

k stolu v roľníckom dome odrážalo sociálne vzťahy nielen medzi mužmi a ženami, ale aj medzi členmi rodiny a hospodárskeho dvora. Počnúc gazdom začínalo sa rozsadanie domácich dookola okolo stola, ktoré bolo určované podľa veku, pohlavia, rodinnej príslušnosti a funkcie na gazdovstve. Zánik oddeleného sedenia mužov a žien pri stole, čím sa prejavuje rozpad patriarchálneho zasadacieho stolovacieho poriadku (prejavujúci sa sedením mužov na čestných miestach), dokladá rozpad domácej spoločnosti so starým stolovacím poriadkom.

Stretávanie sa na hostinách, pripravovaných pri príležitosti významných medzníkov v živote človeka (narodenie, svadba, kar) vyžadovalo popri dodržiavaní pravidiel zasadacieho poriadku pri stole aj dodržiavanie pravidiel priestorového rozmiestnenia hostí. Bolo potrebné uprednostňovať určité osoby, lepším miestom pri tabuli, s prihliadnutím na ich zástoj v hostinovom ceremoniáli. Poriadanie hostín po 2. svetovej vojne v reštauráciách a hoteloch vyvolalo zanikanie tradičných javov vidieckej etikety.

Pri spoločenskej príležitosti sa stolovací poriadok markantne uplatnil už vstupom hosťa do príbýtku. Statusom hosťa bolo determinované ponúknutie a hodnota miesta.

Pravidlá stolovania podliehajú vývoju tak ako celá spoločnosť. Zánik, zachovanie či vznik nových pravidiel stolovania podmieňujú zmeny, ktoré prebiehajú v celej spoločnosti. Pre všetky príležitosti stolovania je príznačné, že v minulosti normatívny zasadací poriadok sa stal voľnejším.

Naznačené parciálne otázky etikety preukazujú, že ide o proces, v rámci ktorého je potrebné sledovať a prehodnotiť vývoj ľudskej spoločnosti v jeho komplexnosti. Uvedené javy neexistovali na Slovensku izolovane ako jeho špecifikum, ale majú paralely v európskom i širšom kontexte. Formovanie sa novej sociálnej, profesionálnej, vzdelanostnej a kultúrnej stratifikácie, a to aj dôsledkom integračných procesov v Európe, si vyžaduje ich prehodnotenie v rámci hlbšieho porovnávacieho štúdia ľudovej kultúry Európy.

The Influence of Confession on Folk Customs

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The EAS (Ethnographic Atlas of Slovakia) maps on spiritual culture represent the territorial distribution of selected phenomena and acts of rituals, and superstitions. Different cultural strata, development phases, typological peculiarities representing distinctive features of spiritual culture of separate regions and larger areas can also be found there. They all are consequences of differentiated progress of development, different ethnic structures, changing confession, and syncretic religious ideas. Besides the disappearing acts and phenomena containing elements of superstitious thinking, we have presented those in particular which meet certain social, symbolical function, bring the community and families closer together, refine ethnic, make life pulse.

Calendar holidays are closely connected with religious holidays. The ancient European agrarian foundations which for millennia had been influenced by Christianity and specific culture-bearing factors, gave rise to a complex system of ideas, procedures and secular. The relationship "sacrum – profanum" comprised in holidays was conceived in different ways by separate churches. These

peculiarities can also be seen in maps of selected phenomena. The influence of confession on the formation of customs and traditions in local and regional communities is the target of my paper.¹

Considering the long-term cultural impact of church on folk culture in Slovakia four Christian churches should be mentioned: the Roman Catholic Church, the Greek Catholic Church (Orthodox for certain period), the Augsburg Evangelic i.e. Lutheran Church, and the Reformed Christian i.e. Calvinist Church. The operation of these can also be geographically delimited, with certain degree of tolerance and abstraction, of course. Most of the Slovak population are Roman Catholic. However, the continually strongest centers are Bratislava, Trnava, and Nitra in West Slovakia, northern Orava in Middle Slovakia, and Spiš in Eastern Slovakia. There are compact Lutheran regions, especially in Middle Slovakia, Gemer and to a certain degree the belt along the Slovak and Moravian border. This is not a matter of an accident. It is the result of developments connected with German colonization and reformation waves which had certain impact on religion in majority of the Slovak territory in the 16th and the first half of the 17th centuries. The centres, of course, were towns with prevailing German population, and particularly wealthy mining towns in Middle Slovakia.

