of family, social life and rituals (e.g. wooing). As in other countries (e.g. Hungary), these problems were studied in connection with weddings, where erotic elements even today play an integral role of the ceremony.⁴ That role was stressed by J. Komorovský following the Slavic comparative basis.⁵ More recently, P. Popelka called attention to that role in material collected in the Moravian-Slovak border region.⁶ Popelka defines the following forms of erotic expressions: customs, songs, dances and types of conduct. Further contributions include the Pavol Stopka's collection of songs from Drietoma⁷.

The List of Slovak Tales by J. Polívka, includes several stories with erotic motifs in the chapter entitled "Jokes and Anecdotes".⁸ A more objective representation of erotic motifs in folk prose is found in a wide array of still unpublished materials which were collected in from throughout Slovakia by the students of the Slavic Department of the Philosophical Faculty of Comenius University in Bratislava under the guidance of Professor Frank Wollman between 1927 and 1942.⁹

The question of erotics and pornography came to the foreground in literature and literary science during a short period at the end of the nineteen - sixties and the beginning of the nineteen - seventies.¹⁰ An extensive anthology of anonymous folk, semi-folk and non-folk poetry of the erotic and lascivious verses and songs from the fifteenth to the first half of the nineteenth century was published for the first time in 1969.¹¹ This was followed by an anthology of prose texts from the same period.¹²

New information on erotics in folk culture was presented during a conference of Czech and Slovak ethnologists and folklorists entitled *Morals in the Traditional Folk Environment*.¹³

The impulse for this article resulted from work on the *Encyclopedia of Folk Culture in Slovakia*¹⁴ and also from participation in the IXth Congress of the International Society for Folk Narrative Research in Budapest 1989, which included a session about erotic motifs in folklore.¹⁵

3. From the semantic and functional perspective, erotic motifs in Slovak folklore have developed in parallel at *two fundamental levels*:

A. *Ritual.*

It is possible to uncover several layers in well-known materials: *a.* erotics in the sense of fertility, providing abundance, prosperity (e.g. calendar customs, christening and wedding songs);

b. erotics in the case of the direct imitation of sexual intercourse as the life symbol, the opposite of death (evident in youth plays during watching the dead which continued in some Ukrainian villages in Eastern Slovakia until the nineteen-seventies, or in carnival dramatic scenes and masks throughout Slovakia);

c. erotics as the expression of carnival culture of the “world turned upside down”¹⁶ (carnival manifestations in the calendar and also in family ritual folklore).

B. The second level is represented by: the *amusing form of erotic manifestations outside of rituals*, especially on the principle of Bachtin’s “low” and the reverse values of the “world turned upside down”. Though this level can be also found in rituals and in fact it may be “omnipresent”, the entertaining function of erotics in human life cannot be unambiguously connected only with the most recent periods of development. It may be presumed that it has roots in the past.

3.1. The ritual level has been preserved in the ritual folklore, particularly in song. Narration is being developed mainly in the free entertaining function. An exception is represented by the narration during the watching over the dead which today is an extremely rare phenomenon.¹⁷

In songs, the erotic motifs can be observed especially in the ritual repertoire where erotic songs dominate weddings and carnivals. This is natural since these events were close together in the ritual calendar. Special attention should be given to the christening songs sung exclusively by women, containing an expressively erotic flavor. For example, in Kysuce region in northwest Slovakia these songs are connected with the superstition that a godmother must be merry on her way to baptism in order that the child may be happy. The link with the carnival culture of the “world turned upside down” is also indicated by the overlapping of christening, wedding and drunkards’ songs which demonstrated the negation of the norms of the community.

Rubato

Pi - la som pá-le-né, ňe-o - pí - la som sa,
lí - ha - la som s chlapci, ňe-prespa - la som sa.

I drank the liquor,
and I didn't get drunk,
I slept with the boys,
and I didn't get pregnant.

Pila som pálené,
ňeopila som sa,
líhala som s chlapci,
ňeprespala som sa.

