"PLAY WHAT I SING": ECONOMIC POTENTIAL OF THE BEARERS OF MUSIC TRADITION IN THE CULTURAL MEMORY OF THE CZECH LANDS

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Within Czech ethnology, which took shape from the end of the 19th century onwards, the various people interested in folk culture did not deliberately seek answers to social or economic questions. Nevertheless, a study of the sources shows that even the authors of chronicle records or various texts focusing on folk traditions occasionally, although mostly unintentionally, commented on this information. However, their frequency varies and, in terms of the intangible culture that is the focus of our interest, this information is often isolated. The romantic conception of folklore heritage, which still often accompanies many authors even today, has mostly eliminated this type of knowledge, and even the developing folklore studies have not specialised much in this issue. In defence of the researchers of previous generations, however, it must be added that their efforts to record the rapidly disappearing folklore manifestations and at the same time to find the first theoretical ways to evaluate this legacy did not allow them to pursue many other stimulating research directions that would be of great interest to us today.

We learn about the economic conditions of musicians, or their remuneration in the context of a given production in the sources and literature of various provenance, often in autobiographical memoirs or records of eyewitness accounts. The participation of musicians in ceremonies, traditions and customs of the calendar or family was one of their natural activities in rural communities. Nevertheless, the specific form of this participation was influenced by various factors, especially economic ones. Jan Evangelista Konopas (1833-1909), a Bible reader and well-read person, for example, wrote about the mid-19th-century evening music sessions beneath the windows in Mladá Boleslav on the eve of St Anne's Day:

"*When they had played three or four pieces in front of the dwelling, before they honoured all the Annas in turn throughout*

the village, it was almost midnight. [...] *the unmarried youths felt sorry that the nice music was not played for dancing, so they took some girls to dance around the village on the green lawn. Since the musicians made money and each took home a few silver twenties, they agreed to give the Annas a 'ball'*[1] *on their name day the next day, at which all the Annas would dance*." (Konopas 1899: 23)

The targeted economic profit derived from carolling and playing music for dancing was particularly evident among teachers; in the period before the reforms of Empress Maria Theresa (the school reform took place in 1774), it was essentially their main income. Although the provision for teachers was expanded as part of the development of the school system, it was still insufficient, as is shown in the memoirs of Josef Suk, Sr., the father of Czech composer Josef Suk. He started as a teacher in Křečovice, Central Bohemia, in 1846, under dismal conditions:

"*There was no salary! After the hard, strenuous work at school, a budding teacher had to earn extra money just to clothe himself – often by playing in pubs. Then what awaited me at carol time? Every day in January, after the hard work at school, in the worst frost and snow, I had to write* [*the names of*] *the three kings on the doors in the village, sing and give the people in the houses a New Year's wish."* (Novotný 2007)

Jan Bittner (1812-1902), a teacher from Domažlice, expresses a similar view in his memoirs, also recalling that teachers were respected more as musicians (Zoglmann 1910: 386). Many sources from across the regions provide evidence of teachers in these capacities. For example, the chronicle of the village of Stříbrnice, near Uherské Hradiště, refers to the teacher Tomáš Marek, who taught there from 1800-1830. "*He was very popular, holding the office of village scribe, bandleader, and so on. Not a baptism, introduction, wedding, funeral, purchase, sale, or dance was held without him. He was an unbounded master who everyone listened to – from the burgomaster to the shepherd. At the dances, the*

1. Dance parties on the name day of Josef or Anna took place in the Czech countryside in the second half of the 20th century. They have been held in a more modern form until the present day.

bachelors had to follow [*in their singing*] *what he played. For this he received from the citizens* [*a little of*] *everything that their larders contained.*" (Pavlicová 2007: 67)

Financial motivation was a basic impulse for folk musicians, as it represented a significant addition to their main livelihood. The desire to obtain as much money as possible was very strong, as shown, by the description of a Litomyšl feast from the early 19th century:

"*The musicians would sit at the table and then 'stop'. When a young man gave them a groschen or two*[2] *they would immediately play with great vigour. They were paid for a song, so whichever tune* [*one of the young men*] *began to sing was the song they played. 'What I sing you should play for me and take good care of me!' was the rule. There used to be so many bachelors that an apple couldn't even drop, but the singing and dancing space had to be empty, and whoever got in was in danger of being slapped if he avoided paying.*" (Tomíček 1909: 13)

The avoidance of payment by singer/dancers was not a rare occurrence, as this vice is mentioned in sources across regions. For example, collector Vincent Socha (1903-1970) describes in a manuscript monograph of the village of Měrkovice the course of a feast dance party, here called a *krmáš*:

"*The actual feast* [...] *started on Monday.* [...] *The musicians played only the pieces that had been paid for. Those who paid could request what they wanted to be played, but everyone danced. In those days, one song was worth six kreutzers. Many, however, managed to arrange it so that they danced all day, but gave the musicians nothing.* [...] *On Mondays, however, there were only the older farmers at the inn. The young people had their feast on Tuesdays* [...] *The music was again paid according to the number of songs played. However, the young people were not so lenient with those who only came to dance but did not want to pay, and therefore quite often fights would break out.*"[3]

2. Two groschen equals six kreutzer.
3. CF. EÚB, sign. R 10, file XIV, Vincenc Socha: Monografie obce Měrkovic [Monograph of the municipality of Měrkovice], no date, p. 71-72.

