

TOWARDS THE ORIGIN AND THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL SYNTHETIC WORK “HEROES OR BANDITS. OUSTLAW TRADITIONS IN THE CARPATHIAN REGION”

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There are three component parts of this book: the folklore traditions about the robbers, the Carpathian area, and within its scope the relations between the peoples inhabiting it. The interethnic relations have, of course, their specific features. The robber, *opryšok*, *hayduk* or *haydamak*, or *betyar*, such as we know them today among the various peoples of the Carpathian area, correspond to an historical truth, yet the popular poetic imagination is not only anchored in the people tradition, but in popular culture generally and for good. A dominant feature of the book is the area of the Carpathians, which offered outright or sample area for the research of folklore links between peoples living on their territory and in the adjacent areas. This interethnic view came to the fore in the seventies and eighties of the past century in all domains of popular culture and became a trend on nations, which had set out on a joint road and strove for a kind of integration, which its turn enabled the individual researches to co-operate among each other. The tradition of the robber's folklore, as we call it for short, which were a subject of interest a number of decades ago, became a centre of attention, whose full appreciation has been expected.

The research results of the preceding years showed not only that elements of folklore concerning individual robbers are mutually connected not only within one territory, but one can also study these associations or parallels with various especially neighbouring peoples above all in the Carpathian area, where they constitute a relatively uniform, if internally articulate whole. Later one arrived at the conclusion that it would be beneficial to extend the area under consideration to the Carpatho-Balkan area, and with this in view, co-operation was instituted with the research establishment of various countries.

The International Commission for the Study of People's Culture (MKKK) from its very beginning, which came about at the suggestion of Polish, Czech and Slovak ethnographers in the year 1959 in Cracow, addressed its activities to

problems such as the issue of cultural community, ethnic processes and inter-ethnic relations, whose knowledge is important not only from a national, but also an international point of view. Since in addition to Czechoslovakia – in view of the fact that we are concerned with in this part of our book is an historical sketch connected with the preparation of a synthetic work, we are referring to individual nations – and Poland also Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Rumania and the Soviet Union joined in, the first organisation was set up and with this the first organisation in the spheres of ethnography and folklore, uniting scholars of the European countries in which the work Carpathians as well as the Balkans are situated. The Carpathological, ethnographic and folklore issues found their expression not only in domestic, but also bilateral international research programs and agreements.

On the basis of bilateral co-operation and inter-academy agreements between the Ethnographic Institute of the Slovak Academy of Sciences in Bratislava and the Institute of Literary Research of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw, joint archival and territorial research was carried out in the first half of the seventies by T. Komorowska (Warsaw) and V. Gašparíková (Bratislava) on the Polish and Slovak sides of the Tatra Mountains, the result being two publications, "The Robbers Gift" (*Zbojnicki dar. Polskie i słowackie opowiadania tatrzańskie*, Warsaw 1976, pp. 165), a book intended for a broad reading public, and the scholarly edition "Stories of Robbers from the Slovak and Polish Tatras" (Bratislava 1979, pp. 355).

Since the purpose was territorially limited, the aim was not to acquaint readers with stories about robbers among other nations where these traditions are alive, but only in the area on both sides of the Tatra Mountains, which made possible a mutual confrontation of the prose texts of the two nations. All outstanding robbers of this part of the Carpathians were pointed out, but in particular Juraj Jánošík and his reflex on a large scale in both popular and professional art. This provided the first contribution towards a knowledge of the interethnic associations between the Slovak and the Polish prose traditions. The analysis given pointed especially to the links in contents and in form, common on features of the folklore tradition concerning robbers as a manifestation of effective folklore links between the peoples of the two countries. In this however, many differences also made their appearance due on the one hand to the different character of Slovak and Polish prose fund and its poetry, and on the other to the equal frequency and territorial spread of the historic material on the robbers. The Slovak tradition with Juraj Jánošík as its central feature undoubtedly enriched the Polish repertory, which however continued to develop independently and provided fresh elements for the joint Polish and Slovak store.

In connection with the object presented to it, the Subcommittee on Slavic folklore of the MKKK originated in the seventies a whole series of extensive studies concerning the robber's folklore, which tackled ethnic, inter-ethnic and typological problems. The research thus oriented and the study of the robber's traditions may from the present view be regarded as the "prehistory" of the international synthesis on folklore with a robber's topic, whereby, however,

a precedent was set up for following up this problems in relation to the entire Carpathian area. It goes without saying that with this we do not wish to diminish the part played by the researches of the adjacent countries, where the robber's traditions was also given a good deal of attention independently of MKKKB's work.

An important move in tackling the study of the folklore traditions about robbers was made by the Conference on Intraethnic Relations in the Folklore of the Carpathian Area, convened in the days September 1 – 3 of 1976 by the Sub-Commission on oral folklore of Czechoslovak section of MKKKB and the Ethnographic Institute of SAV (today Ethnological Institute of the Slovak Academy of Sciences) at Smolenice in Czechoslovakia. In the presence of researches from Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland and the Soviet Union, the conference concentrated on three broad topics:

1. theoretical problems of comparative research;
2. the popular tradition on robbers in the area of the Carpathians and in the Balkans;

3. Genre, Style and Language (with special reference to the Carpathians area).

The conceptually and methodologically precise reports pointed to a whole series of weighty problems of the comparative research, such as e.g. the problem of national and ethnic specificity. The comparative approach gives the folklore research a double dimension: on the one hand it reveals supranational and ethnic links as well as the genesis of folklore features, and on the other, it explains their national and territorial peculiarities. Oldřich Sirovátka (Brno) pointed out the problematic nature of the issue of similarity between folklore features, which he gathered in four groups:

- a) genetic, arising from a common substrate,
- b) contextual, based on contact and exchange,
- c) joint products of two or more peoples,
- d) polygenetic, typological ones.

With regard to the historical data within interethnic contacts one must distinguish:

1. ethnics or areas without direct contact,
2. a situation of contact with sundry varieties,
3. enclaves and cases of diaspora,
4. culturo-historical wholes and ethnographic areas, in which different ethnic entities meet.

V. Gašparíková (Bratislava) linked up with these theoretical problems and from a methodological point of view demonstrated on evolutionary process on the level of contact versus its absence by means of the example of the Slovak prose traditions on robbers.

An analysis of the Ukrainians tales about "opryški" was presented in another thematic sphere, in comparison with the Slovak, Polish, Moldavian and Hungarian material by V. Sokolova (Moscow). Since the robber's folklore research in the past addressed persons, materials and motives known in the popular tradition of

the Carpathian area, a confrontation of the material from areas outside the Carpathians was tackled, in particular a comparison of the Carpathian tales of robbers with their counterpart in Moravo-Silesian and Czech traditions (M. Šrámková, Brno) and the story of the concrete historical personality Jan Jiří Grasel in Moravia (O. Jerová, Třebíč). For the first time it became possible to present the image in the Bulgarian Hayduk songs as well as their temporal (historical) evolution in comparison with the songs about robbers of other peoples in Carpathian area (B. Stojkova, Sofia). The problem referred to also encompassed the image of the robber's traditions of the Ruthenians (Rusini) who migrated from Eastern Slovakia in the middle of the 18th century to Lower Country (Dolná zem), where the above tradition evolved in an interesting way in the new environment (L. Medješi, Novi Sad).

The significance of the conference was evaluated together with that some further important actions undertaken in the first half of the seventies, at a meeting of the MKKK Presidium on Sept. 1 – 2. It was stated that the actions under consideration had further activated the Carpathological as well as Balkanological studies in the scope of research co-ordination and treatment of certain theoretical and methodological problems of research in traditional culture from a broader comparative point of view. It was at that meeting that the decision was taken, on the basis of the facts referred to as well as in the interests of improving international co-operation, to exchange the old name of the International Commission for the Study of the People's culture in the area of the Carpathians (MKKK) for "International Commission for the Study of People's Culture in the area of the Carpathians and the Balkans" (MKKKB), the name of the "Ethnographia Carpatica" for "Ethnographia Carpatobalcanica", that of the Presidium's information bulletin for "Carpatobalcanica". Experience has shown that it was right to lay stress in the activity of MKKK on work in the individual national sections. Though the fundamental aims and international actions were in agreement in all member countries, the organisational and thematic orientations in the work of sections had their specific features on a national scale. The Ethnological Institute of the Academy of Sciences in Bratislava remained the seat of the secretariat. V. Frolec from Brno was re-elected Secretary General for another five years, and V. Gašparíková (Bratislava) head of the subcommission for the narrative folklore.

Within the scope of the research program it was decided at that meeting that international co-operation would be in the nearest future work on drafting of a synthesising work, proceeding from the results of research in the area of popular architecture, shepherding and the robber's folklore. The national section of Poland would take care of pastoralism, Czechoslovakia of popular architecture and the Soviet Union of robber's folklore. A recommendation was issued to the national sections to deal aside from thematic comparative research with local communities as a form of complex study of the cultural system and its contemporary alternations with due regard to the ecological features of the Carpatho-Balkan area. The results of the research within the scope of MKKKB would be published in the edition of "Ethnographia Carpatobalcanica", or it would pointed out in

another way that the publication came about within the research program of MKKKB. It falls to the share of the national sections to prepare a retrospective bibliography of the given problem in the synthesising works.

In the years following the session of the MKKKB Presidium of 1976 and the approval of three international syntheses, a beginning was made with preparing their conception. The project under heading of "Popular Architecture of the Carpathians and the adjacent area of the Balkans" has been drafted by V. Frolec (Brno), a second part additionally by Jiří Langer (Rožnov p. Radhoštěm), while a project for a synthesis on pastorality in the Carpathians has been submitted by Bronisława Kopczyńska-Jaworska (Łódź). The projects have been published in the bulletin *Carpatobalcanica* VIII (1978) and XV (1986).

Since the Soviet Union section of MKKKB sponsors the international synthesis on the robber's folklore traditions, the elaboration of a concept was availed from B. N. Putilov, who in the middle of 1979 submitted a project based on the typology of song creation with a robber's theme. After its delivery, V. Gašparíková drafted her idea of work in preparation. Both projects were published in the bulletin *Carpatobalcanica* IX, 1-2 (1979, pp. 7 – 30) and in the journal *Slovenský národopis* 27 (1979, pp. 570 – 575). For the information of the interested researchers we submit the full text of both versions of the project.

Prospect of an international collective work on Robber's Songs in the Slavic Areas of the Carpatho-Balkan Territory from the end of the 16th to the beginning of the 19th century

The Typology of the poetic creation and the Typology of History and People's Way of Life.