The influence of the Reformed Church was more intensive only in ethnically mixed regions of South Slovakia, namely its eastern and western parts with centers in Trebišov, Komárno. The Reformed Church was adopted mostly by people of Hungarian nationality. In Eastern Slovakia there had been the Greek Orthodox Church since the 11th century and after adopting the union in 1649 it has been renamed Greek Catholic. It was prohibited in the years 1950–1968. In those years only the Orthodox Church officially existed and most of Greek Catholics were made to become Orthodox.

The influence of the Roman and Orthodox Churches present in these regions for a millenium (plus-minus one century) obviously is particularly interesting from the aspect of customs and traditions. It is generally known that the Catholic Church had been striving to subject folk traditions to itself and to give them Christian content. The Orthodox Church, to the contrary is known for its tolerance. The Reformed Church, with its rational approach but also certain irreconcilability and secular ascesis achieved that certain forms disappeared, some got more civilized, and some customs were enclosed within family circle. It certainly is interesting to see that this very environment in certain sense had some kind of conservating effects. Informers can remember such forms of superstition and practices which underwent natural development and adopted new signs (curing practices, magic, superstitions) in different confession environments.

The above facts explain to a certain degree the blank areas or concentrated and abundant customs in separate regions or microregions.²

Considering the analysis of maps of selected phenomena related to calendar customs, certain territorial distribution can be seen which is based on the similarity of the selection of elements of the customs. In spite of different developments, different inter-ethnic impacts, and partially different confessions, there is certain cultural correlation between the East and West Slovakia (symbols of Christmas, erecting maypoles on the first day of May, preference of egg dishes on Easter and frequent use of holy objects – Easter branches, water, etc.). On the other hand, our territory probably forms the border between eastern and western cultures. The absence of certain characteristic customs typical of the western folk culture in Eastern Slovakia can be due to the presence of a different system of folk belief, calendar shifted by 13 days in Greek Catholic regions, and different population of saints. There are no customs related to St. Lucy's day, no mummary, there is no mascarading on the Carnival, no neither carrying the straw dummy custom in spring.³ On the other hand, there are spring "khorovod" girl dances, intensive cult of ancestors such as saying words of invitation to Christmas Eve dinner, and the cult of water.

Let me, please, specify and also briefly explain the character of carnival in Eastern Slovakia, especially in Greek Catholic regions which had a different calendar. As a matter of fact, according to the eastern Julian calendar, the carnival does not end with the Ash Wednesday but with the previous Sunday. That is why the Atlas question concerning the culminating last day of carnival known from European materials could not explain different time sequence of customs in this region. The carnival masquerades and fertility masks was strongly related with spinning meetings. They were organized at irregular intervals during the whole carnival period. To the difference from our regions, the initiative of women was quite strong here, they had their own parties, there were parties of young brides to celebrate the end of matrimonial cycle which had apparent erotic elements.

A strong agrarian cult was present in this region practically till the middle of this century. In the past the oat sheaf "diduch" made already at harvest was dominant. It was sacralized in running water during the washing rite on Christmas Eve and then used at agrarian customs. Therefore the fact should not be neglected that the Christmas tree tradition had not been adopted in East Slovakia before 1945. The two Christmas symbols were used in parallel until the 70s of the 20th century.

Many archaic phenomena examined in the given hundred years' period were found only in regions of North and East Slovakia. This was not always a result of directly interpreted uneven pace of development. As a matter of fact, in respective environments differently determined historical and cultural traditions were

modelled. In the sense of European model West Slovakia was the best developed region and actually was the gateway for new elements received through contacts with Austrian, Moravian, and Magyar ethnic groups and their cultures. Almost all archaic phenomena (with exception of mummary on St. Lucy's Day) are absent from this region. As a matter of fact, this is where demonic elements of St. Lucy's Day were conserved due to the region's contacts. An exception is only the southern belt populated by Magyars and Calvins. Lutheranism and Calvinism tolerated the door to door nummery, an image enriching the winter time before Christmas only as a pendant to St. Nicholas. That is why Lucy sings and gives little presents to children. Western Slovakia covered the eastern border within which certain calendar customs like e.g. spring carrying of green branch "letečko" (which means "summer") can be observed. West Slovakia also was the border between the border between the West European Easter whipping and East European Easter sprinkling.

