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The Role of Individuals in the System of the Culture of a Small Ethnographic Region

The Czech countryside has passed a considerable transformation since the so-called Velvet Revolution in 1989. It is no longer a peripheral area from where people move to cities, although some villages are still depopulating. Rural development actors are local and national institutions and individuals who somehow influence the activities in the countryside and are important for the maintenance and development of local culture and the transmission of ethno- cultural traditions. In a small region in the south of Valašsko (Wallachia) called Závřší on the Moravian-Slovak border it was Josef Káňa (1929-1994), who was an important bearer of tradition, collector of folklore, storyteller, dancer, local chronicler and regional writer, painter, illustrator and founder of the local Scout troop. His son and other family members keep father's memory both in a small private museum and also develop his intellectual legacy in the local culture, particularly in the traditional storytelling and in the Závřšan folk ensemble. It is an example of generational transmission. Creation of the so called commemorative archaeology in the form of chronicles, photos, commemorative objects etc. is a conscious follow-up to intergenerational continuity that strengthens the integrity of the group, the family, the village or the region.

Key words: local culture, bearer, generational transmission, chronicler Josef Káňa (1929–1994), the Czech Republic.

Улога појединаца у систему културе у малој етнографској регији

Чешко село је прошло кроз значајну трансформацију од тзв. Плишане револуције 1989. године. Оно више није периферна област одакле се људи селе у градове, иако се нека села и даље расељавају. Чиниоци руралног развоја су локалне и националне институције и појединци који на неки начин утичу на активности на селу и значајне су за одржавање и развој локалне културе, као и преношење етно-културних традиција. У малој регији Моравске Влашке (Valašsko, Wallachia), Заврши (Závřší), на моравско-словачкој граници, значајан носилац традиције био је Јозеф Кања (Josef Káňa, 1929–1994), сакупљач фолклора, приповедач плесач, локални хроничар и регионални писац, сликар, илустратор и оснивач локалне извиђачке чете. Његов син и остали чланови породице чувају сећање на оца у малом приватном музеју, али и развијају његово интелектуално наслеђе у локалној култури, посебно у виду традиционалног приповедања и кроз завршански фоклорни ансамбл. Ово представља пример генерацијског преношења. Стварање тзв. комеморативне археологије у виду хроника,

фотографија, комеморативних објеката итд. је свесни наставак међу-генерацијског континуитета који јача интегритет групе, породице, села или регије.

Кључне речи: локална култура, носилац, генерацијско преношење, хроничар Јозеф Кања (1929–1994), Чешка Република.

The Czech countryside has passed a considerable transformation since the so-called Velvet Revolution in 1989. The first major change in comparison to the socialist village was the renewal of municipal government in 1990. Collectivized agricultural cooperatives were transformed into owners' associations. The restitution of nationalized property as well as return, though exceptional, to individual farming on own or leased agricultural land, which is linked with the so-called agro-tourism and organic food production, took place. Today, we do not talk about the countryside as a peripheral area from where people move to cities. Nevertheless, some villages are still depopulating, particularly in the area of the so-called inner periphery or in the borderland, which was resettled after the expulsion of the German population after the Second World War. Weekend vacationers there sometimes account for the majority of the population. Besides them many young families with children and alternative individuals are leaving cities, since they find the environment corresponding with their ideas about the ideal environment for life: preserved nature, healthy air and space for direct interpersonal communication. In the agriculturally prosperous areas of the Czech Republic new houses are built in the countryside and large-scale agriculture is developing. Another form of enlargement of rural settlements is the so-called satellite towns around big cities and industrial conurbations.

Miroslav Válka summarized historiography of Czechoslovakian / Czech ethnological research on the problems of villages, historical and social context of transformation of village life and his own research findings on the countryside in his publications at the turn of the 20th and 21st century (Válka 2001, 2011). The Norwegian anthropologist Haldis Haukanes, as well as Czech sociologists, environmentalists (Librová 1994, 2003) or settlement geographers (Perlin 1999; Waishar 2013), dealt with the transformation of the Czech countryside from an anthropological perspective. Haukanes focused on the social structures and less on cultural issues (Haukanes 2004).

