



The anthropological construction of Czech identity: academic  
and popular discourses of identity in 20th century Bohemia

Michael Vimont

Coursework submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the  
Degree of Master of Philosophy in Social Anthropology [Thesis, copy for  
Oxford Research Archive]

1 May, 2015

Word Count: 28,970

I hereby certify that this is entirely my own work unless otherwise stated

## **ABSTRACT**

Through close textual analysis of 20<sup>th</sup> century Czech anthropological texts from the Revivalist and Socialist periods and contemporary social research conducted after the Velvet Revolution, I demonstrate certain prominent discourses of identity developed in early Bohemian anthropology and their continuities in present day popular discourses. In each period, identity is deeply intertwined with teleological theories of history with Czech populations at the apex of cultural evolutionary development. In the Revivalist period this apex was believed to be the democratic nation state, transitioning to a Marxist nation state in the Socialist period, and in the contemporary period is conceived of as a neoliberal nation state. A major function of anthropology in the Revivalist and Socialist periods was to legitimate either period's respective teleological theory and Czech possession of relevant values as 'objective' and 'natural' fact, a general mode of discourse which continued in the contemporary period in numerous editorials in the 1990s on the advantages of capitalism. The contemporary manifestation has particularly noteworthy consequences for the Roma minority, which I argue has provided Czech discourses with an ethnic category 'anti-thetical' to their own identity, providing a 'repository' for negative Czech self-stereotypes emerging from collaboration in the Socialist period.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

I would like to thank my Czech tutor Vanda Pickett and colleague Johana Musalkova for their invaluable assistance in learning the basics of the spoken language and providing feedback on the numerous translations from Czech that I have included in this thesis. In Prague, I would like to thank *Pravo* journalist Zuzana Musalkova whose assistance in navigating the city and finding accommodation were much appreciated and whose descriptions of contemporary Czech politics were indispensable in developing a working knowledge of the present day ethnographic context. Thanks as well to Jan Poluniuk of the Ethnographic Museum of Prague for providing access and assistance whilst working in the museum's archives. Finally, many thanks to supervisor Dr. Robert Parkin, whose own works on the history of anthropology were influential in crafting my own on the Czech context and my deepest gratitude for his extensive and meticulous proofreading of this thesis.

## **TABLE OF CONTENTS**

<b>CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION</b>	<b>1</b>
<i>i. Tradice v novém: Tradition in the new</i>	<b>1</b>
<i>ii. Czech society as a ‘bridge’: connecting past and present, East and West</i>	<b>3</b>
<i>iii. A brief history of the Czech lands in the 20<sup>th</sup> century</i>	<b>7</b>
<i>iv. A brief overview of Czech anthropology in the Revivalist and Socialist periods</i>	<b>9</b>
a. Revivalist <i>narodopis</i> ethnography: anthropology as a formalized taxonomy of the ‘folk’	9
b. Continuities in Socialist period <i>narodopis</i> and <i>etnografie</i>	12
<i>v. The continuity of analytico-referentiality and its role in anthropological construction of popular Czech identity</i>	<b>14</b>
<i>vi. The continuity of <i>kulturnost</i> in the late Revivalist, Socialist and contemporary periods</i>	<b>21</b>
<b>CHAPTER 2: THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL CONSTRUCTION OF THE NATION: LUBOR NIEDERLE, THE QUALITATIVE IMAGE OF CZECH-NESS AND THE QUANTITATIVE ‘PROOF’ OF <i>KULTURNOST</i></b>	<b>25</b>
<i>i. Lubor Niederle, the ‘father’ of Czechoslovak anthropology</i>	<b>25</b>
<i>ii. The primordality of the Czechoslovak nation: nationalist projections into the ancient past</i>	<b>27</b>
a. Niederle’s origin narrative of the Czech and the encompassment of Slovak identity	27
b. The use of archaeology, philology and history in constructing Czechoslovak primordality	31
<i>iii. The ‘wholesome light’ of statistics: statistical demography and the ‘truth’ of a modern Czechoslovak nation</i>	<b>34</b>
a. The ‘objectivity’ of statistics and ‘ideology’ of qualitative description: quantitative discourses in European nationalism	34
b. The view of statistics in <i>La Race Slave</i>	36
c. The mapping of the Czechoslovak nation: ethnographic cartography	40
<i>iv. Quantifying and qualifying <i>kulturnost</i>: literacy and folk culture in the development of Czech high culture</i>	<b>42</b>
a. The importance of <i>kulturnost</i> in the nationalist project	42
b. Quantifiable ‘proof’ of <i>kulturnost</i>	44
c. The importance of <i>narodopis</i> : qualifying Czech <i>kulturnost</i>	45
<b>CHAPTER 3: INNOVATIONS AND MANIPULATIONS: CZECH ANTHROPOLOGY OF THE SOCIALIST PERIOD</b>	<b>49</b>
<i>i. Overview of Socialist period Czech <i>etnografie</i></i>	<b>49</b>
<i>ii. Morgan, Engels and Marxist-Leninist material history</i>	<b>52</b>
<i>iii. Otakar Nahodil’s ‘Ethnographic parallels to Palaeolithic sculptures of women in a South Asian region’</i>	<b>55</b>
a. The invention of ‘Ja Pudeu’	55
b. Manipulation of symbols and the importance of ‘symbolic ideological’ modes of control	60