It is very difficult to characterize the customs of Middle Slovakia. There are small microregions strongly connected with different settlement and consequently different trends of development and confessions. Two different migration waves are apparent, namely: influence of German colonists and consequent flourishing of towns and villages with prevailing Evangelic religion, and colonization of valleys by polyethnic stratum based on the Walachian law and then subsequent spreading of the shepherds' and sheepfarming culture. Having explained these facts, we can understand certain anomaly, namely different customs and tradition systems operating side by side. On the one hand, there is the absence of almost whole-Slovakian customs manifestations (straw, iron objects on Christmas, St. Lucy's masks, harvest customs), and on the other hand there are highly developed forms of maypole erecting in Whitsuntide, masks at carnival mascarades, superstitious images, walking, with steel.⁴ The confession-based analysis has shown that customs of social gatherings involving bigger numbers of participants of a certain age-category or of one sex were less frequent in Lutheran villages. Based on orders given by the church, those customs were influenced which had an impact on whole society. The go-rounds had successively turned into manifest impersonal parades or they disappeared and only remained as customs within families. The uncontrolled anonymous joy of masquerades was rejected and also the calendar of congratulatory occasions was considerably reduced.

The causative relation of confession and customs and tradition was determined by different church orders and regulations, and personal attitude of the respective priest, minister or vicar. And this in particular influenced in many ways the customs and traditions in separate localities of Slovakia.

NOTES

¹ Ethnographic Atlas of Slovakia, 1990, capt. XIIIth, maps 1–33, pp. 77–82.

² The classification of region is relative to some extent. The questionnaire was aimed at chosen phenomena having local or microregional character.

³ A woman's dummy called "Morena", "Smrť", "Kyseľ" was made of straw and dressed in the local folk costume. The dummy was carried on a stick by girls all around the village or along houses. After the walk, the dummy was burnt, torn to pieces or drowned. It was a symbol of disease, death, winter. Another variety of it was represented by a dummy of an old man (Dedko) which was carried by boys in Orava, the northern region of Slovakia.

⁴ Walking with steel – the walk before X-mas performed by younger boys on the day of Ondrej (Nov. 30) (Andrew) of Lucia (Dec. 13) They went into every house with a chain or some other iron thing wishing to the house inhabitants:

I brought you steel,
to keep your pots and dishes unbroken,
the chains untorn, axes in whole.
May you have so many oxen,
as you have posts in your fence...

Doniesol som vám ocele,
aby sa vám hrnky, misky nebili,
reťaze netrhali, sekery nelámali.
Koľko máte v plote kolov,
aby ste mali v maštali volov...

In place inhabited by the Hungarians, the introductory verses had the following text:

Acélt hoztam kendteknék.
Cín legyen kanáljuk,
Vas legyen tanyérjuk...

VPLYV KONFESIONALITY NA VÝVIN OBYČAJOVEJ TRADÍCIE

R e s u m é

Mapy EAS z oblasti duchovnej kultúry dokumentujú predovšetkým priestorové rozšírenie vybraných javov a úkonov obradovej kultúry a poverových predstáv.

Kalendárne obyčaje sú pevne späté s cirkevným kalendárom sviatkov. Z európskeho roľníckeho prazákľadu, ovplyvňovaného po tisícročia kresťanstvom a osobitými kultúrotvornými faktormi, vznikol na našom území zložitý systém predstáv, úkonov a praktík, v ktorých sa prepája duchovné s hmotným, posvätné so svetským. Práve vzťah sakrum-profanum vo sviatkoch mal v ponímaní jednotlivých cirkví svoje zvláštnosti. Upozorníť na vplyv konfesionality na utváranie obyčajovej tradície v lokálnom a regionálnom spoločenstve je cieľom môjho príspevku.

Na Slovensku z hľadiska dlhodobejšieho kultúrneho vplyvu na ľudovú kultúru môžeme vydeliť pôsobenie štyroch kresťanských cirkví: rímskokatolícku, gréckokatolícku (v istom období pravo-slávnu), evanjelickú augsburského vyznania – luteranizmus a reformovanú kresťanskú cirkev – kalvinizmus. S istou dávkou tolerancie a abstrakcie môžeme ich pôsobenie aj geograficky vymedziť.