1. The proposed title of the work is approximative and very inadequate, because the names "Robbers", and "Hayduks", traditionally used in the scholarly literature, cannot encompass the multiplicity of all species and subjects, which can and indeed must be the object of the research. As far as e.g. Russian folklore is concerned, it may be noted that our research has recently revealed a spectre of so-called "udalyje" songs, whose scope is wider than that of the robber's songs. Yet the title with its restriction indicates the basic nucleus of folklore materials, which are to constitute the subject of the research.

The subtitle need not appear on the title page of the future book so as not to handicaps it, but is very important, because it briefly formulates one of the guiding ideas of the projected work, i.e. the explanation of the typological regularities and characterisations uniting the various song types of many peoples as well as the variability within the typological communities in relation with the regularities, general as well as specific, in the life and history of the peoples concerned.

2. The regional limitation of the investigated material such as it emerges from the title of the book, is also very broad through on the whole sufficiently clear.

Proceeding from the general tasks of the work as well as the specific nature of the material investigated, it is not advisable either to restrict too sharply or to broaden exceedingly the ethnic and geographic scope of the study. Analogic or similar features occur in the folklore of many West European peoples as well as of the Northern Caucasus and the Volga area. They must be left aside, although sooner or later research will lead to the inevitable interpretation of all the material known so far.

The research concentrates on the material of the Carpathian and Balkan region, yet to limit oneself only to them would lead to the well-known complications, in particular to an artificial separation of the folklore facts organically linked with the region mentioned, such as the Ukrainian (north of the Carpathians), Belorussian, Russian etc. ones. It will be correct if we tackle the study of the entire relevant song folklore independent of the place of occurrence or registration as follows: Albanian, Belorussian, Bulgarian, Czech (Moravian), Montenegrin, Greek, Croat, Hungarian, Macedonian, Moldavian, Polish, Rumanian, Russian, Slovak, Slovene, Serbia and Ukrainian.

3. If we return to the problem of the generic and thematic limitation of the material to be investigated, it is obviously necessary to reckon with a) contemporary folklore theory and practical classification; and b) with such a situation that in the folklore of any people whatsoever it is very difficult outright impossible to separate any species or thematic scope in its "pure" form and that the scope of the researcher's interest will be inevitably invaded by peripheral or transitional features, which must always be respected, but whose part must not be magnified.

One may speak of a central generic nucleus, which should above all be researched and which will be proper to various traditions: for the South Slavic and East Romanian folklore, the Hayduk songs above all will be typical, for the Greek folklore the songs of the Klepts, for the West Slavic the Robber's songs, the same plus the historical songs for the East Slavic folklore. To these nucleus ballads as well as historical and lyrical songs have to be added in unavoidable cases, etc.

4. In editing the work referred to above it would seem to be necessary to proceed from the assumption that the folklorists within the national scope carried out their basic work by systematic collection, editing and historically interpreting the relevant species and texts, although this work cannot be deemed completed. We have at our disposal also comparative studies examining nuclear relations of the various national traditions as well as instances of mutual exchanges.

The work proposed must have a generalising character as well as an international as supranational character. The work must rest not on an ethnic, but on a generalising principle.

In the centre there should be theoretical and historical-folkloristic problems, all material being clustered around them. The significance of the work rests in the light of these problems on the material of the various nations and the establishment of super-ethnic and international problems. This does not mean that the national appurtenance and ethnic specificity of the folklore need not to be

respected. On the contrary, the specific approach should show through in the desire to reveal the concrete forms of the typology its variability and reference to specific features. Historical typology in folklore does not at all presuppose some kind of unification or only the revelation of similarity, analogy and the like. For an historic typology it is also important to see the absence of similarity, typological differences and contrasts.

The scope of the work as well as its character presuppose a consistent theoretical orientation and the theoretical character of the work, from which numerous quotations, factographic illustrations and the like will be to a large extent excluded. It is assumed that the work will reach such a standard of generalisation, where the material essentially counts as a proper editing.

Another specific feature of the work will be the omission of all traditional secondary folkloristic problems, variously solved or at least so far, the comparison of various points of view, etc. The meaning of the work rests above all on the indication of everything that is unclear or debatable, which will be addressed by future research, when unsolved problems will be tackled alternative solutions suggested and the like.

5. At the present stage of elaboration of the pertinent problems on the national levels it will hardly be possible to tackle a generalising work immediately. It must be preceded by a stage within the framework of the national material – a temporary systemisation, analysis and generalisation in close accord with the program outlined, as far as possible in accordance with a single principle. The programmatic character of such a preliminary work can be secured by gaining sufficiently representative and comparative facts and conclusions. This must be a well organised working material, not necessarily on the level of a study, but unconditionally containing answers to the questions of the program, as far as possible complete and exhausting, factually exhaustive and comprising an exposition and analyses of different point of views. Very important at this transitory stage is a critical approach to the traditional concepts as well as an indication of their work points. It would be desirable to avoid resource to theories and studies of a speculative kind, not sufficiently supported by arguments.

The scope of the preliminary work on the national species need not to be limited, it is conditioned by the scope of the folklore material, the existing literature as well as its complexity. One has to welcome in such work not just pragmatic answers on a certain basic program, but also theoretical thoughts, observations and hypothesis connected with the outline of future work.

On the basis of the preliminary efforts a generalising work will be elaborated. Within this scope it is impossible to speak of the organisational aspect of the work, obviously so because the first as well as the second stage of the work will have a consistently collective character, so that representatives of the science of the majority of countries, whose folklore will be the subject of the publication will share in it.

Since the program of the preliminary work is determined by the character of the future work, we give at first a plan for its scope.

The chapters of the publication to come:

1. A specific typology (according to genre) of the songs. The characterisation of the types and multiplicity of the kinds of songs, their structure in their mutual effects between the poetical and musical principles.

The problem of the genres with regard to the sources and mutual relations of the types ascertained. The relationship of the songs to the epic traditions and other kinds. The process through, which the species of investigated songs are created.

2. The subjects of the songs, explanation of their typology. The total of the fundamental topics. Song subjects in relation to the folklore tradition. The character of the mutual relation between the fiction and the empirical principle in the subjects. The historical background of the songs.

3. Heroes and figures in the songs. Their relationship to the traditional folklore figures. The problem of the prototype and artistic generalisation.

4. Time and space in the songs. Poetical and real geography. Social relations, ways of life, the family in the songs.

5. The character and specificity of the functionality (life) of the songs, the principles and particularities of the tradition, folk singers and their types, songs and environment.

6. Songs and popular movements. The character, specific nature and the limits of expression of people's ideals in the songs. The songs and the history of the people.

Temporary basis of the preliminary work

1. Materials towards a characterisation of the genres. Scholarly and popular delimitation of the genres. A list of the features, by which the genres differ. Basic and additional features of the genre's structure. Characterisation of the constant peculiarities of the poetry. Detailed characterisation of the permanent properties of the poetry. Detailed characterisation of the mutual relations with other genres. Connections with epic poetry and deviations from it. Data for conclusions or assumptions on the genetic basis of the genres.

2. Compilation of a complete list of subjects of the individual national traditions. It is desirable that the list of the subjects of all types be sufficiently detailed. By way of illustration of the types the full text of songs may be quoted.

A complete list of texts for every type is indispensable (if complete scholarly editions are available, references to them are better). Subject parallels from other genres, both in verse and in prose, are indispensable.

A complete listing of all cases, where the subjects, it is assumed, proceed from real situations, concrete events and facts. Cases in points must be accompanied by a commentary with the necessary data, which either confirm or refute them.

As far as possible, a complete list of the historical, social and existential data in the songs.

3. A complete list of the types of persons, materials towards their characterisation as the subjects of songs. Data on the poetry around the hero. The connection

of the figures in the songs with the world of folklore, occurrence of characterisation of folklore types. Historical facts on the authenticity of the figures in the songs. The names of heroes. The problem of prototypes.

4. Characterisation of the special elements of the songs, typical places and their connection with the folklore tradition. Geography and toponymics in the songs. Historical places. Features of the times in the songs.

Materials on the reflection of the real way of life, family relations in the songs and influence thereon of the folklore tradition. Typology of presenting reality in the songs.

5. As far as possible, a complete survey of data on the life of the songs in the popular environment, with a specificity on the robber's environment. Specific singers of robber's songs.

6. The material in this chapter will be mainly of a generalising nature. It is important to draw attention to the mutual relation of the world of the songs and the world of the people's real life, the superstructure of the song's ideas. It is indispensable to consider all facts testifying to the concrete connections between the songs and the popular movements as well as the latter's evaluation in popular milieu.

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Proposed synthesis of folklore with a robber's topic in the Carpathians and the adjoining part of the Balkans

Concept, limitation, methodology and aim Observations on the concept of a synthetic work on folklore with a robber's topic in the Carpathians and the neighbouring areas of the Balkans may be made either on a generic level or else concern the main sections of the folklore creation. If we decide in favour of the second, more complex, treatment, this means that the synthesis would comprise the following sections: 1. folklore prose, 2. folksongs, 3. folk music and 4. folk dances.

Since popular creative art usually escapes from the definition of folklore in our as well as the other socialist countries, no special part has been set aside for it in the synthesis, where it is only referred to by way of an illustrational supplement. Also those kinds of folklore into which the robber's topic only penetrated marginally proverbs, popular games and the theatre have only been regarded as supplementary material. Despite this limitation, indicates only mutual relations with professional art.

As far as the proper concept of robbery is concerned, it is necessary to beware of an idealised simplification, as well as of too broad a conception that would

obscure the main features such as the adverse aspects of robbery. The fundamental connecting link ought to be "take from the rich and give to the poor". It is this feature, which is most distinctly displayed in the spoken folklore compositions, with popular dance and music (without a text component) it is again unavoidable to consider the reflection of the specific features of the robber's life.

Territorially, the area under investigation is also limited as it is in the research into other elements of popular culture. As we spoke initially of the Carpathians and adjoining areas of the Balkans, what is involved is rather a working concept, and we might just as well speak of a Carpathian-Danubian-Balkan area. From this it emerges, that scholars from the countries concerned, i.e. Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Poland, Rumania and Soviet Union will participate in the work. On such a broad basis it is possible to arrive by a comparative approach at the establishment of mutual relations mainly by way of contact as well as the establishment of typological, parallel and corresponding features, whose relations and similarities must, however, not overshadow the differences of one or the other territorial section or people. What will be involved is rather an integrally different characterisation of a very broad area, which one while or possibly two, the Carpathians and the Balkans with the Danubian Basin; nevertheless, it would not be purposeful to integrate possibly even larger, "superordinated" areas. One must not forget that the phenomenon of robbery is not only characteristic only of our territory, but comprises also the other parts of Europe and sundry areas of Asia, too. Thus it will be inevitable to point to these further connections and parallels in a concrete case along with a warning that further "centres" of the robber's tradition in folklore, which as a rule, if we are thinking above all the people's prose – is more mobile and at the same time more international than other elements of the people's culture, would require a separate treatment.