1. Support of the countryside in the transformation time

The Czech territorial structure is characterized by the existence of small villages and the settlement network does not have a unitary character in the Czech Republic. A dense network of small settlements in some areas alternates with more sparse distribution of large settlements in hilly and submontane areas. In mountain-

ous areas the valley type settlements dominate, which are accompanied with many now almost depopulated isolated mountain hamlets.¹

In the nineties of the 20th century and in the beginning of the 21st century, the Czech Republic joined by the realization of the government's Rural Renewal Programme the principles of integrated rural development announced by the European Union. It includes the annual competition of the "Village of the Year", which has several categories. Later, as an EU candidate country, the Czech Republic joined the program SAPARD (Special Accession Programme for Agriculture and Development), which is aimed at comprehensive development of rural areas and agriculture, including the maintenance of rural traditions and heritage protection (Válka 2001, 192).

The integration of municipalities, which took place in most European countries, was ceased after the change of the political regime in 1989 and in the nineties of the 20th century micro-regional associations of municipalities – microregions began to develop. Their existence was necessary for obtaining financial support from the European Union. The microregions often replicate natural and administrative borders or borders of ethnographic regions. Their structure may also be influenced by personal relationships between representatives of municipalities. The Czech municipalities are thus frequently interconnected into various types of associations that can secure collaboration, activities, and funds. In connection with the European initiative for rural areas "LEADER +" the so called Local Action Groups (LAG) began to appear. They represent another way of integrating rural areas. Associations of municipalities become LAG members as one entity. LAG territories may and they do break the district and administrative unit borders (Vaishar 2011, 145). Another type of territorial cooperation is the so called Euroregions. Their aim is to promote specific cross-border cooperation within the neighbouring countries.

2. Characteristics of the investigated region

For our paper we have chosen an example of a small mountainous region by the Moravian-Slovak border. The region is from the perspective of ethnographic differentiation of the Czech Republic and Moravia part of southern Valašsko. According to the catchment area it is a part of the Valašské Klobouky region and local people call it Závřší (Pospíšilová 2015, 13). The subregion consists of three villages Nedašov, Nedašova Lhota and Návojná, which are also members of the Jižní Valašsko microregion, founded in 1999². From 2012 they are members of the Ploština LAG³.

¹ (https://www.czso.cz/csu/czso/4120-03-casova_rada_1961_2001-3__velikostni_struktura_obci_).

² <http://jizni-valassko.webnode.cz/>

³ The territory Ploština o.s. LAG lies on the border district of Zlin and Vsetín, adjacent to the Hornolidečsko, Vizovické, Jižní Valašsko and Luhačovské Zálesí micro-region. The Ploština LAG covers a territory of 15 municipalities and 2 cities.

White Carpathians hills surrounding these villages together with the historical and present communication net contribute to certain closeness of the region, which is characterized by distinctive features typical only of this particular region and the people living in it. In terms of traditional folk culture it is thus a culture, whose main features were influenced by the Carpathian culture sphere. Inhabitants of the three villages, Závřšané, which are nicknamed Tarahúni⁴, are perceived as an independent local group with special identity awareness by the surrounding villages. They become the target of mocking remarks and people tell jokes about them. The local current culture⁵ maintains the continuity of traditional folk culture in terms of traditions and festivals of calendar (annual) cycle, which is connected with the Christian liturgical calendar up to the present time. However, the traditional features can be also found in prose and musical folklore (in folk storytelling and singing, music) and others. Main characteristics of the region are demographic homogeneity of municipalities, extraordinary religiousness of local Roman Catholics⁶ and firm family ties in branched families with many children. Not many young people from elsewhere come to the families; usually only for the purpose of marriage. The relative isolation of the region was disrupted when various mass media entered people's lives during the last hundred years. In addition to books, newspapers and magazines it was the radio in the late twenties of the 20th century and later in the sixties it was television and gradually other technical innovations and inventions together with mass culture. Opening of the Bynice – Horní Lideč railway with a stop in Návojná in 1928 may already be considered a breakthrough for the life of Závřšané. Men stints abroad, not only seasonal work in the former Upper Hungary (today's Slovakia), also brought new phenomena into the local community. The First and Second World War, the communist overthrow in 1948 and the collectivization of agriculture, which Závřšané tenaciously resisted, were all significant milestones in the 20th century. The collectivization finished in the early seventies, and only then men and women began to commute to work to a greater extent.⁷