Paying for a song was a widespread custom across the Czech lands. It is also mentioned by the collector František Bartoš in his treatise *Ze života lidu moravského* [From the Life of the Moravian People] in the passage devoted to the *koulaná* dance:

"*The musicians sat at the table, but the first violinist, who was the bandleader, usually stood. A young man would come up, throw a double-groschen on the dulcimer and sing a song. The fiddler and the other musicians had to immediately fall into rhythm with his singing and play the song* [...] *repeating it over and over again* [...] *until another young man came up to the dulcimer with a new song and another double-groschen.* [...] *A single dance of the koulaná could last for a quarter of an hour or more.*" (Bartoš 1879: 4)

Bartoš's information refers to the mid-19th century, but the tradition persisted into the first half of the 20th century, as Vladimír Úlehla demonstrates in his book *Živá píseň* (Living Song), a detailed work of the music, song and dance folklore practice of the town of Strážnice in the Slovácko region and its surroundings. Based on the memories of his respondents, Úlehla describes some interesting associations connected with paying for a song, such as "*the singer's right to take his money back if the musicians didn't pick up on the tune when he began to play*" (Úlehla 1949: 69), or the singers' efforts to prolong the lyrics so that they did not have to pay for another song. He also mentions in this context a certain singer/dancer who allegedly sang sixty-one verses to one tune at a *danaj* dance (ibid.: 71). In a chapter devoted to the origins of the folk song lyrics recorded in Strážnice and the process of variation, Úlehla reflects on the long-term consequence of the "economic" reasoning of singers paying for one song:

"*At the first moment, one could certainly notice how the lyrics were forcibly linked to each other, but the concern that the musicians should not notice this and demand another six coins led the singer to bold abbreviations and combinations which* [...] *could sometimes perfectly hide the original combination, so that without many comparative documents, one could no longer perceive what a conglutination the lyrics were.*" (Ibid: 249)

A closer study of these textual distortions (combining the lyrics of several songs) reveals that this is not a regionally specific

phenomenon, but a characteristic feature of Moravian folk song generally. Music folklorist Olga Hrabalová estimated that songs with textual distortions accounted for up to 60 % of the recorded material.[4] This was mainly the result of the creation of new lyrics to existing tunes (cf. Toncrová 2013), although the payment to musicians for a single song/tune clearly played a role in this respect. However, as Úlehla also recalls, the reputation of folk bands especially included the musicians' abilities to play the song flawlessly [based only on the very start of the singing]. Some singers therefore tried to approach the musical band with an unfamiliar tune and distinguish themselves by getting the musicians into trouble: "…*they were looking for new and difficult tunes that nobody knew, and which would surprise the musicians. This is one of the reasons why some songs spread throughout the Carpathian Mountain range.*" (Úlehla 1949: 72). This effort of the singers is very nicely reflected in the many variants of the folk song with the lyrical incipit *Alou, gentlemen musicians, I have come to trouble you*, in continuations such as "*I heard an old song, you must play it for me*" or "*I have learned a song, you must play it for me"* or "*I remembered a song, you must play it for me*" (see Appendix No. 1a, 1b, 1c). The following stanzas of the song then reflect several musicians' economic practices. Of these, besides the practice of "wheedling" money from young show-off singer/dancers who were willing to spend a lot of money for the sake of their own prestige, the special practice of paying – called "dulcimer throwing" – is especially interesting. For this reason, small table dulcimers had a hole in the bottom of the sounding board for throwing in money and another hole in the bottom rib for collecting coins (see Appendix No. 2a, 2b). Even more interesting in this respect is the custom of throwing money to the bagpiper into a curved melody pipe (see Appendix No. 3), which is mentioned in connection with the dances in the mid-19th century in the monograph *Luhačovské Zálesí* (Václavík 1930: 488). The lyrics of the folk song in turn reflect the throwing of money into the back pipe called *huk*:

4. This is according to the oral report of Dr. Marta Toncrová, a long-time colleague of Olga Hrabalová.

1. Aj, to býł gajdoš,
co gajdował za groš,
dała sem mu dva grejcary
a on mjél grejcar dosť.

2. Nebyły hody,
dyž nehrály gajdy,
chlapci házali do huka,
on zas do kłobúka.

1. He was a bagpipe player
Who played for one groschen
I gave him two groschens
And he had groschen enough.

2. It would not be a feast
If there was no bagpipe music
Young men threw into a back pipe
While he into his hat.

(Kubeša – Polášek 1993: č. 70)