I drank the liquor,
and drink it I will,
I slept with the boys,
and I will sleep with them still.¹⁸

Pila som pálené,
a i pijať bud'em,
líhala som s chlapci,
ešte líhať bud'em.

3.2. The nature of the “world turned upside down” is manifested in a specific way in the relatively widespread songs and jokes about priests which highlight erotics as a taboo for catholic priests. Recorded sung-banters¹⁹ do not contain many types or motifs along this theme, but the few are widespread.

Do tanca

A - ra - rom, a - ra - rom, ňe - dá - vaj fa - rá - rom,
a - le daj rech - to - rom, bu - deš mať pred Bo - hom.

Ararom, ararom,
(Rhyming nonsense words)
Don 't give to priests,
but give to rectors,
you will have it before God.²⁰

Ararom, ararom,
ňedavaj farárom,
ale daj rectorom,
buďeš mať pred Bohom.

Keť si ti pán fa - rár, o - pat - ruť si fa - ru,
ňe - mu - síš ti ve - dieť, gďe má d'iev - ča špá - ru.

1. Since you are the priest,
take care of your parish,
(:you don't have to know,
where a girl has her slit.
2. Since you are the priest,
take care of your church,
(:you don't have to know
where a girl has her bed.:)²¹

1. Keť si ti pan farár,
opatruj si faru,
(:ňemusiš ti vedieť,
gďe má d'ievča škáru.:)
2. Keť si ti pan farar,
opatruj si kostel,
(:ňemusiš ti vedieť,
gďe má d'ievča postel.)

In contrast to such songs, the narration consists of a rich and very popular humorous cycle about catholic priests. The invectives are aimed at the immoral priest:

A priest persuades a young, pregnant woman that she and her husband conceived their child too quickly and it is necessary to "finish" its head (hair); a young woman and her husband make use of an amorous priest to enrich themselves; a husband catches his wife with a priest and mocks them; the wife hides her priest-lover from her husband (a second lover) but the silly priest reveals his presence.²²

The main motif of several narrations is the love relation between a catholic priest and his housekeeper:

A servant (gipsy, wayfarer) discloses the illegal relation between a priest and his housekeeper and takes advantage of the situation; a priest reproaches a lad during confession for his love affairs but the latter wittily reminds the priest of his forbidden relation with his housekeeper; a priest wants to exchange an old housekeeper for a young one but to his shame he does not succeed.²³

3.3. An erotic tinge is common in many episodes in the large cycle of humorous narrations, jokes and songs about gipsies. Here the gipsy craftily plays the role of the joker or jester to gain a woman (or several). In other, contrasting narratives, the gipsy is the silly, jealous, deceived husband.²⁴

A young gipsy takes his wife to a physician and, as he is very jealous, accompanies her into the surgery. The physician explains that the wife can be cured by the means of "anointment from inside" and he himself executes the "anointment from inside" directly in her husband's presence. The gipsy admires the physician's abilities and is very grateful to him for curing his wife.²⁵ We can find a very similar motif in banTERS.

Since you gave to the gipsy, give to me too,
the gipsy has only one egg, I have two, I have two.²⁶

Ked' si dala cigánovi, daj aj mne,
cigan má len jenko vajco, ja mám dve, já mám dve.

3.4. A great number of anecdotes and jokes concerning marriage focus on the wedding night and depict situations of sexual ignorance, inability or improper choice of partners, in which the ignorant, incapable partner is the target of the mockery.

A young man does not know how to have sexual intercourse with his wife. The wife wants to leave him. The young man's father explains him the sexual intercourse using examples ("Do it like a dog") but the young man takes them literally (he bites her). Finally, the father and mother make love in the store-room in presence of their son, who holds the lamp for them. The son is then able to satisfy his wife, but always in the store-room and always with his farm-boy holding the light.²⁷

Anecdotes and jokes about unfaithful spouses express admiration for the skill of the unfaithful partner and his witty answers and they mock the cuckolded husband. Others mock flighty and unfaithful women who after the (pretended) death of their husbands are quick to look for a new one. Humour focuses on conceited, devout and over-virtuous women and girls who fall pray to a cunning soldiers (wayfarer, lads, etc.) and thus allow him to win a bet.²⁸

A maiden does not want to marry, preferring to become a nun. Her father builds for her a chapel to which she goes and prays. A lad pretends to be the statue of Saint John and

complains of being cold. The girl takes “the saint” home and, according to his instructions, warms him with her own body.²⁹

The punch line of numerous anecdotes and jokes consists in situation humour surrounding the act of sexual intercourse.