The acceptance of the comparative method as an inevitable base for methodological work determines also the entire conception of the synthesis that is the aim, which it is to serve. The work must be conceived in purely scholarly terms: with a popular scientific approach, the comparative intention would not be able to assert itself with the required breadth and depth, and mutual relations and differences (specific characters would only be caught superficially, by way of suggestion).

Conditions and Prepositions

In order to realise a complex synthesis about folklore with robbers as topic, it is necessary that some basic conditions and prepositions be fulfilled. This means above all that the task must be organisationally well prepared. It is of especial importance that it be known in advance on which main workers one may count and that the problem treated will not only be an individual obligation, but also that it should find its place in the plans of scholarly institutions abroad.

Not of less importance are the material presuppositions. Although the robber's topic seems at first sight well researched, it appears even at a not especially pro-

found approach, that the amount of information is not always equally balanced. This disproportionality may be observed both on a territorial scale and from the point of view of the various folkloristic areas. On the one hand we ascertain that not everywhere the same degree of attention has been bestowed on the robber's folklore tradition, sometimes indeed according to the extent to which these traditions are typical of a certain area, so that somewhere the preparatory stage has been finished, whereas elsewhere it will be necessary to complete the material and then to offer an integral partial picture. On the other hand one may observe that not all parts of the robber's problem have been researched to the same extent, which is understandably connected with the extent to which the robber's topic comes to the fore in the area concerned. The difference especially, but not only in the frequency should, of course, not be glossed over at any cost and one should not try to supply it by material with a multitude of (sometimes necessary, but sometimes superfluous and unproductive) variants, if the one or the other sphere of robber's traditions does not occupy an adequate position in the complex of folklore manifestations of a certain area or people.

The Progress of Work, Realisation

Work should be divided into several stages and proceed gradually in this order:

1. To master the folklore problem about robbers within the scope of individual nations, without it being always necessary to publish in advance synthetic works referring to one people, it should suffice to render exhaustively account with a list of classified material and to issue at the same time a bibliographic account of works dealing with the robber's problem on the largest scale, but with the emphasis on folklore material. Realisation: 1980 – 1982.

2. In view of the articulation, relative inequality of the chosen area and on account of the close inter-ethnic connections in the folklore funds of certain nations to produce either in a provisional and fragmentary synthetic view, this or the other genre of folklore dealing with robbers. One must make allowance for the fact that working on such super-national complexes need not coincide in all genres (e.g. one unit may produce stories and another songs). Realisation: 1983 – 1984.

3. After these partial synthesis or overviews one should tackle a broad synthetic elaboration of the entire complex, in accordance with the problem defined. Realisation: 1985 – 1986.

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The 20 year's activity of MKKKB became the signal for convening an international conference, whose main task it was to evaluate the results of the research done as well as to lay down a concrete program for the carpathological and bal-kanological research. The conference took place on the days October 8 – 12, 1979

in one of the two countries which had provided the leadership, Poland at Mogilany, near Cracow, in presence of representatives of the most important ethnological research centres from Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland as well as the Soviet Union. Its organiser was the Polish section of MKKKB and the Chair of Ethnography at Łódź (Poland), which succeeded for all its working character in endowing the enterprise with a ceremonial character.

From the reports submitted it emerged that despite the different organisational forms and methods of research, each of the member countries of MKKKB achieved precious results in establishing the factographic realia, and the same applies to the elaboration of the theoretical and methodological problems of carpatological and balcanological research. Rich funds of documentary material, numerous published studies, collective volumes, monographs and in addition a large number of working sessions, symposia and conferences bore witness to this. All this had in various degrees contributed to an acquaintance with the geographic, ecological, economic, social, ethnic and other determinants of the cultural features as well as enriching the existing knowledge about the common as well as differential features of the people's culture in the Carpatho-Balkan area.

At the plenary session, the participants of the conference also set forth the projects envisaged concerning synthesising work on the people's architecture (V. Frolec), mountain shepherding (B. Kopczyńska-Jaworska) as well as folklore with a robber's topic (B. N. Putilov and V. Gašparíková). It emerged from the projects submitted that the implementation of the research programs including the proposed synthetic works could not dispense with international collectives with the power of decision nor with international co-operation on a higher qualitative level than had been the case in the past. In view of the fact that the implementation of the international projects amounted to a new stage in the development of carpatological and balkanological research, it was indispensable to proceed from the solution of partial problems to a summarisation and generalisation of the existing knowledge and to present in the guise of a synthesising work an image of the genesis, evolutionary tendencies and outstanding features of the most distinctive components of the traditional folk culture in the Carpatho-Balkan area.

The further proceedings took place in sections. In the folkloristic section, T. Komorowska submitted a report on the present stage of research in the robber's folklore in Poland, and A. Szurmiak-Bogucka as well as A. Szalaśna spoke on the features of musical folklore in the Polish Carpathians.

Part of the conference at Mogilany was also a session of the Presidium of MKKKB, whose sub-commission on oral folklore was addressed by B. N. Putilov and V. Gašparíková. The Presidium accepted the concepts prepared in connection with the folklore traditions on robbers by B. N. Putilov and V. Gašparíková and entrusted an international collective of authors (V. Gašparíková, B. N. Putilov, D. Simonides and S. Stojkova) with the implementation of work on a synthesis. The composition of the representatives of Hungary, Yugoslavia and Rumania was to be established according to the decision of national sections.

The leadership of the collective and the editorial work were entrusted to V. Gašparíková and B. N. Putilov. In case of necessity, the author's collectives might be expanded.

In conclusion, the conference at Mogilany established the following priorities at the session of the subcommission for Slavic folklore in the presence of B. N. Putilov, V. Gašparíková and D. Simonides for the work on a synthetic treatment.

1. Observations and proposals for the project of individual national sub-commissions were to be sent to the authors of the project by the end of April, 1980;

2. to set up national author's collectives and establish the leaders of the collectives from the ranks of the researches by the beginning of the year 1980;

3. a meeting of leading author's collectives would take place at Smolenice in October, 1980, and national bibliographies were to be prepared for this session;

4. the sub-commission was addressing itself to be the representatives of Bulgaria, Hungary and Rumania participating in the Mogilany conference with a view to informing the particular national subcommissions of oral folklore about the project of a synthetic work as well as about the conclusions submitted by the sub-commission.

Although the two proposals for a synthesising work on folklore with a robber's topic in the Carpathians and the Balkans were accepted by the Mogilany conference in 1979, it was not stated that the two proposals were to become valid and unchanging directives for the implementation of the work as a whole and the initiation of the first stage was to follow the conclusions of the Smolenice meeting of 1980 after a discussion of the observations and suggestions made and the proposals of the individual subcommissions.

That working meeting took place within the framework of the international conference "Theoretical and methodological issues of researches in popular culture in the area of the Carpathians and the Balkan, with the special regard to the preparation of synthetic efforts" held at Smolenice in Czechoslovakia in the days of October 27 – 31, 1980. The organisational and thematic preparation of the conference was shared by the Ethnological Institute of the Slovak Academy of Sciences at Bratislava, the Chair of History and Geography of Central, South-Eastern and Eastern Europe of the Philosophical Faculty at the J. E. Purkyně University at Brno and the Czechoslovakia section of MKKKB.

The scope of the conference envisaged above all problems concerning the drafting of synthetic works within the framework of multilateral agreements in the sphere of the social sciences under the designation "Joint and specific Features in the People's Culture of the Countries of the Carpathian-Balkan Area". B. N. Putilov and V. Gašparíková submitted co-reports to the main report submitted by J. Podolák from Czechoslovakia. Reports as well as a discussion held in the folklore sub-commission envisaged the results of the research in the individual member countries of MKKKB as well as the use of this knowledge for the synthetic work in preparation. In her report, V. K. Sokolova from the Soviet Union spoke on the research in Ukrainian Carpathian tales of "opryšky". Preliminary remarks on the Hungarian robber's folklore in connection with the drafting of an

international synthesis were submitted by I. Küllös (Hungary). The reports were published in the periodical *Slovenský národopis* (vol. 29, of 1981, pp. 282 – 287 and 288 – 292). The same issue of the journal also carried a contribution by M. Šrámková and O. Sirovátka from Czechoslovakia: “Questions of the Czech Robber’s Folklore”.

The working meeting held at Smolenice by an author's collective for the preparation of a synthesising work on robber's folklore represented an important stage, which pushed the project's conception definitely ahead. The written invitation by the head of the subcommission V. Gašparíková, such as it had been proposed at Mogilany, was in the most concrete fashion taken up by V. E. Gusev, who sent an extensive draft; it was published in the bulletin “*Carpathobalcanica*” (issue XI, 1-2 of 1981, pp. 35 – 39) as well as in the periodical “*Slovenský národopis*” (issue 29 of 1981, pp. 220 – 223). Since an additional concept was involved, we published the full text of V. E. Gusev's concept, as well as the basic part of V. Gašparíková's reaction to it about the search for a consensus. In this way, we wish to acquaint the professional public with the process immediately preceding this synthetic effort.

In methodological Questions of the International Synthesis on Folklore with a Robber's Topic in the Carpathian-Balkan Area

With great interest have I learned about the project to effect a collective synthetic work about folklore with a robber's topic. I am myself prepared and willing to participate in the elaboration of this plan and to do my share of work in it.

The scheme proposed by V. Gašparíková already contains the basic assumptions, principles and conditions of the future work, with which I herewith express my agreement. In my opinion, it is possible to create a generally acceptable basis for the future collective effort. The principle of articulating the material in accordance with the fundamental areas of popular creation has in my opinion fully asserted itself in a scholarly context. However, I would propose to supplement the last paragraph by one important area, in particular the dramatic one: “Popular dances, games and theatre”. Even though folklore kinds such as games and the popular theatre do not reflect the robber's topic in such a variegated form as is the case in prose and song, it still comes to the fore in a specific and very effective form. As far as the people's plastic art is concerned, it did not qualify in the proposal for a separate and autonomous part of the future work, it should still not be reduced to the function of “illustrative material”, but play an organic part, though subordinated to the others, as part of the topic and pictures of the robber's folklore (in each of its basic fields), without which the complex investigation simply would not be complete. V. Gašparíková rightly propose to endow the work envisaged not which a popularising, but a strictly scholarly and theoretical-synthetic character.