References to paying for a song (to lead the singing) and playing according to a demonstrated song are quite frequent in the sources; in the context of folk dances, it was a very widespread custom that survived in the rural environment in the first half of the 20th century, when official musicians led by a licensed bandleader were paid a prearranged amount. For example, a *štrajch*[5] band used to play for such pre-arranged money, called "played-off" money, in Hodonín at the U Stehlíka inn (later U Mrkůsa) before the First World War. Clarinettist Rudolf Husařík (*1889) recalled:

"*Money was collected on a plate for the musicians, who played according to the wishes of the patrons, and according to a demonstrated song as well. It was mainly the butchers' journeymen who came to this inn to be entertained. Musicians would play from 7 p.m. to 12 midnight, often every Saturday and Sunday. When there was a cattle market, they played on Mondays as well.*"

The apportioning of the money that was earned was then done by the older musicians who gave the younger ones *"some gold for the evening but took the larger sums to share only among themselves.*"[6]

5. *Štrajch* – a label for a musical grouping combining instruments such as violin, viola, clarinet, flute, double bass, trumpet, flugelhorn, and drums. Most often they were five- to ten-piece bands. They spread in the Czech and Moravian countryside from the 1860s until gradually disappearing in the 1950s. They were replaced by brass music bands (Kurfürst 2002: 765).
6. EÚB, sign. V 3, Milada Bimková: Muzikanti a kapely na Kyjovsku a Hodonínsku, obec Hodonín [Musicians and Bands in the Regions of Kyjov and Hodonín, the municipality of Hodonín], p. 35.

This practice was closely related to the traditional way of learning to play musical instruments, especially among the "natural musicians" – folk musicians who did not know how to read music and played only by ear. According to organologist Pavel Kurfürst, "*the apprentice musician did not pay anyone in the band for lessons but was usually not entitled to a share of the band's earnings, which went to the other members of the band for a certain period."* (Kurfürst 2002: 795).

As was already mentioned, musicians played not only for money, but also for food and especially drink, and in the countryside also for benefits in kind, such as for "*sesyp"* (i.e. grain poured into a sack, or for ears of corn) during the carnival rounds, or when they were invited by bachelors to provide musical accompaniment on the Easter Monday rounds.

It cannot be forgotten, however, that performances of folk musicianship and singing/dancing did not only take place in the scheme of a big dance party or a wider group of musicians. The source documents often refer to much more intimate occasions, without a formal function, and sometimes even with the musical accompaniment of only a single musician. The above-mentioned article from the Litomyšl area states: "*Outside of the feast, a hurdy-gurdy player from Poříč was available for dance accompaniments. He was playing, stomping, and singing until the pub shook.*" (Tomíček 1909: 13) Another example, this time from Moravia, mentions a blind woman harpist from the community of Syrovín in the Slovácko region, born in 1840: "*The boys from Moravský Písek used to come for her by wagon whenever they wanted to have a dance in the tavern on weekdays. According to witnesses, this continued until around 1890.*"[7] Ethnographic literature brings dozens of references to Czech bagpipers and Moravian bagpipe and dulcimer players, who accompanied the dancing and singing of mainly young people at unofficial dance parties. The reason for the musical accompaniment of a single musician was not only the economic aspect, but also the

7. EÚB, sign. V 3, Milada Bimková: Muzikanti a kapely na Kyjovsku a Hodonínsku, obec Moravský Písek [Musicians and Bands in the Regions of Kyjov and Hodonín, the municipality of Moravský Písek], p. 1.

often-cramped space for song/dance.[8] Valuable evidence in folklore studies is also provided in the notes of the teacher Věnceslav Metelka (1807-1867) from Paseky nad Jizerou. They have already been analysed several times and have been approached from the point of view of dance and music, especially by ethno-choreologist Petr Novák. He draws attention specifically to traditional dance occasions taking place in small pubs or cottages: "*As a rule, these were not played by trained musicians like Metelka, but by amateur or travelling musicians – harpists, accordionists or just hurdy-gurdy players*." (Novák 1971: 22).

