

Ryszard Górski

Folklore Studies 1945-1970

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Folklore Studies 1945–1970

Whoever followed the development of folklore studies in Poland in the last quarter of the century has to acknowledge the results achieved in this field to be in many respects imposing. If only for this reason the presentation of what has been achieved in this area of scholarship is not an easy task. The difficulty arises not only from the necessity of covering quantitatively rich achievement but also from its variety, since it encompasses all that has been accomplished in the collecting and recording of folklore, its dissemination and publication, as well as studies of this sphere of creative activity of the people.

The situation is made even more complicated by the fact that representatives of various disciplines, and not only folklorists, have been concerned with folklore. Obviously, this had its consequences, since ethnographers, linguists and literary critics dealt with folklore from the point of view of their own interests and needs, they differed in the approach to folklore and conceptions of the problems involved in its study. Although their achievements were not always found satisfactory by folklorists, they undoubtedly deserve their place in the general summing up of the post-war situation in this field of study, for only by taking into account all that has been done by those concerned with folklore is it possible to determine what really has been accomplished.

The present study aims not only at brief presentation of the achievements of folklore studies in the last quarter of the century but also at outlining both the tendencies and directions of the development in the field and the conditions in which the studies were undertaken and carried out. It is quite impossible, however, to exhaust all the problems, nor is it possible to mention, even in notes, all publications dealing with folklore.

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It is to be observed that the term “folklore” has recently become fashionable.¹ It is very often used, and sometimes even misused.

¹ Cf. J. Burszta, *Folklorizm w Polsce (Folklorism in Poland)*, [in:] *Folklor w życiu współczesnym (Folklore in Modern Life)*, Poznań 1970, p. 9–11.

which results in extending its meaning and consequently, through the usage not always justified or necessary and through referring it to various phenomena, leads to certain ambiguities and abuse. The career of the term started not so long ago, for only after the war, and was made possible by the important changes and transformations in the social attitude to the creative work of the folk.

It is not insignificant that what arouses the liveliest social interest in the folk culture in general is the complex of phenomena covered by the term "folklore." To some extent this is also conditioned by the fact that these phenomena have been explored at a greater pace and more vigorously than other spheres of folk art and activity. The popularity of folklore (both the term and the referent) is connected with the wider social phenomenon that can be called "folklore snobbery," observable for some time among the inhabitants of cities as well as with general social rise and nobilitation of folk culture, which has become an important and generally accessible element of the national culture as a whole.

As we know, the creative work and activity of the country folk were taken an interest in rather early. For a long time the attention was centred on those manifestations which later on came to be known under the name of folklore.² A keen interest in those phenomena was taken not only in the Romantic period. Although the very term "folklore" was introduced as early as in the middle of the 19th century and rather quickly assimilated in the European scholarship, in Poland it appeared much later and its popularity was by no means immediate.³

This can be explained by the fact that at the time when the term entered the European scholarship, in Poland the interest in the folk and folk art subsided and exultations about the values of folklore were replaced after 1846 by the slogans of the immaturity and lack of creative abilities of the folk and by exhortations to the work at the foundations. Consequently, the focus of interest shifted from the folk culture and creativity to the programme of education

² Cf. statements on the subject in *Dzieje folklorystyki polskiej 1800–1863. Epoka przedkolbergowska (History of Polish Folklore Study 1800–1863. Before Kolberg)*, ed. H. Kapeliuś, J. Krzyżanowski, Wrocław 1970.

³ See J. Krzyżanowski, "Folklore," [in:] *Słownik folkloru polskiego (Dictionary of Polish Folklore)*, ed. J. Krzyżanowski, Warszawa 1965.

of the folk, of preparing them for an active part in the social life in the changed, post-enfranchisement conditions. This fact undoubtedly left its mark on contemporary studies on the folk and folklore.⁴

Presumably a certain role was played by other factors as well. In the mid-19th century there appeared in the European study of folklore new tendencies of basing it on a different, scientific foundation, of breaking with what had been professed in the Romantic period, as manifested by the emergence of new concepts and trends in scholarship, such as folklore and study of folklore. These were not assimilated in Poland because the atmosphere was not conducive to them, contemporary scholars being either adherents of the Romantic school or its followers and incapable of appreciating the perspectives these concepts and trends opened before the study of folk culture. That this was the case is proved by the response to the daring book of Ryszard Berwiński.⁵

Also foreign works on folklore and ethnography published at the time failed to call forth any lively response. In vain would we look for "folklore" in contemporary encyclopaedias; no such entry is to be found in S. Orgelbrand's *Encyklopedia powszechna (Universal Encyclopaedia)* of 1862⁶ or in its later, 1878 edition, or in *Encyklopedia ogólnej wiedzy ludzkiej (Encyclopaedia of General Human Knowledge)*⁷ which appeared under the auspices of "Tygodnik Ilustrowany" and "Wędrowiec" (journals of the time).

It is understandable that the one to introduce and popularize it was to be a representative of the new generation of folklorists, an adherent and propagator of new scientific methods in the study of folklore, the author of pioneer studies on traditions, tales and songs, Jan Karłowicz.⁸ He introduced the term in vol. II of "Wisła," a periodical in which he constantly presented and popularized novel trends, methods and achievements in the field. Recommended by Karłowicz, the term met, however, with objections and doubts on

⁴ Cf. R. Górski, *Lwowskie*, [in:] *Dzieje folklorystyki polskiej*, p. 354–357.

⁵ T. Brzozowska, *Berwiński jako folklorysta (Berwiński as a Folklorist)*, [in:] *Między dawnymi a nowymi laty... (Between the Old Days and Today...)*, ed. R. Górski, J. Krzyżanowski, Wrocław 1970, p. 98, 101–103, *Studia Folklorystyczne*.

⁶ Warszawa 1862.

⁷ Warszawa 1877.

⁸ J. Karłowicz, *Folklore*, "Wisła," 1888, vol. II, p. 84.

the part of venerable and meritorious Oskar Kolberg. His opinion is worth quoting, since it seems to be typical of a certain circle of traditionalists:

I must confess that the (neo-English) word "folklore" ("Wisła," II, p. 84), denoting in fact Polish *ludogadactwo* [folk-talking], *ludowiedztwo* [folk knowledge], though accepted in many countries, is rather repellent to me, if only because it cannot be easily adopted to the organism of our tongue, and even used by the French, Italians, Spaniards, etc., it strikes us as some unpleasant cacophony, some violence. Instead, I would willingly vote for the word "demotics," proposed by the Portuguese author Brag.⁹

To some extent Karłowicz shared the objections of the author of *Lud (The Folk)*, as shown by the following fragment from his letter to Kolberg:

I do agree with your opinion about certain hornyness, so to say, of the word "folklore"; we accepted it as a necessary evil and following the example of other literatures which have given it the right of citizenship. Of the terms proposed by you, *ludowiedztwo* and "demotics," the former seems to be quite adequate and I shall try to popularize it; the latter has the advantage of being short and adaptable, but it strikes one as foreign.¹⁰

Yet the term must have quickly stopped striking him as "horny," for he found it convenient and at the same time indispensable for designating a distinct complex of phenomena, marked with specific characteristics and features and distinguished from the folk culture in general as the subject of the new discipline. And as he was especially interested in those matters, he exhorted to carry out folklore studies on a broad scale, and set ambitious and serious tasks before those concerned with folklore. All this found its expression in the paper he delivered at the Congress of Polish Men of Letters and Journalists in Lvov.¹¹

Similar subjects were frequently taken up by him in "Wisła," the periodical which undoubtedly patronized the incipient folklorist movement based on scientific foundations. He not only propagated new terminology and new scholarly ideas but, what is even more

⁹ O. Kolberg's letter of 2.09.1888, DWOK, vol. 66, p. 530.

¹⁰ J. Karłowicz's letter of 8.09.1888, *ibidem*, p. 536.

¹¹ J. Karłowicz, *Narodowy folklor polski (Polish National Folklore)*, [in:] *Pamiętnik Zjazdu Literatów i Dziennikarzy Polskich (Journal of the Congress of Polish Men of Letters and Journalists)*, Lvov 1894.

important, tried to implant in Poland new conceptions and methods to be used and developed in scholarly activity.