She is furthermore right in warning against romantic idealising conceptions about the robbery, which in the future work must be conceived objectively, in its proper light, from a position of contemporary science, as a concrete historical feature characteristic of the epoch of feudalism with all its contradictions. It is my opinion that a scholarly characterisation as well as its social conditioning must be a condition of folkloristic research in the future work.

In this connection I support the comprehensive and detailed proposal for the part of the work which will be devoted to songs (bequeathed by B. N. Putilov). Nevertheless I submit for consideration a change in the composition of the work to come, in particular to give pride of place (No. 6 in the proposal) and formulate its contents in the following form: "The people's history and the popular songs. Robbery as a specific form of the people's movements of the 16th to 18th centuries and its reflection in the popular songs. The character, specificity and boundaries of the expression, which the people's ideals acquire in their songs".

It seems to me that along with the ethnographic aspect convincingly argued by B. N. Putilov "Methodological and theoretical aspects of the research of robber's and hayduk's folklore" it is important to envisage from the beginning also the sociological aspect and together with the problem of the ethnography of the robber's folklore to study the problem of its historical nature. This is not only a universal methodological principle of folklore research, but also emerges from the specific character of the subject of future research in the problem area. In my opinion special attention should be devoted in the programmatic outlines to the study of the historical and sociological aspects, and to single out this problem as universal for the authors of all parts of the future work; for a systematic treatment of this problem it would be desirable to engage an historical specialist.

In the program of the work as a whole as well as each of its parts, one has to keep in the mind fact that in folklore as a whole as well as in its individual forms, which are more than others linked with concrete historical events, the effect and reflex of those events, the historical "realia", are not of a direct illustrational nature, but reflect "them through a living a micro world", as was correctly pointed out by B. N. Putilov, but I should like to add through the heritage of popular traditions and in particular a special traditional view of the people. The process of the reflection of the historical reality also takes place in accordance with the laws of folklore aesthetics.

B. N. Putilov suggests as the method of research of the material the typological methods, while issuing or warning against a simplified conception of it and drawing attention to the – according to him – "basic problem of the regularity of repetition". I have no objection to the applicability of the typological method, especially tested in the study of epic poetry, partly in the works of B. N. Putilov himself, but should like on my part to warn against an absolute character of that method and to point out that it cannot automatically and without exception apply to all folklore processes and all kinds of folklore. I think that in a study of the robber's folklore, there will arise not only the problem of the "regularity of repetition", but also the "the problem of the mutual connection of the contact

character", to which V. Gašparíková rightly draws attention in her framework outline, the problem of interethnic mutual influences of the folklore of different nations (all the more so, since in some cases and certain areas their conflict was of an identical nature) and also the problem of the genesis of various specific historical forms of the robber's folklore with different peoples.

In my opinion, one should accept the general methodological orientation of the future work, which is apt to give it an integrated and universal character, a universal methodology, which integrates a multitude of special and concrete working methods, among which the typological method is but one of the methods required. Its applicability is indicated not only by its exceptional and exclusive character, but also by the subject of research and the limits of its use. Together with the typological method, the justification of the other methods of comparative research also has to be admitted, whose relation is not established *a priori*, but in the course of the analysis with due regard to the peculiarities of the investigated process, the species the problem, the character of relations, etc.

I am of the opinion that not only the presuppositions have come into existence for a discussion about the project for a synthetic work about the robber's folklore, but also for an investigation of prospectual topics. As one of the possible topics, necessary to enrich a comparative research, I suggest the topic "The partisan folklore in the period of the Second World War in the anti-fascistic struggle of the Carpathian and Balkan Peoples". (I consider my book "Slavic Partisans and Songs" only as the first step in such a work). It is known, The Folklore Commission of the International Committee of Slavists at its session in Zagreb in September 1979, accepted a decision to prepare an anthology of Slavic folklore in the period of that war. This work will comprise not only the texts of the Partisan folklore, but also from the front line, concentration camp and other sorts of the Slavic people's folklore. My suggestion implies:

1. not a preparation of a body of texts for an anthology, but a collective comparative synthetic investigation, analogical to the one which is being prepared from the material of the robber's folklore;

2. a study of the folklore creations not only of the Slavic peoples, but in accordance with the role of the MKKKB (International Commission of the Committee of the Carpathians and the Balkans), the folklore of all peoples inhabiting the Carpathians and the Balkans;

3. a research not only of the kind of folklore specially characteristic of that region – the partisan folklore in its link with the folklore traditions of the preceding liberation movements.

I believe that the research thus outlined will not repeat, but supplement the projected anthology and seems to be a logical progression of the synthetic work on the robber's folklore.

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Introductory Remarks to the Draft Project and to the Implementation of the First Stage

V. E. Gusev welcomed the proposed elaboration of a synthetic work on folklore with a robber's topic, expressed his willingness to contribute towards the implementation of this program and characterised the proposal submitted by the Slovak side as clear and lapidary.

I repeat here briefly how the material was concretely delimited in the Slovak version mentioned. As the first possibility it was mentioned that the robber's topic in the Carpathians and the adjacent Balkan area be dealt with on a level from genre point of view, which means that the synthesis would only catch one or a few sections of folklore creation (e.g. B. N. Putilov aimed only at one kind, the folksong). We believe, however, that another possibility is more correct – one which would consider the main departments of oral folklore. With regard to the Slovak folklore funds this would mean that the synthesis would cover four domains: 1. popular prose, 2. folksongs, 3. popular music, and 4. the folk dance.

Popular plastic art would serve as an illustrative supplement, and remaining kinds of folklore such as saying, popular games and theatre would remain without concentrated attention.

On this point Viktor Gusev says that popular games as well as the theatre should be classified among the chief sections, that is, in a fourth department, whose name would be: popular dances, games and the theatre. He accounts for his changed proposal in the following way: "Although folklore kinds such as games and the popular theatre do not represent the robber's topic in such a variegated way as is the case in prose as well as the songs, they still express it in a specific and very effective way".

I consider this addition of Gusev's justified for the reason that in the enumeration of kinds of folklore and giving some preference over others we proceeded, as has been said, above all from our own folklore material or from our experience. We therefore have to assume that in the hierarchy of kinds of folklore and determining, which kinds we deem more important with regard to the robber's topic and which as less obligatory, then the situation will not be always equal in the folklore stores of the individual nations. For this very reason, V. Gusev pointed out that the researcher's interest should be also extended to popular games and theatre in establishing the material bases from which to proceed in the synthesis, instead of these kinds being left only on the periphery. Analogically it may be assumed that the centre of gravity would shift to one or the other kind, so that for instance, let us say, the people's prose would not play such an important part among Russians and Bulgarians as the song, whereas with us Slovaks the relationship is reversed or both kinds are at least of equal weight. To establish the precise order, it would be indispensable to apply quantitative and qualitative scales, that is to say, to regard the frequency of occurrence of one and the other kind, and on the other hand, give its due share to thematic variety, the which may in its turn result in a new quality or the creation of new contents.

What emerges from this? I think we should seriously consider, which kinds of folklore should be included in the synthesis or whether some border line should eventually be established and if we ought to go to the very limit including also e.g. the semi-popular creation.

Victor Gusev supports B. N. Putilov's proposal for an extensive as well as detailed draft of that part of the work, which will be devoted to songs. I submit to consideration a change in the composition of the book to come, in particular to put the last chapter in the proposal (point six) first and to formulate its scope thus: "The people's history and the people's song creation. Robbery as a specific form of the liberation movement and its reflection in popular songs. The specific character and the limits of the expression, which the people's ideals find in the songs".

It will, therefore be appropriate to take up an attitude to these two issues. It may appear that it is not necessary to give an answer to this partial question, because before arriving at a synthetic handling of the robber's topic in the scope of the folksong on the entire extensive territory, a series of preliminary preparatory tasks will have to be tackled. I have quoted both points of view best they be forgotten in the future and so that the optimal solution may be found on their basis.

With the remark I now come to the second part of my contribution. While considering the progress of our work, we probably all agree that the most correct method lies in proceeding from a narrower scope or scopes, and to arrive at a synthesis on a broad territorial basis. Such an approach has been tested also in other forms of international co-operation and also comes to the fore in both draft projects of our future work. It is accordingly desirable to gain at first the broadest material reviews of robbery on the scale of individual nations. The situation will not always and everywhere be the same, but depends above all on the extent to which the collecting activity with respect to the problem given has progressed, and also on the depth and width with which other materials mainly from the archives have been studied, and the older literature excerpted. One of the primary presuppositions for acquiring a survey of the robber's topic are bibliographic sources. It will, therefore, be right and proper to carry into effect all these material presuppositions, and to decide what else has to be carried out.

In connection with this, I should like to quote point 4. of the protocol of the MKKKB's Presidium of October 10, 1979 at Mogilany: "Before the session of the author's collectives in the year 1980, their heads will work through the bibliography of the most important works for the problem given". With respect to the robber's topic in Czechoslovakia Milada Kubová was entrusted with this task for the area of Slovakia and Richard Jeřábek for the area of Bohemia and Moravia, both have acquitted themselves of their task. The bibliography prepared envisages a selective, yet withal complex registration on the largest and exhaustive scale; the authors having included all the available literature, from popular articles to strictly scholarly studies. A certain supplement will also be the list of presentations of three dimensional works, whose completion is planned in 1981.

A survey of the robber's topic in one or another form (bibliography excerpts from the literature or archival funds, classified results of collections, etc.) can, of course, be only one of the starting points for work of one's own to a synthetic realisation. I believe that also within the framework of a single people further preparatory work must be done, in the guise, for instance of collecting partial reports from some area or else partial studies envisaging a region or thematically oriented and concerning certain kinds of folklore, etc. All this depends on the state of research in this or that area, and the whole preparatory work is the business of the authors themselves or of the competent national subcommission, and it would surely be superfluous to suggest certain "receipts" in advance.

As against this, we should be clear in our minds what preliminary work on the robber's topic should comprise, how it is reflected in the folklore store of each people. I suggest that the basis of the preparatory work is the basis of the previous work, as has been suggested by Boris Putilov in his prospect. This basis corresponds to the chapters of the synthetic work to come, which is the target and has, accordingly, also six items, which the author details. To recall them, I summarise them briefly in a somewhat different formulation, briefly, that is for the reason that I am not thinking merely of songs, but various kinds of folklore, which have to be comprised in the synthesis. In such a stringent formulation, the individual points can be characterised thus:

1. Characterisation of the kind of folklore;
2. as far as possible, an exhaustive catalogue of the subjects according to type;
3. the heroes and figures of robber's folklore;
4. the relation of the folklore traditions about robbers to the time and space, in which these compositions lived and live;
5. the biology of the folklore traditions about robbers; and
6. the relationship of the robber's traditions to the historical reality.