Musical performances as a major source of income were also typical for itinerant musicians or singers, whose fate was usually among the most difficult.[9] There are rather isolated, general references to the activities of these singers or instrumentalists, which are summarised by Pavel Kurfürst in one of the chapters of his monograph on musical instruments (Kurfürst 2002: 787-794). It should also not be forgotten that in the second half of the 19th century, various clubs and associations gradually began to play an increasingly prominent role in social life. In his reminiscences of the life of musicians in the region of Haná, Josef Vrbka states that in the 1860s, musicians from Náklo received 20-40 kreutzers per evening for a performance by a singing society, 40 kreutzers per evening for playing for a dance party, and "*from each gold piece collected in admission, they received an extra 40 kreutzers, which*

8. For example, in Otakar Zich's study *The Song and Dance do kolečka in Chodsko*, we read: *"And the pubs are so small! No idea about some 'ballroom.' They are no bigger than the rooms in farmhouses."* (Zich 1906: 307)
9. For example, Štěpán Hudec of Mistřín (b. 1908) recollected two itinerant musicians who appeared in this locality during his childhood and remained there. The first was a wandering piper who was said to be Italian. The other was a military veteran named Večerka, a clarinettist who used to play for bread. "*He used to walk around the village from early morning. As soon as the sun came up, he whistled, and the children would wake up and run out in front of the house. Večerka continued to play all day on the clarinet. They were rather complex pieces that he most likely knew from military music bands. The boys admired him, but they also made fun of him, as did the women, for whistling something that no one knew. He didn't play songs.*" EÚB, sign. V 3, Milada Bimková: Muzikanti a kapely na Kyjovsku a Hodonínsku, obec Mistřín [Musicians and Bands in the Regions of Kyjov and Hodonín, the municipality of Mistřín], p. 31.

was then distributed to everyone." (Vrbka 1947: 148) The same author also states that as late as the beginning of the 19th century, musicians were paid from the money collected by the bachelors on Shrovetide (ibid.: 148). He also makes an interesting comment on the social classification of folk musicians. Most of the musicians were "rural labourers or sub-peasants", that is, not the wealthier farmers who were at the same time labour-bound to their larger farms. The musician's earnings, however, supplemented the income of the poorer "crofters" very well (ibid.: 152).

Many outstanding musicians from the folk circles also earned their living by teaching various instruments. Lubomír Tyllner in his article about the South Bohemian musician Jan Perkaus (1809-1883) says: "*He could play most musical instruments, some of which, such as the double bass, he made himself. He taught music to hundreds of children from Hlína and the surrounding area*." (Tyllner 1990: 173) In the countryside, this pedagogical practice continued until the mid-20th century (Pavlicová 2007: 82-83).

The period at the end of the 19th century, with its intense interest in folk culture and the increasingly frequent presentations of folk musicians and dancers to the public, brought the financial issue even more strongly into their productions. This was not only in terms of preparation and organisation, but also in terms of remuneration for the performers. At the *Czechoslavic Ethnographic Exhibition* in Prague in 1895, which lasted six months, musicians from both the regions of Horňácko and Moravian Wallachia took on the role of musicians playing for the entertainment of the public. The former, led by Pavel Trn (1841–1917), the legendary lead violinist from the Horňácko region, played in a taproom located in the rear wing of a farm building removed from Čičmany,[10] Slovakia. The latter, led by the famous bandleader Jan Pellar (1844–1907), played in the Wallachian pub *Na posledním groši* [The Last Kreutzer].[11]

10. CF. A letter from Martin Zeman to Leoš Janáček dated July 1, 1895 (Uhlíková 1994: 94).
11. Public productions of Pellar's band in various locations were also reflected in its repertoire, as evidenced by the "song list" of the bandleader himself (see Appendix No. 4). Pellar's name is given in sources as Pelár or Pellár, too.

The observations of many collectors expressed the ambivalence of the developmental changes of musical groups in relation to specific local customs and traditions. Čeněk Holas provided valuable information in his contribution *Paměti hudebníků a dudáků* [Memoirs of musicians and pipers] (1925), which created a mosaic of the numerous personalities he met while studying folk music traditions in Bohemia. The bagpiper Josef Chmelíř from Domažlice, otherwise a basket-maker by trade, recalled his visit to the *Jubilee Exhibition* in Prague in 1891:

"I found myself tucked away in a place where I didn't have an audience. The editor Vaněk from Domažlice saw me there, recognized me by my folk costume and went with me to the office to get a better position. I was told to choose a place myself. We went to the 'Czech Cottage' [a typical Czech village house presented at the exhibition]. *There was already a piper sitting there.* [...] *He had a long white beard and a pile of money in his cap. After a few bars of music, I saw that he didn't know anything. I felt sorry to push the old man out of the 'Czech Cottage' so I set up in a beer hall. In the evening, I played and slept at an inn in the Prague district of Žižkov, where I spent money for food and lodging. I paid 2 gold a night but apart from it earned about 2 gold pieces. I did bring home something from the exhibition, but not much*." (Holas 1925: 53)

On the other hand, the aforementioned piper in the "Czech Cottage", which was a prestigious space of the exhibition, probably earned much more, as is evidenced in the text by Čeněk Holas:

