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FINITIS DECEM LUSTRIS

Fifty Years of Folklore Research — Philological, Ethnotheatrical and the Like — at the Institute

C'est tout bien, mais il faut cultiver notre jardin!

(Voltaire, *Candide*)

The authors describe in detail half a century of folklore research — philological, ethnotheatrical and the like — at the Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research in Zagreb. They have divided into three periods their diachronical review of the Institute's staff's achievements in scholarship and research in the light of the domestic and international professional range of their work, these periods coinciding to an extent with the three names by which the Institute has been known at various times — and in changes in the graphic design of *Narodna umjetnost* — the *Croatian Journal of Ethnology and Folklore Research* — which also mark the shifts in the approach to the study of folklore.

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The introductory formula¹

The background situation to this article is analagous to our everyday scholarly and research position. Just as we are here part of the topic of

¹ Formula is one of the basic formal characteristics of oral literature. The introductory and concluding formulae are not strict parts of the plot itself; at the moment of performance they make up a functional whole with the story, they mark the borders of fiction, lead into the story and return one again to the world of reality.

our own text, so are we also there part of the folklore process which we are researching. Two long-term colleagues at the same time both writing a text and being part of the development which the text describes — the viewpoint is anchored in the very theme of the text, without the customary distance. The individual achievements in scholarship and research of the Institute's staff in the light of the domestic and international professional range of their work are also shown here partly by the hand of the participants.

The Institute is fifty years old, but the Institute's results are not the outcome of supernatural forces; they grew out of the independent and mutual activities of real human beings under historical and vital circumstances, people who have either worked or still work at the Institute. Consequently this review will primarily be a diachronic presentation of individual and team results, a description of changes in the research themes, theoretical concepts and methods of our predecessors, our associates and ourselves. We have divided the (hi)story into three periods, which to an extent coincide with the three diverse names of the Institute — and also the changes in the graphic design of our journal, *Narodna umjetnost* — marking, at the same time, the shifts in the approach to folklore.

The period of the Institute for Folk Art — from 1948

The Institute was founded to carry out ethnomusicological research. However, philological studies, which were introduced as a supplement to musicological research, were soon on an equal footing as an independent activity within the Institute.²

It was during the 1950s, prior to the profound demographic and social changes in the villages in Croatia, that the first major field research — both group and individual — began (in the regions of Istria, Slavonia, Banija, Lika, Konavle, Župa dubrovačka, the Dubrovnik Littoral, Sinj, the islands, particularly Brač and Hvar, and Croatian Zagorje). This research produced numerous notations, most of which

² Oral literature — under the name *narodna* [folk, popular] — was indirectly present in lectures at the Zagreb Faculty of Philosophy as early as the 1875/1876 school year, while the Chair for Folk Literature — as part of the study of the Southern Slavic languages and literature — was established in 1950/1951 (see: Adamček 1969).

were later published in various books and anthological selections.³ From today's perspective, and the distance of a number of decades, it can be said that those very notations became the fundamental body of 20th century Croatian oral heritage.

The early collections and oral literary syntheses demonstrate the aspiration towards an authentic notation which makes every effort to conjure up the image of the living — spoken or sung — words, a punctilious noting down of data about the narrators and the features of their style, with an ear for the context of the narration. These were the basis for the foundation of folkloristics as a scientific activity which opposed the more or less politically-coloured use of folklore in the 19th century, espousing research into folklore in the social and historical context.

The first generation of the Institute's associates were experts from other disciplines, and men of letters. In 1950, the poet and translator, Olinko Delorko, joined the Institute's staff, and his work on Croatian oral poetry began almost by chance. Spanish romances reminded the poet of some Croatian traditional poems, and while translating a Spanish romance about Virgil, he needed an octosyllabic verse. He started once again to read notations of traditional poems — not only octosyllabic verse, but also verse in the heptametre and the dodecasyllabic — and soon noticed their artistic value (Delorko 1956:143).⁴ This was the beginning of Delorko's systematic notation and study of oral poetry, prompted — and always accompanied — by his high aesthetic criteria as a poet.⁵ Delorko's interpretations observe oral — mostly lyrical — poetry primarily as a literary text,⁶ but also comprise his feeling for the multifaceted nature and historical background of the folklore process. Delorko showed those many facets and changes through research

³ See: Bošković-Stulli 1959; Delorko 1960; and five books from the edition *Pet stoljeća hrvatske književnosti* [Five Centuries of Croatian Literature] — Delorko 1963; 1964; Bošković-Stulli 1963; 1964; Bonifačić Rožin 1963.

⁴ Delorko's viewpoint lead to — and made possible — the inspired pages of another contemporary Croatian poet, Ivan Slamnig, who also wrote about the similarity between Croatian oral ballads and romances and Spanish romances, and about the Mediterranean connections of Croatian oral — and written — literature (Slamnig 1965).

⁵ Delorko 1951; 1956; 1960; 1963; 1964; 1968; 1969; 1971; 1975; 1976.

⁶ The syncretic nature of oral poetry does, of course, demand a multidisciplinary approach. The melographic work of earlier researchers was continued in Delorko's time by Vinko Žganec, Stjepan Stepanov and Jerko Bezić, while dances were noted down by Vinko Žganec, Ivan Ivančan and others.

into, and emphasis on, variants — which formed the basis for comparative research which places the oral poems from Dalmatia into the European, Mediterranean and Southern Slavic context of oral, but also, written poetry.

Almost the entire repertoire of Delorko's poetry notations came from female narrators. The most successful poems were woven into anthologies, particularly in *Ljuba Ivanova* [Ivan's Loved One], thus ensuring Croatian female oral poetry the status of verbal art. Delorko's Dalmatian notations present poems which unify two worlds: the shepherd-villager and the feudal-patrician world. This merger of the rural and the urban testifies to a thousand years of Mediterranean culture in which reminiscences of the Renaissance and chivalrous poetry meld with images of the farm-labourer and fisherman family circle of this century. Collecting fragments and publishing them in poetically conceived selections, the self-effacing poet managed to provide arguments to defend the civilisational, cultural and poetic worth of Croatian oral poetry. Through his work, and particularly through his skilfully compiled anthologies which were accepted in the literary world as being at the same level of written art literature,⁷ Delorko demonstrated that, in the shadows behind the centuries of the artificially — politically — supported myth of some sort of unified Serbo-Croatian (Southern Slav) epic poetry as the literary dominant in South-Eastern Europe, there existed first-class poetry which had been ignored without justification. Delorko's notations — and his introductions to the collections — spoke of Croatian cultural identity in the region of Dalmatia, and emphasised the aesthetic dimension of the individual oral literary creations, pointing out the link between oral and older written literature.

