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Autoreferát disertační práce

No nation without representation: heroes going places.

A comparative research of Flemish and Slovak heroes in literature. Literary and historical representations of two national rebels: Jan De Lichte (Flanders) versus Juraj Jánošík (Slovakia)

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1. State of the Art

Primitive Rebels 1959 by the British historian Eric J. Hobsbawm is one of the first publications devoted to the issue of social rebely in Early Modern European societies. He was the first to focus on a phenomenon that until then had been neglected in studies of social movements. These movements were able to exert bottom-up revolutionary changes in modern European societies. He points to the remarkable manifestation of a phenomenon that occurs worldwide in almost all societies in the whole world.

Even though Hobsbawm did not claim to be exhaustive in his first study, there were following critical remarks and he subsequently responded and refined his theoretical work. According to Votruba (2010: 11-13) historians in Western European and Eastern Central European tradition independently from each other have developed the consensus that a robber is considered to be a rural outlaw if the attitude of the population in the countryside where the robber was active is positive towards him and either supports, permits or at least has a neutral stance towards him. Votruba also mentions the German researcher Carsten Küther, who focuses on the life and activities of ordinary thieves in Germany, thereby redefining his typology. After all, Hobsbawm only paid attention to the stereotype of the so-called "noble robber", whom we know as the archetypal Robin Hood figure, whereas this character hardly occurred in Germany in the eighteenth century. Therefore, the difference between these two categories has been mapped by useful overview of Adam Votruba, who subsequently applies these characteristics comparing them to three groups of robbers: in the German geographical area, in the Bohemian-Moravian geographical area and then in the Carpathian area, including the Slovak area, but also including border areas with Poland and Ukraine.

Votruba (2010:12-14) uses the English terms Hobsbawm created with the type of **Social Bandits** on the one hand, and **Common Robbers** on the other. Küther adopts the terms and translates them into German as *Sozialbanditen* versus *Kriminelle Banditen*. For his Czech typology, Votruba takes as equivalent of the first group *Zbojník*, which could possibly be extended to *sociální zbojník*, which he opposes to the *lupič*, adding sometimes *obyčejný lupič*. As an all-embracing term he uses the term *loupežník*. If we compare it with the Dutch terms, we do find in Egmond (1985) for the first category *Sociale Bandiet* or *Edele Bandiet/rover*. She juxtaposes this with the negative *Onedele rover*, we also suggest *Criminele Bandiet*, so that *Rover* can continue to be used as an all-embracing term, as robbing remains the basic character trait of these figures.

As far as the typology of rural outlaws is concerned, I would like to follow the model of Joep Leerssen and John Neubauer (2010: 412). They suggest "that outlaws inhabit four distinct

spheres: (1) historical documents (2) orality (3) literature and (4) the media. In the majority of cases, the listed domains constitute a historical consequence: historical outlaws enter folklore; professional writers elaborate on the oral tradition, and the media transpose the stories and themes into visual and musical art forms.”

Beller and Leerssen (2007) provide in their handbook of imagology the most important key concepts for research connecting literary studies, history and cultural studies. A key assumption in using imagology in literary research is that literature, including more recent poetical and fictional-narrative media such as cinema and comics, has the advantage of being a privileged genre for spreading stereotypes more widely, because the principle of *suspension of disbelief* leaves room for audience credibility. We are able to use imagology most effectively for subjects that need to be studied in the long term and it can be applied to express the spread and origin of mentalities and attitudes. Leerssen (2007: 26-27) outlines a few important methodological remarks that should certainly be taken into account in this research on *rural outlaws*.

When presenting the state of the art research about the rural outlaws in each national movement, there needs to be differentiated in which scholarly field. Most research of Jan de Lichte as a historical figure was done by Danny Lamarcq, a historian from Velzeke, the same village as Jan de Lichte, at present a part of Zottegem County. Historian Danny Lamarcq is right to point out that folk books and oral tradition influenced each other to a great extent (Vermassen 2017: 266), which gives us a fluid impression in older books and makes it difficult to determine which passages in the texts are based on facts and which are fictionalised. The first attempt at research into this subject was made in Maes and Top (1982), who investigated the folklorisation and mixing of historical sources and folk novels.

In their article, folklorists Paul Maes and Stefan Top (1982) present a first comprehensive overview of authors around Jan de Lichte’s gang, which is supplemented by Lamarcq (2017). Both refer to a first edition by Ernest Ternest, *Jan de Lichte en zijn bende, voorafgegaan door de Familie Hoogenbergh* (1873; Jan de Lichte and his gang, preceded by the story of the Hoogenbergh Family), which subsequently had many reprints, the last in 1926 (Maes and Top 1982: 12). The second case studied author depicting the Jan de Lichte tradition, Abraham Hans, has received little scholarly attention, due to his low canonical position in Flemish literature. Research about his works, such as his biographer Daniel Walraed, needs to be situated more out of regional literary historiographic interest.

