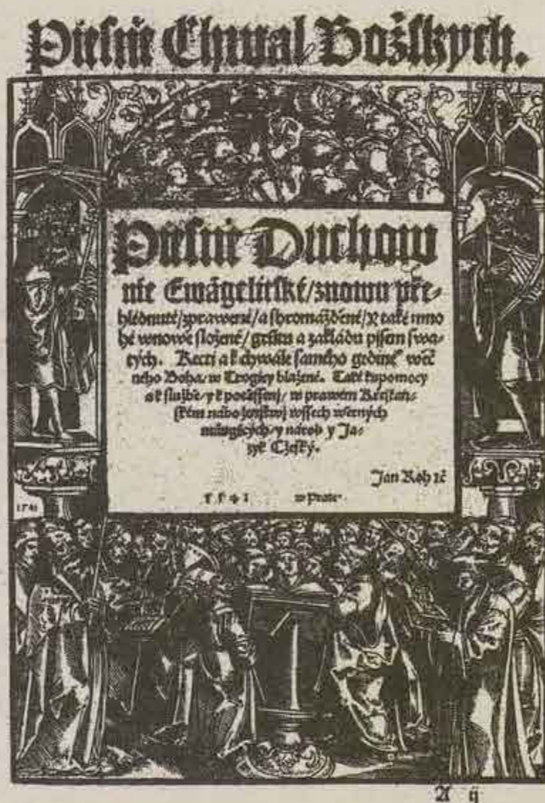


SLOVENSKÝ NÁRODOPIŠ



- Z OBSAHU: URBANCOVÁ, H.: Hlásnické piesne ako súčasť tradičnej hudobnej kultúry
BÚRIKOVÁ, Z.: Obraz "svojho" a "iných" etník v orálnej histórii nemeckého obyvateľstva Švedlára
BUMOVÁ, I.: Prejavy (in)tolerancie voči židovskej komunite v prostredí Dolného Kubína v rokoch 1918-1945
STOLIČNÁ, R.: The Ethnographic Atlases of Poland, Slovakia and Hungary - possibilities of comparison (in English)
GEERTZ, C.: Na mieste činu: antropológ ako autor

Na obálke:

1. strana: *Titulný list kancionála Jana Roha Piesne Chwal Božských, vydaného v Prahe r. 1541. K článku H. Urbanovej Hlásnické piesne ako súčasť tradičnej hudobnej kultúry.*

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AUTORI:

PhDr. Hana Urbancová, CSc., Ústav hudobnej vedy SAV, Dúbravská cesta 9, 841 05 Bratislava

Mgr. Zuzana Búriková, Ústav etnológie SAV, Klemensova 19, 813 64 Bratislava

Mgr. Ivica Bumová, Ústav etnológie SAV, Klemensova 19, 813 64 Bratislava

PhDr. Stoličná Rastislava, CSc., Ústav etnológie SAV, Klemensova 19, 813 64 Bratislava

**THE ETHNOGRAPHIC ATLASES OF POLAND, SLOVAKIA
AND HUNGARY - POSSIBILITIES OF COMPARISON****RASTISLAVA STOLIČNÁ**

PhDr. Rastislava Stoličná, CSc., The Institute of Ethnology of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, Jakubovo nám. 12, 813 64 Bratislava, Slovak Republic

The autor of the study attempted to find out possibilities and limits of ethnocartographic method with the use of ethnographic atlases of Slovakia, Poland and Hungary. From the plentitude of maps she pointed out those concerned with the problem of nutrition. The study deals with three cases, which were suitable for the comparative study in the frame of whole European area.

Kľúčové slová: etnografický atlas, etnokartografická metóda, Poľsko, Slovensko, Maďarsko

Key words: ethnographic atlas, ethnocartographic method, Poland, Slovakia, Hungary

To depict the spread of cultural phenomena, the history of culture used maps already at the first stage of its origin, what we can in Europe situate to the eighteenth century. However, they mainly served like text illustrations rather than sources of searching connections between the mapped cultural phenomenon and the geographic environment. This happened only in the last third of the nineteenth century, when at the VIIth international congress of archaeologists and anthropologists in Stockholm in 1874, principles of cartography being one of the scientific procedures were defined. The cartographic method had immediately become to be used also in linguistics. During the twenties of the twentieth century right the language atlases results initiated origin of the geographical ethnology and development of national atlases.