I am leaving aside the question as to whether in the sense of Gusev's point of view the sixth will be treated as the first, or according to Putilov's proposal as the last point. I myself would supplement these six points by another one, whose treatment would make the preparation of the entire synthesis easier. I would formulate it like this: national specificity and international connections. It is natural that only for the research of the international links, but also for that of the national specificity one must proceed from an international basis. At the same time, however, we must be aware that the subject of the robber's traditions has so far not been investigated satisfactorily and that therefore, preliminary partial efforts envisaging single national territories will only be able to give sometimes signs of national specificity and international links. But even such signs will be valuable, if they represent concrete and objective partial conclusions and will not proceed a priori. We in Slovakia are very well aware that in the first stages, when the research into the robber's traditions was tackled often times some signs were deemed to be nationally specific, although they characterise in an equal or similar way the relevant part of other people's folklore traditions.

In view of the fact that the additional point suggested by me cannot at the first stage be worked out as the preceding ones, it would be advisable to place it last, say as number 7. Finally I believe that very likely also in handling an entire synthesis we shall come to consider this chapter to be the last. It would at the same time constitute the peak of the work, it would amount to its *raison d' être*, because I suppose we are not just concerned with giving – to put it simply – a list of what we find in the area of the Carpathians plus the Balkan in connection with the folklore of the robber's traditions. The goal of our concerted efforts is to indicate both differential and common features.

These common features need not always be the outcome of the same processes. B. N. Putilov speaks of a typology, but this term has, naturally, several meanings. If we admit the typological interpretation for analogical, polygenetic processes taking place in different areas under similar conditions, we reach thereby only one aspect of the matter on hand. At the same time we must also consider a monogenesis reflecting itself in interethnic relations, above all as a manifestation of different forms of contact.

Moreover, one must not forget various combined features, to which the literary science has drawn attention, contacto-typological or typologico-contactual ones. To clarify what I had in mind, I was thinking of all these possibilities in formulating the suggested additional point I used the somewhat imprecise in the sense that it might create the impression as if I would again consider only concrete monogenetic possibilities, leading to a common sign in folklore creations.

The framework proposal for a synthesis on folklore with a robber's topic in the Carpathians and the adjacent territory of the Balkans also contained a certain temporal "schedule". It must be taken into consideration, that the draft was proposed about a year and a half ago, so that a certain amount of time was lost for technical reasons. But although a certain amount of time was lost, I believe it is within our forces to conclude. These preliminary efforts in the relations of the individual peoples successfully and according to plan.

At the Smolenice conference the territorial delimitation of the Carpathian region was undertaken. It was agreed that the Carpathian region would comprise the whole extent of the Western, Eastern and Southern Carpathians as well as the lowland areas adjacent to them. What was involved in Czechoslovakia was the area of Moravia, the Těšín part of Silesia and Slovakia as a whole, Poland was to be represented by the Carpathians and the Carpathian Podhoří, the Soviet Union by the West Carpathian part of the Ukraine as well as the Northern Moldavia. In view of their geographic situation as well as cultural significance the topic would be researched in its entirety by the area of Hungary (and Rumania), which joins the Carpathians area with the Balkans. In the southern parts of Hungary and Rumania, traces of a Balkan cultural influence can be perceived, interpenetrating with cultural influences generally spread in the northern areas. The project proceeds from the assumption, that the Balkan area should only be represented by the territory directly adjoining the Carpathian region, which amounts to parts of Yugoslavia and in Bulgaria to the Danubia area.

Such a delimitation of the research area would make it possible to follow the cultural connections of the Carpatho-Balkan region within an enlarged geographic context. Folklore features in the Carpathian area would thus be investigated within the context of the Central and East European development of popular traditions. Without such a broader comparison it would be impossible not only to explain the links between the Carpatho-Balkan area with other parts of Europe, but also to ascertain the essence of the Carpatho-Balkan cultural community and interethnic relations.

The Sub-commission for folklore of MKKKB, represented by B. N. Putilov, V. Gašparíková, I. Küllös and D. Simonides agreed to the delimitation of the project. The territorial delimitation of the synthesis remained open right up to the negotiations in Moscow in 1981, where the representatives of the individual countries were to present the projects for the individual national synthesis. Those national subcommissions which failed to send their representatives to Mogilany in 1979 and Smolenice (Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Rumania) are to submit their contributions on the state of research in the individual countries as well as for the session in Moscow a register of the subject on robbers and of the individual figures of the robbers.

All unsolved problems of a theoretical, organisational and practical character were to be solved by negotiations of an international working teams on the occasion of a conference held under the collective title of the wider bloc of contributions of the Community of countries for the ethnographic research of the Carpatho-Balkan region, held at Moscow in the days of June 1 – 5, 1981 within the framework of MKKKB. The conference was attended by a broad international author's collective – S. Stojkova (Bulgaria), V. Gašparíková (Czechoslovakia), C. Organdžieva (Yugoslavia), I. Küllös (Hungary), B. N. Putilov, V. M. Gacak, V. E. Gusev, A. J. Dej and N. L. Ručkina (Soviet Union). The folkloristic section heard theoretical, material and informational reports. As a contribution one may consider the fact that the authors of the reports made an effort in the evaluation of the folklore funds on the robbers of their people also to indicate the broader connections of these traditions. By their scope as well as concept, the reports differed from each other. They reflected not only the different features of the robber's folklore on the one or other territory and the state of research in the individual countries, but also the scientific attitude of the individual researches. From the reports emerged not only a different concept of the figure of the robber himself in the traditions of the individual peoples, and that is why the existing differentiation demands different names for the given phenomenon. Aside from that, the folklore traditions about robbers do not belong to the some periods.

Despite differences of view, the participating scholars stressed the inevitability of a complex view of the folklore traditions on robbers, and this also when they envisage apparently marginal areas, in which the folklore on robbers is not marked by a great vitality. The interpretation of the popular traditions on robbers in large territorial, social etc. contexts also leads to differentiations of a different kind, above all where the concept of robbery as such and the understanding of the folk-

lore traditions on robbers are concerned. With these differentiations, the robbers and the folklore about him appear in an objective light not only with his positive, but also his negative aspects. The wish not to idealise the robber and the folklore traditions about him appears thus to be well substantiated.

At the folkloristic session in Moscow, V. Gašparíková recalled in her presentation the name of the researcher, who was associated with Slovak science and culture, who by his broad erudition and universal interest was able to judge Slovak folklore manifestations from a higher point of view, as it were, and to give evidence of a right sense of capturing their specific features: the name of Petr G. Bogatyrev. He evaluated manifestations of the robber's topic within the complex of the people's culture as a whole as well as of popular literature, in its various kinds right up to the plastic arts.

Bogatyrev's complex view was also authoritative for the synthesising of Slovak and Czech research. Although it is the Slovak rich folklore fund of robbers, which occupies the centre of the attention, it was also concerned with Czech traditions, above all in Eastern Moravia and Silesia, in which at least in a certain part of that area next to Jánošík the figure of the robber Ondráš dominates. After a study of the folklore materials and studies and the organisation of a team of specialists, the sub-commission on oral folklore adopted the following structure of a synthesis of Slovak and Czech materials.

- I. Introduction – with a delimitation of the concept of “robber”, with a geographic limitation on Czechoslovak ground, with a justification of the worker's concept and the articulation of a whole multitude of research;
- II. The origin and evolution of the robbery;
- III. Kinds of folklore with a robber's topic:
 1. prose (tales, memoirs and the infiltration into tales, humoristic legends etc.);
 2. lyrical, lyrico-epical songs and ballads;
 3. the people's theatre;
 4. music and dance;
 5. semi-popular forms (songs performed at fairs, and others);
 6. minor kinds (sayings, proverbs and riddles);
 7. children's folklore (games, sayings etc.).
- IV.
 1. Robbery's image in the arts (popular and professional);
 2. plastic arts (popular and professional).
- V. Conclusions (overall characterisation, generalisations and inter alia the relation of the folklore traditions to historical reality);
- VI. Samples of representative texts and evidence;
- VII. Literature (bibliography) and
- VIII. Indices (personal and according to subjects treated).

All these sections will obviously balance each other. The nucleus should be constituted by chapter III on the kinds of folklore, emphasis being laid on those which maximally represent the folklore on robbers, are more frequent and stand out by their contextual and formal variety. This means most place will be accorded

to the prose and songs, after them to dance and music, whereas other kinds such as the popular theatre, small sections and children's folklore will serve rather as documentation where the robber's topic has penetrated and called forth a response.

Since what is involved is not only Slovakia, but also the territory of the Czechs specifically Eastern Moravia and Silesia, there will be a need for a broad collective of authors, whose work will proceed at two temporal levels. The first stage could be concluded in the first half of 1983, when the individual passages will be the object of opposition and more detailed explanations, while the definitive elaboration will be tackled in the second half of the year.

V. Gašparíková did not want to propose the structure of the completisation as a general model, according to which the following international structure should be modelled. Each national author's collective should tackle the robber's topic in its own way, because the peculiarities of each state should also show in the synthesis, what matters, however, is the complete treatment of the one or other manifestation. However, the main principles should be in common. An exhaustive survey of the literature of the givers topic, the pertinent national bibliographies and the joint bibliographies should be deemed a *conditio sine qua non*.

As concerns the proper social principles, what would be involved, on the one hand was a complex approach to the problem of the folklore of robbers and on the other, within this complex the illumination of the individual features (genre) from various points of view. Such an interpretation would contain the following aspects, detailed according to the genres involved:

1. a catalogue of subjects (material) and the chief motives, complete as far as possible;
2. the heroes and figures of the folklore traditions about the robbers;
3. the poetry of legends about robbers;
4. the national specificity (with a differentiated regard to regional properties) and interethnic as well as international connections, of a contact and typological character with due regard to the contacto-typological and typologico-contact possibilities; and
5. the biological and ecological presuppositions of folklore compositions with a robber's topic.

V. Gašparíková suggested to the author's collective to express an opinion on the fundamental aspects of the work, to supplement some proposals or to make them more precise so as to facilitate in advance the road towards the elaboration of an international synthesis, a road which unforeseen obstacles might emerge.

The ideas of the authors of Czechoslovak synthesis were clearly formulated and supported by B. N. Putilov with a view to incorporating into the draft project for an International Synthesis, a part comprising a characterisation of the folklore traditions regarding robbery in the comparative synthesis to come, because such as it is now, it does not give a complete and withal differentiated picture of the folklore traditions about robbers by ethnics in a territorially wider envisaged scope of the Carpathians and the Balkans.