Specialisation among the Institute's folklorists came about spontaneously — resulting from their professional training and personal research interests. Perhaps this can be best seen in the example of Nikola Bonifačić Rožin, the poet and playwright, winner of the Demeter Award for his drama *U vrtlogu* [In the Whirlpool], first performed at the Croatian National Theatre in Zagreb in 1937. In the early days of his folkloristic work, which he commenced quite late, he noted down almost everything: customs, dialogues, poems, stories, legends, proverbs and

⁷ This refers particularly to the first two collections: *Hrvatske narodne balade i romance* [Croatian Folk Ballads and Romances] and *Zlatna jabuka* [The Golden Apple], and to the later *Ljuba Ivanova* [Ivan's Loved One] (Delorko 1951; 1956; 1969).

riddles, and data about folk life in general. The breadth of his interests, in fact, anticipated the concepts of later folkloristic practice which endeavours to show the life of folklore in context. The restless spirit of this man of letters and eternal student suited his role as a travelling recorder of folk life. However, by the end of the 1950s and during the 1960s, the researcher's real affinities became evident. In his encounters with the life and customs of villagers and *the common man*, prompted by his personal love for drama, he noticed the masks, the cast, the action, dramatic tension and conflict, and, primarily, the dialogues. Although he was born in Punat on the island of Krk, he was an urban intellectual, who had matured in the bohemian shadow of Tin Ujević, the famous Croatian poet. However, as a dramatist between the two world wars, Bonifačić Rožin belonged to the national trend in Croatian drama, inspired by scenes from village life. It was this orientation which brought him to the Institute — his *discovery* of the ignored drama genre of oral literature and his persistent work on the emancipation of Croatian folk drama were the natural continuation of his earlier work as a dramatist. His folkloristic work on proverbs, riddles and other small forms of verbal folklore, too, could be attributed to this same love and respect for the Croatian traditional heritage. Still, the major part of Nikola Bonifačić Rožin's work was dedicated to traditional folk drama. Along with the synthesis of folk drama and small oral forms (Bonifačić Rožin 1963), he also wrote the book *Gajuša* (Bonifačić Rožin 1973) and some twenty studies and articles, numerous reports presented at scholarly conferences and compiled around eighty manuscript collections, which are kept in the Institute's documentation. Although Nikola Bonifačić Rožin's notations were done mainly on the basis of interviews — and not by notation of performances — and without the use of a tape-recorder and other technical aids — they provide brief but succinct texts and concise descriptions of the dramatic action. He managed to note down what modern electronic apparatus cannot encompass — the role of folk phenomena in the life of a community. He almost always asked his narrators to speak to him in direct speech. Such notations were not, nor could they be, an authentic notation of the performed dialogues, but they can conjure them up with considerable authenticity. We are indebted to Nikola Bonifačić Rožin for the major part of notations of the Croatian folk drama. He was not merely a collector of folklore, but was also able to perceive certain important laws and characteristics in the development of the Croatian folk drama (see Lozica 1995a). He noticed the gradual

development of speech as a phenomenon parallel to the development of folk drama, the frequent use of verses in ritual presentation (Bonifačić Rožin 1979) and indicated the possibility of monitoring the evolution of the speech of drama in our time also, showing that the theatre was not born once long ago and forever, but continues today to be born out of ritual, customs and games. He also made a significant contribution to the classification of masked personages. Along with the customary classification into zoomorphic, anthropomorphic, phytomorphic and fantastic masks, on the basis of his own field research he introduced the new category of *object* masks: people masked in human artefacts (see Bonifačić Rožin 1961). He did research into the traces of folk drama in written documents from the past, linking the old notations with contemporary phenomena in Croatian — and in European — folklore. He was the first to notice the characteristic in Croatian folk puppetry of the puppet constructed on the basis of a cross, finding international parallels for that type of puppet. He compared the games in the *kolo* [round-dance] with the chorus in Antiquity, was among the first to research the dramatic aspects of traditional weddings, he first wrote about the issue of stage-management in the folk theatre — and so on. Briefly: Nikola Bonifačić Rožin demonstrated that folk drama exists in Croatian folklore, in addition to folk poems/songs, stories, proverbs and riddles.

In the same year as N. Bonifačić Rožin (at the beginning of 1952), Maja Bošković-Stulli also joined the Institute's staff. Field research began in earnest. As a method for the classification of the collected narrative material, the Annti Aarne and Stith Thompson system was chosen — it has been the standard method of cataloguing folk-tales in all the archives of the world until the present day. The Institute's documentation was established during those years and, among other, also encompassed thematic card files, two of which were reserved for oral prose. These represented the preliminary work for the catalogue of folk-tales according to the Aarne-Thompson system, which was never completed, and for the attempt to classify the oral legends.

M. Bošković-Stulli's monograph *Narodna predaja o vladarevoj tajni* [The Folk Legend of the Sovereign's Secret] uses the abbreviations, the geographical way of arranging the oral variants etc. which is typical for the historical-geographical method of folk-tale study (the so-called Finnish School), but the interpretation of the folk-tale is different, there is no attempt to posit a theoretical original form of the tale type (AaTh

782). Instead of that, M. Bošković-Stulli studies the anthropological, mythological, culturological and genre aspects of the theme (Bošković-Stulli 1967).

The comparative method in research of a single narrative type (AaTh 921 B and AaTh 1548) was also partly applied in two papers written much later, in which general attitudes and ideas of the stories were analysed, with the possible influence of written, literary mediation throughout history, as well as contemporary adaptations in school textbooks, cartoon films etc. (Bošković-Stulli 1985=1991,⁸ Marks 1993=1993b).

The supernatural (mythical, demonological) beings in Croatian legends are extensively described in the commentaries to the published collections (Bošković-Stulli 1959, 1968, 1974/75) and in some thematic studies (Bošković-Stulli 1960=1975=1988, 1991=1992,⁹ Lozica 1995).

"Folklor kao naročit oblik stvaralaštva"¹⁰ [Folklore as a Specific Form of Creativity], the article by Jakobson and Bogatyrev emphasising the difference in the functioning of written and oral literature, undoubtedly had a far-reaching influence on formation of a different way of thinking about oral literature. It deflected interest from what had been concentration on the genesis, origins of the topic and motifs, indirectly opening up the way to later themes: the interaction between performer and audience, and the difference between the indirect written and direct oral modes of folklore communication. With the change in the scholarly paradigms and approach to research into oral literature, stimulated largely by Jakobson's and Bogatyrev's article referred to above, by Propp's *Morphology of the Fairy-Tale* and by theories about context and performance, this became the focus of M. Bošković-Stulli's interest in the late 1960s. It is noteworthy that this new and different approach was applied almost simultaneously in Croatia and world-wide.

Just as ethnomusicologists had called on the assistance of philologists in the 1950s, so now, in the late 1960s, philologists invited ethnologists to help them in researching the context of oral literary

⁸ See Bošković-Stulli 1991 — the text "Priča o najboljem prijatelju i najgorem dušmaninu" [The Story About the Best Friend and the Worst Enemy] — pp. 93-107.

⁹ See: Bošković-Stulli 1991 — the text "Predaje o vješticama i njihovi progoni u Hrvatskoj" [The Legends About Witches and the Persecutions of Witches in Croatia] — pp. 124-159.

¹⁰ Published for the first time in Croatian in: *Usmena književnost — Izbor studija i ogleđa* [Oral Literature: A Selection of Studies and Essays] (Bošković-Stulli 1971).

performances. The number of the Institute's associates was growing. Its former research methods were continued: the field-work remained in focus, if possible tape-recordings were to be made so as to have a notation as true as possible to the authentic narration — or singing — and then the material was to be sorted and transcribed into manuscript collections which would provide sources for later selections of texts and allow scholarly judgements to be made about the oral literary phenomena. The scholarly judgements outgrew the mere documentation of the collected data and were more and more concerned with theoretical issues: genre relations (Bošković-Stulli 1962), formerly unnoticed Mediterranean/maritime aspects of tradition (Bošković-Stulli 1962a; 1984=1973,¹¹ 1994a), oral style (Bošković-Stulli 1975) and the issues of oral and written text (Bošković-Stulli 1983). It was along these lines that research was done in the environs of Daruvar (the folklore of Croats and national minorities), Požega, the Makarska Littoral, the island of Zlarin, Šapatinovci, Lasinjski Sjeniĉak (carried out by O. Delorko, N. Bonifaĉić Rožin, D. Zeĉević, N. Ritig-Beljak and Lj. Marks). Research into the folklore of Croats outside of the country, largely in Burgenland, was a part of a joint project among historians, philologists and ethnologists. This gave rise to rich collections of oral prose and poetry and to scholarly papers (Ritig-Beljak 1973; 1978; 1981).