The literary figure of Jan de Lichte became probably best known by its depiction in Louis Paul Boon’s novel *De Bende van Jan de Lichte* (The Gang of Jan de Lichte) and its sequel

De Zoon van Jan de Lichte. (The son of Jan de Lichte) Boon was an Aalst-born writer who wrote several other social-moving historical novels. He used to document himself very well in old folklore legends and archives before he conceived his novels. The literary research of Boon, including biographical details has been scrutinized nowadays by Kris Humbeeck and in Nijmegen by Jos Muyres. Before, Jean Weisgerber attempted to frame the novel in a herotypology depicting other typical characteristics of a Flemish novel. Other scholars such as Paul de Wispelaere, Romain John van de Maele or the researchers working together around the society of Louis Paul Boon (Dutch: L.P. Boongenootschap), Frans-Jos Verdoodt and Willem Roggeman significantly contributed to the research about the author, his works and his position in Flemish Dutch literature.

The research topics and interests about Jánošík are manifold. There is a longer research tradition depending on folklore resources since ever since the beginning of scholarly interest in Slovak national traditions, men of letters such as Ján Kollár or Pavol Jozef Šafárik started to collect folk song and folk tales; however, historians as well as literary scholars were also engaged in mapping the Jánošík and rural outlaw traditions, certainly not limited to Slovak scholarly interest. There can be found Czech (Votruba), Polish (Goszczyńska), Hungarian (Neubauer) and German (Rasslof) research, sparking a lot of interdisciplinarity in Jánošík themed studies. The Polish academic Joanna Goszczyńska (2003) as well as the Slovak scholar Hana Hlôšková (2013) discovered several myths about Jánošík in folklore and oral tradition and found some explanations for the popularity of Jánošík in the Slovak national consciousness.

In the tradition of varying narratives by the Slovak hero Jánošík, in the 1950s and 1960s official historiography mainly presents his gang activity as a fight against the feudal conditions, against the rich, the bourgeois class and gives the Jánošík figure an aura of a social revolutionary. This performance was supported by folklorist Andrej Melicherčík (1917–1966) in two works (1952, 1963) and these works were counted for a long time as the trendsetting works in research about Juraj Jánošík from a folklore perspective. However, Hruboň and Krištofik (2014: 152-153) mention that Melicherčík's works were conceived according to the dogmatic Stalinist principles of socialism, depicting Jánošík as a hero of the common people who revolted against the bourgeoisie and feudal structures of his time. At the same time, Melicherčík opposed the folklore image of Jánošík that had been sketched up until then, because this folklore image distracted attention from his real struggle as a popular revolutionary warrior.

In the 1960s, two Slovak intellectuals, Ľubomír Lipták and Vladimír Mináč used Jánošík's figure to describe the robber phenomenon '*Jánošíčenie*' (literally "behaving as a Jánošík") as a typical characteristic of the Slovak mentality. As a result of this upgrading of the

tradition, Jánošík's figure was mythologized in many multimedia genres. He became a positive pole of the robbery tradition (Hlôšková 2013: 97). This can also be regarded as an attempt to place the figure of Jánošík into Slovak imagology traits.

The last research overview about robbery and rural outlaws during the former socialist regime has been made by Viera Gašparíková (1988). She places the robber tradition in folklorist poetics, but mentions as well the process of a moving image of the robber hero into what she calls professional culture, being firstly highbrow forms of literature, poetry, theatre play and later on art, sculptures as well as paintings and even opera works. Gašparíková does not limit herself to the Jánošík image but has already kept in mind that a comparative point of view of studying the robber turns out to provide a more complete representation of this phenomenon.

While Joanna Goszczyńska (2003) has been more concerned with myth and legend formation around the figure of Jánošík, researcher Milada Písková (1997) has carried out a very extensive study of the Jánošík tradition in the light of its historical facts, as opposed to folklore, followed by an overview of the Jánošík tradition in Slovak literature, in Czech literature and, finally, she provides an overview of Czech and Slovak scholarly research on this theme.

Several other literary scholars engaged in research about the authors who dealt with the depiction of Jánošík in their works. Especially worth mentioning because he connected writing, historical interests in the life of Jánošík and suited his own representation is Janko Kráľ, who saved the archive documents of Jánošík's trial by copying them. A fruitful literary philosophical analysis of Ladislav Čúzy (2004) is used to examine the influences on the aesthetics of the Štúrist writers starting from Štúr's lectures on Slavonic poetry. Miloslav Vojtech (2018: 307-324) presented an overview of the most common topics in nineteenth century Slovak romantic poetry.

2. Dissertation Theses

Context and conceptualisation of the rural hero-stereotypes leads to two hypotheses, which will be researched further on in this dissertation:

- 1) I assume the figure of Juraj Jánošík was more successful as a national hero, because of his multi-ethnic affiliation, being born in a border region. Hetero-image of Polish, Czech and Slovak sources led to a broader depiction and a more multi-faced stereotype, suitable for national heroes. The concept of hetero-image means that the image another nation has about the nation justifies and makes their own images stronger. A hybrid identity concept is explored further in (post-) modernist times, in visual and literary adaptations. Presumably, demythicization also may lead to a paradoxically stronger concept of a hero.
- 2) My second hypothesis is that the role of (popular) literature, mass media and visualisation in the case of Jánošík led to a faster (and earlier) spread of the image than the literary hero concept. Jan de Lichte was not depicted by any famous writer in highbrow literature until the 20th century, as it was the case for Jánošík. Therefore the historical and literary context of Jan de Lichte and Juraj Jánošík will be briefly described, and a short survey will be given of some (post)modernist and visual adaptations and lieux-de-mémoire.