<http://mas.plostina.cz/index.php?page=zakladni-informace>

The main aim of LAG is to improve the quality of life and environment in rural areas. One of the tools is also active acquisition and distribution of subsidies (according to www.nmascr.cz). The condition for establishing and functioning of LAG is that the business sector (entrepreneurs, company owners) must have more than 50% representation of all members of the LAG. https://is.muni.cz/do/rect/el/estud/pedf/js14/g_venkov/web/skripta/geografie-venkova-skripta.pdf (accessed February 17 2017).

⁴ Their nickname Tarahúni, Taroši is rather of pejorative character and its origin is unclear. (Kolařík 2012); <http://valachbloguje.blogspot.cz/2014/12/tarahuni.html#!/2014/12/tarahuni.html> (accessed February 20 2017).

⁵ Local culture should be regarded as an important phenomenon of the whole society culture, as an identifying factor of local people, as part of link to the place to live. (Drápala- Pavlicová 2014, 171).

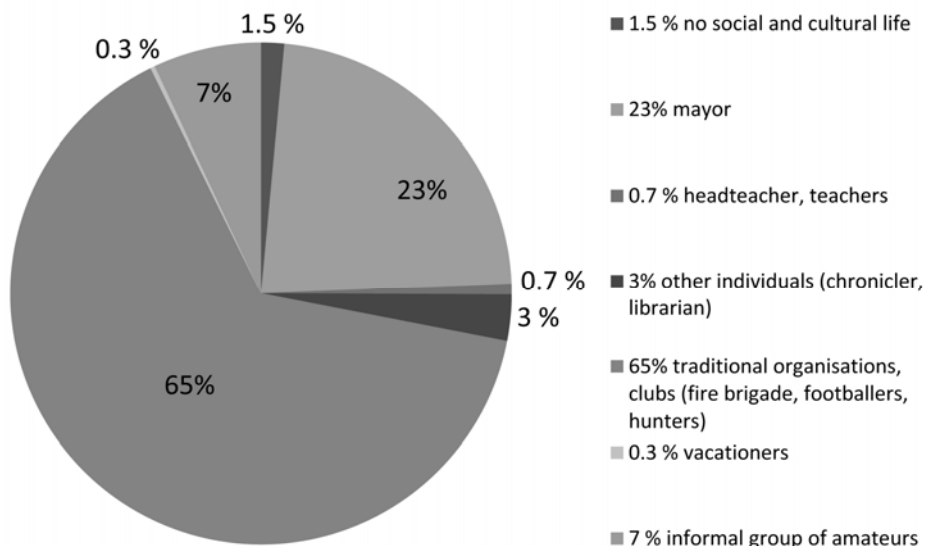
⁶ <http://www.respekt.cz/tydenik/2009/40/v-raji-pravych-katoliku>

⁷ Collectivization of agriculture started and was completed later than elsewhere in Moravia. In Návojná it was in 1959, in 1963 a state farm common for Nedašov and Nedašova Lhota was established, but even in 1972 there were about 90 private farmers in Nedašov and only in June 1973, the state took over land and cattle of the last two private farmers.

3. Rural development actors

The character of local culture, which maintains the local forms of social and cultural life, is linked to rural development actors. Rural development actors are all institutions and individuals who somehow influence the activities in the countryside or who are its part. Since the countryside itself is very diverse, there is a wide range of actors that can be categorized in several ways. The basic division is based on the hierarchical position in reference to the administrative organization of the territory. From this perspective, there are actors at the local level, as well as actors at regional / administrative unit level and eventually actors at the national level. From a formal point of view, it is public administration and interest self-government, non-profit organizations. The last category consists of informal interest groups and individuals.⁸

The research conducted in 2010 within the project of the Research Centre for Rural of the Charles University in Prague brought answers to the question, who participates most in organizing social and cultural life in your village.



Source: Perlin, Radim et al. 2010. Countryside and villagers. The accompanying publication to the exhibition. The Ministry for Regional Development. Prague.