A father and mother try a new position called the “deer jump” explained to them in a letter from their globetrotting son. After the experiment the father sends a telegram to his son: the deer jump was unsuccessful your mother poked her eye out and my hind end is in plaster of Paris.³⁰

These motifs can be also found in folk songs:

I don't want a tall woman,
since I would need scaffolding,
when my desire were the greatest,
the scaffolding would tumble down.³¹

Nescem já visokej ženi,
potreboval bich lešení,
kebich bol najlepšej chuťi,
tedi sa lešenjé zrúti.

In this quite numerous group of so called “married couple” songs, which are sung mostly during wedding celebrations erotica does not figure in the first semantic plan.

4. Our own research has shown that the fairy tales for adults also contained many erotic motifs. Several Slovak examples of such stories can be found in the archives. For example, one animal tale tells of a bear (wolf) farming together with a man. The man always deceives the bear when dividing the crop and finally castrates him. When the animal tries to take its revenge in the same way, the man substitutes his own wife for himself (AaTh 153).³² In a variant of type AaTh 571 B, a deceived fiancé rescues a snake and learns a magic formula from him. He then attends the wedding of his unfaithful fiancé, and during the wedding night he uses the formula to chain together the young couple and subsequently the whole wedding party.³³ Erotic motives appear also in the variant of the “Haughty princess” type (AaTh 900) in which a princess has particular interest in “the one who has two”.³⁴ In another story a prince is looking for a girl “having two” or “none”.³⁵ A helper (a witch, an old woman) assists one who has fallen in love with the princess/prince to pretend through cunning to possess the required exceptional abilities. The tales for adults are tending to a humorous conception of erotic motifs and they contain implicit lesson.

5. The aforementioned tension between convention and anticonvention in folklore was always realized in a particular small group and in the given situation. In a concrete social group the same expressions (both verbal and sung) could gain various meanings. Shifting of meaning was not rare, e.g. by changing certain words in a generally well-known song which originally had no erotic content. Doing so in certain situation has yielded certain paraphrases or parodies of songs from the common repertoire. This is illustrated well by the comparison of the “decent” and “indecent” (sometimes obscene) forms of the same song:

She was retting hemp, retting hemp,
when into her boot jumped a frog,
and you little frog jump quickly out,
cause I'll call the police to pull you out,
she was retting hemp, retting hemp,
when into her boot jumped a frog.³⁶

Močila konope, močila,
žabka jej do čižmi skočila,
a ti, žaba, žabulienka, viskoč von,
lebo Ťa dám višikovať žandárom,
močila, konope, močila,
žabka jej do čižmi skočila.

Little Annie was retting hemp
when a frog jumped up her cunt,
it wasn't hemp, it was only flax,
jump, little frog, out of my ass.³⁷

Anička konope močila,
žabka jej do pički skočila,
neboli konope, leš bol len,
viskoč mi, žabička, s pički ven.

6. In general, in narration, there is no intention to describe the sexual intercourse of the main characters in detail. The narration concentrates mainly on exclusive, extraordinary and comic relations and situations.

In contrast to narration, a song often gives the description of the sexual intercourse, if only briefly. It is generally expressed in four verses, less frequently in two or three stanzas. It is expressed by a witty condensation, built on the principle of similarity and using an rich, elaborated, and very variable system of metaphors and stereotype symbols (both within "higher" and "lower" styles of folk erotics).³⁸

I gave him a small piece,
he made me a big hole.

Dala som mu malú trošku,
on mi spravil veľkú nošku.