The second part of the dissertation will focus more on the writers around Jan de Lichte and Jánošík. These leads to another hypothesis based on literary sociological background.

There will be discussed whether the writers, who represent themselves or are represented as more rebellious, identified Jan de Lichte and Juraj Jánošík more or less with the rural outlaw hero-type and for what reasons. In literary theory and discourse studies, the French concept of *posture*, developed by the Swiss scholar Jérôme Meizoz and in this dissertation adjusted with the remarks of Laurens Ham, proves a very useful instrument to research this. Through interaction, the image of the author and his or her authority, with other writers reacting to that image, leads to a meandering, rather constantly changing identity and imagery of the rural outlaw stereotype. He cannot be considered as exclusively positive or negative.

3. Methodology

Both Juraj Jánošík and Jan de Lichte can be regarded as primitive hybrid heroes, with both good and bad characteristics. Three important methodological tools will be used to describe both types of heroes: imagology, the phenomenon of written folklore in the definition of Aleida Assmann and it will be connected together with the help of *histoire croisée* by Bénédicte Zimmermann and Michael Werner. To sketch literary images around the characters Juraj Jánošík and Jan de Lichte, I start from a discursive concept based on the French literary scholar Jérôme Meizoz, namely *posture*. *Posture* is a concept to connect representation of writers, both how they present themselves and how they are described by others, with the literary context in which these writers find themselves. Moreover, Laurens Ham refines the concept by stating that the characters they use can also reinforce their own image in a dynamic way or, on the contrary, be turned away from it.

In imagological studies, a primitive representation is often considered to be opposed to a civilized society on colonial topics; it refers to a simple society with almost no rules and little social stratification. Banditry will be defined as a form of primitive social protest. It appears in a period of wars, unstable times and famine. The bandits are idealized and in the end turned into myths and heroes in the society (Hobsbawm, 1959: 13). In order to match the concept of a primitive rebel with a hero, imagological concepts of a hero must be taken into account. A hero is always closely aligned with myths, history, memory and oral tradition (Calzoni in Beller 2007: 332). They originate in oral culture and come from a nation's collective memory; they are famous for their strength and abilities. In the nineteenth century, these oral traditions were used to form a more modern stereotype of a hero, given broad attention to all the common people by spreading these images through popular literature. Consequently, the case study primitive rebels Jan de Lichte and Jánošík started to fit in a scheme of the archetypical bandit, who was struggling for his own people in an alien-occupied nation. The mass started to perceive them as good villains.

The second of the key concepts that are very useful in this study alongside imagology is 'written folklore' or *Schriftliche Folklore*. This is a term conceived by Aleida Assmann (1983), who in turn consulted other literary scholars. For example, Roman Jakobson (1896-1982) distinguishes between oral and written folklore. The first form is typical for oral cultures, the second in written cultures. Hans-Heino Ewers (2000) was the first to connect written folklore with children's literature and this is the reason why Sanne Parlevliet (2009) applied this written folklore in her dissertation on adaptations of adult stories to children's versions (Rijns 2010:

430-431). It is remarkable that Jánošík as well as Jan de Lichte appeared as heroes also in versions of novels adapted for children and youth literature (in more adventurous stories).

Written folklore is based on a synthesis of Jakobson's distinction between 'folklore' as a characteristic form of text transfer in oral cultures and 'literature' as a characteristic form of text transfer in written cultures. Written folklore is a written text that is handed down in a folkloric way. This concerns often storytelling materials that cross cultural boundaries, without knowing where or who the author of the primal material is. Written folklore consists of compilations of texts, or parts of texts, adapted to time and the public, giving them the character of user texts, functionally only for a certain audience in a certain period of time. (Assmann quoted in Parlevliet 2009: 36-37). Texts that deal with rural outlaws and that are picked up later by canonical authors, whether important or not, through folklore songs, legends, legends, folk tales to folk novels, canonical books, can according to our research also be placed in this paradigm of written folklore. Assmann distinguishes five characteristics of written folklore: openness of the work, its variable form, the status of the author (authority and authors will be discussed in chapter three and four), the way in which the work is transferred and its utility. Also with rural outlaws there are several creators of the work and the images that each in their own way edit the texts.

Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmermann (2003) argue in favour of focusing the research on *histoire croisée* on the interweaving and intersections in history and thus to let go of the (national) frames of reference and also the transfer as a primary research object. This has the advantage that intersections, in which there is no direct, concrete and explicit transfer can also be investigated. According to Werner and Zimmermann, the *histoire croisée* is dynamic, reciprocal and transformative, and justifies the fact that changes can also take place at a later point in time or indirectly. As far as Werner and Zimmermann are concerned, the interweaving not only appears between historical objects, but can also be a category of thought in itself, in which developments on the one hand may be the result of developments on the other (Bauck & Maier 2015). I consider the research of rural outlaws as a topic suitable within the entangled history framework, since all national movements are encountering this rural outlaw/common robber spectrum paradigm. The rural outlaw as an object of research is discussed and scrutinized at the background of the history of written folklore with both type heroes in the respective Flemish and Slovak national movements. As far as science is concerned, important intertwinements are distinguished in the concept, but mutual influences in Western and Central European perceptions of *rural outlaws* are to be discerned.

The theoretical framework that will be chosen for sketching the imagery of writers

coping with the rural outlaws has been taken from literary sociology, that is, one concerning authors and their autonomy, on the one hand, and their authority, on the other. The Dutch literary scholar Laurens Ham investigated the *posture* of several writers, a concept of the sociologist Jérôme Meizoz, a combination of hetero- and auto representation of a writer. His main starting point lies in an operational vision of authority. He observes that in modern literature writers are constantly moving between the axis of freedom, willing to act independently, and authority. Therefore he searches in his corpus for auto- and hetero representations by authors (Ham 2015: 12-15), that help him to criticize the common view that the process for writers to gain more autonomy is a linear process, in which the author gradually acquires more autonomy and authority. The possibilities of creating a hero figure from Jan De Lichte or another rural outlaw as a hero, such as Juraj Jánošík (discussed in the next chapter), can be exploited or not. This depends however on the historical framework in which the author exists and the authority he can claim. Some people, writers or critics will react to this claim. They create a counter-authority. By juxtaposing several authors dealing with the rural outlaw hero-image, a meandering concept of heroization can be investigated, thus dealing with the last of our hypotheses and summarizing the rural outlaw hero concept.

4. Structure of the thesis - contents

In the first chapter, an introduction to the general theory of Robin Hood figures will be presented. In addition, a status questionis will be presented in connection with the research into image formation around this historical and literary hero type. Jan de Lichte will be introduced as a historical figure and as a literary hero. Here, however, it is also necessary to briefly elaborate on some other robber heroes in the Flemish-Dutch literary tradition, in which Baekelandt and the Bokkenrijders are mentioned. Then an overview of Juraj Jánošík is elaborated, also placed in a broader context as a historical figure, his place within the Slovak national movement and as a literary hero. Jánošík is also considered in a broader context in the sense of geographical space, in which he is characterized as a Carpathian brigand.

The basic hypotheses of the thesis are based around the observation that Jan de Lichte has not become a rural outlaw known throughout Flanders in literary imagery, but has rather remained a regionally known phenomenon, while Jánošík is genuinely regarded as a Slovakian national figure (and in some cases a hero) in literary imagery.

In the second chapter, I will elaborate on the basic methodological concepts. The concept of written folklore is presented, the theory of imagology and stereotypes is discussed and applied to heroes, the concept of *histoire croisée* is explained and the typologies of Hobsbawm-Küther, Leerssen and Neubauer and Votruba are contrasted.

Then, in the two cases, I work out the typology in comparative aspect on a literary-sociological level. Attention is devoted to the written folklore of Jan de Lichte and Juraj Jánošík separately, with a focus on their position in a possible (un)successful hero pantheon regarding the common Belgian – Flemish and Slovak nation stereotypes.

In chapter three is dealt with the literary dynamics around the character of Jan de Lichte and the authors who wrote about him. Using the concepts of *posture* and authority, which are defined, there will be an outline of how the authors positioned themselves in the Flemish-Dutch literary landscape with the help of the character Jan de Lichte. In chapter four we do the same with the much longer tradition of Juraj Jánošík. I investigate how a selection of authors positioned themselves historically-contextually and biographically in relation to their character Jánošík.

5. Main research results

Following the typology that Leerssen and Neubauer (2010: 420) have categorised, I have described that rural outlaws inhabit four separate spheres, namely (1) historical documents (2) orality (3) literature and (4) the media. This order does occur for the most part chronologically in the present case study. In the example of Jan de Lichte it can be noticed that after his death folk legends appear, and market songs are transmitted orally, followed by the first story recorded by Ternest in 1872. But these spheres do not need to be separated so strictly. Many folk tales and their narratives were influenced by popular literature; they inspired each other, as historian Danny Lamacq pointed out. This phenomenon could be described as a form of *Schrifliche Folklore*, in which the combination of oral tradition and adventurous elements, where it is still difficult to trace the original narrative, turned out to be particularly popular. In the Jánošík tradition, collectors of narrative inspiration such as Kollár, Šafárik but also Botto, Král', Figuli (childhood memories) became acquainted with an original way of telling the Jánošík story. In the twentieth century the visualization of heroes became especially important, although it can be observed that in the case of Jánošík the theatrical versions and paintings already earlier ensured a wider dissemination of the heroic image.