The period of the Institute of Folklore Research — from 1977

During the 1970s, as a reflection of international trends in science, and to a considerable extent because of social changes in Croatia, changes in attitudes towards folklore in general became possible, and, thereby, also to oral literature. Doubts arose about the existence of folklore in urban culture, too, and, if it did exist, whether it could be compared with traditional folklore, and should it be studied at all. The research practice of the Institute's associates had earlier rejected the romantic reification of folklore, so that the assumptions and starting-points of contextual folkloristics were immediately identified and understood.

In *Usmena knjiŹevnost* [Oral Literature], oral literature was set apart for the first time as a separate entity in the review of the history of Croatian literature (Bošković-Stulli 1978). In fact, the book was not really a history of oral literature, but a review of the reflections of oral

¹¹ See Bošković-Stulli 1984 — the text "More u hrvatskim usmenim predajama" [Sea in Croatian Oral Legends] — pp. 199-214.

literature in written literature, and also a review of the influence of written literature on oral literature, a review of their mutual interweaving from mediaeval beginnings to systematic research and notation in the first half of the 19th century. At the same time, the book made a significant contribution to the history of Croatian literature and is a capital work in Croatian folkloristics. The change in the theoretical viewpoint is presented in a concise and well-argued manner on the first sixty or so pages. The shift in the scholarly discourse and terminology had been indicated earlier with the prior notification given in the article "O pojmovima usmena i pučka književnost i njihovim nazivima"¹² [About Concepts of Oral and Popular Literature and Their Terms]. The terms *narodna poezija*, or folk poetry, and *narodna književnost*, or folk literature, were rejected in the modern research into folklore literary phenomena, because of their ambiguity, lack of definition and the diverse ideological burdens associated with the terms, *narod* and *narodno*. Influenced both by contemporary Russian folklorist K. V. Chistov and communication-oriented American contextual folkloristics, the term *usmena književnost*, or oral literature, was introduced to distinguish the literature which is communicated orally in direct contact and which is disseminated by tradition. This term shows in the best, unambiguous manner how this literature originates, exists and is disseminated, and it also expresses an opposition towards written literature, whose texts are fixed and are disseminated by *technical* modes of communication. The attribute *narodni* [folk] is retained with terms for individual oral literary genres, because there is justification in the literary history for so doing. The term *pučka književnost*, or popular literature, encompasses literary products within written literature which are intended for consumption by a broad social stratum.

Observed in its context, a work of oral literature lasts as long as its performance, each new performance is a new creation, while a possible notation remains only as incomplete and unreliable testimony about the work in question. Although M. Bošković-Stulli regards oral literature as a process of live narration, she tries — following A. Dundes — to ensure a scholarly approach through differentiation between three levels of analysis of verbal folklore — texture, text and context. The main problem in the literary-historical approach to oral literature lies in the written sources — linguistically, collections of folk poems and tales are

¹² The article was first published in the journal *Umjetnost riječi* [The Art of the Word], 17 (1973), Nos. 3:149-184 and 4:237-260.

texts which have been subjected to stylisation. The truer the notation is to the narrator's performance, the better the literary expressiveness of the oral medium will be preserved. (This approach to oral literary texts is present in all the published collections, so that modern notations prevail in all the selections of stories edited by M. Bošković-Stulli.)

The issue of oral literary genres is merely outlined within the framework of the historical tracing. The author believes that it is possible to show separately the characteristics of each genre only from the time when the oral literary texts began to be noted down systematically, because it is only from then on that they can be interpreted synchronically and diachronically.¹³

The understanding and definition of oral literature as direct communication, largely in small groups, opened the door, conditionally speaking, to the marginal literary forms which could not be encompassed by such a definition. This refers primarily to a popular literary text, determined by its function as an elementary literary structure which meets the demands of human curiosity and is connected with everyday life (domestic postils, popular calendars, almanacs, edifying texts, leaflets, broad-sheets about sensational events in both verse and prose printed on one page and usually sold at fairs or in the street, collections of mediaeval novellas, adventure, romantic chivalrous and other novels). These texts are not defined as popular literature in the sociological sense, but the attribute *popular* carries the connotation of ordinary, generally well-loved, known, widely disseminated, cheap, easily comprehensible text adapted to a particular group of readers. Popular literature has its own specific characteristics, while its close contacts with oral literature on the one hand, and with art literature on the other — make it a transient area. M. Bošković-Stulli marked, defined and opened up this chapter of popular literature, both within the time-frame of Croatian — written and oral — literature, and in its extra-literary manifestations.

Divna Zečević's writings showed the diversity, but also the gradual nature and logic of the transition from research of oral literature to research into the phenomena of Croatian popular literature (Zečević 1971). The author minutely analyses the specifics of that literary

¹³ Two of M. Bošković-Stulli's important papers were dedicated to oral literary prose genres and their definition — one about legends (Bošković-Stulli 1975) and one about fairy-tales (Bošković-Stulli 1983). Both papers deal with the issue of definition of the concept — of both legends and fairy-tales — and the specifics of their terms in the Croatian language, and with possibilities for classifying legends.

phenomenon, showing the literary character of material which had been given scant research attention until then. This approach questioned the division of literature into texts with *secular* and with *religious* character. The function of popular literary creations during significant and crucial periods was analysed in texts printed during the 19th century in the literary magazine *Danica ilirska* [The Illyrian Morning Star]. The inception of journalism in the popular literary domain was registered for the first time in Croatian literature in various *reports* about war-time and other exceptional events, while the first appearance of a crime/detective story was noted in a calendar dating from 1851 (in translation from English — see Zečević 1982). The occurrence of leaflets, calendars, song books in both manuscript and printed forms, popular newspapers, along with the differences between the popular poetry and art literature poetry was analysed within the framework of popular literary poetics.

The field of popular literature alone showed itself to be sufficiently large to be presented as an independent and separate body in *Povijest hrvatske književnosti* [The History of Croatian Literature] under the title *Pučki književni fenomen* [The Popular Literary Phenomenon] (Zečević 1978). As well as uncovering material, D. Zečević also developed methodology. Following the parallel flow of art literature, she pointed out the particular character of the historicity of popular literature and emphasised the importance of its role within the history of Croatian literature. Considering the mutual influences of the two literary spheres, the author also sees in popular literature a compelling, propaedeutics level for the approach to so-called art or learned literature. Research of the popular literary phenomenon is based on the difference between literary and non-literary texts. The linguistic setting of the popular works is not achieved in separated, concrete situations, but in the entirety — — totality of the reader's own experience of life.

In folkloristic, but also in ethnological research during the late 1970s, the question was put of the justification for opposing the village and the town, about the first and second existence of folklore, emphasising that research into the changes in form and content of cultural phenomena is the right path towards understanding, too, of their past and their present meanings.