In the process of maintaining and developing the local culture and passing ethno cultural traditions we can find personalities in rural environment that influence the content, range and intensity of the local culture. Such personalities of various intellectual profiles, anchored in the diverse range of social and professional

⁸ https://is.muni.cz/do/rect/el/estud/pedf/js14/g_venkov/web/skripta/geografie-venkova-skripta.pdf (accessed February 20 2017).

status and connected by awareness of positive values of traditional spiritual and material culture are also in Závřší (Pavlišťík 2007). In our paper we pay particular attention to the personality of Josef Káňa (1929-1994) and his family⁹. The local culture of the Závřší region is formed by various institutions, such as municipal councils, which are headed by mayors, who use different options for subsidized projects of cultural nature, and by societies and clubs (fire brigade, sport clubs, pension club and others), which “run their own show” (P. K.). From the perspective of the researcher the common local identity of all villages of the Závřší region is defined by “local centrism” or local patriotism, when categorization of the entire surrounding world, both nearby and distant, starts at the place of residence (Kandert 2004). An important role is played by the fact that inhabitants of all three villages belong to the same parish with its centre in Nedašov, where the parish church of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary was built in 1916, and that there is only one primary and nursery school. Another important actor of maintaining local traditions in the region is a folk ensemble Závřšan, founded in 1948 and which is colloquially referred to as “circle”.



The Závřšan folk ensemble, 2006

⁹ The bearer of the cultural and historical memory was a costume tailor, a long-time head of the folk ensemble Závřšan, Vincent Nesázal (1910-1990) or Marie Nováková (1921-20 ..), with whom a Czech ethnographer Professor Karel Chotek (1881-1967) carried out ethnographic research. Currently, one of the cultural actors is also Ales Naňák, the chronicler of the village Návorná, the author of essays devoted to the local history.

Various traditions and customs that were a hundred years ago kept spontaneously by individuals or by certain social classes of the local community transformed into an organized form and attached to associations and organizations also in other regions, for example in other villages of southern Valašsko, Valašská Senica and Francova Lhota (Románková 2008, 12).

4. Folk tradition as an integral part of the local culture

As revealed in the ethnological research, traditional storytelling formed an integral part of the local culture in Závřší. Many folklorists pointed out the importance of natural narrative situations for oral tradition, and their works emphasized narrative research in small social groups or locations.¹⁰ Narrative situations that I have experienced in the Závřší ethnographic subregion were of three categories: 1) traditional working occasions (pig-slaughtering, plucking feathers, plum jam cooking, field work etc.); 2) social gathering in public (in the pub, in the distillery, in front of the church, shop etc.); 3) everyday or holiday meetings of family members and neighbours (people went for a chat on weekdays and during celebrations, customary or ceremonial occasions). In the seventies of the 20th century, it was still possible to find the traditional genre structure of storytelling repertoire. I watched spontaneous and artificially induced storytelling opportunities, and I witnessed amount of coherent storytelling (genres) told by excellent and also less skilled storytellers from both the old and youngest generation, including school children. Among the respondents there were several personalities who were in their surroundings acknowledged as storytellers, entertaining companions (entertainers?) or as experts on local history due to their ability to tell enthralling stories. Short and longer stories (life stories), local and demonological legends, tales and other recorded storytelling give evidence of richly developed folk storytelling told by inhabitants of Nedašov, Nedašova Lhota and Návojná.¹¹ This fund is also the legacy of unknown narrators who had concerned and attentive audience at many meetings, which took place at specified occasions during a year. In 1974 despite the modernization of society and the village life we managed to collect folk storytelling in its traditional form, which at that time preserved only in some places. According to a Prague ethnologist Josef Vařeka it was possible due to similar geographical conditions on both sides of the Moravian-Slovak border and Wallachian colonization, which largely integrated the area and distinguished it culturally from the rest of the Czech lands (Vařeka 1994; Pospíšilová 2014).