It was further found that both Jánošík and Jan de Lichte in general cannot be labelled as positive or negative heroes, but are hybrid heroes in the sense that both are depicted with both positive and negative characteristics by their many authors. In this sense, the dichotomy of the Küther-Hobsbawm typology must be nuanced in that, depending on the author and the work, both Jan de Lichte and Jánošík are depicted as *Noble robbers* (Štúr, Botto, Král', Petrovský, Ferko, Figuli/Louis Paul Boon), or as *Ordinary robbers* or *common criminals* (Čengel-Solčánska/Ternest). Both heroes are an example of an ambiguous hero, as defined in the research of Benjamin van Tourhout. In his dissertation research van Tourhout (2017) defended the hero typology of the *Hybrid hero*, being neither a hero nor a villain, he or she is a species that consists of both classic archetypes and thus has heroic features. It is the sum of the *classic war hero*, the *flawed hero* and the *villain*. Jánošík and Jan de Lichte are *flawed heroes* in some, but certainly not all cases, because, just as Van Tourhout sketches in his research, they are capable of awakening empathy with their audiences in different ways. Authors achieve this in a variety of ways and especially in connection with their own representation (i.e. *posture*) for example with childhood stories or historicizing claims on real-life stories.

A third aspect was the hypothesis that either the spread of popular literature and later visualisation and other media would have made Jánošík's heroic image spread faster and led to a

more successful hero. In a certain sense this did happen if we look at the principles of **written folklore**, where through legends, folklore with songs and market songs the tradition around Jánošík and other robbers was very present. The same principles were also present in the gang of Jan de Lichte, together with stories about other robbers such as Bakelandt and the Bokkenrijders. But the research discovered that in addition to dissemination in written folklore, among other things, in order to be successful, this bottom-up dissemination needs to include a top-down literary dissemination and hence a certain form of authority in the literary-historical and sociological field. This aspect has been researched mainly through the help of the methodology of discourse and the theory of *posture*.

The aspect of authors, their *posture* as an image that they present of themselves and the role of the rural outlaws in the process was discussed in the second part of the dissertation. A number of different types of authors emerge strongly in the comparison between the two traditions around Jan de Lichte and Jánošík. In the first place, the writer-journalist and writer- (amateur) historian can be seen as a common *posture*. The writer either tries to describe the activities of the robber heroes in a compelling feuilleton style or in a style as historically correctly documented as possible (LP Boon, which parodies the genre, but certainly also Hans, Hrušovský, Ferko, Milota).

Another element used in the *posture* of many writers is youth sentiment and references to childhood memories associated with the robber heroes. Often, this takes place in a context of stories told by grandparents (LP Boon, Milota), or the author comes into contact with a tangible artifact linked to the robber (e.g. Figuli).

In both traditions there are adaptation forms from written folklore according to the model of Parlevliet (2009) to simplified literary narrative forms for children and youth. Here we find, for example, the authors Abraham Hans and Margita Figuli, Jiří Mahen and Mária Martáková-Rázusová.

Writers who create a strongly nationalist image of the rural outlaw, especially in the case of Jánošík, are Gustav Maršall-Petrovský, but certainly also Janko Král' (in view of the events of 1848 and his part in the revolution itself a rebellious poet, so that his posture is to a large extent mutually reinforced by his character Jánošík), Botto and the other writers following in the footsteps of Ľudovít Štúr.

The aspect of a national hero is actually virtually absent in the depiction of Jan de Lichte. Jan de Lichte could have worked as a national hero, a freedom fighter for social justice in nineteenth century Belgium and Flanders, but it seems clear from chapter three that in the nineteenth

century no author stood forward with the same authority as, for example, Hendrik Conscience, who would be able to claim this status for this robber hero. Instead, the image of Jan de Lichte could be picked up by Louis Paul Boon as a social justice warrior, so Jan de Lichte was depicted more on moral grounds.

Finally, it can be noted that the authors of this case study reacted to each other's work, just as the researchers and literary critics adjusted their *posture* in relation to their previous authors or asserted their authority in a positive or negative sense. In this way, a meandering concept can be discerned in both cases of the rebel hero tradition. The authors interact with the freedom that the character Jan de Lichte or Jánošík offers them and in all cases strengthens the author's image as a rebel or (anti-) authority.

Ann Rigney states that translations and adaptations can be seen as forms of productive remembrance, combinations of repetition and innovation. Texts that are passed down through the ages must be continuously re-inscribed to remain readable and relevant. (Rigney 2012: 220-221). This research shows that the depiction of the rural outlaw heroes certainly is a recurrent phenomenon appealing to a broader public and writers in a lot of different shapes and conditions.

6. Practical contribution of the dissertation topic

This dissertation attempts to bridge several concepts from cultural history, folklore studies, historiography and national imagery with literature studies. Therefore it endeavours to come into a better understanding of the concept of heroization by means of bottom-up as well as top-down nationalist thought movement through literary images.