The question of the limitation of the area on which the international synthesis will draw remains still open. The draft suggested the widest possible boundaries – that means, not just the Carpathian and Balkan areas, but also the adjacent East Slavic and East Romance areas. The significance of such an approach would lie in the fact that it is not possible for Hungarians, Poles, Rumanians and Czechs to set aside the Carpathians material and to treat it distinctly from the robber's and hayduk's material of the other pertinent countries. That is why it is necessary in all these cases to resort to the national traditions in their entirety. Aside from that, it is very difficult to single out the Moldavian material, a synthesis would have to consider natural the whole East Romance folklore about robbers with a view also to its internal differentiation. And, last not least, doubt arises as to whether it is fair to limit the Ukrainian material only to its Carpathian part. There have been proposals to add in such an extended approach also the Russian and Belorussian material, which regionally does not belong to the Carpathian plus Balkanic material.

After an extensive debate a working proposal was adopted, whose proper nucleus would be the Balkan and Carpathian folklore, while the folklore of the areas in a certain way linked with this nucleus would be presented as complementary. The fear was expressed that a strict limitation to the above boundaries would create certain difficulties, while a widening of the boundaries would give the work a better chance for generalisations.

We take the most essential parts from the final protocol of the author's collective session on June 3, 1981 in Moscow:

1. To submit the first variants of the national syntheses on the first part of the international synthesis up to the end of 1981;
2. to prepare a catalogue of subjects (motives) of the robber's figures of each nation by May, 1982, following the sample suggested by V. Gašparíková;
3. to request V. E. Gusev and S. J. Hryca to supplement the project on choreography and music by September, 1981;
4. to request V. M Gacak to complement the project on problems of poetry by September, 1981;
5. to conclude the drafting of a bibliography of each nation by the end of September, 1981; and
6. it is desirable to include also Albanian material in the synthesis.

A part proposal concerning choreography and music has been worked out by the authors V. E. Gusev and S. J. Hryca, but in the international synthesis, yet we fail to find this problem in the international synthesis aside from the Czechoslovakia part. It is, however, represented in the synthesis, Czechoslovakia part, by S. Dužek's "Robber's dances in the Slovak folk dance tradition" and by Z. Je-línková's "Robber's folk dances in Moravia and Silesia" (*Slovenský národopis* 36, 1988, pp. 493 – 508 and 509 – 517). For a future research of the robber's folk dance and music we submit the basic parts of the project: V. E. Gusev – S. J. Hryca.

In the days May 31 to June 4, 1982, there was held in Szentendre (Hungary) an international conference "Results and the part played by a study of the people's

culture in the areas of the Carpathians and the Balkans with the meetings of the collectives preparing a synthetic work". The chief attention was devoted to the implementation of the project: a discussion of the extent of elaboration of the project in the area of the Carpathians and the Balkans with the sessions of the collectives preparing the synthetic work. The conference was attended by B. N. Putilov (Soviet Union), C. Organdžieva (Yugoslavia), V. Gašparíková and O. Sirovátka (Czechoslovakia), I. Küllös (Hungary) and D. Simonides (Poland).

At the session of the author's collective the temporary draft of the synthesis with regard to the individual chapters was discussed. At the same time, the slow progress made in the elaboration of the first part of the chapter and the survey of chapters due to the author's failure to deliver the materials and the absence of members of the author's collectives was stated. That is why it was planned for 1982:

1. to supply material for the chapter "Subjects";
2. to terminate the first part of the synthesis;
3. to ask the Ukrainian author's collective to supply a Ukrainian bibliography;
4. to interest musicologists in the first project;
5. to terminate the edition of the international selective bibliography;
6. to present a provisional summary of the part "Subjects", so that it should be possible to oppose it at the next working session;
7. to oppose texts of the first part;
8. to tackle the drafting of the part "Heroes and Figures of the Robbers – cum – Hayduk folklore"; and
9. to assure for future working conferences aside from those present also further members of the collective especially from Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union.

The members of the author's group expressed their satisfaction with the intention of the Czechoslovak author's group to create a national synthetic work on the robber's folklore and were inclined to think that similar national synthesis were of extreme importance for a successful treatment of an international synthesis. A team of important experts is already working on it, from Czech Republic and Slovakia.

On the complex study about the folklore on robbers

The subject of the complex study in the contemporary research are complicated and compact objects (systems, structures). Such an object is above all popular art with its specific internal associations of the structural elements (oral, musical, choreographic, dramatic, plastic etc.) as well as the external links in the history of the historically developing metasystem of social and structural relations (genetic and contact associations of one people's tradition with traditions of another people).

With a complex approach to popular art it is not each of its features, which that is studied in isolation, but as a part of a single cultural process and again each kind in the totality of artistic elements. The entire field of popular art is

divided, as a single system, into two mutually linked and withal different sub-systems (oral-musical, musical-choreographic, dramatic-artistic sorts of popular art) and applied art (plastic forms of popular artistic creation).

In contemporary research, the following directions have outlined themselves in the complex approach to popular art.

1. the study of popular art in the narrower sense as a relatively independent complex of various sorts and genres, coexisting according to the laws of collective artistic creation;

2. the study of popular art as a component of the entire social and cultural output of the people, with due regard to the universal laws for the society's development and specific conditions of the people's way of life generally (the social environment, in which the popular art arises and acts);

3. the study of popular art as a component of the nation's entire artistic culture with due regard to the specific nature of each kind of professional art and the laws of art's historical development generally;

4. attempted studies of the specific nature of popular art, with the application of the methods of other leading disciplines and contemporary theory (sociology, psychology, cybernetics, information theory, structuralism, semiotics etc.).

We represent the point of view that the first two orientations are of primary importance for a collective work envisaging the robber's folklore of the Carpathian and Balkanic peoples.

In the planned collective synthetic work, dedicated to the robber's folklore of the area outlined we have to indicate along with differences in the prose and the songs also differences characteristic of the dances, games, dramatic creation, instrumental music and applied art. In this it is necessary to allow for the relatively lesser elaboration of these aspects of kinds of artistic culture about robbers (in comparison with the prosaic and poetic folklore), which needs a precise catalogue of the existing literature and a supplementary collection of material from archives, museums and the terrain. That is why in the present stage of the collective work we must necessarily enlist the co-operation of specialists of the sectors mentioned and organise their work as well as provide the necessary changes and supplements for the entire composition of the work to come. Among many examples we shall merely indicate some problems in the area of the study of popular choreography and music.

In the culture of peoples of the Carpathian cum Balkan area men's dances and games connected with the communal military way of life stand out, preserved and transformed in the setting of hayduks, robbers, "opryški" and similar social groups. Their characteristic and specific nature is also indicated by the names "hayduk round-dance", "Jánošík dance" and similar. It is the purpose of a typological study of these dances not only to indicate their direct relation among themselves, but also to compare them with other traditional men's dances performed with weapons, above all those by jumps (such as the hucul arkan, kazačok and the like). It is equally desirable to establish, which robber's dances and games were accompanied by songs, which by play on a musical instrument and also whether

there were among them silent dances (for instance, it is known that the Macedonian "Komitats" danced without songs or musical accompaniment, lest their enemies overhear them). At the same time it is necessary to research into the requisites characteristic of robber's dances and games as well as their representation in the applied art of the Carpathians and the Balkans.

Generally speaking, the research of the dramatic, artistic and actorial kinds of popular art is indispensable for a comparison of their image with the system of images of the prose and poetry products of the robber's folklore.

The music must be interpreted in various functional manifestations: a) as an integral component of the people's song folklore of the chosen area's folklore.

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From September 1981 up to the end of the year 1982 several further working sessions of the authors of the synthesis took place, but these meetings in the main envisaged work on the elaboration of national chapters of the international synthesis or national synthetic work. In September 1981 V. Gašparíková reported in Opole (Poland) at the meeting of the Polish author's collective an announcement, in view of the absence of Polish representatives, on the Moscow agreements as well as on the state of preparations for international synthesis, more especially its first part. The subcommission for oral folklore organised two working sessions of the author's collective on robber's traditions in the area of the Czechoslovak Carpathians in January, 1982, in Prague and in August of the same year in Brno, when it arrived at a draft for the synthetic work; methodological problems were treated and the roles were distributed in such a way that the Czechoslovak synthetic work would encompass not only Slovakia, but also the areas of Moravia and Silesia.

In October, 1982, the Slovak and Czech authors met in the presence of B. N. Putilov at Strážnice in Moravia (Czechoslovakia), when three sorts of questions were treated with the following conclusions:

1. The international select bibliography is complete and only waiting for the Ukrainian material.

2. The manuscript of the Czechoslovak synthetic work would be completed by the end of the year 1983. After transcription, the manuscript would be sent to each national collective, so that it might help in drawing up the relevant parts of the international synthesis.

3. In connection with the international synthesis, B. N. Putilov asked the Slovak and Czech authors to take of the elaboration of chapter VII. on the folklore of robbers and its life, and V. Gašparíková readied immediately to the demand after the Strážnice meeting and sent by the end of 1982 an elaborate questionnaire on

the relevant VII. th chapter in the Slovak, Russian and German languages to all leaders of author's collectives.

The working out of the II. th IV. th and V. th chapters was entrusted to the Soviet Union, the VIII. th to Hungary.

In this period, the definitive shape of the International Synthesis was worked out with a division into the single chapters:

Introduction

- I. A brief characterisation of the national song and prose folklore;
- II. Subjects
 - a) a general register of topics, subjects and motives
 - b) analysis and generalisations
- III. Heroes, personalities and problems of historicity;
- IV. Questions of poetry;
- V. Musical analysis of song folklore and instrumental music;
- VI. Others forms of folklore and popular art (theatre, choreography and painting);
- VII. The folklore about robbers and its life;
- VIII. Robbers and hayduk folklore in national culture.

Conclusion

On the basis of the preceding agreements of all author's collectives chapter I, comprising the characterisations of the individual national folklore traditions about bandits, has the demand of the Czech and Slovak authors, submitted at the Moscow session of 1981, acquired its real shape.

The characterisations five basic points:

Chapter I. Characterisation of the individual traditions

1. Historical and social conditions, chronology, stages of development territory. The relations of the people and various social strata towards robbers, popular terminology.

2. General characterisation of the folklore about robbers. Composition by genres, various kinds and forms. Games, dances, theatre, robber's motives in popular plastic art, ceramics, statuary etc. The basic published and archival sources (in agreement with chapter VI).

3. A detailed characterisation of the basic kinds of robber's folklore. Genetic links between the genres. Ideological-thematic analysis. Characterisation, subjects, poetics generally (as in the analysis of chapters II, III and IV).