The French, German and mainly Italian-Swiss language atlases showed, that cartographic depictions of certain phenomena depict not only their occurrence within the geographic

area, but that certain language rules can be identified and explained by this method. The Italian-Swiss Language Atlas, which besides the linguistic phenomena paid attention also to certain ethnographic phenomena, developed the method of research and cartography in the most exact way and it became to be the base for many European language and ethnographic atlases. Its proved results lead to belief, that success of atlas works is based on direct research in terrain within the selected location network through a unified questionnaire followed up by development of separate maps for each issue. Cartographic depictions mapping diversified cultural artefacts, their forms, types, names and variants, bring the phenomena sets, which were typical to certain regions or larger territories (zones, provinces) within the specific time period. We have also pointed to the fact, that the set which confirms phenomena occurrence within certain territory is equally important as the set which gives the testimony on the phenomenon absence. Phenomenon occurrence and absence have equal validity in certain geographic territory culture characteristics.

Though, the cartographic method in ethnography is aimed to point to the typical character of the community culture under the examined area within certain historical time period. Under results interpretation, it is focused mainly on issues of development and relations of the individual culture phenomena of the area, when it has to take to account a number of outer factors, which always influence the culture (natural environment, historical, ethnic, social, economic context, etc.).

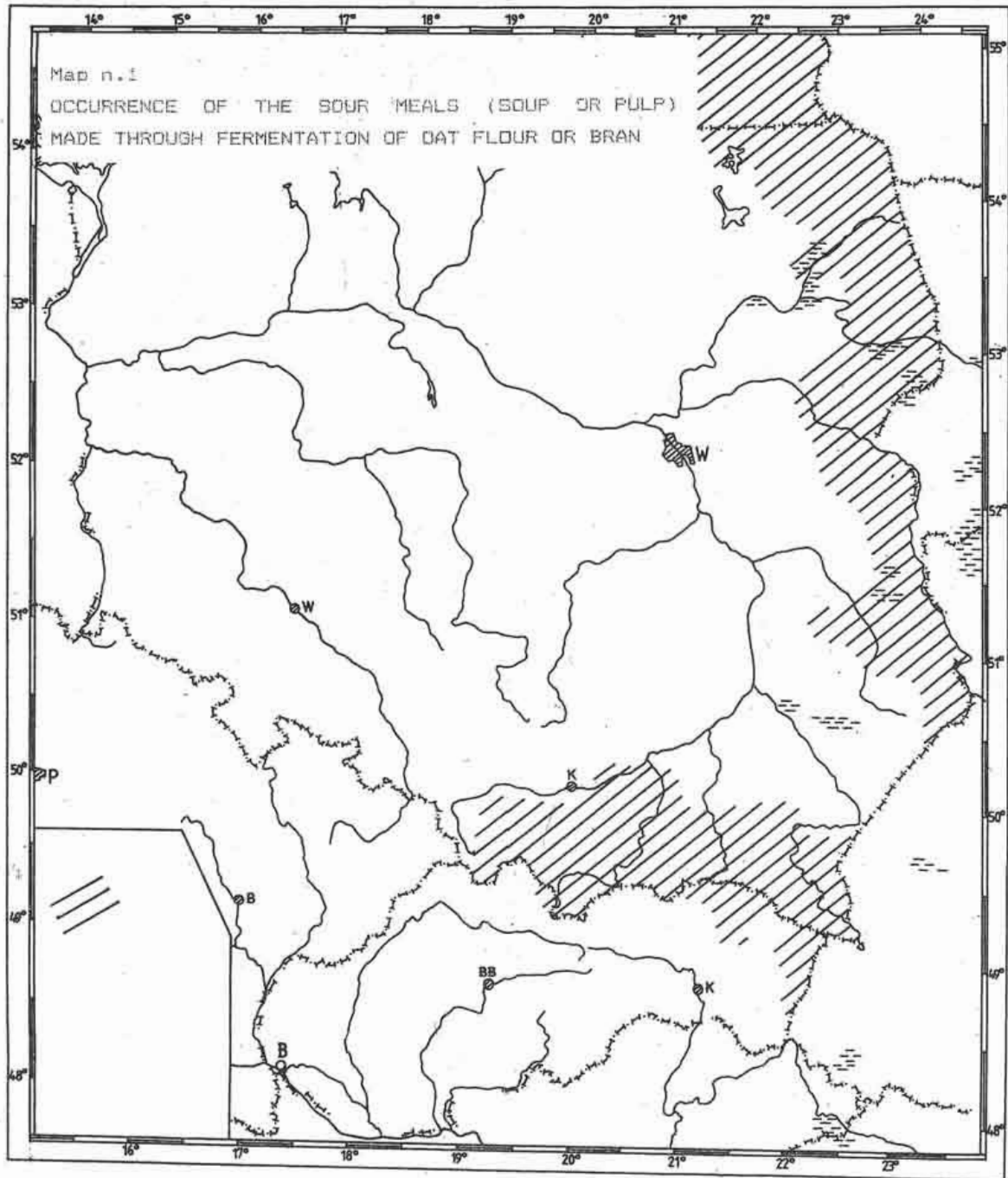
The cartographic method had gradually addressed European ethnographers and there were established many centres, in which works on ethnographic atlases were co-ordinated, i.e. Germany, Sweden, Switzerland, Poland, Austria, Finland, France, Holland, Hungary, Slovakia. Under the individual countries the ethnographic atlases were published, results of which can serve to comparison of cultural phenomena on large geographic areas.