"*Later, in Měčín, I learned from the local parish priest Šonka and a teacher that the piper who Chmelíř met in the ´Czech Cottage´ was called Turecek and came from Měčín. He was said to be a serious, imposing figure. He brought about 3,000 gold pieces from the exhibition. This is presumed from the fact that he bought a cottage in Měčín immediately, although he had no money for it before. He was probably more of a businessman rather than an artistic spirit. It is said that he was preparing for a journey to Paris, which he would certainly have undertaken if death had not taken him.*" (Holas 1925: 53)

Although we can say that in such examples we think in terms of economic and social capital, we cannot do without cultural capital, that is, the acquired knowledge, skills and qualifications of individuals and groups, which provide their holders with various benefits and are a prerequisite for acquiring a certain social status (Hubáček 1996). Its developmental changes are inherently linked to economic and social aspects, but in reciprocal and mutual interaction. When ethnomusicologist Jaroslav Markl reflected on the "popularization" of brass band music in the Czech context, various aspects that accelerated or slowed down this trend did not escape his attention. In the more conservative environments, especially in the region of Chodsko, he found various mocking references to brass band music in folk songs. He also noted the text of the theatre play *Strakonický dudák* [The Strakonice Piper] from 1847, where its author J. K. Tyl states that "*the new course of the world requires… a whole gallery of musicians, including trumpets and clarinets*." (Markl 1976: 28)

During the 19th century, however, brass music bands gradually gained ground in the Bohemian and Moravian countryside at the expense of all older instrumental groups, to such an extent that even in the Slovácko region, today perceived as a bastion of musical folklore, the return to string music (and later the inclination towards the newly emerging cimbalom bands) caused problems at first. An interesting reflection on the change in musical taste and the question of the economic and organisational aspects of music production in the Slovácko region touches on the inter-war period. One example is provided in the memoirs of Josef Kos (1888-1967) by a member of Kos's band from Lužice in the South Moravian region of Podluží. Kos refers to the extension of brass music band by the so-called *štrajch*:

"*We also got some string music. It included flute, horns, trumpet, trombone, clarinets, double bass, two second violins, first violin, and percussion instruments. This orchestra got practice at balls from midnight onwards. It was difficult for the people of the Slovácko region to get used to string music. Here the flugelhorn had to whistle, and the drum had to keep the rhythm. The main thing in our country was a well-coordinated and organized brass*

music band. We were forced to refute and correct all sorts of bad habits that spoiled good music somehow. It was mainly about food and pay, as well as shortening the playing time, because they would play until dawn. The musical groups that played here previously did not demand strict paying rules."[12]

In the following text, Kos recalls a trip to Prague and between the lines shows very precisely how the playing of rural folk musicians was perceived by the public without romanticising views and how the socio-economic context of the production of rural musical groups changed in the following years*:*

"*A month before we left for Prague, we practiced hard with the whole band. No one would believe that we were a Slovácko band; many believed that we were just dressed as people from Slovácko* [*in folk costumes*]. *We could play well; we were on the level of good urban bands. In later times, the music was organized in the musicians' union, and we had our duties, but we also had formal considerations. Contracts were signed to play and dues were paid, but the provided arrangements had to be followed as far as food, pay and playing time were concerned.*"[13]

The institutionalization of music production across urban and rural environments and its submission to various legal regulations in practice came up against surviving practices, such as the practice of paying for a "gain", that is, for a song that a singer or dancer had commissioned: some royalty-paying musicians resented this approach and even denounced[14] musicians who gained their earnings in the traditional way. Sources suggest that the regulations that were introduced concerning the musicians' trade were not known to folk musicians, or perhaps they ignored them, as they

12. EÚB, sign. V 3, Milada Bimková: Muzikanti a kapely na Kyjovsku a Hodonínsku, obec Lužice [Musicians and Bands in the Regions of Kyjov and Hodonín, the municipality of Lužice], p. 42. *Štrajch* is understood as a transitional development phase between traditional folk music groups (pipe, dulcimer, and string line-ups) and brass band music. In this case, it was an effort to enrich the musical orchestration and the associated dance repertoire (e.g., Viennese waltzes) after brass music bands became a solid part of the dance-music tradition in the region.
13. Ibid, p. 43.
14. Ibid, the municipality of Hodonín, p. 36.

tolerated music production without a licence or tax payments. As an example, we can again name musician Jan Pellar from the Moravian Wallachia region, who was denounced several times for unauthorised trading. The first time he obtained a concession was during a production at the *Czechoslavic Ethnographic Exhibition* in Prague, where he was asked to do so by the police superintendent. Later, however, he himself sent a denunciation against a competitor in his home region who was performing without a valid concession (Janušová 2016: 45). At the beginning of the 20th century, the lack of a bandmaster's concession also became the basis of an ideological clash between the traditional Strážnice musicians – the brass (and string) music band of Jan Mlýnek – and the brass music band of the bandmaster Chlud, who came to Strážnice in 1907. He owned a concession and wanted to organize Mlýnek's band for a fee. It is obvious that it was finally the problem that led the bandmaster Mlýnek to arrange his own band concession. Until then, he obviously did not lack one.[15]