Historian Luc Boeva pledges in *Rien de Plus international* (2009: 9, 38) for a fruitful interdisciplinary approach in researching national thinking and nationalism. He thinks frameworks and theoretical models need to be expanded and more importantly, to be applied to several national cases to see if they match their profiles. In order to achieve this goal, the Antwerp *Archief- en Documentatiecentrum voor het Vlaams-nationalisme* (Archive and Documentation Centre for Flemish Nationalism) has developed the **NISE-network**, National and Intermediary Structures in Europe, connecting research about nationalism and processes and institutions of national thinking all over Europe. This research hopes to be a part of this endeavour.

I would like to link these models and conceptualisations to show in the case of Juraj Jánošík a successful meandering concept of theorisation, through various narratives. In the first part of the thesis, this will be more on a cultural-historical basis. In the second part of the thesis, the meandering concept will be seen through the writers engaged with their heroes, using the hero-image for their own representations. Jan de Lichte also has known lots of similarities and according to remembrance, literary tradition and mythicization. He has appeared also several times as another (alternative) hero-image. Nowadays, however, one could hardly argue him to be a successful hero in the Flemish national movement and one may ask why this rural outlaw failed to serve as an all-national hero-type. His visual image however is still a regional phenomenon and in cultural Flemish memory Jan de Lichte still stays a popular hero-figure. Despite this fact, even in this case an unsuccessful meandering hero-concept has been discovered.

The refined concept of *posture* by Laurens Ham showed in the definition that literary characters depicted by the writers can contribute significantly to the image of a writer. This can also lead to another position of this writer in the literary conditions of his or her time. This research has shown that many authors associated themselves with the image of a rebel, enhancing this by depicting storylines of Jánošík or Jan de Lichte. On the negative side, the robber and criminal image of the rural outlaws was used frequently to warn the people, hereby as well creating moral authority.

The research has also shown that the phenomenon of the rebel figure and the rural outlaw can be studied in a broader context bridging Western European and Eastern Central European literary tradition. Although both areas due to historical conditions have developed quite differently, the rural outlaw is a phenomenon shared by many cultures all over Europe.

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10. Abstrakt (Slovensky)

Benjamin Bossaert – No nation without representation: heroes going places. A comparative research of flemish and slovak heroes in literature. Literary and historical representations of two national rebels: Jan De Lichte (Flanders) versus Juraj Jánošík (Slovakia)

Abstrakt:

Cieľom dizertačnej práce je komparatívna štúdia prieniku historických, literárnych a kultúrnych štúdií, kde sa skúma typológia takzvaného *rural outlaw*. Na jednej strane sa v prípadovej štúdii diskutuje o flámskom hrdinovi - lupič (zbojník) Jan de Lichte, na druhej strane o slovenskom hrdinovi a zbojník Juraj Jánošík.

Prvá časť práce predstavuje kultúrno-historický prehľad tradície okolo Jana de Lichteho a Juraja Jánošíka s využitím teoretických konceptov z imagológie, písaného folklóru, *histoire croisée*, prehľadu typológií hrdinov a stereotypov o národných hnutiach (Slovensko verzus Belgicko/Flámsko).

Druhá časť práce je zameraná na autorov, ktorí zobrazovali hrdinov. Na základe koncepcie *posture* Jérôme Meizosa, doplnené holandským výskumníkom Hamom (2015), sa skúma autorský vzťah ako autorita k postavám Jan de Lichte a Juraj Jánošík.

Výsledky výskumu ukazujú, že nie je možné presne rozlišovať medzi poetickým hrdinským obrazom obyčajného lupiča oproti takzvaného ušľachtileho zbojníka, ale ideálny hrdina zbojníka sa zobrazuje podľa kontextu, črtá sa dvojznačný obraz ako medzikategória. V historickom prehľade autorov sa javilo že autori navzájom reagujú na ich predstavy o hrdinovi v pozitívnom, negatívnom alebo ironizujúcom zmysle a načrtáva sa meandrujúci, meniaci sa koncept hrdinu.

Kľúčové slová: hrdinovia, rural outlaw, Juraj Jánošík, Jan de Lichte, autorita, posture

11. Abstract (Nederlands)

Benjamin Bossaert – No nation without representation: heroes going places. A comparative research of Flemish and Slovak heroes in literature. Literary and historical representations of two national rebels: Jan De Lichte (Flanders) versus Juraj Jánošík (Slovakia)

Abstract:

Het doel van deze scriptie is een vergelijkend onderzoek op het snijvlak van geschiedenis, letterkunde en cultuurkunde waar een typologie onderzocht wordt van de zogenaamde *rural outlaw* een primitieve rebellen figuur als held in de nationale beweging. Aan de ene kant wordt in de gevalstudie de Vlaamse roverheld Jan de Lichte besproken, aan de andere kant de Slowaakse roverheld Juraj Jánošík.

In het eerste deel van de scriptie wordt een cultuurhistorisch overzicht gemaakt van de traditie rond Jan de Lichte en Juraj Jánošík met behulp van theoretische begrippen uit de imagologie, *Schriftliche folklore*, *histoire croisée*, een overzicht van heldentypologieën en stereotypes over nationale bewegingen.