I have a pipe, you have a match,
we can light up any time.

Ja mám fajku, ty máš pipku,
môžeme si zapalovať každú chvíľku.

Annie has a spinningwheel,
John has a spindle,
if they put them together,
it would make a nice twirl.³⁹

Anička má kolovrátek,
Janko zase vreteno,
ked to dajú dohromadi,
to bi sa im vrtelo.

It is not uncommon to find a thoroughly vulgar expression for an action or an organ. Such expressions are very often exceptionally obscene. They are frequently not interpreted and may be labelled as pornography.⁴⁰

What kind of scribe is he,
what is he writing at night,
(:he is sticking his pen into cunts
and swinging his ass.:)⁴¹

Čože je to za písara,
čo to v noci píše,
(:pichne pero do pičurki
a len ritú kníše.:)

From the perspective of frequency and incidence it may be stated that the representation of erotic motifs is more frequent in the song repertoire than in narration. While themes of desire and love prevail in the song repertoire, such topics do not appear to be a preferred component in narration.

7. In songs short, mostly one-stanza forms prevail. Often they have four lines of six syllables and a loose relationship between melody and text (sung to a common tune). The well-established role of these songs in the actual repertoire becomes clear from the fact that their melodies are included in the majority of the developed levels of musical style in both old and new Slovak folk songs. Others can be found which use semi-folk or non-folk melodies. The poetic language of these songs is considerably differentiated, demonstrating the wide range of poetics in folklore:

1. The poetically elaborate language of folk songs in different genres (lyrical love songs, dancing songs, etc.) which do not use vulgarisms.

2. Texts of lower poetic value which use common speech, hidden meanings, and the polysemantics of words and symbols.

3. Obscene songs which do not avoid vulgarisms and taboo expressions from common speech, expressed at various aesthetic levels, from the poetic to the thoroughly base.

4. Texts which correspond to the medieval tradition of the “world turned upside down”, overlapping of erotics with the “low”, the vulgar or dirty. This group of erotic songs is closely related to a similar phenomena in childrens folklore – rhymes for amusement, for determining the order of play, and so on – which revolve around taboo expressions in language.

Erectly we will si-sit
And we'll be eating shi-shi
/:Shish-kebab with pansley and horserodish:/⁴²

Posedajme ro-rovno,
bud'eme jest' ho- ho-
/:hovädzinku, baštrnáčik aj s chrenom.:/

Adult and childrens folklore, as well, often includes such “mimicry” texts, in which the erotic or indecent meaning is merely implied and the second part of the text or its conclusion offers a completely different explanation.

She sat under the pine
Crying that hers was tiny
/:A rose pretty, red,
in rosemary grafted:/

Sedela pod borovečku,
plakala že má maličku,
/:ružičku peknu červenú,
do rozmarínu štepenú:/

She asked God for dew,
that for her it would grow,
/:a rose, pretty, red,
in the rosemary grafted:/

/:Prosila od Boha rosi,
abi jej narástlo čosi:/
/:ružičku peknú červenú
štepenú...:/

She asked God for rain,
that for her it would gain,
/: a rose...:/⁴³

/:Prosila od Boha dažďa,
aby jej narástla väčšia:/
/:ružička...:/

8. The process of communicating folklore with erotic motifs was marked by several specific signs and functions. Manifestations were linked functionally to *specific situations*. The aim of erotic folklore was, apart from entertainment, the loosening of social atmosphere in groups *overcoming psychological barriers*, i.e. “breaking the ice.” In this respect, one of the most important signs was intimacy. Here the barriers and taboos were precisely defined and were applied mainly in contact with “foreigners”. The atmosphere of intimacy was enhanced by verbal and sung banter which, at the same time, could have a provocative effect:

That I had such skill,
I never knew
he trapped me doorway,
and started to screw.⁴⁴

Añi som ja ňeved'ela,
že som taká vrtká,
zacvikol ma medzi dvere
a už ma aj trtká:

These songs are, in a certain sense, indicators of the degree of intimacy in a particular group and a particular situation. Erotic folklore as psychologically relaxing regulator is based on the antithesis between the public and the intimate.