It was shown that the hypothesis about the strict delineation between rural and urban culture was not decisive for the cultural process. Unlike their predecessors, folklorists turned from representative

cultural phenomena towards the everyday, even to what seemed to be banal, trivial phenomena. Research commenced into urban folklore, personal narratives, and children's narratives. Ethnologists researched death notices, memorials to the victims of traffic accidents, the modern habitat culture, youth culture (high-school graduation processions, public open-air gatherings in the towns, badges, T-shirt inscriptions), children's games and songs. This was a turn away from the diachronic to the synchronic, from the historical to the contemporary — undoubtedly resulting from the influence of structuralism. It should be said, however, that the strongest influence on Croatian folkloristics came from Russian formalism and Prague functionalism, combined with American contextual folkloristics. For that reason — and also because of prior field-work experience — the exclusivity of the synchronic approach was avoided while an ear for the changes in folklore during history was not lost.

The everyday in literature was researched in Zagreb and its immediate vicinity, in Marija Bistrica, Šestinski Kraljevec, and in Remete during the 1990s (Zečević 1976; 1986; 1995; Ritig-Beljak 1976). Modern research into those oral literary genres which only started to be conceived as folklore narrative genres at that time, was joined by children's verbal folklore which had been ignored until then but was now included into the body of oral literature on an equal footing. Taking examples mainly from their own field research, the folklorists indicated the most frequent themes, the possibilities for classification and showed how children's jokes deal with traditional folklore motifs, giving them different meaning (Lozica 1982; Marks 1991). Folklore as a whole, and its verbal components, were revealed in a new light: as a contemporary and dynamic process. Proverbs printed in the daily newspapers, the stories which grew out of everyday situations, recounting of personal experiences, stories directly inspired by television broadcasts and urban rumours all became the subject of research. For the first time, there were discussions among Croatian folklorists about the theoretical aspect of narration concerning actual happenings in life, about narratives which grow out of conversation into a more or less formed story about one's own memories or events which have been experienced by someone from the narrator's close environment, and about the experiences of close forebears with whom close direct contacts were still being maintained. Did such utterances belong at all to the body of oral literature? It was

seen that such stories undoubtedly made up an independent category in modern oral literary prose (Bošković-Stulli 1978a; 1983; 1984).

In the field of popular literature, it was shown that literature is not a mere adjunct to everyday life, but that Humankind's temporal existence takes place in the sphere of literary models which exist on an almost daily basis at various levels. Field research notations outlined these everyday literary events in a range from beliefs, misfortune and suffering to the erotic. The aspiration was towards observation of the entirety of literary phenomena and the function of literature in society, such work providing an equally legitimate contribution to the history of literature and to that of literary anthropology (Zečević 1986). The basis provided by extensive European, mainly German, scientific literature lead to a reinterpretation of the phenomenon of popular literature, such as had been synthesised in *Povijest hrvatske književnosti* [The History of Croatian Literature] fifteen years earlier (Zečević 1991). The idea is that the history of literature as a whole, and particularly the history of popular literature, cannot be observed exclusively as a successive process — in which the phenomena and trends follow on one after the other — but that it is essential to take into account the principle of parallelism, correspondence of texts which at first glance have no comparative connection. This allows for the possibility of perceiving the existence — side by side — not only of particular works but also the diverse time levels which those works express.

In the period from 1975 to 1991, four of M. Bošković-Stulli's books were published (1975; 1983; 1984; 1991), containing significant articles written over some twenty years and previously published in various publications.¹⁴ The main themes of the author's scholarly interest were rounded out, from strict theoretical-methodological and terminological questions, through the interweaving and mutual influences between oral and written literature and learned and traditional culture in general, to consideration of the issues bound up with individual genres and motifs. Although her conclusions derive largely from Croatian material, respecting relevant trends of international theory in her interpretations, they are in no way merely local, Croatian, but have equal standing in world scholarship. Parallely with the books containing studies and

¹⁴ A great number of the texts printed in those books had been previously published in domestic and foreign publications and scholarly journals. It is not feasible here to refer to them all. The complete bibliography (up to 1993) can be found in *Narodna umjetnost* 30, pp. 391-420.

articles, during the 1980s and 1990s, collections of oral stories were published: *Šingala-mingala* (Bošković-Stulli 1983a), a collection of some sixty fairy tales and stories not published until then, came out in 1983 and was intended for adult readers. The material in the collections which followed (Bošković-Stulli 1986; 1987; 1993) was regionally oriented and intended for a broad readership, although always scholarly conceived and equipped.

Along with M. Bošković-Stulli, other members of the Institute's staff applied in education the results of their scientific work (manuals in set-reading programmes, picture books, various professional articles connected with curricula and actual teaching, etc.), by which they tried to modernise the accustomed idea about oral literature as the literature of the village and the villager (Bošković-Stulli 1986a; Marks 1991; Perić-Polonijo 1986a, 1986b).

Changes came about in research into the folk theatre. When he joined the Institute, Ivan Lozica worked in close co-operation with N. Bonifačić Rožin, who was largely oriented towards text — the notation of the drama — in his work. Unlike his mentor, from the very beginning Lozica opposed uncritical transfer of the literary classification of Antiquity (epic poetry — lyric poetry — drama) into folklore research. Lozica dealt with the theoretical problems of folkloristics in a number of studies (see, for example Lozica 1979; 1995), but his major preoccupation was the research of the folk representational art, at first under the powerful influence of P. Bogatyrev, M. Bošković-Stulli and contextual folkloristics.

Lozica successively developed his own ethno-theatological theory, which was most fully laid out in his book *Izvan teatra* [Outside the Theatre], published in 1990. Lozica stressed the *representation* as the specific sphere of human activity within which the theatre is only one of the institutionalised types. He introduced a general typology of folk representation, differentiating the *theatrical* behaviour/representation of the individual in everyday life, *theatrical* forms of group representation which sometimes only by their function differ from theatre (e.g. rituals, sports or even political events) and the "real" *theatre* representation. These types of representation have been studied at three separate levels — texture, text, context — with context being the most important because it also includes the concept of tradition and not only the social situation at the moment of representation. Lozica solved the aporia of changes in the hierarchy of functions and impermanent artistic quality of

representation relying on the dynamism of the functional aesthetics of J. Mukařovský, thus avoiding the traps of theatre metaphors and the antinomy of analysis of notations "outside of the original context". Lozica called research into representation *ethnotheatrology*, being the first to introduce that term in Croatian folkloristics and ethnological scholarly and teaching practice. Methodologically, Lozica's *ethnotheatrology* is not some new late-blooming specialist discipline of the positivistic type. Within it, he uses the methods and terms of teatrology, folkloristics, functional structuralism, Lotman's semiotics, Bakhtin's theory of genres, Dundes's teachings on texture, text and context and Goffman's, Turner's and Schechner's performance theory. Lozica supports the broadening of the subject area to cover the entire representational activity, but does not develop any general performative anthropological theory.

A difference was noticed on the border between narration and representation in the 1980s, between narrating contrived reality and the representation of contrived reality — *narration* and *presentation* — on the level of gesture and movement, and on the audio, verbal level (Lozica 1983; 1985; 1988; Bošković-Stulli 1984), which was later considered in more detail on the non-verbal and on the paralinguistic level (Urech 1993), and also critically touched upon in two new papers (Čale Feldman 1993; Jambrešić 1994).

The concept of researching oral literature — and folklore in general — in small groups, in interaction between researcher and narrator, and the desire to research a specific locality thoroughly and in detail — which would encompass all oral literary genres, both new and classical — also prompted the work by Ljiljana Marks in Šaptinovci as early as 1974. The first research produced a comprehensive manuscript collection, then a master's degree thesis titled *Lingvostilistička analiza zbirke usmenih priča iz Šaptinovaca* [Linguostylistic Analysis of the Collection of Oral Tales from Šaptinovci], followed by scholarly papers in which the possibility of stylography of oral prose was considered (Marks 1982, 1987/1988).