A closer look at the very process of popularization of the new terminology is rather instructive of attitudes towards novelties among those concerned with folklore and the study of it. Even a cursory reading of annual sets of "Wisła" and "Lud," two journals dealing with the problems of folklore and folklore study, allows us to see the difference in their approach. It is by far more difficult to find any reflections of those novelties in the traditionally oriented—especially in the matters of methodology—"Lud." Obviously, those problems could not be entirely ignored, considering the progress and results obtained in folkloric studies in Europe. These deserved at least to be informed of and, to be sure, the editors of "Lud" did provide such information.¹² In 1901 there appeared, financed by Towarzystwo Ludoznawcze (Folklore Society), G. L. Gomme's *Folklore*,¹³ while another book by this author was published in the same year in Warsaw.¹⁴

Despite this, any influence of the then formulated folkloric ideas on the work of the members of Towarzystwo Ludoznawcze and those contributing to *Lud* is hardly noticeable. To a considerable number of them we could apply L. Krzywicki's remark that "in the field of folklore [...] there were many eager workers" whose "theoretical background did not equal their good intentions, [...] and sometimes was none at all";¹⁵ they were enthusiastic amateur-collectors, without scientific ambitions, and did not respond to modern conceptions about folklore and methodology of folkloric study which often shook current opinions on the subject. It was not only the terminology, elsewhere accepted and in general use for some time, which was found objectionable; it was also the very expansiveness of the new discipline breaking loose from ethnography and consequent specialization

¹² See for instance H. Kasperowicz, *Folklorystyka w Rosji (Folklore Study in Russia)*, "Lud," 1898, vol. IV.

¹³ G. L. Gomme, *Folklor. Podręcznik dla zajmujących się ludoznawstwem*, transl. from the English by W. Szukiewicz, ed. with an introduction by S. Eliaż-Razdzikowski, Kraków 1901.

¹⁴ G. L. Gomme, *Folklor w etnologii*, transl. from the English by A. Bąkowska, Warszawa 1901.

¹⁵ L. Krzywicki, *Nauki antropologiczne (Anthropological Science)*, "Książka," 1903, No 13, p. 504.

in the study of folk culture, as well as the emphasis put by folklorists on the scientific approach to folklore and on new methods of investigation, which did not arouse enthusiasm.

It is understandable then that in the sharp polemics between Edward Porębowicz and Maksymilian Kawczyński¹⁶ concerning the vital problem: folklore and literary history, and thus rather basic problems from the point of view of every student of folklore, contemporary folklorists did not really participate. And yet the matters disputed were not only details or particular issues,¹⁷ for a number of more general questions were involved as well, such as usefulness of folkloric studies in historioliterary works, interrelation between folklore and literature, and the question if and to what extent the folk could be considered the creator of cultural contents that functioned in that social group. Arbitrary statements and arguments used in the quarrel often moved it from the level of the scholarly polemics to that of an ideological one.¹⁸

It turned out that many of the folkloric problems were of a controversial character, that the new discipline did not confine itself to collecting folklore and disseminating it in print, that is to what most folklorists of the time considered their task, but that it attempted at studying folklore in the historical aspect and against the broad comparative background, arriving at conclusions which were "outrageous" in their divergency from what had been hitherto ascertained.

Obviously, all this did not win many adherents for the new trend, and after Karłowicz's death and with "Wisła" suspended, it lost its support and for some time there was silence on the folkloric front. The process of folklore studies growing separate from the study of folk culture in general became suppressed, research was carried out at a much slower pace and professional press only seldom used the terminology and concepts which should by that time have been generally accepted for good. They were not, however, for the new tendencies met with indifference and resistance of the majority of folklorists

¹⁶ M. Kawczyński, *Folklor a historia literatury. Pismo polemiczne (Folklore and Literary History. A Polemical Essay)*, Kraków 1903.

¹⁷ See J. Krzyżanowski, "Amor i Psyche," [in:] *Słownik folkloru polskiego*, p. 16–17. The reader will also find there a bibliography of the polemics.

¹⁸ Kawczyński, *op. cit.*, p. 24–25.

who rather disapproved of the division of roles in investigating life and culture of the folk.

Hence a symptomatic non-existence of the very name and concept "folklore" in the works of the time, which in fact dealt with folklore. Oddly enough, even such ambitious books as Adam Fischer's *Lud polski (The Polish Folk)*¹⁹ or Jan Stanisław Bystron's *Wstęp do ludoznawstwa polskiego (Introduction to Polish Folklore Studies)*²⁰ only generally touch upon the problem or omit it altogether. If the problems of modern folklore study are present at all, it is in the works of prominent sociologists of the period, such as Ludwik Krzywicki²¹ and Stefan Czarnowski.²²

An additional impulse to developing folkloric studies was soon to come from literary criticism, owing to Julian Krzyżanowski who argued indispensability of referring many questions concerning both old and new literature to results of folklore studies. With his books and essays he showed how folkloric data helped to explain a number of essential literary problems. In contrast with the standing tradition the author of *Polska bajka ludowa w układzie systematycznym (The Systematic Catalogue of the Polish Folk Tale)* did not limit himself to studying only the influence folklore exerted on literature, for he recognized the interrelations of these two spheres of culture and thus advanced the hitherto neglected study of the effect of folklore on literature. All this found expression in such works of his, as *Romans polski wieku XVI (Polish 16th-Century Romance)*²³ and *Paralele (Parallels)*,²⁴ where he contained not only interesting observations concerning interrelation of literature and folklore as well as revisions of accepted views on certain writers, but also statements

¹⁹ Lvov 1926.

²⁰ Lvov 1926. 2nd edition appeared in 1939.

²¹ Cf. the bibliography of L. Krzywicki's writings included in his *Studia socjologiczne (Sociological Studies)*, Warszawa 1924, pp. 299–340; K. Zawistowicz, *Działalność prof. Ludwika Krzywickiego na polu ludoznawstwa polskiego (Professor L. Krzywicki's Work in the Field of Folklore Study)*, "Wiedza i Życie," 1936, No 10–12.

²² J. Krzyżanowski, "Czarnowski Stefan Zygmunt," [in:] *Słownik folkloru polskiego*, p. 71–72.

²³ Lublin 1934.

²⁴ J. Krzyżanowski, *Paralele. Studia porównawcze z pogranicza literatury i folkloru (Parallels. Comparative Studies on Literature and Folklore)*, Warszawa 1935.

which threw a new light on both the past of folklore and folklore itself. Thus he demonstrated usefulness of the discipline, especially in elucidating those areas where literature and folklore meet. Theoretical justification of such studies and their perspectives Julian Krzyżanowski presented in his article *Literatura a folklor (Literature and Folklore)*.²⁵

2

The previous section has dealt rather extensively with the beginnings of modern folklore studies in Poland, for these conditions, difficulties and obstacles in the development of the discipline are to be remembered if we want to see clearly the post-war situation of folkloric study. Even in the last quarter of the century there were voices reminiscent of these old positions, undermining or questioning purposefulness of folkloric study as a separate and independent discipline. To be sure, the range and subject of investigation as well as the methodology are still a matter of dispute not only between ethnographers and folklorists, but also among folklorists themselves.²⁶ Undoubtedly, however, all this takes place in the situation by far more favourable and conducive to folklore studies.

The official policy of the state authorities and new social and political conditions brought about essential changes in the attitude of the society to both country people and folk artists. A keen interest is taken in folk arts, songs and music, folklore is in vogue and it has become an important element of national festivities (e.g. the national harvest festival) and local customs (e.g. traditional floating of wreaths down the Vistula on June 24). It has been acknowledged as deserving official support and cultivation, as manifested by the so-called folklore days, organized and kept in various places of Poland. Numerous amateur groups choose either exclusively or mainly folk songs and dances as their repertoire, not to mention such professional ensembles as "Mazowsze" and "Śląsk" which for years have popularized Polish folklore both in Poland and abroad. Consequently, folklore has ceased to be a property of the definite social environ-

²⁵ "Pamiętnik Literacki," 1936, fasc. 2.

²⁶ See V. Gusev, *Estetika folkloru*, Leningrad 1967, p. 98–102.

ment and one social group, not easily accessible outside it, and has gained wider influence, meeting the needs of a wider public beyond the collective which created its forms.

With this broadening of the sphere of influence the connection between the creator and the performer of folklore and folklore itself, hitherto very close, has loosened; folklore begins to function in different ways and frequently quite outside the environment which produced it, thus becoming an autonomous cultural value.