I shall try to explain in further what are the possibilities and limits to this work with maps published in national atlases. I have selected for comparison the ethnographic atlases of Poland, Slovakia and Hungary, being linked to each other territorially in north-southern direction and their maps document a large European territory from the Baltic Sea to northern areas of Balkan. It is clear, that the content intention of the atlases does not allow to compare the whole documentation under this occasion, therefore I focused only on the field of food and nourishment, where I feel to be experienced the most, because I have developed right these maps for the Ethnographic Atlas of Slovakia. Since the food issue belongs to traditional and mostly well developed themes in ethnology, also the atlases provide rich documentation to this issue. In Polish atlas (PAE) this issue includes 67 maps in volumes VI-IX, although only the maps from volume VI are free to disposal. Additional maps are still in press and we can learn recently about their existence and testimony value from the published commentaries to the Polish Ethnographic Atlas, in volume III. In Slovak atlas (EAS) the issue of food includes 41 published maps and diagrams in chapter VII and more than 200 analytical maps stored in the archive of the Institute of Ethnology of Slovak Academy of Sciences. In Hungarian atlas (MNA) there are published 94 maps in volume VI.

The number of maps relevant to the monitored theme indicates, that it includes a significant volume, which provides wide possibilities to mutual comparison. However, we have also to state, that not all maps in one atlas have their pendant in the other one. Some kind of "stocktaking" between Hungarian and Slovak atlases under the food theme has found out, i.e. that from 94 maps in Hungarian atlas 57 could be used for comparison with Slovak material.

Leaving general considerations on possibility or impossibility of cartographic compari-

son, I would like to give several examples, which I have developed for this conference purposes.



*Illustration n. 1:
Occurrence of the sour meals (soup or pulp) made through fermentation of an oat flour or bran*

The map has been developed through comparison of two maps from the PAE and one map from the EAS, which monitored sour meals, soup or pulp, which is made through fermentation of an oat flour or bran and which the professional literature considers to be one of the oldest and most typical Slovak meals. This way made meal is mentioned i.e. already in the Lavrentej chronicle from 997, in one narration about conquering the Belgorod by the Petchenegs. Therefore it is not surprising, that this theme was selected by both Slavic atlases, which wanted to note down this cultural phenomenon, although it was assumed, that this would already be in its fading away form.

The PAE dealt with this issue on two maps. Map n. 266 "Eating of the fermented soup from flour" and map n. 267 "Kysel", which monitored kinds of the basic resource and names of this meal. In both cases this included mapping the occurrence of the meal made by pouring on the flour, or bran with warm water, left for natural fermentation, or fermentation supported by a bread ferment agent or by a piece of baked bread, which through the subsequent cooking gets thinner or thicker consistence and it has a typical sour taste. Sour soup from flour made by the same way is mapped also in an analytical map n.62/1a, which makes a part of the map n.9 in the EAS. Through connecting these three maps into one unit the map was developed, which shows, that occurrence of this archaic meal was still in the first half of the twentieth century spread on rather large compact area alongside Slovak-Polish border and on almost entire length of eastern Slovak and Polish border. The commentary to Polish atlas says that the prevailing names of sour soup are: "žur", "baršč", "bialy baršč". The name "žur" comes from German "sur" - "sauer", it means sour and according to the etymologist Brukner, it has domesticated among the western Slavs together with an old-Slavic "baršč" during the fifteenth century, and in Poland this name was transferred also to soup made from the beetroot. In Slovakia, the atlas gives an evidence of the following names of this soup: "kysel", "kyselica", "varjanka", "rosolanka", "kvaskovica". The name "kysel" is in Poland used mainly for a thicker pulp meal, which was made from meal, or from bran or burned corn.