The author was to return to these themes and notations later, starting out from the work of Stjepan Ivšić in the same village at the beginning of the 20th century. Comparison of Ivšić's notations with her own demonstrated the durability, stability, but also the changeability of the lexic neologisms. Respecting modern linguistic and literary-theoretical literature, the lexic neologisms noted in oral stories were observed and interpreted as stylemes in oral narration (Marks 1993a, 1996a). The

typology of the stylistic usages of the oral narrator can, at the same time, also be a sketch of possible stylography of the oral prose (in the broader sense also dialectal literature), and is marked in the text *Stilografija usmene proze suvremenih zapisa* [The Stylography of Oral Prose in Contemporary Notations] (Marks 1993a). It is shown how individual linguistic elements function within the defined linguistic and dialectal system as well as their connection with vital phenomena. The author is particularly interested in the stylistic function of the chosen code within the oral literary prose genre in which it is created (fairy-tales, humorous stories and legends).

From the time at which she joined the Institute's staff, Tanja Perić-Polonijo has studied oral literary themes, particularly dealing with genre theory and poetry. She redirected Croatian research into oral poems — especially lyrical poems — from markedly philological study and notation of text exclusively, towards study of oral lyrical poems as a folklore genre in the performance situation, with particular attention to the relationship between texts and customs, texts and tunes, as well as functional changes and the context of the event. Under the influence of the theories of Propp, Bogatyrev, Mukařovský, Chistov, Bausinger, Zumthor, Lomax and contextual folkloristics (Bošković-Stulli, Dundes), she brought Croatian oral poetry closer to contemporary trends in the European literary scholarship and folkloristics, and put forward new proposals for classification of oral literary genres. Her major theoretical contribution to the study of oral lyrics is her doctoral dissertation on the classification of oral lyrical poems. Classification can be approached at various levels, taking into account the fact that the principles of classification are nothing other than conventions, although they are not arbitrary. Therefore, this issue also requires elaboration from the literary-theoretical aspect, but on a fully equal footing with the folkloristic aspect. Starting from these two positions, she tries to propose a classification system which could also serve completely practical purposes, in computer catalogisation, and also in further study and in interpretation of individual poems. The solution is found in a compromise dividing oral lyrical poems at *the level of notation of the text of the poem* and *at the level of application*. Carrying out classification at two levels shows the interweaving of the strata at the same level — and at different levels — and also leads on to the third level — *the context* — which cannot be included in the classification.

In her more recent articles, T. Perić-Polonijo has drawn attention to the methodological problems encountered in studying individual genres in verse and narrative forms of oral and popular tradition in general and/or the dynamics of the genre system of oral tradition as a whole (Perić-Polonijo 1995, 1996, 1996a).

The period of the Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research — from 1991

Although interest has existed during the 1970s and 1980s in everyday narration outside of the oral literary sphere (Zečević 1976), in private correspondence and family documents as a source for study of habitat culture (Muraj 1977), in personal narratives which are, at the same time, understood as a genre of contemporary oral literary prose and as a part of oral history (Bošković-Stulli 1984=1988a), in diary entries as a view of history from the aspect of personal experience (Zečević 1985), and in the theoretical consideration of the expanded field of folkloristic research (Bošković-Stulli 1978, Lozica 1979; 1983), the change from the exclusive research of *oral literature* to the whole of *oral tradition* (thus including oral non-literary forms) was openly expressed only in the 1990s, partly under the influence of performative anthropology, Bakhtin's theory of *speech genres* and Bausinger's division into *formulae* and *forms* (Lozica 1990; 1990a; Endstrasser 1997). However, the shift in the focus of folkloristic interest did not stop at oral tradition as its expanded field of research.

The classification, terminology and methods established during the 1970s — and modified during the 1980s — were based on what were essentially static, bipolar oppositions between subject and object, theory and the field, synchrony and diachrony, two cultures, art and reality, oral and written, text and context, folklore and folklorism, etc. The truth is that these dichotomies in the Institute's environment had long been undermined "from the inside" by the successive introduction of increasingly dynamic concepts of the subject (the transformation of folklore, the interaction of folklore traditions and contemporary culture, the folklore process as a process of constant change) and the persistent emphasis placed on interweaving, permeation and mutual influences between, and feedback from, the poles. The Institute's researchers — especially from the 1970s onwards — were really attuned to the dynamic, process-like nature of folklore, avoided the traps of the

immanent approach to the oral literary notation as an exclusively literary phenomenon and steered away from the structuralist extremes of the synchronic approach by persistent eclectic augmentation of the flexible theoretical framework of the Prague School functionalism. Thus, it could be said that the — unobtrusive — postmodern paradigm at the Institute gradually grew stronger along with the acceptance — and adaptation — of the structuralist concept.

Consequently, postmodern trends at the Institute are not the chance fruits of the internal "material fatigue" of structuralism and contextual folkloristics. They have been strengthened by work — primarily by the younger and youngest generation — of researchers who do their utmost to monitor closely the Croatian¹⁵ and world theory scene, critically assessing the scope of their predecessors and creatively building on it. So in this decade we have been participants in the open postmodern confrontation of theoretical concepts and the birth of new — interdisciplinary, humanistic — scholarly paradigm which tends towards a different manner of uniting and reconsidering what until then — nonetheless — were parallel trends in the study of literature, the theatre, music and the folklore visual arts, and to overcoming the dichotomy — and dualism — of folkloristics and ethnology in the writing of postmodern ethnography. This type of orientation was augured by Mirna Velčić's brief term at the Institute (1987-1991); she took into account the criticism of contemporary narratology, and made an intertextual approach to autobiographical prose and oral personal narratives, re-examining theoretically the dialogical attitude towards the historiographic, biographic and ethnographic *Other* and various modalities of expression of personal identity through a story about one's self (Velčić 1991).

In war-time conditions, under the Institute's auspices and in the already defined polylogical atmosphere, a group of ethnology students — with ethnologist I. Prica as co-ordinator — collected and published the narratives of internally displaced persons from Slavonia (see Plejić, Koruga et al, 1992; Čale Feldman, Prica, Senjković 1993). The book *Fear, Death and Resistance, an Ethnography of War, Croatia 1991-1992*

¹⁵ The younger generation of the Institute's female associates is also working on two projects for the Croatian Semiotic Society: *Suvremena hrvatska teorijska misao* [Contemporary Croatian Theoretical Thought] and *Znakovi povijesti u Hrvatskoj* [Signs of History in Croatia]. The activities of this Society — which is lead by a number of eminent theorists of diverse disciplinary orientation — is important for newer Croatian folkloristics as a whole, which is thus included on an equal footing in the development of postmodern Croatian theory.

(Čale Feldman, Prica, Senjković 1993) brings together the results of earlier theoretical premises at the Institute in the research of everyday life with an ear for contemporary anthropological thought.¹⁶ The content of the notations of those oral narratives, personal histories and testimonies extend beyond the poetic and genre patterns of literary scholarship, and also of historiographic and ethnological analysis: the powerful nature of the utterance as a whole opposes the use of the text and demands a new pragmatic/semantic approach.¹⁷

The scholarly work of Renata Jambrešić Kirin, which began at that time, was directly prompted by narrative diffusion of personal experience during the war. Her opus is marked by interest in the theoretical and methodological problems which folkloristics shares with the anthropological approach known as the new ethnography, with recent sociological and historical research into particular periods and social phenomena on the basis of oral sources and the autobiographical-memoirist texts of "ordinary people". In her master's thesis titled *Usmena kazivanja o životu: problem pragmatike i semantike pripovjednog teksta* [Oral Narratives about Life: the Problem of the Pragmatics and Semantics of the Narrative Text], the author considers narrative about one's own life both as a phenomenon of everyday communication which determines its pragmatic aspects, and as a folkloristic genre which can be identified on the basis of the semantic features of the world presented in the textual notation.