The intimacy inside the group had precisely defined limits:

a. in songs and rituals we can mainly find *group, not personal intimacy*. The research of P. Popelka concerned the fact that the expressions of eroticism in wedding only rarely concerned personal relations of specific individuals.⁴⁵ Such erotic folklore fulfilled an important psychoregulating function (releasing emotions) through this non-personal eroticism.

b. Simultaneously it is apparent that certain expressions (e.g. in verbal banter or in the parodies of burial laments) were addressed or ascribed to particular members of the group. They were *personal*.

8.1. Erotic folklore is connected with the special *performers* whose breaking of taboo in certain situations is tolerated by the group. Mostly they include humorists, good singers, and those able to improvise, male and female alike. It is assumed that they are married. In spite of the emancipation process among the young people at present, the most important representatives of this kind of folklore are not young, singles. The performer of erotic folklore is an individual with firmly fixed status or, at the opposite extreme the person with the lowest status in the group.

8.2. The method and timing of performing erotic folklore is closely related to the situation of the *particular* performance as well as to the type of audience. The specificity of the songs and dances (in the contrast to other folklore phenomena) is that they are frequently interpreted so they build a limited but stable core of erotic songs and dances which is familiar to all adults (and in some cases also to adolescents). Some song types have a predominantly regional radius. This is relevant mainly for ritual folklore.

It is also possible to identify a stable core of folklore narratives with the erotic motifs.

Performing opportunities may be heterogenous or homogenous from the point of view of generation and gender. In the sexually homogenous (all male or all female) groups the interpretations become more open and motifs are more differentiated (including intentionally "male" and "female" jokes, the described female christening party songs and so on). In sexually heterogenous audience the interpretations withdraw into more symbolic language, and the group is polarized along male-female lines. In some cases and in some situations, however, the interpretations of erotic folklore can develop very open, unambiguous and pointed forms. This occurs if the audience is composed from a single generation – for example a group only of adolescents or only of adults, etc.

In our opinion, based on our field researches, there would seem to be a wider repertoire and higher frequency of erotic folklore among male performers. Women perform erotic folklore mostly in a sexually homogenous group or on particular occasions (on a christening party, wedding) where the audience expects it from them.

The performance of erotic folklore today is closely linked to humour, both in everyday narration and singing (neighborly chats, groups of men in pubs, groups of women doing needle-work, of working men or women, weddings and christenings). In these performance situations erotic folklore has a primarily entertaining and regulatory function, and less of an exclusively ritual function.

In narration often occurs the use of erotic metaphors and symbols in a special form of communication – a specific form of situation comedy, the aim of which is to entertain the audience. The communication is developed on the principle of the dialogue and is the result of momentary improvisation. The performers use the commonly known tools of

folklore communication around the mentioned antithesis between convention and anticonvention. This particular situation comedy with the erotic motifs or erotic undertone we can find in any informal group without respect to the social status of its members, or its rural or urban milieu.

11. Conclusion

Folklore phenomena with erotic motifs form a body which, according to O. Sirovátka,⁴⁶ have a greater chance of surviving in the active repertoire than any other form. This body of folklore cannot be effectively replaced, particularly by mass culture. This is true particularly because of the aforementioned connection between intimate language and small groups and the human need for intimacy in the contemporary civilized world.

In Czechoslovakia this trend has continued more intensively because the erotic was long taboo in the official culture: erotic folklore did not have parallel streams of eroticism in the "higher" culture or mass culture.

In the sixties, as the sexual revolution was occurring throughout Europe, certain political developments allowed the beginnings of discussions on this theme in Czechoslovakia as well. Near the end of sixties, the first significant professional and popular publications about sex and eroticism were published, and erotic motifs appeared once again in art, and in mass culture – in movies, press, literature etc. For a short time censorship was dramatically loosened.