In het tweede deel van de scriptie wordt gefocust op de schrijvers die de helden verbeeldde. Met behulp van het begrip *posture* van Jérôme Meizoz, scherper gesteld door de Nederlandse onderzoeker Ham (2015) wordt de relatie van de auteur als autoriteit met betrekking tot de personages Jan de Lichte en Juraj Jánošík onderzocht.

De resultaten van het onderzoek tonen aan dat er geen strikt onderscheid kan gemaakt worden tussen een dichtomisch heldenbeeld van een rover-crimineel tegenover een zogenaamde nobele rover, maar een ideale roverheld ambigu is afhankelijk van de context. In het historisch overzicht van auteurs en hun *posture* blijkt dat de auteurs expliciet naar elkaars verbeeldingen van de roverhelden verwijzen en er een meanderend, veranderend heldenconcept geschetst wordt.

Sleutelwoorden: helden, rural outlaw, Jan de Lichte, Juraj Jánošík, autoriteit, posture

12. Abstract (English)

Benjamin Bossaert – No nation without representation: heroes going places. A comparative research of flemish and slovak heroes in literature. Literary and historical representations of two national rebels: Jan De Lichte (Flanders) versus Juraj Jánošík (Slovakia)

Abstract:

The aim of the thesis is a comparative study at the intersection of history, literature and cultural studies where a typology of the so-called rural outlaw a primitive rebel figure as a hero in the national movement is investigated. On the one hand the case study discusses the Flemish robber hero Jan de Lichte, on the other hand the Slovak robber hero Juraj Jánošík.

In the first part of the thesis a cultural-historical overview is made of the tradition around Jan de Lichte and Juraj Jánošík using theoretical concepts from imagology, written folklore, *histoire croisée*, an overview of hero typologies and stereotypes about national movements.

The second part of the thesis focuses on the writers who depicted the heroes. Using the concept of *posture* of Jérôme Meizoz, sharpened by the Dutch researcher Ham (2015), the author's relationship as an authority on the characters Jan de Lichte and Juraj Jánošík is investigated.

The results of the research show that no strict distinction can be made between a poetic heroic image of a robber criminal versus a so-called noble robber, but an ideal robber hero shares ambiguous traits according to the context. In the historical overview of authors and their posture, it appears that the authors explicitly refer to each other's imaginations of the robber-criminals and a meandering, changing hero concept is outlined.

Key words: heroes, rural outlaw, Juraj Jánošík, Jan de Lichte, authority, posture

13. Samenvatting (Nederlands)

Geschiedenis kan bekeken worden als een zaak van individuen die voor een zaak strijden groter dan hun eigen belangen. In een poging tot definitie van een nationale held wordt vaak gesteld dat hij of zij een zekere toewijding moet hebben tegenover een natie. Er is een bepaalde charismatische autoriteit nodig, die bovendien door een groep mensen moet worden aanvaard. Historische helden hebben een leven gehad, waard om het na te volgen of ook te beleven. Maar sommige helden kenden een mythologiseringsproces dat wijzigde in de loop der tijden, en enkele helden werden niet geaccepteerd in hun nationale beweging. Men zou in dit geval kunnen spreken van een *detrimental hero* of schadelijke, ongunstige held. De beeldvorming rond een (literaire of historische) held is bovendien een veranderlijk, meanderend concept. Het veranderende, meanderende concept schadelijke held kan op zijn werkbaarheid getoetst worden en is ook het uitgangspunt van dit promotieonderzoek.

Het idee van een veranderende heldenfiguur in de historische nationale beweging wordt de leidraad bij de twee figuren in de casus Jan de Lichte aan Vlaamse zijde en Juraj Jánošík aan Slowaakse zijde, die in principe historisch als misdadigers geboekt staan. De hoofdthese is: welke factoren kunnen er van belang zijn dat een held als Jánošík succesvol in een soort van Slowaaks pantheon van helden is geraakt en algemeen geaccepteerd wordt als een van de typische Slowaakse helden, terwijl de figuur van Jan de Lichte, die nochtans in vele grote lijnen historisch, mythologisch, narratologisch en zelfs visueel overeenkomt met de Slowaakse primitieve rebel, in grote mate een regionaal fenomeen bleef. Desalniettemin bleven er zeker in een latere periode in de twintigste eeuw in de casus van Jan de Lichte diverse voorbeelden van beeldvorming bestaan in de vorm van verschillende literaire adaptaties (toneelstukken, luisterspelen, strips), narratieven, lieux-de-mémoire en herdenkingen, of andere adaptatievormen.

Deze twee helden worden bekeken vanuit het referentiekader dat start met Hobsbawm, verfijnd wordt door Küther en in synthese wordt gebracht door Votruba, toetsen dit vervolgens aan de typologie van Leerssen en Neubauer. We gebruiken voor de literaire beeldvorming een paar belangrijke methodologische hulpmiddelen om beide typehelden te plaatsen: imagologie, het fenomeen schriftelijke folklore in de definitie van Aleida Assmann en deze methodologische tools worden samengebracht met behulp van *histoire croisée*. Verder kijken we ook naar de literair-historische context waarin de schriftelijke traditie rond de rural outlaws kon ontstaan en wie de auteurs waren die over deze helden schreven.