Carrying on from her master's degree thesis, Jambrešić Kirin analysed the way in which narrating one's own life forms the frames of reference for personal, ethnic and gender identity and how personal experience figures as a legitimate source of the (alternative) scholarly knowledge. Her research for the doctoral thesis *Svjedočenje o Domovinskom ratu i izbjeglištvu: književnoteorijski i kulturoantropološki aspekti* [Testimonies about the Homeland War and Exile: literary-theoretical and culturo-anthropological aspects] carried on in this sense. The thesis deals with the moral, epistemological and disciplinary issues of collection, analysis and interpretation of personal

¹⁶ The work of Maja Povržanović during this decade warrants special mention: it is described in the review of the Institute's ethnological activities.

¹⁷ The book was met by the critical acclaim of foreign scholarship (L. Kretzenbacher, I.M. Greverus, R. Bendix, P. Vereni) and enabled the participation of the editors at international scientific forums (1992-1995), where they had an opportunity to present the view of Croatian ethnology and folkloristics towards the war situation, and to draw attention to the role of civilian victims during that period.

utterances and the autobiographical-memoirist discourse of war victims in relation towards official historiography and the media discourse about the Homeland War.

Work on narratives about the war continued, while the female researchers of Croatian war stories did not stop at the theoretical and methodological questions related to autobiographic prose, or at analyses of testimony as a genre of oral history. The foundation of their scholarly work lies in examination of the consequences of drawing those stories into the scholarly discourse, which often leads to depersonalisation and instrumentalisation of the testimonies and muffling of the appellative functions and powerful emotional charge of the individual utterances (Jambrešić 1994; 1995; 1995a; Jambrešić Kirin 1996; Prica, Povrzanović 1995; 1996). Bringing together the folkloristic, anthropological and literary-theoretical components in thinking through the everyday life of war-time, the authors mentioned participated in establishing the Croatian ethnography of war.

In her field, Lada Čale Feldman combines theatrological and politico-anthropological analytics within the same methodological framework: she writes about political rituals as a theatricalisation of reality, of the representational aspects of anti-war campaigns and about the role of the art theatre in political events (Čale Feldman, Senjković, Prica 1992; Čale Feldman, Prica, Senjković 1993). She continues to publish ethnographic treatises about war (Čale Feldman 1995; 1995a; 1995b; 1996), along with other theatrological, ethnotheatrical and folkloristic papers.

Initially, Lada Čale Feldman's research interests lay within the field of theatrological analytics of drama texts and theatre performances. Her first book was partly based on the master's thesis about certain dramaturgical aspects of the Ivo Brešan's opus (Čale Feldman 1989). She was guided in her approach by the principles of semiotic dramaturgical analysis expanding them with significant Croatian contributions to the study of typology and the periodisational role of the phenomena of citation and intertextuality (Pavličić, Oraić-Tolić). A discussion about the role of the *theatre within a theatre* (as a structural procedure) is also published in the book, this strategy becoming the subject of the author's long-term research. Joining the Institute contributed to a widening of her circle of insights and interests, opening up the way to the field of folkloristic theories, particularly Croatian ethnotheatrical study, anthropology of the theatre, as well as contemporary Croatian and world

anthropology in general. On the basis of manuscript collections in the Institute's documentation, she broadened the issue of the *theatre within a theatre* phenomenon observing it in the body of folk representation (Čale Feldman 1991; 1992), finding important similarities with professional theatre practice. The insight into the procedure of meta-theatricalisation within wedding and Carnival customs helped her to analyse the mentioned procedure in the works of Držić and Vojnović (Čale Feldman 1993).

In the article "Šingala-Mingala: From Recitation to Theatre" (Čale Feldman 1993a), the author followed the path of a fairy-tale from a researcher's testimony about the narrator, through the published notation, to the production of the adapted fairy-tale in the puppet theatre, and also gave critical comment on papers published to that time about the representational features of oral literary performances in Croatia.

In 1994, Čale Feldman's defended her doctoral thesis, *Teatar u teatru u hrvatskoj dramskoj književnosti — folklorna i umjetnička ishodišta* [Theatre within a Theatre in Croatian Drama Literature — Starting Points in Folklore and Art], and this dissertation made up a large part of the text of her second book (Čale Feldman 1997). The book deals with theoretical exposition of this issue in the light of new concepts in the field of both classic dramaturgical-theatrical analysis, and in the fields of performance theory, the anthropology of the theatre and the theory of psychodrama. She tried to deepen the analytical, interpretative and periodisational insights in relation to Croatian, mainly twentieth-century, dramatics. At the mid-1990s, L. Čale Feldman became oriented on the one hand towards research of the lay-theatre as an insufficiently researched component of popular culture, and, on the other, interpretation of folk-representational and Croatian drama-performative texts in the methodological frame of so-called *gender-studies*, or, in other words, the study of the symbolic valences of gender roles in culture (Čale Feldman 1995a; 1997a; 1997b).

Post-structuralistic approaches to the literary text have been an important factor in the recent folkloristic trends at the Institute. By his/her utterance, the subject expresses personality: it is used to impose a personal view of the world and allocates other subjects defined roles, also giving the narrator a defined place in genre and society. Changes in the approach to the text are conditioned by changes in the understanding of language, understanding which in fact penetrates the structuralistic

border between text and context. The key concept of language is no longer *the sign*, but *the discourse* which is — in a growing mass of diverse and even contrary definitions — always linked with the narrative situation in which the speaker finds him/herself. For example, Vilko Endstrasser observes and analyses proverbs as important formative elements in the journalistic, ethnographic and literary (prose) discourse. He showed that the proverb is a building block in text, that it is incorporated into broader discourse wholes and that it possesses a relatively firm semantic potential whose denotative dimension is revealed in the discourse whole of which it is a part (Endstrasser 190; 1991). Dealing with classification in his doctoral dissertation on literary and extra-literary genres (Endstrasser 1997), he tries to establish how certain of the *speech genres* function in social and literary communication. More precisely, the author introduced division by theme and function into the *speech genres* — which are marked by sociability and are characteristic to urban communities — and *folklore genres* — which are characteristic to oral communities, in which the traditional component is much stronger. He showed in the works of Croatian writers the nature and function of *speech* and *folklore* genres within the literary text, thus opening up new possibilities for literary interpretation.