¹⁰ Rychnová, Dagmar: K metodice zápisu lidové prózy. (O významu přirozené vypravěčské situace.) *Český lid* 44, 1957, s. 323–328; Kiliánová, Gabriela: Ako, kedy a čo si ľudia rozprávajú? Rozprávačské okruhy a repertoár v 80. rokoch 20. storočia v jednej obci. In: Hlôšková, Hana (ed.): *Folklór v kontextoch. Zborník príspevkov k jubileu doc. PhDr. Ľubice Droppovej, CSc.* Bratislava 2005, s. 141–150.

¹¹ Selectively they were published in the book Pospíšilová, Jana. 2015²: *To sem čula na vlastni oči...*

Between 1908-1909 and 1912-1913, an important Moravian collector Hynek Bím (1874-1958), who cooperated with a composer and collector of folk songs Leoš Janáček (1854-1928)¹², recorded many folk songs and dances from the region. Dozens of other songs were recorded about forty years later by a team of workers from the State Institute for folk songs, Brno (now The Institute of Ethnology of the Czech Academy of Sciences in Brno) in the preparation of a large song collection from the Valašskokloboucko region.¹³ An editor of the collection, ethnomusicologist Karel Vetterl said: "We find that the folk song is not dying out, as it has been claimed earlier, but it is developing and lives among people" (Vetterl 1955, 16).

Present returnable ethnological studies show a constant need for spoken word, oral transmission of information and desire to tell stories in a small group – a family, neighbourhood, the street. Participating in local customs and festivals is natural and common as well. Relationship to the place, local history and culture is formed from childhood by oral narrative of the same stories. Active knowledge of some of them and the ability to tell and share humorous stories and jokes is maintained in families up to the present time. Children who tell jokes and funny stories pass (maintain) what is spread by word of mouth and at the same time they are influenced by reading, television, internet (Pospíšilová 2003). Family ties and common history resonates in oral tradition through direct communication between generations.

An example of positive attitude towards local history and landscape is saving of an old tree, the so-called picture pear, in 2014. The tree had its name after the "Holy picture" that was placed on its trunk and depicted the Holy Family. The pear stood "from time out of mind" on the road leading to Návojná and two legends about killing (tragic event) were connected to it and the place where it stood. The spreading tree had to make way for the renovation and expansion of the road. The local chronicler Aleš Naňák and "guardian" of old traditions, a son of Josef Káňa, Petr Káňa (b. 1959)¹⁴ took care of felling cutting the tree and preservation of a graft from it. They also published a booklet with the explication of the stories about the killing.

The local tradition is emphasized even by "ordinary people", who develop this interest by buying publications that relate to the place. This need to know about the place of residence is demonstrated in Závřší by an enormous interest in the book / *The collection of folklore prose / storytelling in the local dialect "To jsem čula na*

¹² Leoš Janáček was the chairman of the Working Committee for the Czech national song in Moravia and Silesia founded in 1905. Songs recorded by registered collectors from this institution are the basis of the manuscript archives stored in today's Institute of Ethnology of the Czech Republic in Brno.

¹³ Songs and dances were published within the song edition *Lidové písně a tance z Valašskokloboucka...*

¹⁴ The pear tree in Návojná was felled. What is its history?

[http://navojna.webnode.cz/products/obrazkova-hruska-v-navojne-byla-pokacena-jaka-je-jeji-historie-/](http://navojna.webnode.cz/products/obrazkova-hruska-v-navojne-byla-pokacena-jaka-je-jeji-historie/) (accessed February 15 2017).

vlastní oči ... "I have heard it with my own eyes..." (Pospíšilová 2014, 2016). From the initiative of a local historian, I have prepared the publication of my own records from the seventies of the last century and the first edition of 500 copies was immediately sold out at the presentation of the book, which was also an "autograph" event.