The process began with collecting folklore and disseminating it in print, in effect of which it entered within the more general range than when it had existed in oral tradition only. Further advance came with mass media, owing to which folklore won a still larger audience and was popularized on an unparalleled scale. The nobilitation and appreciation of values inherent in folklore resulted in great demand for this kind of art.

This is testified by the number of amateur groups²⁷ for whom folklore is both an inspiration and substance of their activity, and—even more clearly—by the size of post-war editions of collections of folk songs and tales. For instance, 2 editions of Julian Przyboś's *Jabloneczka* (*An Apple Tree*) ran up to 10,000 copies, in as many copies Adolf Dygacz and Józef Ligeża's *Pieśni ludowe Śląska Opolskiego* (*Folk Songs of Silesia*) were available, and editions of successive volumes of Kolberg ranged from 4,200 to 6,200 copies.²⁸ As a rule, collections of tales had larger editions, e.g. *Polskie baśnie ludowe* (*Polish Folk Tales*) edited by Tomasz Jodelko (50,000) or *Woda żywa. Baśnie pisarzy polskich* (*Live Water. Tales by Polish Writers*) edited by Stefania Wortman (30,000).²⁹

Admittedly, from the mid-50's editions of collections of folk songs have grown considerably smaller, in contrast with the editions of folk tales.

²⁷ See Cz. Kałużny, *Folklor i jego upowszechnienie w działalności kulturalno-oświatowej w Polsce Ludowej* (*Folklore and Its Popularization in Cultural and Educational Activities in Polish People's Republic*), "Literatura Ludowa," 1966, No. 4–6, p. 75–91.

²⁸ Many more such examples could be given.

²⁹ Also other collections had large editions, for instance: *Nowy kiermasz bajek* (Warszawa 1965)—20,000; M. Okęcka-Bromkova, *Nad jeziorem bajka śpi* (Olsztyn 1962)—5,000; B. Leśmian, *Klechy polskie* (Warszawa 1959)—20,000.

In presenting the situation of folklore study in the last few decades we should not overlook the fact that they have had institutional support of the kind of which older students of folklore could have only dreamed. Manuscripts of Oskar Kolberg's works may serve here as a sufficient example. During the 20 years after his death only 5 volumes of his works were published, not followed by any further volumes for many years. It was only after the resolution of the People's State Council of 1960 that the whole of Kolberg's output began to be published, first the series of works he had published in his lifetime, then 11 volumes of his posthumous writings and 3 volumes of letters. There are also other examples, though not so impressive as that of the edition of Kolberg, of making up for the past negligences.

As it has been already said it was not only folklorists who dealt with folklore, although for them it was the main subject of investigation. Also representatives of other disciplines took it into consideration and studied in certain aspects, from the point of view of a given branch of study. Much attention was paid to folklore by ethnographers, musicologists, literary critics and linguists, especially dialectologists. This of course is true not only of the post-war period.

What is to be treated as a real *novum* of the period is the emancipation of folklore studies, the fact that they have become independent from ethnography. This emancipation is of course in accordance with the general tendency in the development of science, its rapid and eventful progress accompanied by narrow specializations, but it is also a result of recognition of the fact that study of folk culture, like of culture in general, requires many techniques and methods, for it deals with something which is heterogeneous, made up by various elements.

Yet this emancipation of folklore studies is often regarded in terms of almost *coup d'état* against ethnography, of diminishing ethnographical property. Thus the study of folklore and ethnography are set in not always justified opposition, and various mutual claims and grievances are manifest even in different ideas about what the word "folklore" denotes and what its range is. Not infrequently the folklorist is seen as an intruder in what has hitherto been ethnographical realm, as a rival who appropriated more interesting research themes and subjects. Such an attitude seems groundless,

for it is obvious that both the subjects and the range of these disciplines do not overlap, and even if they sometimes do, the same phenomenon is considered from two different points of view and studied by using different methods (cf. the role of textual and aesthetic analysis of folklore, or philological method in folklore studies). It does not necessarily follow that they are to be set in opposition, or that in over-emphasizing the differences we are to forget the problems a solution to which can be found only in cooperation.³⁰

For the sake of clarity it must be said that it was attempts at defining the meaning and range of the word "folklore", and specifically its second element, which brought about the most heated discussions and disputes. As to the first—"folk"—it was generally interpreted unanimously, though sometimes the term was understood in an ahistorical way, without proper attention paid to the fact that historically it covers different social classes, and applied to the feudal epoch it means something else than when applied to that of capitalism. It is only through historical analysis that we can determine which social groups in a given period are to be treated as the "folk."

Recognition of this is crucial for the way in which folklore is conceived. It demands that we should see in folklore a historical product, variously conditioned and formed in the course of history in different circumstances and by different groups deemed as folk in a given period. At the same time it prevents us from treating folklore as a product of creative activity of one social environment only, for example of country folk, which was a common error of older folklore studies, where remarks and observations pertinent to the feudal epoch were extended on the folklore of capitalism. Thus changes and new phenomena in folklore, such as folklore of the working class, were overlooked.

As we have already mentioned, the main controversy between folklorists and ethnographers concerned the interpretation of the second element of the term, "lore," as this was to determine the meaning and range of the concept, and thereby the very subject of

³⁰ A comprehensive treatment of the subject the reader will find in *Folklor i etnografiya*, Leningrad 1970, especially in K. Chistov's essay under the same title (pp. 3-15).

folklore study. The scope of this article does not allow us to quote definitions of folklore as formulated by representatives of both ethnography and folklorists.³¹ It has to be stated, however, that differences in understanding the concept are considerable, and not only between ethnographers and folklorists, but also among folklorists themselves. To confine ourselves to Poland, the meaning of the word "folklore" is much wider for ethnographers than it is for folklorists, as for the former it covers also what used to be called social and spiritual culture of the people,³² and in fact it is only material culture that it does not cover.

This conception seems to have a number of drawbacks. If folklorists were to understand folklore in this way, it would mean serious diminution of the ethnographical domain; doubtless, however, too wide a sense ascribed to folklore leads to obliteration of differences between ethnography and folklore study, both disciplines dealing with the phenomena covered by the term.

Having indicated various possibilities of interpretation of "folklore," we should define now in what meaning it is practically used in the folklorist's work. Here it denotes a much narrower sphere than for ethnographers, since it signifies a certain complex of phenomena in which the means of expression is the word, certain art which may be described as a specific art of the word.³³ Its peculiarity consists in the fact that the word does not appear here in the pure form, but other means of expression are involved as well, such as music, dance, and dramatic and theatrical elements (e.g. folklore connected with rituals of various kinds). This syncretic character of folklore is what differentiates it from literature; literature rests on the written or printed word, while folklore makes use of the "live" word, that is, the word that is spoken, told, sung or similarly performed.

Of course, this is not the only feature that differentiates it

³¹ Cf. Gusev, *op. cit.*, p. 57–79.

³² Cf. B. Linette, *Problematyka folkloru współczesnego na tle rzeczywistości kulturowej Ziemi Lubuskiej (Problems of Modern Folklore against the Cultural Background of Ziemia Lubuska)*, [in:] *Między dawnymi a nowymi laty...*, p. 156–157.

³³ Worth-mentioning on this occasion are also the works of the folklorists from Moscow University published in two volumes under the title *Folklor kak isskustvo slova*, Moskva 1966, 1969.

from literature. There are many others, all of them resulting from different than in literary art origin, function and medium. A literary work is a work of an individual artist striving to convey the intended message in his own, original way and it generally functions in the shape once given to it by the author, and in the printed form, while a folkloric work is subject to many changes in the course of its existence, adjusting itself to the demands of the audience before which it is performed and which can affect both its contents and form, its chances of success being the greater, the better it can adjust itself to the accepted conventions. It usually functions as an anonymous work, orally transmitted. It is evident then that those who equate the folkloric work with the literary one fail to recognize the distinct and specific character of the former.³⁴

With this brief explanation let us pass to the development of folklore studies in the last few decades. As it has been already mentioned, the discipline found support in institutions established especially for this kind of research. In 1947 the State Institute of Folk Art Study was created, with 3 separate sections: of Folk Music, Folk Literature and Folk Dance.³⁵ In 1950 it was changed into the State Institute of Art which included the Department of Study of Folk Texts, deserving the credit of organizing and fulfilling in the years 1950–1954 the Action of Collecting Musical Folklore. The result of the action were imposing materials which later, in the years 1955–1963 were to be replenished by members of intercollegiate folklore camps.³⁶

In 1953 in the Institute of Literary Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences the Department of Folk Literature was created.³⁷

³⁴ Cf. Gusev, *op. cit.*, p. 73–96.