In general, it could be said that a reversal of sorts to semantic interpretation in the light of literary — and theatre — anthropology, is characteristic to the younger generation of folklorists. Thus, for example, Vilko Endstrasser examines in his master's paper on proverbs in context the models of formulative expressions and the problem of transmitted meaning by metaphor, dealing with certain questions from the domain of the relationship between language and reality (Endstrasser 1991); Davor Dukić in his master's degree thesis on the figure of the opponent in the Croatian historical epic poetry researches the mechanisms of immanent value-judgments (Dukić 1993); L. Čale Feldman finds material in Slavonian folklore and the popular dramatic piece for discussion of the symbolic pertinence of cultural characteristics (Čale Feldman 1997a); Simona Delić deals with values at the level of the topic in the family ballad (Delić 1997); Suzana Marjanić dedicated her master's thesis to contextuality in Krleža's *Davni dani* [Bygone Days] (Marjanić 1997). The shift to the semantics of the text was not perhaps caused by the broadening of the folkloristic field to extratextual phenomena, but it was definitely in conformity with it. Contesting the triad — *texture, text, context* — (Jambrešić Kirin 1997:72) weakened even more the already

theoretically vulnerable position of the immanent approach to the notation as a literary work of art (at the level of texture and text).¹⁸ Semantic interpretation brings folkloristic papers nearer to the anthropological research of cultural values. Today, the majority of folklorists considers the definition of folklore as *artistic communication in small groups* (or *artistic contact communication*) to be too narrow, and this once again imposes the requirement to redefine folkloristics and its subject.¹⁹

Expanding folkloristic interest to the extra-aesthetic area does not, however, disregard earlier research. The 1990s brought new field-work and new results: studies, anthologies and syntheses which confirmed the continuity of fifty years of research at the Institute into oral literature, popular literature and the folk drama, respecting changes in theory and the polyvalent nature of folklore.

As early as the second half of the 1980s, Divna Zečević gradually oriented her research into popular literature towards religious popular literary themes. Conducting research on examples of Croatian 18th and 19th century sermons, both directly and with the help of exempla, which condense the motifs of oral and written literary tradition, she enabled an insight into the issue of popularisation of Christian teaching in which the neo-Platonic division, the split between body and soul, the attitude towards carnality and the relationship between the genders was expressed (Zečević 1990; 1993a; 1993b). The sermons are also observed as a form of popular oral literary communication with the broader strata of society, thus developing a dialogical and often polemical character. During the 1990s, the author's focus has been on research into the polemics which have been conducted in Croatian literature over the last few centuries on the subject of the schism between the churches (Zečević 1995a, 1996, 1996a, 1997).

¹⁸Two of R. Jambrešić Kirin's review papers ascertained favorisation of the art forms of folklore during the 19th and 20th century, even in the framework of the actual folkloristic positions, emphasising that instances of evaluating folklore phenomena as art come *from above* and are not the consequence of perceiving the *immanent aesthetics* of folklore things and phenomena (Jambrešić 1993; Jambrešić Kirin 1997).

¹⁹The definition of folkloristics (Lozica 1979:44) also depends on the comprehension of folklore — as the subject area. The quoted definitions from the 1970s were questionable even at that time (Lozica 1979:46-47; Bošković-Stulli 1981:37-52). The problem with the use of the adjective artistic in those definitions is also mentioned in more recent works by the same authors (Lozica 1995:286-287; Bošković-Stulli 1997a:161-163).

Lj. Marks deals systematically with archival, literary-historical and field research on Zagreb oral narratives. For the first time, her book *Vekivečni Zagreb. Zagrebačke priče i predaje* [Eternal Zagreb. Zagreb Stories and Legends] (Marks 1994) brings together in one place centuries of stories from Zagreb and about Zagreb: she discovered them in all their profusion and diversity and introduced her readers to aspects of Zagreb not generally known until then. In a detailed introductory scholarly study, she makes a parallel presentation of the content of the stories and the historical facts which gave rise to them.

Researching Zagreb's oral past, Lj. Marks turns to research into Zagreb oral tradition in the works of Croatian writers. This is no longer a search for the reflections and influences of oral literature in the works of Croatian writers; instead, it starts out from the contemporary literary-theoretical positions of the theory of intertextuality, explains the content and mutual relationship between the terms text/metatext (meta-story/meta-narration) and intertext. This is best seen in the approach to Šenoa's works: his poetry, the novels *Zlatarovo zlato* [The Goldsmith's Treasure] and *Seljačka buna* [The Peasant Revolt], and sketches and feuiltons. Parts of oral tradition — whole stories, fragments, paraphrases, associations, syntagms, reflections of beliefs — and historical sources are observed as intertextual parts firmly woven into fictional prose. Meta-narration is found in non-fictional prose, feuiltons and sketches, thus revealing two levels of Šenoa's *utilisation* of material — narrative and stylographic (Marks 1996, 1988).

The author wrote in her paper *Zagrebačka usmena tradicija između ljubavi i politike* [Zagreb Oral Tradition Between Love and Politics] (Marks 1996b) about the utilisation of literary folklore outside of the context in which it is created. The subject are the elements of traditional culture which lived earlier within a local or regional framework and had their own narrower meaning and function, while today they again step out of the framework, change, and are subjected to new functions, mainly for propaganda and political purposes. In the sentimental native-place perspective, politics often infiltrates very subtly. This would seem to refute the post-historical meaning of the postmodern, but in fact it points to the phenomenon of new structuring of historical consciousness, to new historiographic practice. It is shown how the oral literary stratum, too, can give the legitimacy of the authenticity of tradition to political manifestations, offering proof of identity.

Important assignments facing the Institute are protection of the traditional values of Croatian culture, studying changes and the genre system of oral literature in the historical process, compilation of data bases on the collected oral-literary material (from the 19th century, and more recent material), printing of critical editions of unpublished collections of Croatian oral-literary tradition, more recently particularly from regions which suffered in the Homeland War, and from those regions which had been neglected although their folklore material represents the exceptional — not only aesthetic — worth of Croatian traditional culture (especially the manuscript material from the collections kept by *Matrix Croatica*, and the Croatian Academy's *Review of Folklife and Customs of the Southern Slavs*, and documentation at the Institute). In this way, earlier activities are being continued — — commenced by publication of monographs based on research in the 1950s and 1960s — and the continuity of the folkloristic profession is being maintained, with constant building onto the conceptual framework.

Three anthologies, *Zmaj, junak, vila* [Dragon, Hero, Fairy] (Dukić 1992), *Žito posred mora* [Wheat in the Middle of the Sea] (Bošković-Stulli 1993) and *Tanahna galija* [A Frail Galley] (Perić-Polonijo 1996b) represent Dalmatia in the totality of its oral-literary expression. Delorko's research in Dalmatia uncovered still vital remnants of epic poetry — Dukić's book gave a more complete picture of it. These poems showed that a comprehensive epic poetry corpus of anthological value exists in Croatia, which differs in the aesthetic and poetic regard from the image of unified Southern Slavic epic poetry imposed for centuries. At the same time, it is superior to chronicled narrative in rhyming decasyllabic verse, which is typical for the written popular epic poetry inspired by Kačić. Delayed critical editions of complete manuscript collections from the 19th century (e.g. Murat 1996), also bore testimony to the rich Dalmatian epic tradition. Following in Delorko's footsteps, T. Perić-Polonijo through wise selection, an introductory study, and detailed data achieved a sound balance between poetry and science in her anthology of Croatian oral lyric poetry from Dalmatia, *Tanahna galija* (Perić-Polonijo 1996).