But the whole process was stopped in the beginning of seventies in the period of so-called "normalization" (the strengthening of the totalitarian political regime in Czechoslovakia). Free discussions were stopped by the censorship and the problem was frozen for the next twenty years. Similarly forbidden were all expressions of religion in the official culture. Mass culture in Czechoslovakia in the seventies and eighties thus appeared very prudish but without any connection to Christian norms, a peculiar situation, especially in comparison to western European countries. After the political changes of November 1989, there was an explosion in the number of erotic journals, movies, erotic entertainment etc., which promoted a quick reaction from Slovak church circles and from the Christian – Democratic Movement, a political party, which responded by initiating legislation for new regulations.

How the current Slovak government will resolve these tensions is not yet clear, but the past offers an important insight. For the forty years after the Second World War, while expressions of eroticism were limited by the pressure of the official ideology, they continued in small informal groups. Erotic folklore remained one of the few channels for transmitting this constant, very human theme.

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- 1 RÖHRICH, L.: *Erotik, Sexualität*. In: *Enzyklopädie des Märchens*. Band 4, Lieferung 1, Berlin/New York, 236.
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- 3 Apart from the investigations of authors from all regions of Slovakia in the 70s–80s of 20th century, the following sources were used:
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Wollmanov archív Národopisného ústavu SAV (The Wollman Archives of the Institute of Ethnology of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, henceforth: WA of EI SASc).

- Piesňový archív Národopisného ústavu SAV (Song Archives of the Institute of Ethnology of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, henceforth: AS of EI SASc).
- Vedecký archív Slovenskej národopisnej spoločnosti pri SAV (Scientific Archives of the Slovak Ethnographical Society of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, henceforth: SA of SES).
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- 7 STOPKA, P.: Svadobné pesničky (Wedding Songs). Self-published. Undated.
- 8 POLÍVKA (above, note 31).
- 9 KOLEČÁNYI, M.: Počiatky tradicionalistiky na Slovensku (The Beginnings of Traditionalistics in Slovakia). In: Pocta Fr. Trávníčkovi a F. Wollmanovi. Brno 1948, 219–224.
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- 13 Slovenský národopis 31 (1983) 1.
Národopisné informácie (1984) 3.
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- 15 IX. Congress of the ISFNR, Budapest June 10–17, 1989. Abstract of the paper “Zur Problematik der erotischen Motive in der slowakischen Folklore” published in Folk Narrative and Cultural Identity. Summaries I. Budapest 1989, 119.
- 16 BACHTIN, M.M.: Francois Rablais a lidová kultura středověku a renesance (Francois Rablais and Folk Culture of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance). Praha 1975.
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- HÜBSCHMANNOVÁ, M.: Slovesná tvorba slovenských Romů (Verbal Creation of Slovak Gipsies – Roma). In: Slovenský národopis 36/1988/80–91.
- 18 Riečnica, north-west Slovakia, christening song. Own research. To preserve rhyme schemes and forms, in translating songs and poems has occasionally been necessary to make minor changes in word order and word choice. For purposes of verification, the Slovak text always accompanies the translation.
- 19 Short, witty, pointed, verbal or sung forms aimed at mocking someone or something.
- 20 Liptovská Teplička, eastern Slovakia, ritual song. It was sung by girls while dancing (in dancing circles). Own research.
- 21 Riečnica (above, note 18).
- 22 Spišský Hrušov, north-eastern Slovakia, J. Butvin, WA of EI SASc.
Sebechleby, southern Slovakia, J. Grajciar, WA of EI SASc.
Žibritov, central Slovakia, M. Havlujová, WA of EI SASc.
Terchová, north-western Slovakia, L. Šimovič, WA of EI SASc.
- 23 Veľká Maša, central Slovakia, M. Václav, WA of EI SASc.
Rybany, western Slovakia, R. Žatko, WA of EI SASc.
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Klubina, north-western Slovakia, K. Andel, TA of EI SASc, n. 251.
LEŠČÁK (above, note 3) 56–57.