The stated map gives an evidence, that in Slovakia and in Poland this cultural phenomenon includes a peripheral occurrence of large cultural zone directed to the east and situated in the area by the right riverside Ukraine, Belorussia and Lithuania as it is shown in professional literature of these countries. To conclude this issue it is necessary to add, that meal of similar character is known also among the Russians, Bulgarians, Serbs and Lusatians and with regard to its character and way of preparation it is likely that it was known under older historical periods also among the non-Slavic European nations. Thus, both atlases noted it down in its already fading away form, on a much smaller territory than this cultural phenomenon used to occur originally.

I was inspired to this illustration of the possibility of cultural phenomenon interpretation from the map by the MNA, specifically the map n. 434, which is comparable to the EAS map n. VII/4 and which put the same question: What was the folk name for breakfast?

Already the first sight on both maps makes clear, that folk names derived from German original "frühstück" prevail on the entire Hungarian and Slovak territory and they belong among the number of cultural phenomena, which accepted the folk terminology from German language, most likely under the German enclaves influence, which performed in both countries during the long historical periods. Moreover, we can learn from the maps, that in Hungarian and Southern Slovak territory still occurs Hungarian name "reggeli" and in Slovakia the name "snídani" and "raňajky".

However, both maps include also the names "obid", "ebéd", which are derived from the