³⁵ A. Mioduchowska, *Pracownia badań nad polskim folklorem muzycznym Instytutu Sztuki PAN (The Study of Musical Folklore in the Institute of Art of the Polish Academy of Sciences)*, "Literatura Ludowa," 1964, No 4–6, p. 161.

³⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 162–165. Cf. also S. Świrko, *Badania terenowe nad współczesnym folklorem polskim w latach 1945–1965 (Field Work in the Investigation of Modern Polish Folklore in the Years 1945–1965)*, "Literatura Ludowa," 1966, No 4–6, p. 37, 40–43.

³⁷ H. Kapeliuś, *Pracownia Literatary Ludowej IBL PAN (The Department of Folk Literature of the Institute of Literary Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences)*, "Literatura Ludowa," 1964, No 4–6, p. 148–151.

In 1957 "Literatura Ludowa" (Folk Literature), a journal devoted exclusively to folklore problems, began to be published.

An important role in the post-war folklorist movement was played by conferences and congresses, inspiring new research in various institutions and centres and presenting the results already obtained in the field. Among many meetings of this kind especially worth-mentioning are paroemiological conferences in Cieszyn (1955)³⁸ and Zakopane (1956) and congresses of the Polish Folklore Society in Jelenia Góra (1954), Zakopane (1956) and Cieszyn (1958).³⁹ In 1966 the Department of Folk Literature of the Institute of Literary Studies organized the Conference of Slavic Folklore Studies, the first of this kind not only in Poland but in the whole Slav part of the world.⁴⁰

The growing relevance and position of folklore studies in that time is also proved by courses on folklore or folk literature organized in many universities and high schools. Characteristically enough, folklore course has been recently organized in the Ethnographical Departments, both in the Warsaw University and A. Mickiewicz University in Poznań. This is particularly important considering the fact that folklorists still do not have a single department of folklore in any university, which would provide the discipline with professionally prepared students of folklore, whose inflow is now rather accidental.

The review of the situation of folklore study in Poland in the last few decades offers some conclusions, which may be briefly summarized as follows:

- A. Folkloric studies have emancipated.
- B. They have found institutional support.
- C. Successful forms of team-work have been worked out, as concerns both collecting folklore and research, as well as editorial work. Results of these combined efforts can be seen in many publications.

³⁸ See S. Świrko, *Z konferencji paremiologicznej w Cieszynie 21–22 X 1955* (*On the Paroemiological Conference in Cieszyn...*), "Lud," vol. XLIII, p. 447–451.

³⁹ Reports from those and other conferences are to be found in "Lud."

⁴⁰ Proceedings of this conference were published in "Literatura Ludowa," 1966, No 4–6, 1967, No 1–3.

In presenting Polish post-war folklore study we should start with what has been achieved in the sphere of collecting and recording folklore. It must be stressed that all that was done in this respect is the result of the combined efforts of many institutions and a great host of scholars representing various disciplines, for in the period in question folklore was collected both by individual students and by teams especially appointed to fulfil definite tasks.

Unlike the literary critic, who concerns himself with a literary work existing in the shape given to it by its author either in the manuscript or in the printed form, the folklorist deals with works that have to be found and recorded—in writing or on the tape—before they can be studied. Therefore he must gather his material and this can be done only through direct contact with the creator or performer of folklore, through reaching the environment in which it exists. This refers, of course, to folklore that exists and develops today, for folklore of the past was recorded in this or other way and therefore is accessible. It is the very fact of oral transmittance of folklore which makes constant and systematic collecting necessary.

Collecting of folklore means not only augmentation of gathered materials and folklore works, it also offers an excellent opportunity for gathering observations and data as to the functions and roles of folklore in particular social groups. These matters are not irrelevant since the modern folklorist is interested not only in the folkloric work in itself (in the text itself, as it is so often suggested), but also in the context, in circumstances of its presentation in a given environment, that is, in things of which not much information is to be found in older collections.

The collecting of folklore materials was started almost immediately after the war, for in 1945, by Jadwiga and Marian Sobieski.⁴¹ In July 1946 Ethnographical Committee of the Silesian Institute initiated the field work, to be continued also in the following year. Later on individual members of the Committee carried out the research on their own, to mention only Stanisław Wallis, Adolf Dygacz and Józef Ligeza.⁴²

⁴¹ Mioduchowska, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

⁴² Świrko, *Badania terenowe...*, p. 35–36.

In 1950 the State Institute of Art organized the Action of Collecting Musical Folklore⁴³ which, carried out till 1954, provided folklorists with 45,000 recorded songs and instrumental pieces. The number of people engaged in the action ranged from 60 to 100, and materials gathered by them were further supplemented with what was collected during the above-mentioned folkloric camps organized in the years 1955–1963. All these works were supervised by M. Sobieski. Their final effect was that in 1964 the gathered material consisted of c. 65,000 recorded songs and instrumental pieces.

In order to appreciate the scale of this achievement we can compare it with that of Oskar Kolberg, in whose *Lud* only about 12,500 songs are to be found. It should also be added that the work was done by professionally trained research workers who made use of modern means and methods of recording, and that the research covered most of the country's districts.

Folklore was and still is collected, although on a more modest scale, also by other institutions: by ethnographical departments of universities in Łódź, Toruń, Poznań, Warszawa and Lublin, by ethnographical museums, to mention only the quite interesting folklore archive of the Toruń museum,⁴⁴ by the Department of Linguistics in the Polish Academy of Sciences,⁴⁵ by the editors of "Literatura Ludowa"⁴⁶ and by the Polish Radio which through competitions it organized as well as through actual research carried out in the field has gathered in its archives rich material, of which professional students of folklore avail themselves little or not at all. Contests in collecting folklore have also been organized by other journals.

Simultaneously, individual collecting of folklore developed. The fact that folklore has been collected by representatives of several disciplines (ethnographers, musicologists, linguists and folklorists) has its consequences. First of all, the choice of the material recorded

⁴³ See notes 35–36.

⁴⁴ E. Arsyńska, *Archiwum folklorystyczne Muzeum Etnograficznego w Toruniu* (Folklore Archive of the Ethnographical Museum in Toruń), "Literatura Ludowa," 1964, No 4–6; R. Lange, *Działalność ośrodka toruńskiego w zakresie folkloru tanecznego i muzycznego* (Investigation of Musical Folklore in Toruń), *ibidem*.

⁴⁵ W. Pomianowska, *Zagadnienia folklorystyczne w pracach Zakładu Językoznawstwa PAN w Warszawie* (Folklore Problems in the Work of the Linguistic Department of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw), *ibidem*.

⁴⁶ See Świrko, *Badania terenowe...*, p. 48–49.

depended on needs and interests of the collectors and their branches. Secondly, the methods and forms of record differed, again according to the collectors and needs of the disciplines they represented. Thirdly, the research has been carried out in those areas which for some reasons were of interest to the given specialities, and therefore some regions were subject of thorough examination, while in others the research was only superficial, and others still did not draw any attention at all. This was the effect of lack of any coordination in these enterprises, of a general plan of research. Finally, there is a striking disproportion in genres of folklore taken into consideration. The most privileged one was song, less attention was paid to tale, legend, tradition and proverb.

The picture would be incomplete if we omitted in our presentation the discovering of older collections, the existence of which had not been even suspected. These were included in Czesław Hernas' *W kalinowym lesie (In the Guelder-rose Wood)*.⁴⁷ Also other valuable materials have been regained, like song collections of Herman Marcin Gizewiusz, Józef Lompa,⁴⁸ Franciszek Wawrowski⁴⁹ and Józef Gąsiorowski.⁵⁰ An important link in history of folklore is the 16th-century relic of folk literature, *Ludycje wiesne*, unearthed and edited by Aleksander Rombowski.⁵¹

All this makes us highly estimate the achievements in collecting and recording folklore, although it has to be said that intensity of the research has decreased in the last decade.

4

Not all, however, collected or even discovered materials have been published, which is not surprising, for folklore is collected not only

⁴⁷ Vol. 1: *U źródeł folklorystyki polskiej (Beginnings of Polish Folklore Studies)*, vol. 2: *Antologia polskiej pieśni ludowej ze zbiorów polskich XVIII wieku (Anthology of Polish Folk Song from 18th-Century Collections)*, Warszawa 1965.