Als hoofdmoot van de scriptie wordt een corpus van auteurs beschouwd die zich beziggehouden hebben met de literaire beeldvorming rond de bende van Jan de Lichte (hier zijn beargumenteerd Ernest Ternest, Abraham Hans en Louis Paul Boon gekozen) en Juraj Jánošík (we opteren hier voor Ján Kollár, Ľudovít Štúr, Janko Kráľ, Ján Botto, Gustav Maršall-Petrovský en raken ook aan de twintigste-eeuwse beeldvorming met vele andere auteurs). Er wordt literair-sociologisch met behulp van een definitie van autoriteit naar de auteurs gekeken en hun relatie tot de helden en toetsen zowel aan de hand van auto- als heterorepresentaties van de auteurs wordt gekeken hoe succesvol deze heldenfiguren te plaatsen zijn in hun oeuvre. Hierbij bieden ook inzichten van o.a. Meizoz (Posturetheorie) en Laurens Ham over autonomie en autoriteit van de auteur methodologische steun.

14. Resumé (slovensky)

Dejiny sa dajú vnímať ako série udalostí vykonané individuami, ktorí bojujú za väčšie ciele ako ich vlastné záujmy. Na to aby sme sa pokúsili definovať obraz **národného hrdinu**, často sa uvažuje, či táto postava je dostatočne národne zanietená. Je tam potreba charismatickej osobnosti, ktorá musí byť akceptovaná spoločnosťou. Historickí hrdinovia viedli životy, ktoré je vhodné sledovať alebo ktoré chceme tiež zažiť. Zároveň u niektorých hrdinov zaznamenali procesy mytologizácie, ktoré sa menili v čase a ukázali sa už potom ako nevhodní hrdinovia. Takýto typ hrdinu môžeme nazvať škodlivý hrdina, *detrimental*. Často sa aj menil obraz hrdinu podľa literárnej alebo historickej doby. Tým sa tvorí kľukatý koncept hrdinstva. Tento *meandering hero* je východiskom tejto dizertačnej práce.

Myšlienka meniacej sa postavy hrdinu v národnom hnutí je hlavným princípom pre dve postavy v tejto dizertácii: Jan De Lichte na flámskej strane a Juraj Jánošík na slovenskej strane. Historicky popravení ako zločinci, literárne a kultúrne považovaní ako hrdinovia. Hlavnou tézou práce je: aké princípy môžu byť kľúčové, aby sa hrdina ako Jánošík úspešne dostal do nejakého slovenského panteónu hrdinov a je všeobecne uznávaný ako jeden z typických slovenských hrdinov, zatiaľ čo postava Jana De Lichteho, ktorá zostala zväčša regionálnym fenoménom napriek tomu, že sa našlo mnoho všeobecne historických, mytologických, naratologických a dokonca vizuálnych podôb slovenského primitívneho rebela. Napriek tomu, určite v neskoršom období dvadsiateho storočia, v prípade Jan de Lichte pretrvávali rôzne príklady zobrazovania vo forme rôznych literárnych úprav (divadelné hry, rozhlasové hry, komiksy), legendy, poviedky, lieux-de-mémoire a spomienky alebo iné formy adaptácie.

Na týchto dvoch hrdinov sa pozeráme z pohľadu imagológie o rebeloch. Je to rámec, ktorý začína s historikom Eric J. Hobsbawmom, ďalej definovaným Carstenom Kütherom a syntetizoval ho Adam Votruba. Pritom je aplikovaný podľa typológie Leerssena a Neubauera. Používam ho na literárne zobrazovanie niektorých dôležitých metodických nástrojov na umiestnenie oboch typov hrdinov: imagológie, fenoménu písaného folklóru v definícii Aleidy Assmannovej a tieto metodologické nástroje sa spájajú pomocou *histoire croisée*. Ďalej sa zaoberáme literárnohistorickým kontextom, v ktorom by mohla vzniknúť písomná tradícia okolo *Rural outlaws* (zbojníci) a kto boli autori, ktorí o týchto hrdinoch písali.

Za hlavnú časť dizertačnej práce sa považuje súbor autorov, ktorí sa podieľali na literárnom zobrazení družiny Jana De Lichteho (spisovatelia ako Ernest Terneet, Abraham Hans a Louis Paul Boon) a Juraaj Jánošíka (súčasťou korpusu je Ján Kollár, Ľudovít Štúr, Janko Kráľ, Ján Botto, Gustav Maršall-Petrovský a mnoho ďalších autorov dvadsiateho storočia). Na autorov sa pozeráme prostredníctvom definície autority a ich vzťahu k hrdinom a skúma sa, ako sa usilovali úspešne zakomponovať a umiestniť postavy týchto hrdinov do svojej tvorby, ako aj na to reagovali iní autori a literárna obec. Metodicky sa používa okrem iného aj teória Meizosa (*Posture Theory*) a Laurens Ham o autorovej autonómii a autorite.