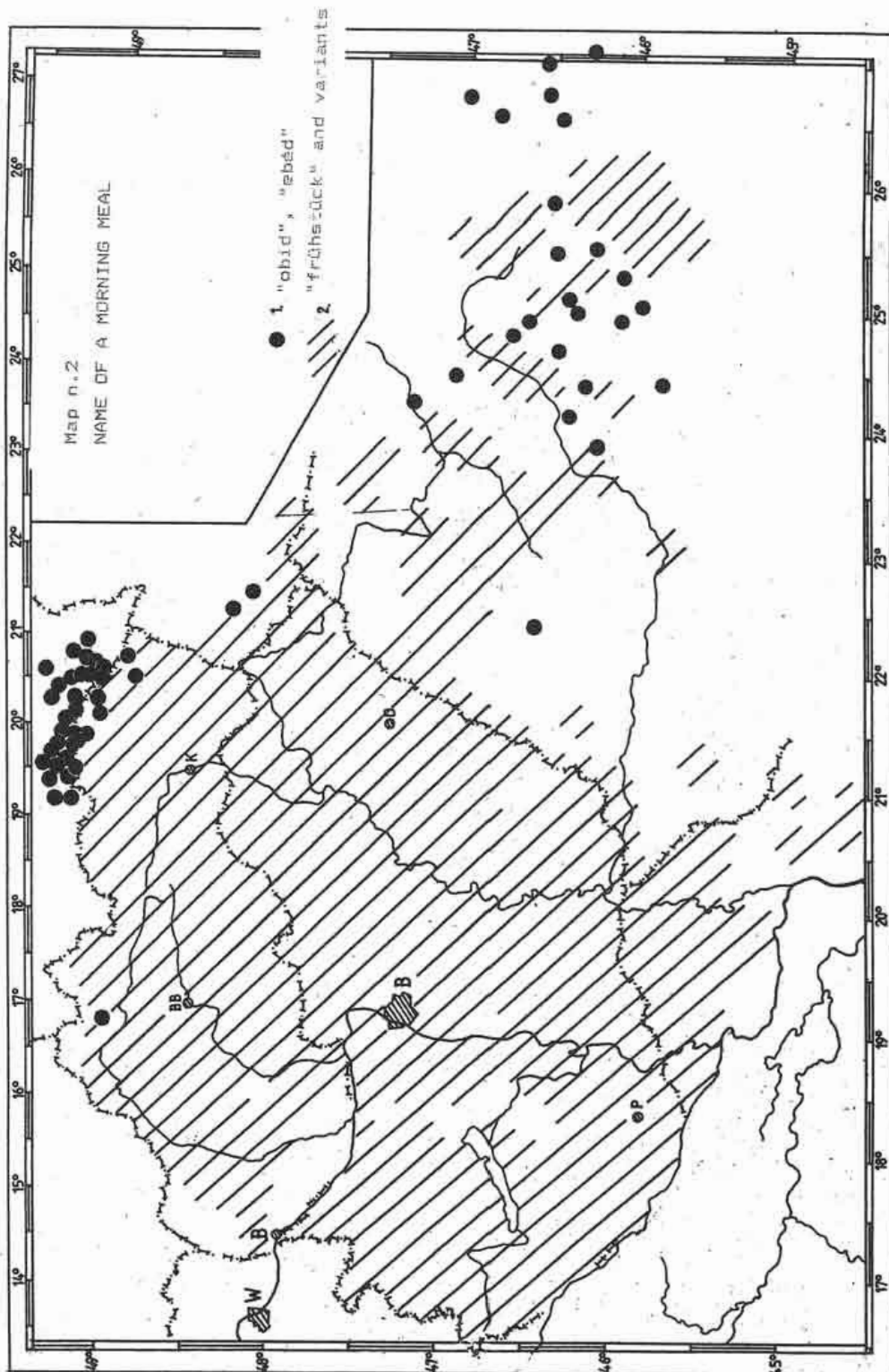
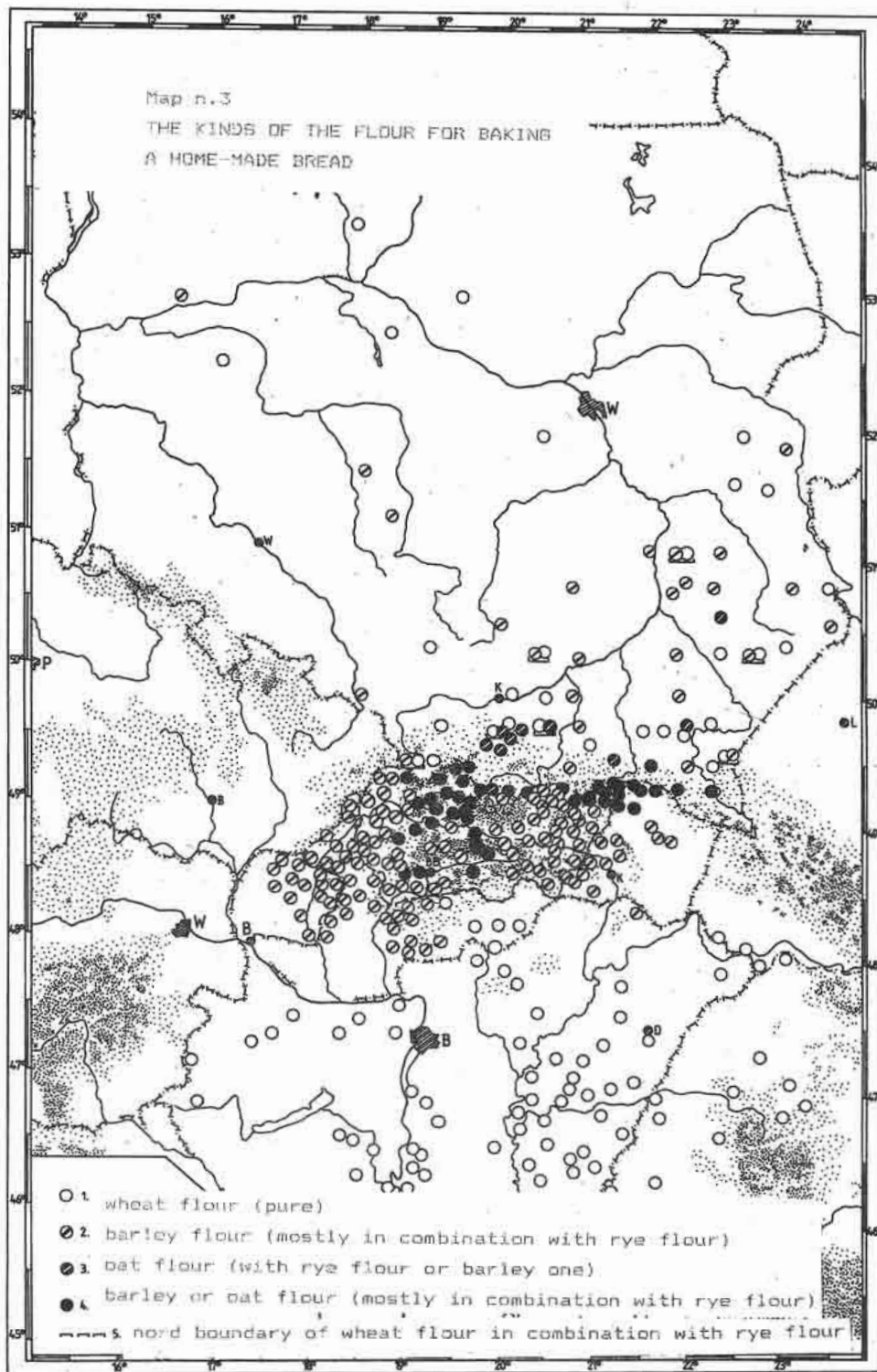