⁴⁸ B. Zakrzewski, *Józef Lompa jako zbieracz pieśni (J. Lompa as a Collector of Folk Songs)*, "Literatura Ludowa," 1964, No 4-6.

⁴⁹ T. Brzozowska, *Franciszek Wawrowski i jego zbiór (F. Wawrowski and His Collection)*, [in:] *W świecie pieśni i bajki (In the World of Song and Tale)*, ed. R. Górski, J. Krzyżanowski, Wrocław 1969, p. 9-19. *Studia Folklorystyczne*.

⁵⁰ S. Świrko, *Zbiór pieśni mazurskich Józefa Gąsiorowskiego (J. Gąsiorowski's Collection of Masurian Songs)*, p. 267-279, *ibidem*.

⁵¹ A. Rombowski, *Ludycje wiesne. Zabytek literatury ludowej z połowy XVI wieku (Spring Revels. A Mid-16th-Century Relic of Folk Literature)*, Wrocław 1953.

with the intention of disseminating it in print. It is collected because only recorded and preserved in written form or on the tape it is protected against the destructive work of time, saved for future generations, and does not disappear together with its author or performer. Only then can it be a subject of investigation or study. Therefore it is collected and gathered for documentary purposes, and it is to special archives that it should find its way, regardless of purposes it will serve in the future.

That part of those materials *is published* depends on various considerations— aesthetic, scholarly or social ones. Not an insignificant factor are the needs of popularization, the desire to make it known and popular. Social demand for this kind of art is also not to be ignored. In the post-war period the widening of the audience of folklore is noticeable; it is by no means confined to those professionally concerned with folk culture: there is, for instance, the revival of folk tale, which has become the favourite genre of children and youth. Folk song as one of the principal elements in the repertoire of numerous song and dance groups is sure to be of interest for those engaged in the amateur movement. All this has affected both the choice and the form of what has been published.

Even a cursory examination of the publishing output will show that a considerable part of it constitute popular editions of folk tales and songs. Moreover, it is evident that especially popular were editions of tales in literary form elaborated by well-known writers. These were either collections of tales in a uniform shape given to them by a given author, e.g. by R. Zmorski, J. I. Kraszewski, T. Stępowski, G. Morcinek and B. Leśmian,⁵² or anthologies of tales by different authors, like *Polskie baśnie ludowe* ed. by T. Jodełko or *Woda żywa* ed. by S. Wortman. Also editions of foreign folk tales were of the popular character, to mention such examples as *Bajki ludów nadbałtyckich* (*Tales of Baltic Peoples*) or A. Afanasev's *Russian Tales*.

⁵² Cf. 2 editions of R. Zmorski's *Podania i baśnie ludu* (*Folk Tales and Traditions*); J. I. Kraszewski, *Bajki i bajeczki* (*Tales and Stories*), Warszawa 1960; T. Stępowski, *Gawędy minionego czasu* (*Tales of the Old Days*), Warszawa 1961; G. Morcinek, *Jak górnik Bulandra diabła oszukał. Baśnie śląskie* (*How Bulandra the Miner Cheated the Devil. Silesian Tales*), Warszawa 1958; B. Leśmian, *Klechdy polskie* (*Polish Folk Stories*), Warszawa 1959.

In the general register of the published collections of tales these editions must not be omitted, but doubtless they are not the most valuable in the post-war output, for as a rule they popularize old texts, known to the folklorist, in a form which is far from what he would desire it to be. There appear also collections prepared by linguists which, though often inadequate from the scholarly point of view, contain interesting texts and are usually based on post-war records.⁵³

As to the song, the collections were in general based on the material gathered in the last few decades, first of all on this collected in the Action of Collecting Musical Folklore and later records. The abundant material made it possible to publish many collections of more or less popular character from various regions of Poland.

Worthy of notice is also the fact that the publications were intended to present folklore from those districts of the country which had not been sufficiently investigated and explored; especially western and northern ones, and not from those traditionally, as it were, of interest for folklorists. This was important not only from the cognitive or artistic point of view but also had its social and national significance; what these editions presented was folklore which had survived—and helped to survive the inhabitants of those districts—the time of separation and oppression. At the same time other interesting materials were printed, illustrating changes and transformations taking place in folklore as the effect of migration of population and the clash of local folklore with cultural contents that had originated in other parts of the country, or as a result of conforming to the new post-war conditions.

One more thing deserves to be mentioned here: the post-war publications of songs presented—along with the traditionally “folk” songs—also those originated in other social groups. In comparison with earlier publications of this kind they presented on a much larger scale folklore of the working class, where the song—though by no means the only kind—was undoubtedly one of the most vital ones.

⁵³ See for instance K. Nitsch, *Wybór polskich tekstów gwarowych (A Selection of Polish Dialectal Texts)*, Warszawa 1960; M. Karaś, A. Zareba, *Orawskie teksty gwarowe z obszaru Polski*, Kraków 1964.

It became even more popular owing to E. Ajnenkiel, S. Wallis, A. Dygacz and J. Lięęza.⁵⁴

Generally, collections published in the two and a half decades after the war have seriously augmented national cultural property, giving many new pieces as well as many new variants of those already known.

Among the many publications of the period some at least deserve a separate mention. One of those is *Pieśni Podhala*,⁵⁵ the collection whose merits are not confined to presenting interesting songs, for it is also provided with exceptionally rich editorial comment and information concerning both textual and musical aspect. At the same time the material contained in the collection served to illustrate an attempt at a systematics of the songs, worked out through analysis of their contents. The presented systematics was meant as a proposition and a stimulus to the elaboration of the principles according to which the folk song could be classified and systematized. Yet in professional circles it did not meet with the response of the kind that could have been expected.

Other two attempts worthy of drawing the reader's attention to are J. Przyboś's *Jabloneczka* and S. Czernik's *Polska epika ludowa* (*Polish Folk Epic*).⁵⁶ *Jabloneczka* was so far the only anthology of Polish folk song and the two editions of it, intended to acquaint the reader with nice songs that were not devoid of a literary value, gave a representative selection of the genre. The author omitted, however, the tunes and treated the texts rather freely, which met with criticism and disapproval.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ E. Ajnenkiel, *Polska rewolucyjna pieśń robotnicza z lat 1875–1915* (*Polish Revolutionary Song 1875–1915*), "Prace Polonistyczne," 1948; S. Wallis, *Pieśni górnicze Górnego Śląska* (*Miners' Songs of Silesia*), Kraków 1954; A. Dygacz: *Śpiewnik pieśni górniczych* (*Miners' Song-Book*), Katowice 1956; *Pieśni górnicze* (*Miners' Songs*), Katowice 1960; J. Lięęza, *Ludowa literatura górnicza* (*Miners' Folklore*), Katowice 1958.

⁵⁵ *Pieśni Podhala. Antologia* (*Songs of the Tatra Highlands. An Anthology*), J. Sadownik, Kraków 1957.

⁵⁶ *Jabloneczka* had 2 editions (1953, 1957). *Polska epika ludowa* appeared in 1958 in The National Library Series.

⁵⁷ See M. Błońska's critique *Na marginesie Jabloneczki Juliana Przybosia* (*On the Margin of J. Przyboś's Jabloneczka*), "Polska Sztuka Ludowa," 1955, No 3, p. 172–178.

Czernik's *Polska epika ludowa* has similar values, that is, it presents an interesting selection of material from the sphere of folklore that is not too profusely represented in Poland. Unfortunately, the commentary leaves much to be desired, is philologically inadequate and contains many mistakes.⁵⁸

If we were to compare the post-war publishing output in folk song with what had been done in the past, we would have to acknowledge that, apart from the quantitative estimation, the recent publications—despite their not infrequently popular character—surpass the older ones in accuracy and editorial care, in concern for formal integrity of songs (the text—the tune), in more consistent presentation of the text in its dialectal form, as well as in precision in classifying the material published (cf. the publications under the auspices of the Institute of Art).

As to the other forms and kinds of folklore the achievements are incomparably more modest. Of smaller forms it was only the proverb which was fortunate enough to have separate collections—those by J. Ondrusz⁵⁹ and S. Wallis,⁶⁰ where the use of the valuable material they contain is impeded, however, by their arrangement. Obviously there is also *Nowa księga przysłów polskich (A New Book of Polish Proverbs)*⁶¹ which must be mentioned here, because besides the Adalberg collection, old and new materials, both manuscriptal and printed, and besides the results of the research made by the editors who excerpted many proverbs from literary works, it includes also proverbs that were recorded only after the war.