5. Josef Káňa and his family, bearers of local cultural traditions

Josef Káňa, together with the founder of the Závřšan folk ensemble Vincent Nesázal, belongs to important personalities linked with the activities of the ensemble. He was its member, later the mayor of the village as well as a collector of folklore of the Valašsko region, local chronicler and regional writer, storyteller, painter and illustrator. Since the culture of the region includes both storytelling tradition and its bearers, who participate in its existence and maintenance, we consider the activities of J. Káňa significant. He recorded local stories and added his own illustrations in the manuscript *Pověsti. Příběhy a zvyky ze staré dědiny. Upraveno a napsáno podle vyprávění starých pamětníků z Návojně roku 1953. (Legends. Stories and traditions from an old village. Adapted from storytelling of old eyewitnesses from Návojná 1953)*. The manuscript was published after his death by his son Petr¹⁵. The Chronicle and the storytelling tradition of the village include local demonological stories with devils, water sprites, a white lady, a hag that sucked people's blood, as well as historical myths and life stories that served as entertainment, but also as a source of lesson. J. Káňa was also the municipal chronicler for some time, but in the politically hostile environment he stopped being the chronicler and continued recording stories only for himself and his family. In addition to the chronicle of the village Návojná from the earliest times to the year 1962 and the chronicle of the legends from Návojná, he was also the author of another manuscript book of legends from the neighbouring Slovak village Vršatec, thirteen Scout chronicles and dozens of handwritten fairy tales, poems, scout stories and chronicles, which he illustrated (Káňa, P., 1996, 5).

The extended family played an important role in the life of J. Káňa. With his wife Anna (b. 1935) they raised five children and their families with twenty five grandchildren live in villages on Závřší or nearby, so they are in a constant contact. They are active in the local culture and some are even literarily active. Sons and a husband of one of the two daughters are musicians and play in the Závřšan ensemble. The grandson of J. Káňa, Petr (1985), completed his studies at the Theological Faculty in Olomouc and is the author of thesis, in which he described the case and arrest of the parish priest Půček from Nedašov, i.e. the event in the Nedašov parish from 1949.¹⁶ He documented a concrete example of persecution of priests after the communist coup in 1948 and brave response of parishioners who physically de-

¹⁵ Káňa, Josef: *Pověsti. Příběhy a zvyky ze staré dědiny. (Legends. Stories and traditions from an old village.): Ateliér umělecko – řemeslného malířství Petr Káňa Návojná, 1999*².

¹⁶ Káňa, Petr. 2011. Události roku 1949 ve farnosti Nedašov - případ Půček a spol. Olomouc. Diploma thesis.

fended the priest during his arrest. The thesis was published with the financial support of the Zlín region and the Závřan folk ensemble under the title *Kniha o faráři Půčkovi* (*The Book about the parish priest Půček*) (Káňa, P. 2012). The restorer and painter Peter Káňa (b. 1959) is also the author of the monument dedicated to the priest Fratišek Půček and the event of January 1949. It is a three meters tall wooden cross with prison bars and a cracked sandstone heart standing above the village Návojná.¹⁷



The Cross on the Hillside, Návojná – Nedašov

As we have already mentioned, Josef Káňa actively cooperated with the Závřan circle, which is currently lead by Vladimír Káňa, the nephew of J. Káňa. The aim of the ensemble is to coordinate and support sustainable regional development of Závřší, the Jižní Valašsko microregion, the Czech-Slovak border area of the Zlín region; to support regional heritage of folk culture, local traditions and interpersonal relationships.¹⁸ According to our respondent Petr Káňa (b. 1959) the whole family, including his siblings, continues to pass down the heritage of thought

¹⁷ <http://www.pametnimista.usd.cas.cz/navojna-kriz-na-pamatku-udalosti-z-21-1-1949-v-nedasove/> (accessed February 20 2017).

¹⁸ http://rejstrik-firem.kurzy.cz/rejstrik-firem/DO-26668025-narodopisny-soubor-zavrsan-zs/#id_sekce_zapis/ (accessed February 28 2017).

<http://www.tvnoe.cz/porad/u-nas-aneb-od-cimbalu-o-lidove-kulture-valassky-kruzek-zavrsan-28-dil/> (accessed February 20 2017).

of J. Káňa and contributes to maintain local Wallachian folk traditions .: "It's based on the friendship, we do not have space, we meet when needed, no rehearsals. " The ensemble regularly performs at a harvest festival and a local festival linked to the celebration of the Marian feast day in August, which is held in Nedašov in the church and in public areas.



The procession with the harvest wreath, Návojná 2015

The ensemble also performs in the Nicolas fair in Valašské Klobouky, where it shows traditional crafts on the square, as well as the so-called Live nativity scene in the centre of Nedašov on Christmas Day 25. 12.