Illustration n. 2:
Name of a morning meal "obid", "ebéd"



*Illustration n. 3:
The kinds of flour for baking a home-made bread*

word "obed", which recently signs in Slovakia eating on the noon, and not in the morning. This phenomenon has attracted my attention already under the work on the EAS and I could start its interpretation only after the consultation with linguists.

Through comparison of folk terminology of basic daily eatings with the surrounding Slavic nations it has shown up, that the original names for morning eating were derived from basic names "sňadanie" or "obed". Etymologists consider both these historical names to be the words, originating in a general expression -sýtiť sa- and -jest'. More general name appears to be the word "obed", which in Slavic languages signs either for noon eating or for the morning one. We could generally say, that it signs one of the main eatings in the first half of the day. Thus, this linguistic knowledge supports the historians' thesis about the fact, that morning meal used to be in past the main and the most significant one.

As the map shows, both these original names "sňadanie" and "obed" were in Slovakia almost completely pushed out by name of a German origin "fruhstuck" and they survived only on a margin of the territory, which was in close contact to other Slavic ethnics, Moravians, Polish and Ukrainians. We have learned from Ukrainian specialised literature, that the name "obid" for morning eating occurs also in the Ukrainian area and under this influence it has survived among the Russianian and Ukrainian ethnic also in the North-Eastern Slovakia. Under these development relations it is certainly interesting, that the name "obed" in its modified form "ebéd" for signing the morning meal is shown also in the MNA among the Hungarians living on different ethnic territories, mainly in Ukraine and in North-Western Rumania. It is likely, that right thanks to their separation from the original ethnic they also petrified this historical name for breakfast.

Bread, its kinds, forms and ways of preparation make traditional theme of the nourishment historians and ethnographers in the entire Europe. We can meet this theme in large synthesizing works, as well as in regional monographs. Therefore it was not a surprise, that also all three monitored atlases offer the possibility of comparison exactly in this theme.

The PEA deals with an issue of the used flour kind under baking a home-made bread on map n. 323, the EAS on map VII/15 and the MNA on map n. 397. Through comparison of all three maps an assumption has been confirmed, that the basic bread cereals on the monitored territory were rye and wheat, similarly to the entire Europe. Both kinds include have a stickiness feature, which is necessary to "baking quality" of the bread. The rest of cereals miss this stickiness feature partially or fully and therefore they are not so suitable for preparation of bread and other pastry. Using the wheat and rye flour for bread preparation divides the Europe into two large cultural zones: to a "white" bread typical to Southern and Western Europe and a "black" bread, which is typical to Eastern and Northern Europe. In the illustration, we can monitor like a "white" wheat bread penetrates from Southern Europe mainly the areas of the Danube and Tisa river basin as far as into the Northern Hungary and Southern Slovakia. Its occurrence has been noted down also in Southern and Eastern Poland, although here mostly in combination with a rye flour. However, on a large territory of Poland, Slovakia and also on western part of the Hungarian territory the main, prevailing bread cereal was rye. In Poland and in Hungary there were areas, where a pure rye bread used to be baked, but in Slovakia rye flour was usually completed by the additional kinds of flour, mainly the barley, but also the oat one.

In the illustration we can see, how natural environment (in this case the Carpathian massive, which is placed with its foothills roughly on two thirds of Slovak territory) and by this environment determined economic and social environment, influenced the kinds of flour used for the bread. Although on the entire Slovak territory the basic bread cereal is rye, in

majority of cases it is completed by a barley flour. In the areas alongside the Polish-Slovak border, and this from the both sides, also an oat flour was used for baking the bread. In certain locations of Northern Slovakia also cases of baking a barley-oat bread were noted down. This situation indicates, that mainly the mountain regions of Northern Slovakia and Southern Poland often compensated shortage of bread cereals by flour from two on growing up less demanding cereals - barley and oat, what decreased the quality of bread.

The illustration documents advantages of a cartographic method in case, when national atlases work with the same method, so their results are easy to compare and efficient for development of cultural regionalisation of larger territorial units.