To be sure, both proverbs and other folkloric forms can be found in ethnographical monographs of various regions, for in the general picture of a given area also folklore is taken into consideration. Therefore such monographs, besides special works devoted to folklore

⁵⁸ See J. Krzyżanowski, *Na drogach i bezdrożach naszej pieśni ludowej (Paths and Devious Paths of Our Folk Song)*, "Literatura Ludowa," 1961, No 1–2.

⁵⁹ J. Ondrusz, *Przysłowia i przyśmiewiska ze Śląska Cieszyńskiego (Silesian Proverbs and Taunts)*, Wrocław 1960.

⁶⁰ S. Wallis, *Przysłowia i "pogodki" ludowe na Górnym Śląsku (Proverbs and Taunts in Silesia)*, Wrocław 1960.

⁶¹ S. Świrko, *Redakcja Nowej księgi przysłów polskich (Compiling the New Book of Polish Proverbs)*, "Literatura Ludowa," 1964, No 4–6, p. 155–157.

connected with rituals and customs,⁶² provide us with considerable material. Often we can find there not only a number of pieces quoted or described, but also some interesting statements concerning the vital and attractive force of certain forms in the environment examined. Such observations and data are by no means insignificant to the folklorist.

Finally, a few words should be said about the already-mentioned edition of *Dziela wszystkie* (*Collected Works*) of Oskar Kolberg.⁶³ Both the size and the significance of this initiative are greater than of any other realized in this sphere in the last three decades. In the course of 10 years after the resolution of the People's State Council there appeared both the reedition of those volumes which had been already published in the author's lifetime or immediately after his death, and the edition of most of the material gathered by him which had never been printed. Thus what had hitherto been scattered in various libraries and had been practically inaccessible except for few specialists, was made available for a much wider public; moreover, the work was done in the most competent and scholarly way. The significance of the edition for ethnography, folklore study and other related disciplines is obvious and there is no need to dwell on it here. Yet the very enterprise is also expressive of the change in the attitude towards folklore and the study of it.

5

Alongside the collecting and publishing of folklore there developed another trend, that of studying and interpreting folklore. This is natural, since the general situation of a given branch of science or study must affect the way in which it is understood, its aims as well as means by which they can be attained. A deeper understanding of folklore as a result of advanced studies, theoretical consciousness and methodological knowledge—all this must have its bearing upon the collecting and editorial work. Not without significance are also traditions and experiences of the past, for when efficiently made use

⁶² Many of them are recorded in B. Gawin, *Materiały do bibliografii folkloru za lata 1945–1963* (*Materials to the Bibliography of Folklore 1945–1963*), "Literatura Ludowa," 1965, No 1.

⁶³ J. Burszta, *Dziela wszystkie Oskara Kolberga* (*Collected Works of Oskar Kolberg*), "Literatura Ludowa," 1964, No 4–6.

of they help to avoid certain errors and misunderstandings. It is clear then that only professionally well prepared persons should be engaged in such work for proper results to be obtained.

This, of course, is possible only when folklore study has reached a certain standard which ensures professional staff capable of fulfilling scholarly tasks. In the post-war period folklore has ceased to be the domain of amateurs and enthusiasts, becoming the subject of interest and study for a host of scholars with proper professional knowledge and training.

This evolution brought about considerable achievements in folklore study and interpretation. There appeared many works of fundamental significance for the folklorist, works which clarified and explained a number of problematic folklore phenomena, enriched our knowledge of both history of folklore and its present situation. These works include also auxiliary studies and reference books. Yet in the course of the last three decades no modern bibliography, ethnographical or folkloric, has appeared, and we are still bound to avail ourselves of works by Gawełek, Bystroń, Fischer and Bachman.⁶⁴

Useful in this respect are some post-war works which register in a fragmentary fashion also ethnographical and folklore materials. These help us to know the quantitatively abundant post-war output, or at least part of it, but they do not always meet the requirements set today for this kind of works, which is especially conspicuous when we compare them with the post-war literary bibliographies.

The most ambitious among such attempts were H. Bittner-Szewczykowa's *Materiały do bibliografii etnografii polskiej 1945–1955*⁶⁵; others worth-mentioning are B. Gawin's registers,⁶⁶ those made by E. Sukertowa-Biedrawina, confined to chosen regions, and those published in "Literatura Ludowa."⁶⁷ Some folklore materials are in-

⁶⁴ Cf. R. Górski, *Studia nad dziejami folklorystyki polskiej (Studies on the History of Polish Folklore Study)*, "Literatura Ludowa," 1966, No 4–6.

⁶⁵ W. Bittner-Szewczykowa, *Materiały do bibliografii etnografii polskiej 1945–1955 (Materials to a Bibliography of Polish Ethnography)*, Wrocław 1955.

⁶⁶ Gawin, *op. cit.*, and also the registers for the years 1955, 1956–1958 to be found in "Lud."

⁶⁷ See D. Świerczyńska, *Bibliografia zawartości "Literatury Ludowej" za lata 1957–1964 (Bibliography of Contents of...)*, "Literatura Ludowa," 1965, No 1.

cluded in *Polska bibliografia literacka* (*Polish Literary Bibliography*). Some others can be found in bibliographies of folklore journals. Despite their faults they enable the student of folklore to get at items scattered in journals that even specialists not often consult. Such indexes and bibliographical information has been worked out for "Lud", "Ziemia," "Orli Lot," "Gryf" and "Gryf Kaszubski."⁶⁸ The reading of the post-war bibliographies is rather instructive and some conclusions present themselves from the very list of works and studies: a considerable part of them deals with history of folklore study, which is quite understandable, if we consider the fact that the discipline with its specific situation in Poland must have felt the need of defining its own origin and tradition. Having emancipated, it sought to be formally and actually acknowledged as independent and autonomous, and such studies undoubtedly provided an important argument. This, in brief, was the psychological aspect of the keen interest taken in the history of folklore study.

Of course it was not the only factor. At least two other factors must not be overlooked: first of all, a considerable number of folklorists deals with history of literature, since they are literary critics at the same time, and, secondly, study of folklore has been inspired and influenced by literary study with its constant interest in the Romantic period when the problems of the folk and folklore were of the crucial importance. This is one of the reasons why a literary critic dealing with the Romantic period had to concern himself with folklore, for without this reference he could not really study and analyze most of Romantic works. He had to know how folklore had been seen and dealt with and what its poetic use had been; the desire to grasp the question properly made him take an interest in the folklorist movement of the period.

That this was the case is evident from the post-war studies dealing with the history of folklore study. A considerable number of them is devoted to the Romantic folkloric study, and most of these works

⁶⁸ Index of "Lud," vol. I—XXXIX, compiled by J. Gajek and Z. Malewska. "Lud," 1953, vol. XXXIX; "Ziemia" w latach 1910—1946. *Informacja bibliograficzna* ("Ziemia" in the Years 1910—1946. *Bibliographical Information*), "Ziemia," 1948, No 1/2; L. Węgrzynowicz, *Indeks treści etnograficznej miesięcznika "Orli Lot" z lat 1920—1950* (*Index of Ethnographical Contents of the Monthly "Orli Lot"*), Wrocław 1958; K. Kamińska, "Gryf" wraz z dodatkiem "Gryf Kaszubski" ("Gryf" and the Supplement "Gryf Kaszubski"), Gdańsk 1961.

are written by literary critics or folklorists. A worth-mentioning example is an attempt at a synthesis of the problem made in *Dzieje folklorystyki polskiej 1800–1863 (History of Polish Folklore Study 1800–1863)*. There were also studies by Cz. Zgorzelski, J. Maślanka, S. Sierotwiński, J. Krzyżanowski, M. Janion, B. Zakrzewski, to mention only a few.⁶⁹ Doubtless, the Romantic period has been much more exhaustively and comprehensively examined in folklore study than any other epoch.