The live nativity scene, Nedašov, 2015

At various festival performances and fairs in Moravian villages and small towns the ensemble performs a show called *Rok na dědině* (*The Year in the Village*) with various customs, songs and crafts that relate to separate periods of the year.¹⁹ Members of the ensemble wear folk costumes also in municipalities on the occasions of the pilgrimage to the chapel in Návojná (the Feast of the Holy Trinity) and Nedašova Lhota (Saints Cyril and Methodius) and of Easter (Easter Saturday and Monday “thrashing of girls with Easter stick”). For the fiftieth anniversary of the ensemble foundation its members published a booklet with photos on the brief history of the ensemble. The last exceptional festival which the Závřšan ensemble participate in was the mass and a celebration of one hundred years anniversary of the consecration of the church in Nedašov (2016) along with the harvest procession and the consecration of the harvest wreath.

6. Josef Káňa, the pioneer of scout ideas



Josef Káňa – The Chief Grey Wolf, Návojná, 1947

¹⁹ Závřšan has a long-standing cooperation with the Wallachian Open Air Museum on programs of Wallachian year, it performs on the folklore festival in Strážnice, and in 2016 it appeared in the Ride of the Kings in Vlčnov, etc. others.

Josef Káňa was a multilayered personality. As we have already stated, he maintained and recorded local traditions, but at the same time he was inspired by reading adventure literature and founded a Scout troop in Návojná. He is thus also linked to the origin of the local scout movement.²⁰ Although it would seem that it is a vastly different subculture than the local culture growing out of the Wallachian traditions, they combined and formed a consistent whole in the life of J. Káňa. Scouting as an educational movement anchored in Christianity allowed J. Káňa to fulfil the ideals about the life of "decent people" in nature with similarly oriented peers. J. Káňa, who carried a nickname "Grey Wolf", became the founder of the Scout troop "Rock Eagles" in Návojná in 1947. Furthermore, the same year he founded the Foglar's reading club 8296.²¹

His son Peter Káňa remembers the foundation of scouting and its further development in Závřší : "... the first impulse was roughly in 1943 when my father's teacher – my father was about fourteen years old – read to his pupils at school a book *Vlci proti Mustangům (the Wolves against Mustangs)*.²² And the book is basically about boys from a village who longed for scouting and they sewed tents from blankets on pastures and then they built a sort of summer camp and it inspired him so much that he realized that all the conditions - the conditions that the boys had in the book they had. They also went on pastures, they also were from a village, and they also desired to experience something. ... So he began to look for scout magazines, he began to wonder where it could be and it ended that right after the war in 1945, a teacher Tomašík backed them and they made a clubroom in the former castle in Návojná and it developed in a scout troop with almost twenty, twenty five members ... they lived illegally from those ideals on Závřší until 1955 or 1956, up to that year we had records in the chronicles ... "(PK 519, 1999).²³

Scouting activities on Závřší were affected, as elsewhere in Czechoslovakia, by prohibitions from the communist power in 1948. In the mid-sixties there was renewal of scout activities and in 1966 the Club of Young Eagles was founded. Members of this club were children of Rock Eagles. In 1968, the scout troop in Závřší came alive, but in 1970 it was again officially dissolved. In the years of lack of political freedom after 1948 and at the time of the so called normalization after 1970 scouting lived illegally and under various covering organizations. Its activities can be seen as a way of resistance to the state regime. Scouting in Czechoslovakia was restored in 1990 and today it is active under the name Junák - Czech scout and has 2,133 troops in the Czech Republic.

²⁰ Scouting is the biggest worldwide organisation and the biggest organisation for free time in the Czech Republic. <https://cs.wikipedia.org/wiki/Skauting>

²¹ For details see Naňák, Aleš. 2015. Když se Návojná stala zemí Skalních orlů. (When Návojná became the country of Rocky Eagles.) *Zvuk* 3 (4): 82-85.

²² The book for children and youth written by František Omelka: *Vlci proti Mustangům (The Wolves against Mustangs)* (1904-1960).

²³ The records of interviews with Petr Káňa are stored in the documentary collection of the Institute of Ethnology of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Brno, signature Pk.