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 Rybany, western Slovakia, R. Žatko, Wa of EI SASc.
 Terchová, north-western Slovakia, L. Šimovič, WA of EI SASc.
 Nová Bystrica, north-western Slovakia, own research.
- 25 LEŠČÁK (above, note 3) 45–46.
- 26 Drietoma, western Slovakia, P. Stopka, AS of EI SASc.
- 27 Horný Vadičov, north-western Slovakia, own research.
- 28 Žibritov, central Slovakia, M. Havlujová, WA of EI SASc.
 Rozhanovce, eastern Slovakia, J. Irmner, WA of EI SASc.
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- 30 LEŠČÁK (above, note 3) 46–47.
- 31 Drietoma (above, note 26).
- 32 Žibritov, central Slovakia, M. Havlujová, WA of EI SASc.
- 33 Heľpa, central Slovakia, M. Kolečányi, WA of EI SASc.
- 34 Terchová, north-western Slovakia, L. Šimovič, WA of EI SASc.
- 35 Žibritov, central Slovakia, M. Havlujová, WA of EI SASc.
- 36 A generally known song, own research.
- 37 Drietoma (above, note 26).
- 38 BARTMIŇSKI (above, note 2) 18.
- 39 Drietoma (above, note 26).
- 40 BARTMIŇSKI (above, note 2) 18.
- 41 Drietoma (above, note 26).
- 42 Region of Trenčín. AS of EI SASc.
- 43 Drážovce, central Slovakia, M. Jarek, AS of EI SASc.
- 44 Riečnica, north-western Slovakia, own research.
- 45 POPELKA (above, note 6) 71.
- 46 SIROVÁTKA, O.: Funkce folklóru v životě vesnice (The Function of Folklore in Village Life). In: FROLEC, V. (ed.): Revoluční proměny jihomoravského venkova. Brno 1980, 198–204.

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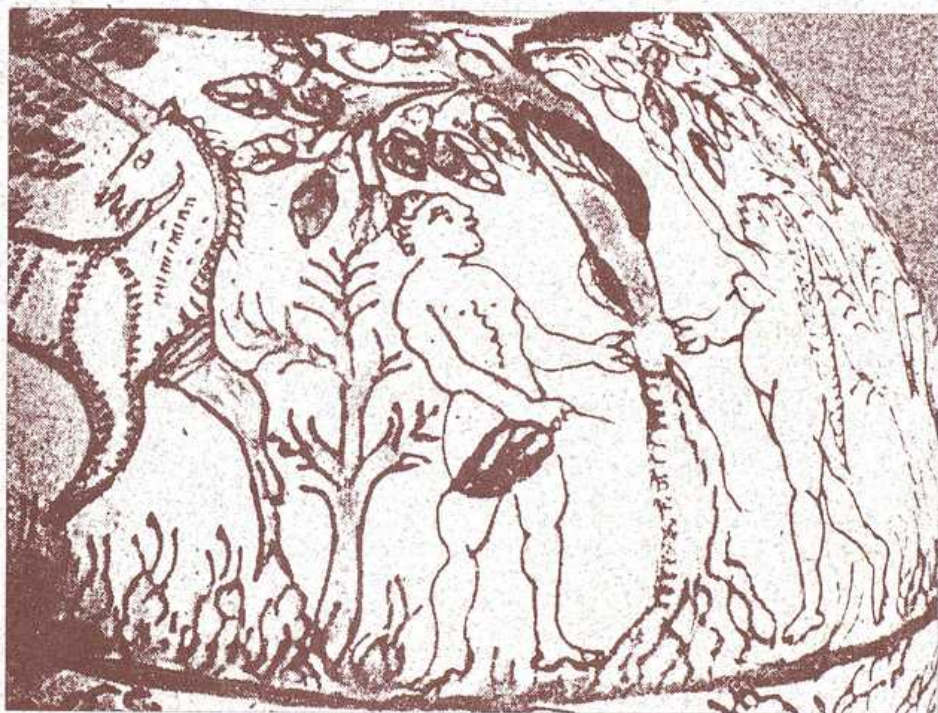
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