Nevertheless, in the post-war period we can observe a growing interest in later and more recent stages of the development of folklore study. Undoubtedly the edition of Kolberg's works conduced to it, since it drew folklorists' attention to that period, hitherto rather neglected, in the history of Polish folklorist movement. It was obvious that that great editorial enterprise required special research to be made, and the result of it is contained in the successive volumes, also in the *Letters*, where rich documentary material concerning Kolberg's time is to be found. Kolberg's work itself is also a subject of study and consideration. Recent studies on his life and work, together with what was presented during the Kolberg Symposium in Jelenia Góra have enriched our knowledge of the role of the author of *Lud* in the history of Polish ethnography and folklore study.⁷⁰

⁶⁹ Cz. Zgorzelski, *Z dziejów sławy Zoriana Dołęgi Chodakowskiego (Dołęga Chodakowski's Fame)*. "Pamiętnik Słowiański," 1957; J. Maślanka, *Zorian Dołęga Chodakowski. Jego miejsce w kulturze polskiej i wpływ na polskie piśmiennictwo romantyczne (Z. Dołęga Chodakowski. His Place in Polish Culture and His Influence on Polish Romantic Literature)*, Wrocław 1965; S. Goszczyński, *Dziennik podróży do Tatrów (Diary of the Travel in Tatra Mountains)*, ed. S. Sierotwiński, Wrocław 1958; M. Janion, *Z narodowej pielgrzymki (National Pilgrimage)*, "Pamiętnik Literacki," 1951, fasc. 3–4; B. Zakrzewski, *Śląska pieśń ludowa w zbiorach okresu romantyzmu (Silesian Folk Song in Romantic Collections)*, Wrocław 1962; *Pieśni ludu śląskiego. Ze zbiorów rękopiśmiennych Józefa Lompy (Songs of the Silesian Folk. From J. Lompa's MS Collections)*, Wrocław 1970. Cf. also J. Krzyżanowski's studies included in *Paralele*.

⁷⁰ Proceedings of the Jelenia Góra Symposium were published in "Lud", 1956, vol. XLII, part I. Cf. also A. Skrukwa, *Władysław Siarkowski – współpracownik Oskara Kolberga (W. Siarkowski – Cooperator of O. Kolberg)*, [in:] *W świecie pieśni i bajki*, p. 247–257; H. Kapelański, *Modlnicki raptularz Antoniny Konopczanki (A. Konopczanka's Diary)*, *ibidem*, p. 179–195; R. Górski, *Oskar Kolberg wobec literatury ludowej (O. Kolberg and Folk Literature)*, *ibidem*, p. 97–106. Cf. also R. Górski, *Oskar Kolberg. Zarys życia i działalności (O. Kolberg. His Life and Work – An Outline)*, Warszawa 1970.

Similarly, the edition of posthumous works of M. Federowski offered the opportunity for undertaking the study of his life and work. Federowski's *Lud białoruski* (*The Belorussian People*) was provided with a valuable commentary, particularly on the songs it contained. Parenthetically, as it were, there appeared various articles and studies throwing a new light on his work.⁷¹

The above-given examples are by no means isolated cases, for the genesis of many works dealing with the history of folklore study was similar. For instance, the compiling of *Nowa księga przysłów polskich* aroused a keen interest in this form of folklore expression, as testified by essays and studies on poetics and history of the proverb, numerous articles showing particular stages in the history of Polish paroemiology and paroemiography, as well as the work of prominent paroemiographs of the past, among whom the chief place was of course accorded to Samuel Adalberg.⁷²

Also studies on L. Malinowski were inspired by the reedition of his Silesian folk tales.⁷³

Thus scholarly editions of old and new folklore material stimulated many important and interesting works which gave new information, facts and data, new analyses and interpretations of folklore and threw a different light on issues that had seemed sufficiently examined and known. Among the works devoted to the earlier period of Polish folklore study, Czesław Hernas's already-mentioned *W kalinowym lesie* is certainly one of the most valuable.

Of the folklorists of Kolberg's time and after only I. Kopernicki, J. Karłowicz, L. Krzywicki and Z. Gloger were thought to be of interest to the contemporary reader.⁷⁴ About others, usually minor

⁷¹ Cf. the volume with commentaries to *Lud białoruski*; A. Obrębska-Jabłońska, *Warsztat naukowy M. Federowskiego w świetle jego listów* (*Scholarly Apparatus of M. Federowski as Shown by His Letters*), "Slavia Orientalis," XVI, No 4; R. Wojciechowski, *Pieśni ludu białoruskiego w zbiorach Federowskiego a polska pieśń ludowa* (*Songs of the Belorussian People in Federowski's Collections and Polish Folk Song*), "Literatura Ludowa," 1963, No 1.

⁷² J. Krzyżanowski, *Dzieło Samuela Adalberga* (*S. Adalberg's Work*), "Literatura Ludowa," 1964, No 4-6.

⁷³ M. Gładysz, Afterword to: L. Malinowski, *Powieści ludu na Śląsku* (*Folk Tales in Silesia*), Kraków 1954, p. 221-245.

⁷⁴ M. Ćwirko-Godycki, *Izidor Kopernicki*, Poznań 1948; O. Gajkowa, *Jan Karłowicz i Ludwik Krzywicki jako reprezentanci dwu nurtów w etnografii polskiej*

collectors and scholars, some information can be found in *Słownik folkloru polskiego* (*Dictionary of Polish Folklore*) and in "Literatura Ludowa."

It is evident then that the post-Romantic folklore study is incomparably less examined than that of the Romantic period.⁷⁵ Admittedly, what is discouraging is the vastness of material, the grasping of which presents many difficulties and problems. It seems, however, that in the last three decades there appeared some real prospects of overcoming these objections, as manifested by the research carried out by the Department of Folk Literature of the Institute of Literary Studies, the effect of which are successive volumes of *Dzieje folklorystyki polskiej*.

Another distinct trend in the post-war folklore study is the study of interrelation between literature and folklore. Many conceptions and opinions formulated by older literary criticism have been revised, for representatives of new tendencies aimed at demonstrating the plebeian, folk trend in Polish literature, at showing its connections and relations with folklore. This may be seen as a kind of continuation of earlier attempts of that type, to mention only those by S. Zdziarski and J. Krzyżanowski.⁷⁶ What is really important is the fact that the studies covered all literary periods, and consequently not only many views and opinions concerning particular works or writers have changed, but also the very process of borrowing, influences and interrelation between literature and folklore has been shown on a rich material. Needless to say, many observations were not irrelevant for the future study of the history of Polish folklore.

From the long list of works and studies treating of these problems, in the first place we should mention the second, extended edition of J. Krzyżanowski's *Paralele*,⁷⁷ for in comparison with other studies of this kind the book, with its variety and range of subjects

(J. Karłowicz and L. Krzywicki as Representatives of Two Trends in Polish Ethnography), Wrocław 1958; H. Syska, *Zygmunt Głogier*, Warszawa 1963; L. Pośpiechowa, *Włodzimierz Tetmajer jako folklorysta* (*W. Tetmajer as a Folklorist*), Opole 1969.

⁷⁵ Górski, *Studia nad dziejami...*, p. 23–30.

⁷⁶ S. Zdziarski, *Pierwiastek ludowy w poezji polskiej XIX w. Studia porównawczoliterackie* (*The Folk Element in Polish Poetry of the 19th Century. Comparative Studies*), Warszawa 1901; Krzyżanowski, *Paralele*.

⁷⁷ Warszawa 1961.

(it covers four centuries of Polish literature), the author moving freely in both native and foreign folklore and literature, is really impressive. It is not only revealing opinions and statements, but also apt and cogent arguments, theoretical and methodological postulates and conclusions, based on well-documented analyses, which distinguish Krzyżanowski's book from all other attempts in the field.

Most of them do not touch upon such a wide range of problems confining themselves to confronting folklore with one literary work or, at the most, with the work of one author only. This is true of almost all studies of that kind, regardless of the epoch they deal with. That literature of the Romantic period has been in particular the subject of thorough examination in this aspect is not surprising since it was in this period that literature—with its programme of reviving national writing through drawing on folk sources—turned to folklore as a model to be imitated. Of the greatest interest in this respect were of course Mickiewicz's works, and *Ludowość u Mickiewicza*⁷⁸ was not the only study devoted to the problem.

In later periods literature was not so much influenced by folklore or interested in it, though naturally some folklore elements can be indicated in the works of both the late 19th- and early 20th-century writers, such as E. Orzeszkowa, H. Sienkiewicz, S. Żeromski, W. Reymont or B. Leśmian.⁷⁹

There is a perceivable disproportion between studies on the history of folklorist movement and on interrelation of literature and folklore, and those devoted to the history of folklore itself. To be sure, many

⁷⁸ *Ludowość u Mickiewicza (The Folk Element in Mickiewicz)*, ed. J. Krzyżanowski, R. Wojciechowski, Warszawa 1958. Post-war publications on the subject are also discussed there.