Z hľadiska vývoja obyčajovej tradície je bezosporu najzaujímavejší vplyv rímskej a ortodoxnej

cirkvi, ktoré tu pôsobia (plus-mínus sto rokov) jedno tisícročie. Je všeobecne známe, že rímskokatolícka cirkev počas celého svojho pôsobenia vyvíjala úsilie podriaďiť si ľudové obyčaje, dať im kresťanský obsah. Ortodoxné cirkvi je naopak známa svojou toleranciou. Reformanti svojim racionálnym prístupom, ale aj istou nezmieriteľnosťou a svetskou askézou dosiahli zánik niektorých reforiem, zcivilnenie iných, ale najmä uzatvorili obyčaje do rodinného kruhu. Toto prostredie pôsobilo v istom zmysle konzervatívne. V pamäti informátorov sa uchovali také formy poverových predstáv a praktík, ktoré v inom konfesijnom prostredí prechádzali prirodzeným vývojom a priberali nové nánosy (liečebné praktiky, čary, povery).

Už tie argumenty do istej miery osvetľujú biele miesta, resp. zhluk a bohatosť foriem v obyčajovom repertoári v jednotlivých regiónoch, oblastiach alebo naopak, mikroregiónoch. Z hľadiska analýzy máp vybraných javov kalendárnych obyčajov možno vybadať isté tendencie územného rozčlenenia na základe príbuznosti výberu obyčajových prvkov. Isté kultúrne korelácie existujú medzi oblasťou západného a východného Slovenska (znaky Vianoc, stávanie májového stromu (májov) na 1. mája, preferencia vaječných jedál na Veľkú noc, frekvencia niektorých sakralizovaných predmetov – sväteniny, turičné ratolesti, voda atď.). Na druhej strane, na východnom Slovensku vplyvom odlišného systému ľudovej viery, v gréckokatolíckych lokalitách kvôli posunutému kalendáru o 13 dní, odlišnému okruhu svätcov, absentujú obyčaje späté s dňom Lucie, obchôdzky s jej maskou, fašiangové maskované sprievody, jarné obchôdzky s vynášaním ženskej figuríny. Rozšírené sú tu naopak jarné dievčenské chorovody, intenzívne tu prežívajú prejavy kultu predkov, ako je ich slovné pozývanie na Štedrú večeru a kult vody.

Oblasť západného Slovenska bola vlastne bránou prlivu nových prvkov vďaka neustálym kontaktom s rakúskym, moravským a maďarským etnikom a ich kultúrou. Na tomto území takmer do dôsledku absentuje všetky archaické javy s výnimkou obchôdzky s maskou Lucie. Nachádzame tu východné hranice rozšírenia kalendárnych obyčajov, ako je napr. jarné vynášanie zelenej ratolesti – „letečko“, šibanie dievčat na Veľkú noc.

Obyčajová tradícia stredného Slovenska je rozčlenená do malých mikroregiónov, ktoré súvia s rôznorodým následným vývinovým trendom i konfesionalitou. Viditeľné sú tu dva odlišné migračné prúdy: vplyv nemeckých kolonistov a následný rozkvet miest a dedín s prevažujúcim evanjelickým náboženstvom a kolonizovanie dolín viacetnickou vrstvou na valašskom práve, s následným rozšírením pastierskej a ovčiarskej kultúry. Absentujú niektoré celoslovenské obyčaje (slama, železné predmety na Vianoce, žatevné obyčaje, atď.) Stávanie májov na Turice, vynášanie mužskej figuríny, frekvencia masiek, obchôdzky s oceľou odlišujú túto oblasť od ostatného územia. V luteránskych dedinách sa menej kultivovali obyčaje spoločensko-združovacie, ktorých sa zúčastňoval väčší počet aktérov, či už z jednej vekovej alebo pohlavnej skupiny. V dôsledku cirkevných nariadení sa usmerňovali tie obyčaje, ktoré mali celospoločenský dosah. Odmietaná bola nekontrolovaná anonymná radosť z maskovaných obchôdzok a výrazne sa obmedzil kalendár vinšovníckych príspevkov.

Die bildende Kultur im Ethnographischen Atlas der Slowakei und ihr europäischer Kontext

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Ursprünglich wurde bei der Konzipierung unseres EAS nicht mit der Einreihung des Kapitels über bildende Kunst gerechnet. So weit ich weiss, wurde auch