The illustration of possibilities of using the national atlases under further scientific research show, that the cartographic method in ethnology has wider possibilities than monitoring the territorially spread cultural phenomenon only within a certain time period. It allows to show causality between the cultural phenomenon and natural environment, it monitors different development phases of a cultural phenomenon, i.e. in its petrified traditional form but also the start and spreading of new originally strange cultural artefacts to the monitored territory. Through the cartographic method also aculturation and assimilation expressions of ethnic communities can be monitored. Cultural-territorial research enables to define also larger cultural zones or provinces, which are important mainly under works related to the cultural regionalisation of Europe.

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Summary

Autorka sa pokúsila zistiť možnosti a limity etnokartografickej metódy využitím etnografických atlasov Slovenska, Poľska a Maďarska. Z množstva máp si vybrala tie, ktoré sa dotýkali problematiky stravy a stravovania. Poľski atlas etnograficzny (PAE) uvádza stravu na 67 mapách v zošitoch VI - IX. V Etnografickom atlase Slovenska (EAS) je strave venovaných 41 máp a kartogramov. V Magyar néprajzi atlasz (MNA) sa nachádza v VI zošite 94 máp dotýkajúcich sa problematiky stravy. Všetky mapy však nie sú vhodné na porovnanie, pretože nemajú svoj pendant v ostatných atlasoch. Štúdiá sa venuje trom príkladom, ktoré boli vhodné na komparatívne štúdium. Na mape č. 1 je zachytený výskyt kvasených jedál - polievky alebo kaše - pripravených z ovsenej múky alebo ovsených otrúb. Mapa bola spracovaná na základe máp č. 266 a 267 z PAE a mapy č. VII/9 EAS. Dokumentuje výskyt tohto archaického jedla v prvej polovici 20. storočia na kompaktnom území severovýchodného Slovenska, južného a takmer celého východného Poľska. Mapa č. 1 ilustruje perifériu veľkej kultúrnej zóny, ktorá ako vieme z etnologických prameňov, presahuje na pravobrežnú Ukrajinu, Bielorusko a Litvu. Podobné jedlo poznali aj Rusi, Bulhari, Srbi a Lužickí Srbi. Berúc do úvahy spôsoby prípravy jedla a územie jeho výskytu v 20. storočí, môžeme uvažovať o tom, že oba atlasy zachytili relikv kultúrneho javu, ktorý bol známy v stredoveku v celej Európe.

Zaujímavé možnosti interpretácie prinášajú mapy č. 434 MNA a č. VII/4 EAS, ktoré zachytávajú ľudové názvy raňajok. Mapa č. 2 ukazuje, že názov odvodený z nemeckého "Früstück" na území Slovenska i Maďarska dominuje. Vedľa neho jestvuje v Maďarsku a na južnom Slovensku názov "reggeli" a na Slovensku "snídaní" a "raňajky". Okrem nich sa však na oboch mapách vyskytli aj názvy odvodené od slova "obed", ktorý v slovenčine označuje v súčasnosti jedlo podávané na poludnie. Porovnaním ľudovej terminológie hlavných denných jedál v slovanských jazykoch prichádzame k záveru, že pôvodnými názvami na ranné jedlo bolo "sňadaňje" a "obed". To potvrdzuje tézu historikov výživy, ktorí hovoria o tom, že hlavným jedlom dňa bolo pôvodne jedlo podávané v prvej polovici dňa. Názvom "obid" aj v súčasnosti označujú raňajky Ukrajinci, Lemkovia na oboch stranách Karpát i Rusíni na severovýchodnom Slovensku. V tomto kontexte je zaujímavý výskyt slova "ebéd" na označenie raňajok u Maďarov žijúcich hlavne na Ukrajine a v severozápadnom Rumunsku. Pravdepodobne strata živého kontaktu s vlastnou jazykovou skupinou zapríčinila, že prijali a zachovali tento modifikovaný slovanský názov a názov raňajok prevzatý z nemčiny sa tam neujal.