⁷⁹ E. Jankowski, "Orzeszkowa Eliza" – the article in *Słownik folkloru polskiego: S. Świrko, Folklor podlaski w Nad Niemnem (Folklore Elements in "The Niemen Country")*, "Literatura Ludowa," 1960, No 2–3; H. Kapelański, *Folklor w Trylogii H. Sienkiewicza (Folklore in H. Sienkiewicz's Trilogy)*, [in:] Henryk Sienkiewicz, *Twórczość i recepcja światowa (H. Sienkiewicz: His Work and Reception)*, ed. A. Piorunowa, K. Wyka, Kraków 1968; S. Zabierowski, *Folklor w Popiołach Żeromskiego (Folklore in Żeromski's "Ashes")*, "Pamiętnik Literacki," 1957, fasc. 3; J. Ligeza, *Klechy polskie B. Leśmiana na tle folklorystycznym (B. Leśmian's Polish Folk Stories against the Folklorist Background)*, "Pamiętnik Literacki," 1968, fasc. 1; S. Świrko, *Przysłowia w Chłopach Reymonta (Proverbs in Reymont's Peasants)*, "Literatura Ludowa," 1961, No 1–2. Cf. also R. Górski, *Dramat ludowy XIX wieku (Folk Drama of the 19th Century)*, Warszawa 1969.

relevant observations on the subject are to be found in the above-mentioned publications, but few separate works on folklore have appeared, although the example of Krzyżanowski's study shows how interesting these matters are.⁸⁰

It might seem that the study of folklore, having gained autonomy and independence, should have defined its relation to such disciplines as e.g. ethnography and literary criticism, as well as its subject and aims, and yet these theoretical and methodological questions have not been taken up too often. When they were taken up, they did not meet with real interest or provoke any discussions, as testified by the lack of response to J. Sadownik's proposition contained in his article *Z zagadnień klasyfikacji i systematyki polskiej pieśni ludowej* (*Problems of Classification and Systematics of Polish Folk Song*).⁸¹

Admittedly, the situation was not always conducive to such endeavours. If we recall the period when Ivashchenko's conception provoked such a heated discussion on the folk, we will understand how simplified the view on the problems connected with the study of folklore was and how over-emphasized some aspects of it were.⁸² Therefore it is not surprising that it was only later that really interesting works on the subject could appear. These included J. Krzyżanowski's articles devoted to the riddle, folk tale and proverb, and his study *Folklorystyka w nauce o literaturze* (*Folklore Study in Literary Criticism*).⁸³ Many of his reflections and conceptions about basic problems of folklore study the author of *Paralele* contained also in the articles he wrote for *Słownik folkloru polskiego*, and these provoked a dispute in which both folklorists and ethnographers took part.⁸⁴ That the way for such problems to be introduced had been already smoothed by that time is testified by the response with which P. Nedo's *Folklorystyka*⁸⁵ met.

⁸⁰ J. Krzyżanowski, *Nasz najdawniejszy taniec mieszczański* (*Our Oldest Townspeople's Dance*), "Polska Sztuka Ludowa," 1954, No 5.

⁸¹ "Polska Sztuka Ludowa," 1956, No 6.

⁸² Cf. for instance S. Piotrowski, *Ludowa twórczość artystyczna* (*The Folk Art*), Warszawa 1955.

⁸³ In: *Zjazd naukowy polonistów 1958* (*Proceedings of the Conference of Polish Scholars 1958*), Warszawa—Wrocław 1960, p. 71—84.

⁸⁴ Linette, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

⁸⁵ P. Nedo, *Folklorystyka. Ogólne wprowadzenie* (*Folklore Study. A General Introduction*), Poznań 1965.

Among other works which, dealing with new and unexplored problems, could not avoid taking up some theoretical issues, worth-mentioning are J. Cieślowski's *Wielka zabawa* (*The Great Play*)⁸⁶ and the collective work entitled *Folklor w życiu współczesnym* (*Folklore in Modern Life*).⁸⁷

Particular folklorę genres have also been dealt with in their theoretical and historical aspects. It was mainly on the folk tale, however, that many folklorists and critics focused their attention. J. Krzyżanowski's *Polska bajka ludowa w układzie systematycznym* not only records most of Polish folk stories, but also classifies them according to Aarne—Thompson's system, which is a great help for both Polish and foreign specialists.⁸⁸ It is moreover provided with a bibliography of the texts, literature on the subject, indexes etc.

Although *Polska bajka ludowa w układzie systematycznym* was not Krzyżanowski's only work on the folk tale, he was by no means the only one to deal with it. There were others. J. Ligęza concentrated on the prose of miners; in his *Ludowa literatura górnicza* he convincingly demonstrated how much this literature owes to the country folklore, which of its values are introduced by miners and what its evolution was. What adds to the value of Ligęza's work is the fact that it is based on the material which was gathered in modern times and had not been previously published.⁸⁹ Similar merits characterize works of D. Simonides, who concerns herself both with the history of Silesian folk tale and with the present situation of the genre.⁹⁰ Folk tale in its historical aspect is also the main interest of H. Kapeluś.⁹¹

⁸⁶ Wrocław 1967.

⁸⁷ Proceedings of the Polish Scholarly Symposium in Poznań 1969, ed. Poznań 1970.

⁸⁸ Cf. H. Kapeluś's critique in "Literatura Ludowa," 1964, No 4-6.

⁸⁹ See also J. Ligęza, *Główne kierunki przemian opowieści ludowych* (*Main Trends in Evolution of Folk Tales*), "Literatura Ludowa," 1966, No 4-6.

⁹⁰ D. Simonides: *Śląska bajka ludowa dawniej i dziś* (*Silesian Folk Tale in the Old Days and Today*), "Zaranie Śląskie," 1966, No 1; *Baśni i podania różnośląskie* (*Silesian Tales and Traditions*), Katowice 1961; *Współczesna śląska proza ludowa* (*Silesian Modern Folk Prose*), Opole 1969.

⁹¹ H. Kapeluś, *Badania nad bajką i podaniem w Polsce* (*Studies on Tales and Traditions in Poland*), "Literatura Ludowa," 1966, No 4-6.

Less advanced are studies on the folk song, where works of a detailed character prevail. The only attempts at a kind of synthesis worth-mentioning here are S. Czernik's *Polska epika ludowa* and *Stare złoto* (*The Old Gold*), marked by their sensitivity to artistic values of the songs, adequate selection of the texts and the emphasis on their connection with the country life. The author did not, however, avoid mistakes, and his locating some of the songs in a distant past is not unqualified. Similar faults can be found in the commentaries with which successive editions of his work are provided.⁹²

Most of the works deal with songs of a particular social group or a particular region. Worthy of special attention are works of A. Dygacz, who presents and discusses songs of various professional groups of Silesia (*Śląskie pieśni powstańcze lat 1919–1921 – Silesian Insurrectional Songs 1919–1921; Pieśni górnicze – Miners' Songs*). Particularly valuable is his study *Rzeka Odra w polskiej pieśni ludowej* (*The Oder River in Polish Folk Song*).⁹³

Recently also studies on the songs of the Second World War and the time of German occupation have been initiated.⁹⁴ Russian folklorist V. Gusev in his work devoted to the folklore of this period discusses also Polish partisans' songs.

I would like to close this analysis of Polish post-war folkloric output with some conclusions which present themselves. It seems that we should advance our theoretical studies of folklore and concentrate to a greater extent on its specific features. Folklore of the years 1939–1945 is not sufficiently examined yet, nor is its functioning in the present day. There are collecting and editorial works to be continued (the edition of Kolberg's works has not been completed yet), and comparative studies to be initiated. Folklore of other than country folk social groups demands as much attention of the folklorist as what has traditionally been meant by the term. And Polish bibliography of folklore and folklore study still awaits to be compiled.

Ryszard Górski

Transl. by Maria-Bożenna Fedewicz

⁹² See Krzyżanowski. *Na drogach i bezdrożach...*

⁹³ Katowice 1966.

⁹⁴ T. Szewera. *Niech wiatr ją poniesie. Antologia pieśni z lat 1939–1945* (*Let the Wind Take It. An Anthology of Songs 1939–1945*). Łódź 1970.