4. A detailed characterisation of the topic-robber's folklore and its life (as in chapter VII).

5. Characterisation of the topic-robber's folklore in professional culture (as in chapter VIII).

In the day July 1 – 5, 1983 sessions of the author's collectives of all elaborated three national synthesis took place in Prijepolje (Yugoslavia).

Since only representatives of Hungary and Yugoslavia took part in the folkloristic section, the members of the international author's collective devoted

themselves especially to I. Küllös's contributions and the Serbian draft of P. Vlahović. A manuscripts of chapters I and II were to be supplied by C. Organdžieva (Yugoslavia) by September, 1983.

At the session it was stated, that chapters I and II were to be the subject of negotiations at Ľvov. It seemed to be inevitable that the team should be smaller and operative. It was necessary to insure the participation of members of the author's collectives from all member countries in the discussion of chapters II, IV, VI, VII and VIII.

The Presidium of MKKKB stated, that it was necessary to ensure the regular attendance of members of the author's collectives at the planned sessions. In cases of motivated absence of members of the author's collectives of some member of a collective, the material had to be supplied through another member of the national section. Such a decision had to be accepted for reasons of the failure of the travel to the working session of the representatives of Poland, Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union, who notified their positions by letter.

One of the primary presuppositions towards acquiring a survey of the robber's topic was bibliographic registers. The chosen experts S. Stojkova (Bulgaria), M. Kubová and R. Jeřábek (Czechoslovakia), C. Organdžieva (Yugoslavia), I. Küllös (Hungary), D. Simonides and T. Smolińska (Poland), H.V. Dovženok, V. M. Gacak, A. J. Jasenčuk, B. N. Putilov and Ju. J. Smirnov (Soviet Union) submitted national bibliographies, which were then editorially according to the individual criteria and forwarded to print after the composition of registers still in the third quarter of the year. The select bibliography was published in Brno in the series "Bibliographia Ethnographica Carpathobalcanica" as its third issue under the title *Folklórní tradice o zbojníkích* ("Folklore traditions about robbers").

In the days October 16 – 19 an international conference was held at Ľvov on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the origin of MKKKB. Its chief aim was to evaluate the 25 years of results of its organisational, coordinational and research activity, but at the same time also to present the results achieved in the elaboration of international synthesis.

The critical analysis of the state of the work on the international synthesis on the robber's traditions – although, they were prepared and entrusted to individual members of an author's collective on the topics "Folklore on robbers audits life" (Czechoslovakia), "Games choreographic and theatrical forms of folklore about robbers" (Soviet Union) and "Folklore about robbers in professional culture" (Hungary) – indicated an inequality of results achieved in the individual national sections, which slowed down the preparation of the synthesis. It was stated that the highest degree of elaboration of the material basis had taken place in the Czechoslovak, Hungarian and Polish sections, whereas in the other sections they were either being elaborated or else had not yet been tackled. Proceeding from the facts stated as well as from the inevitability of completing the work within the given time limit and in according with the concept of the project, it was decided to accept the following measures:

1. To limit the elaboration of the synthesis within the framework of the Carpathians and Balkan, objects, while obligatorily finishing a complete and detailed synthesis of the material from the Carpathian region and incorporating the Balkan material into the synthesis on the assumption of its presentation within the time limit given. In this place it behoves to recall that the Czechoslovak section V. Gašparíková, O. Sirovátka, although it deemed the elaboration of a synthesis for the Carpathian-Balkan region ideal, it yet recommended to treat the problem only within the Carpathian area ideal, for organisational reasons, a time schedule and also its workability by an author's collective.

2. While retaining the research intention of the synthesis to render its structure, i.e. to broaden the Ist chapter (8-9 A), to change it to the first part of the book and to include therein chapters VI, VII, and VIII. The authors of the relevant parts should keep to the demands accepted at the sessions of the author's collective including the questionnaires established before.

3. Chapters II and V to be elaborated in the original order.

4. To prepare obligatorily the first edition of all chapters by the next session of the author's collective at Smolenice in May, 1985. This required concluding the work on the material basis in the national author's group for chapters II, III, IV and V by the beginning of the year 1985.

At the session, the following took part for the individual countries: I. Küllös (Hungary), D. Simonides (Poland), B. N. Putilov (Soviet Union), P. Vlahović (Yugoslavia) and V. Gašparíková (Czechoslovakia).

After the negotiations of the author's collective in Lvov, work on the competition of the synthetic work on robber's traditions developed laudably. This showed especially at the meeting during the MKKKB at Smolenice (Czechoslovakia) in the days May 4 – 6, 1985. A positive view was taken of the edition of a bibliography, the full completion of the part played by the Czechoslovak group of authors, the realisation of a considerable part of the work on Hungarian, Polish and Yugoslav material. The announcement that work in connection with the East Romance and Ukrainian material would soon be finished also comforted the spirits. At the working sessions of chapter I connected with the Czechoslovak, Polish and Yugoslav parts was subjected to a critique. An author's collective consisting of D. Simonides (Poland), B. N. Putilov (Soviet Union), P. Vlahović (Yugoslavia) and V. Gašparíková (Czechoslovakia) welcomed the after to have the definitive version of the Czechoslovak part sent to all participants of the collective as an exemplary, pattern of the elaboration of the first chapter's elaboration. P. Vlahović's proposal to limit the Yugoslav part in the first place to the north eastern part of Serbia as a Carpathian region was accepted. Some authors pledged themselves to supply the relevant national synthesis for the first chapter of the international synthesis not only in their own language, but likewise in Russian.

The ensuing two year after the Smolenice consultation did not move the work on the international synthesis much ahead especially in connection with the full elaboration of chapters I and II. At the international meeting of the author's col-

lectives at Varna (Bulgaria) in the days October 26 – 28, 1987, in which I. Küllös (Hungary), B. N. Putilov (Soviet Union) and V. Gašparíková (Czechoslovakia), took part, it had to be stated that the planned work decided by the schedule was not completed and the complete Hungarian, Polish and East Romance work was to some extent unavailable. In her address, V. Gašparíková saw also in the proceeding years an outright starting point for the elaboration of the international synthesis in the elaboration of national synthesis, which would constitute the basis for the international synthesis.

With a view to concluding the synthesis, a proposal was adopted to extend the Polish author's collective, and in connection with the complete delivery of the Hungarian material during the session at Varna all aspects of the work on individual chapters were treated very concretely. The author's collective also asked B. N. Putilov to ensure the edition of the synthesis in the editorial plain of the Academy of Sciences in Moscow in the way in which representatives of MKKKB section had pledged themselves to do.

After a lapse of several years it appeared that the leadership of the Czechoslovak subcommission for oral folklore of the MKKKB had been successful in deciding on the altogether 20 experts (13 from Slovakia and 7 from Bohemia and Moravia). In this way, the problems of the robber's traditions could be fully realised across the board within the national synthesis and the international synthetic work. The synthesis on the robber's traditions in the Czechoslovak part of the Carpathians comprised an historical part, prose stories from Slovakia, Moravia and Silesia, Slovak, Moravian and Silesian songs and dances, robber's dances from Slovakia, Moravia and Silesia, the robber's topic in the proverbial tradition in the Slovak popular theatre, the robber's topic in the children's folklore, in the popular plastic arts, in Slovak and Czech literature, in the semi-popular literary creation, in Slovak and Czech puppet theatres as well as the robber's topic in theatre and film creation. It is thus that an integrated image about the robber's traditions penetrating the popular culture of Czechs and Slovaks could emerge. All contributions appeared as a thematic block under the heading: "Traditions about robbery in the culture and historical consciousness of peoples of Czechoslovakia – towards the 300th anniversary of Juraj Jánošík's birth", appeared in the journal *Slovenský národopis* 36 (1988, pp. 393 – 617). It emerged from the contributions published in the study, that in spite of this stress on a unified line of research, every author proceeded in accordance with his own scholarly nature. That is why the attitude of scholarly research in Czechia and Slovakia and its methodological starting point were reflected in the study in its way. It emerged from them how far the research on the robber's traditions had proceeded in the individual sectors as well as what remained as an open debt for future generations.

On the basis of the block of contributions, V. Gašparíková, the leader of the Czechoslovak author's collective composed a 52-paged summary, which represented the desired characterisation of the Czech and Slovak folklore traditions about robbers as part of the international synthesis. The summary was subjected to a critique by the Slovak and Czech experts and afterwards also by an interna-

tional forum and after observations or a supplements accepted (however, it had to be limited to 40 pages according to B. N. Putilov). After its translation into Russian it was in 1988 handed over to the guarantor B. N. Putilov.

In order for a broader reading public to take cognisance of the Czech and Slovak researcher's results of several year's efforts, the draft prepared became the introduction of an extensive book – the anthology of folklore genres about robbers from the territory of Slovakia, Moravia and Silesia, which Viera Gašparíková prepared for the press under the heading “Jánošík. The robber's image in popular culture” (1988) for the 300th anniversary of Juraj Jánošík's birth. From a large number of oral creations, patterns of popular stories and songs about robbers were expected into the book. It is these two kinds of folklore manifestations, which constitute the dominant part of the book. But neither did other kinds of folklore – proverbs and sayings, plays, children's folklore as well as a whole range of patterns of people's creation and artistic literature remain behind.

A similar anthology bearing on people's stories and songs about robbers was issued by I. Küllös under the title “Betyárok könyve” (1988).

In the year 1988 the Polish national synthesis also was finished as well as the relevant parts for chapter II of the international synthesis. From the originally planned three synthesis – about popular architecture, robber's traditions and high mountain shepherding – work proceeded intensely already only on the first two. The Czechoslovak section of MKKKB organised in the days October 24 – 28, 1988 at Dolná Krupá (Czechoslovakia) a working session of the author's collectives sharing two national synthesis.

There, the international critique of The Polish national synthesis as well as of some further parts of chapters of the international synthetic work was effected.

In the presence of the members of the author's collective O. Sirovátka, M. Šrámková and V. Gašparíková (Czechoslovakia), D. Simonides and T. Smolińska (Poland), B. N. Putilov (Soviet Union) as well of further recognised researches workers. D. Klímová and J. Jech (Czechoslovakia) the public questioning of certain proposed chapters of the international synthesis, more particularly B. N. Putilov's chapter about the typology of songs and the entire Polish national synthesis was carried out. It was agreed that the Polish national synthesis should be completed according to the critic's suggestions of November, 1988 and be sent in a Russian translation to B. N. Putilov by the end of January, 1989.

B. N. Putilov furthermore announced that according to the report of I. Küllös, who could not participate in the working session, the Hungarian national synthesis was ready and would be sent off to the guarantor of the part within the next few days.