Chlieb, jeho druhy a spôsoby konzumácie zaujímajú etnológov a historikov výživy v celej Európe. Porovnaním máp PAE č. 328, EAS č. VII/15 a MNA č. 397 prichádzame k zisteniu, že hlavným chlebovým obilím na sledovaných územiach, podobne ako v celej Európe, boli pšenica a raž. Ak berieme do úvahy druh chlebovej múky, náš kontinent sa rozpadá na dve veľké zóny bieleho - pšeničného chleba charakteristického pre južnú a západnú Európu a čierneho - ražného chleba pripravovaného vo východnej a severnej Európe. Na mape č. 3 vidno, ako biely pšeničný chlieb preniká z juhu pozdĺž tokov Dunaja a Tisy, prekračuje hranice Maďarska a vyskytuje sa aj na južnom Slovensku. Naproti tomu, na veľkom území Poľska, Slovenska a v západnej časti Maďarska hlavným chlebovým obilím bola raž. Na

Slovensku sa v mnohých prípadoch ražná múka miešala s múkou jačmennou alebo ovsenou. V horských severných regiónoch Slovenska a južného Poľska sa nedostatok obilia kompenzoval aj pečením jačmenného, prípadne ovseného chleba. Na mape jasne vidno súvislosť medzi použitou chlebovou múkou a geografickým prostredím.

Využitie máp národných etnografických atlasov prináša v kontextoch komparatívneho štúdia niekoľko možností. Neľahčuje len interpretáciu vzťahu medzi kultúrnym javom a prírodným prostredím, ale môže zachytiť aj rôzne fázy vývinu kultúrneho javu od jeho petrifikovanej formy až po nástup a rozšírenie nového kultúrneho javu. Etnokartografická metóda môže zachytiť aj kultúrne javy v rozptyle a odpovedať na otázku, či ide o kultúrny konzervativizmus alebo zánik javu pod vplyvom iných šíriacich sa kultúrnych fenoménov. Za pomoci tejto metódy sa dajú rovnako skúmať aj procesy akulturácie a asimilácie etnických spoločností. V neposlednom rade výskyt kultúrnych javov a ich vymedzenie v priestore má význam v procese hľadania kultúrnej regionalizácie Európy.

Vydáva Ústav etnológie Slovenskej akadémie vied v Slovak Academic Press, spol. s r. o.

Ročník 48, 2000, číslo 1
Vychádza štvrťročne

Hlavný redaktor:
Mgr. Dušan Ratica, CSc.

Výkonné redaktorky:
Mgr. Tatiana Krupová, PhD., PhDr. Zora Vanovičová

Redakčná rada: PhDr. Stanislav Brouček, CSc., Doc. Ľubica Droppová, CSc., PhDr. Božena Filová, CSc., PhDr. Soňa Kovačevičová, DrSc., PhDr. Eva Krekovičová, CSc., PhDr. Jan Krist, Doc. Milan Leščák, CSc., PhDr. Martin Mešša, PhDr. Magdaléna Paríková, CSc., Prof. Ján Podolák, DrSc., PhDr. Zora Rusnáková, CSc., PhDr. Peter Salner, CSc., PhDr. Miroslav Válka.

Adresa redakcie: Klemensova 19, 813 64 Bratislava
Registr. č. 7091
Rozširuje, objednávky a predplatné (aj do zahraničia) prijíma
Slovak Academic Press, spol. s r. o. P. O. Box 57, Nám. Slobody 6, 810 05 Bratislava

SLOVAK ETHNOLOGY

Quarterly Review of the Institute of Ethnology of the Slovak Academy of Sciences
Vol. 48, 2000, Number 1

Editors: Dušan Ratica, Tatiana Krupová, Zora Vanovičová
Address of Editor: Klemensova 19, 813 64 Bratislava, Slovakia
Distributed by Slovak Academic Press, Ltd., P. O. Box 57, Nám. Slobody 6, 810 05 Bratislava, Slovakia
and SLOVART G. T. G. Ltd., Krupinská 4, P. O. Box 152, 852 99 Bratislava, Slovakia

L'ETHNOLOGIE SLOVAQUE

Revue de l'Institut d'ethnologie de l'Académie slovaque des sciences
Année 48, 2000, No 1

Rédacteurs: Dušan Ratica, Tatiana Krupová, Zora Vanovičová
Adresse de la rédaction: Klemensova 19, 813 64 Bratislava, Slovaquie

SLOWAKISCHE ETHNOLOGIE

Zeitschrift des Ethnologischen Institutes der Slowakischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
Jahrgang 48, 2000, Nr. 1

Redakteure: Dušan Ratica, Tatiana Krupová, Zora Vanovičová
Redaktion: Klemensova 19, 813 64 Bratislava, Slowakei

SLOVENSKÝ NÁRODOPIŠ

ISSN 1335-1303

MIČ 49 616

SAP
THE SLOVAK PRESS