The above-mentioned issues show that music production, linked to the traditional culture of rural and urban areas, was strongly connected with economic motivation: for most musicians it represented a significant income, which often turned into their main livelihood.[16] Of course, musicians and individual musical groups often competed with each other, and used a number of different strategies to gain playing opportunities. Some of these we would see as correct (raising the level of performance, expanding the repertoire, being able to adapt the number of musicians or fit the repertoire on the occasion...); others as unfair (denouncing for non-payment of taxes or lack of a concession, playing below the usual price, openly criticising the qualities of folk musicians

15. Ibid, the municipality of Strážnice, p. 8.
16. An example is the violinist Rudolf Václavovič (born 1879) from Hodonín, who made his living in the summer mainly as a painter, and in winter mainly as a musician in local *štrajch* music band and brass music band, where he played the drum. CF EÚB, sign. V 3, Milada Bimková: Muzikanti a kapely na Kyjovsku a Hodonínsku, obec Hodonín [Musicians and Bands in the Regions of Kyjov and Hodonín, the municipality of Hodonín], p. 34.

who did not play from sheet music, taking over musicians from competitors). Many of the strategies mentioned have worked in the field of music production for money up to the present day.

As for the idea of playing for fun, it is mentioned in the sources mainly in connection with the more educated classes of the population: it was mainly home music-making in the family or in a group of friends. Music-making for fun took on a different dimension with the transformation of society in the interwar period, with the increasing amount of leisure time and its conscious spending. One of the ways was the cultivation of the disappearing manifestations of folk culture within the organised movement: there such activities were labelled folk artistic creativity. The way of combining the pleasant with the useful gradually opened the way for many amateur bands, and the leisure hobby once again became a welcome opportunity for many musical groups to enrich the personal or family budget.

The cultural capital of the earlier musical ensembles of the traditional countryside (in Moravia, pipe bands and dulcimer bands) lost their economic capital during the second half of the 19th century as a result of the rise of brass bands and other newer musical groups. This was eventually transformed into a different dimension as society developed and state cultural policy restored its economic dimension.

*The text was written with the support of the MUNI/A/1140/2020 specific research study The Social Capital of Intangible Cultural Heritage at the Department of European Ethnology of the Faculty of Arts, Masaryk University, and with the institutional support of the Institute of Ethnology of the Czech Academy of Sciences, RVO: 68378076.

Sources:

EÚB: Institute of Ethnology, Czech Academy of Sciences, branch Brno; document collections and archives; Sign. V 3, Milada Bimková: Muzikanti a kapely na Kyjovsku a Hodonínsku [Musicians and Bands in the Regions of Kyjov and Hodonín]. Manuscript.

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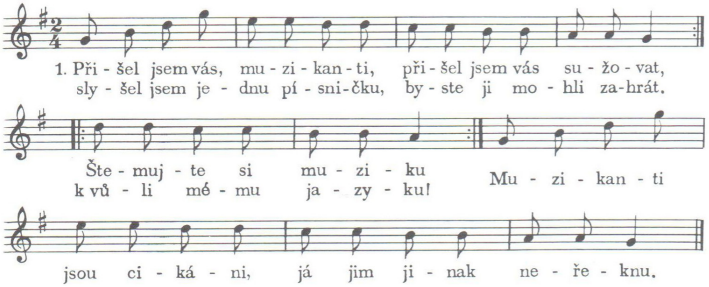
Summary

The economic conditions of folk musicians or their remuneration have been mentioned rather inconsistently in sources and literature of the Czech lands. The participation of musicians in ceremonies, traditions and customs of the calendar, or family occasions was one of their natural activities in rural communities. There are relatively frequent references to paying for a song (which involved leading the singing) and playing according to a demonstrated song, which was widespread in the context of folk dances. Musicians played not only for money, but also for food, drink, or special benefits in kind. For itinerant musicians and singers, musical performances were a major source of their livelihood. Many outstanding rural musicians also earned a living by teaching various instruments. From the end of the 19th century, folk musicians and dancers found more occasions to present themselves to the public, which increased an interest in the financial issue of their production. With the coming of brass music bands and other novelty groups, older traditional rural music groups lost not only their cultural capital, but their economic capital as well. Gradually, however, the emerging folklore movement strengthened the position of folk musicians, including their financial rewards. The question of the remuneration of folk musicians has resonated in cultural memory, thus adding to the unbiased image of traditional folk culture.