At the concluding session it was furthermore stated, that the international synthesis was completed from the Czechoslovak collective's part. In the year 1989 all collectives would supply the relevant illustrative material. The protocol of the session decided to finish the edition of the international synthesis, submit it to the research council of the Institute for Ethnography of the Soviet Academy of Sciences and hand it over for printing by the end of the year 1989.

Further information on the realisation of the synthetic work on robber's traditions could now only be obtained from the decision of the Presidium of the Czechoslovak section of MKKKB, one's personal own correspondence, autopsy and memory. We learn from B. N. Putilov's letter of June 20, 1989, that he had received the material of the Hungarian national synthesis and only missed the part on the reflection of the robber's folklore in the professional culture, which would have to be supplemented. In the Polish national synthesis in Russian translation he was worried by the interpretation of robbery as an historical phenomenon. The envisaged author of chapter V on the musical analysis of song folklore and instrumental music, S. J. Hryca had not written it and a replacement had to be sought. He had the Ukrainian material at his disposal, some parts the author would still supply. He had more remainders on the Moldavian material and was counting on the author to supplement the material. V. M. Gacak, who was to prepare the Rumanian material and chapter IV on questions of poetry, was working on the topics but he had no report on when he would receive the complete studies.

As a further part of the letter referred to more fundamental changes in the synthesis of the work on robber's traditions we quote from it in full:

"So far I have been editing the material at my disposal. A look at it has convinced me, that it was not necessary to preserve in the book chapters on each national tradition, but that it would be much preferable to arrange it like this:

1. Historical conditions of robbers (according to all regions);
2. universal characterisation of sung and prosaic folklore (according to all regions);
3. robbery in the people's cultural traditions (according to all regions);
4. the topic of robbery in professional culture (according to all regions);
5. typology of themes and motives (according to all regions);
6. musical culture of robbery (according to all regions);
7. poetics of robber's folklore (according to all regions).

Perhaps it would be more advisable to exchange § 5 for § 3, § 7 for § 4 and § 4 and § 6 for § 5. After them, the present § 3 and § 4 would come denoted as § 6 and § 7. We are now editing each part separately.

Since I have not received the complete material and reckon that individual parts will need supplements and corrections by the authors, we can conclude the edition only to the extent to which it will be possible to consider the work as completed. But the definitive text for the press would only be possible for the next year".

As the second research editor of the synthetic work, V. Gašparíková reacted to the changes in the final stage in her letter of August, 1989, as follows:

"Changes in the conception of the synthetic work in the final stage would not be very desirable. In my opinion – and the authorisation of the studies obliges us to this – the studies should be published such as they were conceived and elaborated. The introduction or else the epilogue should state, what was our target, what we achieved and what not. It is to be expected that such a synthetic effort of

a broader international collective would be very exacting and always can everything be completed a hundred percent. For this would be necessary to accomplish all studies, edit them after supplying the missing parts, choose the illustrations and to publish the studies as soon as possible according to the agreements and such as they were supplied by the individual authors. I emphasise that the work has to be prepared for the printing office, for it would not suffice to consider the effort completed. The work would then never appear similarly as some preceding collective labours. What is expected from an international collective is a published work, not a manuscript lying in some archive, that would never see the light of day. We do not have enough time to be able to afford this. And, finally, this is not just my own view, but also the view of the Czechoslovak section of MKKKB as well as of many authors working on the synthesis".

There followed from the part of V. Gašparíková or written request for missing manuscripts and a search for replacement authors, which had failed to materialise in the final stage of the synthesis. In the period after the velvet revolution in Czechoslovakia in November, 1989, written and person contacts broke off for a longer time.

Nor was the secretariat of the Czechoslovak section of MKKKB able to gain more information, when it asked B. N. Putilov in a letter of March, 1990, for information on the status of work on the synthesis and the publishing possibilities in the Soviet Union, to which the Soviet association of MKKKB had pledged itself. In view of the entire political and social situation in Europe no information is available on the reaction to this letter.

In the days Nov. 30 – Dec. 1, 1993, an activation of this international organisation received at the meeting of the Presidium of MKKKB in Lviv and in connection with this a change in the statutes; the Commission inclined to its original name, anchored in the statutes as the International Commission for Research in the People's Culture in the Carpathian area (MKKK) and the bulletin Carpatobalcanica likewise returned to its original name of Carpatica.

On V. Gašparíková's initiative, the leaders of the Ethnological Institute of the Slovak Academy of Sciences in Bratislava sent on May 5, 1994, a letter to B. N. Putilov, asking for information about the completion and edition of this work. In his letter of May 30, B. N. Putilov stated that he had received the material from all authors collectives, i. e. Slovak and Czech, Polish, Hungarian, Ukrainian and Moldavian, but the Rumanian material was still outstanding, so that from this point of view the work was incomplete and the present situation he saw no way out. The manuscripts was partly edited, partly not in its final form and, therefore, in this state not the synthesis could not be handed over. For its completion large financial means would be necessary, which did not exist, so that a publication by the Moscow Academy was out of the question.

At a working meeting of MKKK in Igolomi (Ukraine) in the days October 18 – 20, 1994, we learned from unofficial sources that the elaborated synthetic parts was also discussed and that the Ukrainian section of MKKK had announced the possibility of publishing the synthesis on robber's tradition in Lviv. More

specific news was contained only in B. N. Putilov's letter to V. Gašparíková of Sept. 2, 1997, in which he announced that before the MKKK session at L'viv in 1996, negotiations proceeded with director of the Institute of Ethnology of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences at L'viv S. Pavľuk about the publication of the manuscript. Here are the results of the agreement:

1. The international synthesis on robber's traditions will be prepared for publication in the Ukrainian language;

2. B. N. Putilov will work out and add a chapter devoted to the typology of robbers and "Opryšok" songs;

3. G. Botezatu from Kišinev will finish the work on the Moldavian material, to which he will give a broad East Romance character;

4. three editors will work on the manuscript: V. Gašparíková, B. N. Putilov and R. F. Kirčyv.

It emerged likewise from the letter that the manuscript's form of the synthesis was in L'viv, whither the chapter on the typology of the songs has also been sent.

The letter did not reach Slovakia before the first days of October, so that V. Gašparíková could not react directly to it and the agreements contained in it at the working session on the occasion of the jubilee conference of the Polish Ethnographic Society (PTL) in Mszana Dolna (Poland). On the eve of the early meeting of MKKK we had an opportunity of acquainting ourselves with the complex manuscript of the international synthesis, brought to the conference by S. Pavľuk, Secretary General of MKKK and R. F. Kirčyv from L'viv. The central intention of the section's meeting was exactly a discussion of questions concerning all three synthesis. What was involved was precisely the establishment of specific dates in connection with their elaboration and above all publication. It was agreed that after supplementing some parts and editing by V. Gašparíková and R. F. Kirčyv, the synthetic work would be published in Ukrainian in 1998, with an extended resume in another language. In her account, V. Gašparíková pointed out that after a cursory glance at the synthesis, in essence it corresponded to the agreements with the representatives of the individual countries and could, after supplementing certain parts, fulfil the original intention. She did not propose as regards time to extend the synthesis right up to the present, as was the case with the synthesis on people's architecture, the material did not change essentially. The studies were worked out and the latest literature could be incorporated into the select bibliography. Naturally, B. N. Putilov's suggestions on the supplementation of the East Romance material and the objective views of this part of the synthesis were to be respected. Some questions would certainly remain open, unanswered, some sectors not represented, yet the significance of such a work rested on reflecting a certain state of scholarly thinking in a certain era, from which successive young researches would be able to proceed.

After the discussions at Mszana Dolna, V. Gašparíková proposed in a letter to B. N. Putilov of Oct. 5, 1997, to continue with the work, considering it priority to:

1. to prepare in co-operation a title page, deeming the title "Folklore Traditions on Robbers in the region of the Carpathians" most suitable;

2. to cite by name the international author's collective, always with the respective countries;

3. to prepare an introduction as well as an epilogue – the genesis of the work, the intention of the synthesis, projects, implementation, international meetings, critique (could be placed also in an independent chapter);

4. to supplement the chapters on stories as well as the chapter on the typology of songs;

5. to prepare a select bibliography and attach it to the end of the synthesis;

6. in as far as the missing parts of the work are concerned, to place them at the end of the synthesis, if they were not supplied in time;

7. to prepare indices of material and names;

8. to supplement the pictorial and illustrative material.

B. N. Putilov was unable to adopt an attitude to the relevant suggestions, because soon the sad news reached us, that the guarantor of the role an outstanding scholar, co-operator for many years, and a good friend had left us. By this unexpected sad affair, the publication of the international synthesis has been moved by a long space of time. An initiative in favour of a publication of the synthesis was taken at the beginning of the year 2001 by the members of the Presidium of MKKK D. Tylkowa (Poland) and P. Szabó (Hungary), who following an agreement with V. Gašparíková submitted a plan to the effect that, if the Ethnological Institute of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences would not publish the synthesis, the Ethnological Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in Budapest (Néprajzi Kutató Intézet Magyar Tudományos Akadémia) would take care of work's publication. The Lviv Institute transcribed the extremely exacting manuscript by computer technique and made it available for editorial work V. Gašparíková remained with the role of scholarly editor. The technique of the work as well as certain organisational affairs were taken over by the Néprajzi Kutató Intézet of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences under the leadership of P. Szabó and the financial investment in the edition by the European Folklore Institute in Budapest and its representative P. Hoppál.

Understandably after many years and for the needs of contemporary researches as well as readers, the work had to be newly edited. In the course of their labour, individual authors supplied also the missing parts up to a point. Some very important parts such as e.g. the Rumanian material, which was to give the Moldavian part a broad East Romance character, was not delivered, as well as some parts outlined in the projects.

It is not my task, as one of the co-authors of the project and a member of the author's collective to evaluate the work on the robber's traditions in the scholarly and organisational aspect. I would just like to recall that in this contribution. endeavoured on the basis of the protocols, records, published announcements as well as of my own correspondence. I made an effort, objectively and chronologically to present all conferences, official sessions and the most essential meetings

concerning the genesis and realisation of the work. The most important parts, dealing with projects, are published in full, but because of the limitations of space, some moments are only rendered briefly.

We consider this work part as a highly necessary document for the work, in the proper meaning of the word unfinished, which the international synthetic book called by me, as editor more particularly the scholarly one, of the book entitled: "Heroes or Bandits. Outlaw Traditions in the Carpathian Region."

Nevertheless we trust that also at this stage of the work with its supplementary chapter on the origin and realisation of the work will serve not only contemporary researches, but also future generations.