The book *Usmene pripovijetke i predaje* [Oral Tales and Legends] (Bošković-Stulli 1997) from the edition *Stoljeća hrvatske književnosti* [Centuries of Croatian Literature] is in no way merely a renewed and expanded edition of the book from the edition *Pet stoljeća hrvatske književnosti* [Five Centuries of Croatian Literature] (Bošković-Stulli

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The book *Usmene pripovijetke i predaje* [Oral Tales and Legends] (Bošković-Stulli 1997) from the edition *Stoljeća hrvatske književnosti* [Centuries of Croatian Literature] is in no way merely a renewed and expanded edition of the book from the edition *Pet stoljeća hrvatske književnosti* [Five Centuries of Croatian Literature] (Bošković-Stulli

1963); instead, by anthological selection and the scholarly apparatus it unifies both the author's knowledge of theory — laid out in the preface which is concise, succinct and, at the same time, provides a full review of the history of Croatian oral stories — and her rich field experience. The texts follow authentic notations, are in all the Croatian dialects and from all the country's regions; stories of Croats living outside the mother country — in Bosnia, Hungary, Slovakia, Austria — are also presented. This book of texts corresponds with the book *Priče i pričanje* [Stories and Story-Telling] (Bošković-Stulli 1997a). Here the author condenses the results of European and world folkloristics during the 20th century, and her own scholarly thought, revised to an extent in relation to that expressed in *Povijest hrvatske književnosti* [History of Croatian Literature], but she describes, analyses and comments on stories and story-telling throughout the entire course of Croatian literature — from mediaeval times to the present day. This book is the fullest review to date of the story and story-telling phenomenon and its research in Croatia.

In his book *Folklorno kazalište* [The Folk Theatre] (Lozica 1996), the author undertook the difficult task of compiling a representative anthology of texts and notations of folk representation for *Stoljeća hrvatske književnosti* [Centuries of Croatian Literature] referred to above, augmenting the work of his predecessor (Bonifačić Rožin 1963) with many still unpublished notations, and adding to the anthological selection with a new detailed study about the Croatian folk drama.

Lozica's third book *Hrvatski karnevali* [Croatian Carnivals] (Lozica 1997) is not only ethnotheatrical, but also ethnological and culturological. This is the first synthesis of Carnival customs in the history of Croatian ethnology and folkloristics. The author's systematical research into the Carnival from the very beginnings of his folkloristic career provides an overall picture, commencing from a thematic introduction which is followed by descriptions of Carnival customs at some twenty localities, from Baranja to Dubrovnik and from the Middle Ages until the present day. Lozica draws from printed sources and studies published earlier about the Carnival from the pen of associates of the Institute and other authors, but also from his own extensive field research. In the third part of the book he gives an anatomy of the Carnival, considering its two faces (the magical and the critical), deals with the Carnival vocabulary, the truce between the genders and generations by inversion, describes and analyses the personages, masks and puppets, writes about the roles of the animals, noise and music,

movement and dance, food and drink, and the like. Aware of the problem of reading off from notations from past times, the author makes every effort carefully to interpret the older descriptions, and to establish the role of the Carnival today. For him, Carnival is an interlude of popular culture, the penetration of the cyclical comprehension of time in historical, linearly understood time. He interprets it as a ritual of peace-making between conflicting sides, a strengthening of cohesion and identity within a community.

Concluding formula

The history of the Institute recalls the gradual inclusion of specialists from diverse disciplines and the broadening of the area of interest. In the light of the postmodern, folkloristics has the advantage of never having been conceived as a partial science in the positivistic sense: determined by folklore as a syncretic and polyvalent subject, it is *a priori* interdisciplinary in methodology (or at least mutlidisciplinary) — but also unavoidably eclectic. Through inclusion of the synchronic dimension in the folklore research, through openness — also — towards extra-aesthetic phenomena and deepened interest in researching culture and society and interpreting verbal and representational components in folklore, we have drawn nearer to today's ethnologists in research of — current and past — everyday life.

We are folklorists and know that the term folklore is an attributed and dated compound word, the outcome of conscious individual linguistic activity. Created one hundred and fifty years ago by the mind and pen of a learned librarian in the British House of Lords, the term has long since entered into the everyday use of *ordinary people* worldwide. In the light of the opposition between the two cultures, the term folklore functions as a sunken cultural treasure (*gesunkenes Kulturgut*) which, to an extent, preserves the romantic, nostalgic and positively charged polysemy of Thoms's definition, but also changes it, actualising it and even supplementing it with opposite, pejorative meanings, thus attaining a value-judgment ambivalence characteristic to popular culture. In today's environment of awakened national, regional and local identity, folklore is again vibrant, tearing down the dichotomy between folklore and folklorism, conquering the media, taking over new symbolic roles and undergoing accelerated re-evaluation at many social levels. The issue of ethics is today in the forefront of recent European — and Croatian —

— folkloristic research projects.²⁰ Just like the unstoppable broom in the hands of the sorcerer's apprentice, the term has long since escaped from bookish control.

If we turn briefly once again to the three folkloristic periods at the Institute, we will conclude that theoretical thought gradually strengthened during the first period, side by side with intensive collecting activity; that the second period was marked by a significant change in the scientific paradigm and by our — not always completely successful and timely — effort to put it into practice; and that in the third period, the new — interdisciplinary — still emerging scientific paradigm has already achieved noteworthy results.

The time has come to re-define folklore. Discussions about a new definition are always more beneficial than the new definition itself. Following the motto — taken from Voltaire's Dr. Pangloss — we personally shall continue to use field research to supplement theory. Our attitude is not the fruit of theoretical resignation, but the experience that folkloristic theory which is applicable to at least some extent can be built up — and built upon — only in dialogue, in the complex relationship with the *Other*.²¹ Theory is grey, but the Tree of Life is green.²²

(Translated by Nina H. Antoljak)

²⁰ The authors of this review personally would not wish to overlook the aesthetic questions of folklore in those changes. We think that the aesthetic dimension in the experience of comprehending folklore is not characteristic only to *the culture of the upper classes*. We are convinced that the *aesthetic* in culture is not the privilege of a narrowly understood art sphere, but that it is also very much present in folklore as a particular form of creativity.

²¹ We are of the opinion that folkloristics can not be reduced exclusively to theory, that theoretical principles should be tested and justified in folklore research. This means sufficiently liberating a researcher from his/her own theories and those of others, and a readiness to change or supplement theory if that is what field research demands. This is where the difference lies between theory and conviction (cf. Eikenbaum 1972:4).

²² J. W. Goethe: *Faust. Tragödie erster Teil*; verse Nos. 2038-2039: "Grau, teurer Freund, ist alle Theorie, // Und grün des Lebens goldner Baum."

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FINITIS DECEM LUSTRIS

Pola stoljeća folklorističkih (filoloških, etnoteatroloških i njima srodnih) istraživanja u Institutu za etnologiju i folkloristiku

SAŽETAK

U članku autori iscrpno opisuju pola stoljeća folklorističkih (filoloških, etnoteatroloških i njima srodnih) istraživanja u Institutu za etnologiju i folkloristiku u Zagrebu. Dijakronijski su pregled istraživačkih i znanstvenih prinosa djelatnika Instituta u svjetlu domaćih i međunarodnih dosega struke autori podijelili na tri doba, koja donekle slijede tri različita naziva Instituta (ali i promjene grafičkoga izgleda *Narodne umjetnosti*), naznačujući ujedno i pomake u pristupu folkloru.

Osvrćući se ukratko na tri razdoblja folkloristike u Institutu, konstatiraju da u prvome razdoblju teorijsko promišljanje postupno jača uz intenzivnu zapisivačku djelatnost, da u drugome razdoblju promijenjena znanstvena paradigma unatoč nastojanju nije uvijek do kraja primijenjena u praksi te da je u trećemu razdoblju nova (interdisciplinarna) znanstvena paradigma u nastajanju već postigla zapažene rezultate. Na kraju pozivaju na novu raspravu o definiciji folkloru u aktualnoj situaciji sučeljavanja teorijskih paradigmi.

Ključne riječi: Institut za etnologiju i folkloristiku, folkloristika, Hrvatska