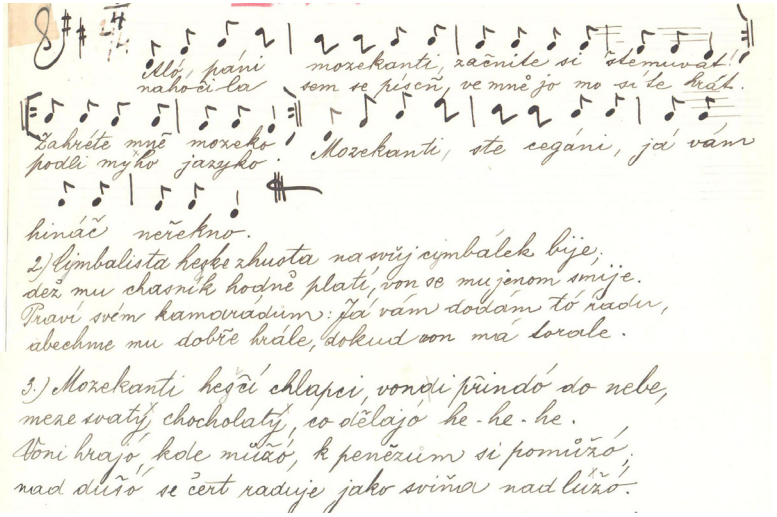
Key words: Folk music and dance; payment of musicians; transformation of tradition; cultural capital.

Přílohy / Appendices:

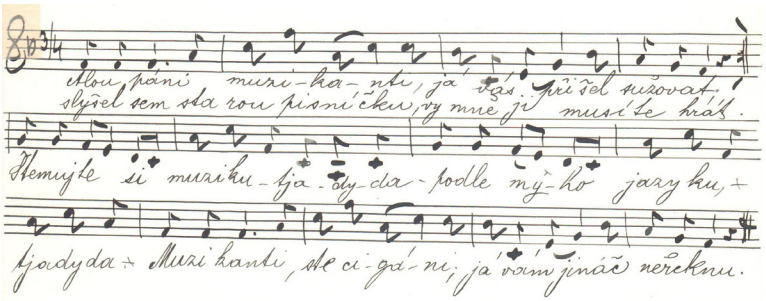


1. Přišel jsem vás, muzikanti,
přišel jsem vás sužovat,
slyšel jsem jednu písničku,
byste ji mohli zahrát.
Štemujte si muziku
k vůli mému jazyku!
Muzikanti jsou cikáni,
já jim jinak neřeknu.

2. Jak vám ta muzika řechce,
jak vám to hodně svědčí,
dyž vám házu do cimbála,
tu hráte hodně věcí.
Huslista ten se směje,
basista taky hledí,
cimbalista již děkuje,
ještě peněz nevidí.



1a. Zápis z Otnice, 1819 (Vetterl 1994: 262). 1b. Zápis ze Šaratic Uhřičic, 1909 (EÚB, sign. A 465/10) / 1a. Folk song from Otnice, 1819 (Vetterl 1994: 262); 1b. Folk song from Šaratice, 1909 (EÚB, sign. A 465/10)



2. Napřed začnu vychvalovat toho s tema houslama,
ten by byl lepší udělal, kdyby byl zůstal doma.
Dá nás peněz naloudil, nás k muzice navodil.
Muzikanti, jste cigáni, já vám jináč nepovim

3/ Cimbalista vždycky na svůj cimbálek pere,
když mu na něj hodně hráni, po sbraně se vysměje,
řka: Bratři, komarádi, já bych vám byl té rady,
abychmo jim hodně hráli, dokud peníze mají.