The Grey wolf, the father J. Káňa, used to take his children to the surrounding nature, the hills towards the nearby Slovakia and one of the most popular places was the ruined castle Vršatec. "Between two tents sewed from old tarpaulins and covered with the signs Rock Eagles and Young Eagles and painted Indians, fire crackles and enlightens the foot of the rocks where our tents are built and the next night of our camp starts. Our father and mother sit by the fire, we kids around them, me as the youngest I timidly cuddle up to my mommy and daddy begins to tell stories..." (Káňa, P., 1996, 4).

Josef Káňa wrote the chronicle of Scouts since his eighteens. "The Chronicle is sewed, made at home, wrote on sacks of flour and painted with natural colours. Right after the war there was lack of paper," says his son Peter. "Their goat paid for their scouting with its life, because it climbed into damage, swelled and died. The cover of the chronicle is made of its skin," reveals Peter Káňa something from the family history. Letters that Peter Káňa inherited from his father give evidence of contacts with the writer of youth literature and important personality of Czech scouting Jaroslav Foglar (1907-1999).

Peter Káňa (born 1959), one of the five children of Josef Káňa, lives in an old wooden house, in which he built a family museum "The Hall of the Grey Wolf" - a room where he stores his father's chronicles, documents, photographs, scout symbols, and others.



The Hall of the Grey Wolf, Návojná, 2017

He has four children, honours his father's memory, and like other siblings and their children, he continues in his father's footsteps, because as he says: "Genes are inher-

ited. As it is said: Preserve Heritage of Our Fathers, Lord, 'so again and again' ... It intersects here, those Scouts with those Wallachians "(P_K 520, 1999).

Because Petr Káňa inherited his father's artistic talent and has always felt a deep involvement with drawing, he is a professional painter and restorer. He evaluates the past and his father with the words: "It was a piece of his life, it was not played. It's a tradition. „One of the visitors to the small museum was also a renowned Czech writer Ludvík Vaculík (1926-2015), a native of the neighbouring village Brumov, who wrote about herding of goats and playing Indians in his novel *The Czech Dream Book* (1980).

7. Conclusion

The nature of the local culture in Závřší is determined by local, national and international (European projects) institutions, by active local individuals, who often adhere to the traditions of the village or region and finally by globalization, which enters local cultural processes (Giddens 2000). We recognized the bearer of the local culture Josef Káňa as a chronicler of the village Návojná, a storyteller and expert on local history, a collector of Wallachian folklore, a member of the Závřšan folk ensemble as well as the Grey Wolf, the chief of a Rock Eagles scout troop. J. Káňa was considered to be the bearer and user of the multilayer local culture not only in his three-generation family, but also in a wider regional scale of Závřší. His talks where he told stories were actively attended by children and thus the transmission of traditions took place naturally. This process also took place in other families as our ethnological research from the seventies of the last century and returnable research in the nineties of the 20th century or twenty years later revealed. During returnable research children, and twenty years later grandchildren of J. Káňa, showed to be exceptional experts in local folklore traditions among their peers in classrooms. Activities of the Závřšan local folk ensemble, where the family of J. Káňa comprises the core of its members, represent partly institutionalized form of transmission of Wallachian folk. The Scout Movement, which was discovered for Závřší by J. Káňa in the forties of the last century, has influenced several generations in Závřší and is living among children and youth up to the present time. It seems that social and spatial mobility has not weakened the position of the family in the generational transmission. Creation of the so called commemorative archaeology in the form of chronicles, photos, commemorative objects etc. is a conscious follow-up to intergenerational continuity that strengthens the integrity of the group, the family, the association, the folk ensemble (Hlôšková 2000, 15).

One of the many concepts of culture is the concept of "culture", which consists in the fact that the population is assigned a set of goods and properties defined in terms of human behaviour and representation. "Culture" in this sense is used to identify the difference. The starting point here is the idea that culture of people from the particular ethnicity or nationality is created from a kind of essence that is reducible to a set of inherent properties. In other words, they do what they do because they are what they are (Friedman 1994: 72 by Müllerová in 1998, 209-210). We have concretized the above mentioned quote of one of the anthropological defini-

tion of culture by ethnographic material from a small region in the Czech Republic lying on the Moravian-Slovak border.

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