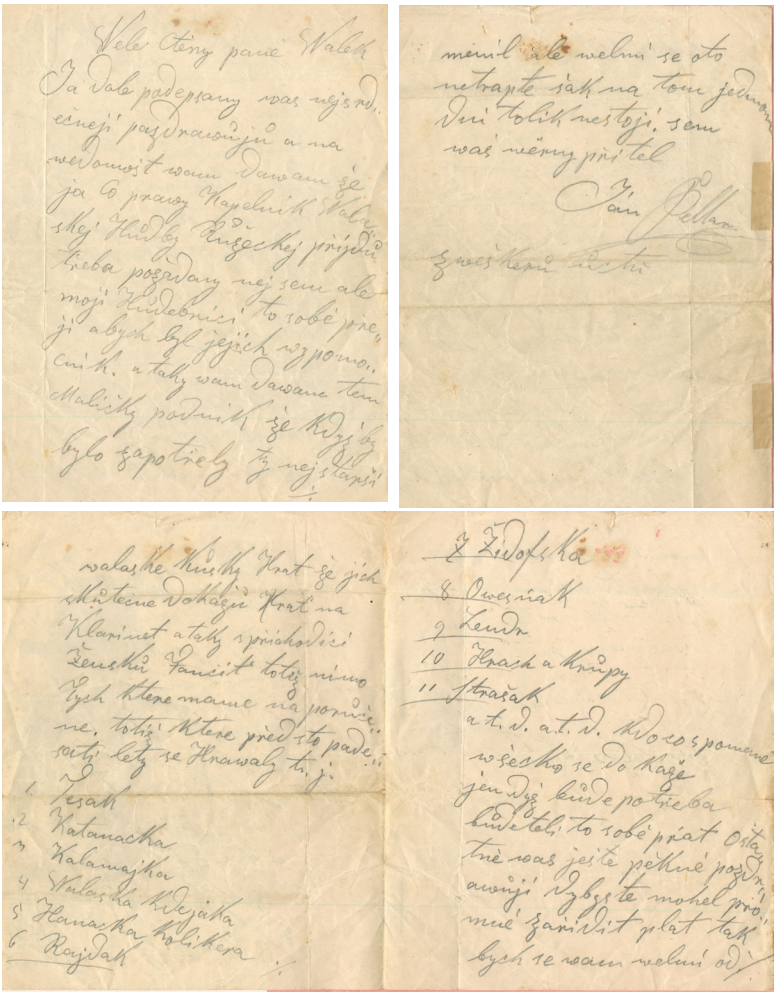
1c. Zápis z Uhřičic, 1909 (EÚB, sign. A 480/5) / 1a. Folk song from Otnice, 1819 (Vetterl 1994: 262); 1b. Folk song from Uhřičice, 1909 (EÚB, sign. A 480/5)

2a

2b

2a. Otvor pro vhazování mincí ve spodní části ozvučné desky malého bezpedálového cimbálu z východní Moravy. 2b. Otvor pro vybírání minci ve spodním lubu cimbálu. Foto Marian Friedl / 2a. Coin slot at the bottom of the soundboard of an East-Moravian dulcimer. 2b. Hole for removing coins in the lower bout of the same musical instrument. Photo Marian Friedl

3. Gajdy se zahnutou melodickou píšťalou, do níž tanečníci vhazovaly gajdošovi peníze. Hudecké trio Holásků-Mináříků z Kopanic, 1895. Státní okresní archiv Uherské Hradiště, fond Pozůstalost Josef Černíka / A bagpipe with a curved melody pipe into which the dancers threw money to the bagpiper. Folk musicians from the Kopanice Region (East Moravia), 1895 (musicians from the Holásek family, called Mináříci). State District Archive Uherské Hradiště, Josef Černík's estate fund



4. Dopis s nabídkou hudební produkce valašského kapelníka Jana Pellara (1844–1907) Trankripce přetištěna in Jeřábek 1976: 163 / Letter offering music production of bandleader Jan Pellar (1844–1907) from the Moravian Wallachia region. Transcription reprinted in Jeřábek 1976: 163

Platy muzikantů dle vzpomínek R. Husaříka (* 1889),
člena dechové a smyčcové kapely Jindřicha Krejčího z Hodonína

Před 1. světovou válkou
Za pohřeb.... 1 zlatý
Za výlet…. 2 zlaté 50 krejcarů
Za ples s celým zaopatřením…. 3 zlaté
Za ples bez zaopatření…. 4 zlaté
Taneční hodiny…. 1 koruna rakouská a 2 piva
[1892 zavedení rakouské koruny 2 K = 1 zlatý]

Po 1. světové válce
Za pohřeb…. 15 Kč
Za ples…. 60 Kč, večeře a pivo
Tancovačka… 30 Kč (od 20 hod. do 24 hod.)
Taneční hodiny… 15 Kč (za dvě hodiny)
[1919 vzniká nová československá koruna, několik let se však používaly také kolkované rakousko-uherské bankovky]

Musician's salaries according to R. Husařík (born 1889),
member of Jindřich Krejčí band from Hodonín

Before World War I
For a funeral…. 1 gold
At an outing…. 2 gold 50 kreutzer
For the ball with full provision …. 3 gold
For the ball without provision…. 4 gold
Dance classes…. 1 Austrian crown and 2 beers
[in 1892, Austrian crown was introduced, 2 crowns = 1 gold]

Salaries after World War I
For a funeral…. 15 CZK
For a ball…. 60 CZK, supper and beer
Dance party…. 30 CZK (from 8. p. m. to 12 p. m.)
Dance classes…. 15 CZK (for two hours)
[in 1919 the new Czechoslovak crown was created, but for several years the Austro-Hungarian stamped banknotes were also used]

5. EÚB, sign. V 3, Milada Bimková: Muzikanti a kapely na Kyjovsku a Hodonínsku, obec Hodonín, s. 34 / EÚB, sign. V 3, Milada Bimková: Musicians and Bands in the Regions of Kyjov and Hodonín, the municipality of Hodonín, p. 34