<b>iv. 'Folk Culture', 'working class families' and the urban ethnography of mining regions</b>	<b>63</b>
a. Theorizing 'folk culture' and urban ethnography	64
b. The scientific history of the 'working class family'	67
c. <i>Towards an Ethnographic Theory of Modern Times</i> in context: continuities of <i>kulturnost</i> and nationalism	71

## **CHAPTER 4: NEO-LIBERALISM AND POST-SOCIALIST NATIONALISM: THE CONTEMPORARY PERIOD** **76**

<i>i. Shift in textual sources and the contemporary role of Czech Roma</i>	<b>76</b>
<i>ii. Holy on the free market discourse: market economy as natural balance</i>	<b>80</b>
<i>iii. Czech Roma in the Socialist and Post Socialist periods</i>	<b>84</b>
<i>iv. Roma as Czech 'anti-thesis'</i>	<b>87</b>
a. Historical European concepts of the Roma and structuralist binary models	87
b. Comparing the 'otherness' of the Roma with the 'otherness' of Slovaks	89
c. Holy on the <i>malý český člověk</i> versus the <i>čecháček</i>	91
d. Comparison of negative Czech and Roma stereotypes	93
<i>v. Competing discourses of ethnic nationalism and democratic neoliberalism: the paradox of Czech 'freedom'</i>	<b>95</b>

## **CONCLUSION** **100**

## **ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY** **103**

<b><i>APPENDIX: SELECTED TRANSLATIONS AND OTHER SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIALS</i></b>	<b>107</b>
<i>i. Brief overview of translation methods</i>	<b>107</b>
<i>ii. Excerpts from Lubor Niederle</i>	<b>108</b>
a. Niederle [Manual of Slavic Antiquity Tome II: Civilization Paris, Librairie Ancienne Honore Champion, 1926] (From French)	108
b. Excerpt from <i>Zivot Starychslovanu</i> (From Czech)	109
c. Visitors' Guide, Ethnographic Museum of Prague, 1914: Introduction excerpts and Chapter on Rites and Customs (from French)	110
d. Louis Léger's Foreword, <i>La Race Slave</i> (1912)	114
<i>iii. Otakar Nahodil, Ethnographic parallels to Palaeolithic sculptures of women in a South Asian region</i>	<b>116</b>
<i>iv. Boolean demonstration: Categorical and Encompassing Opposition as equivalent representational forms</i>	<b>119</b>



## CHAPTER 1: Introduction

### *i. Tradice v novém: Tradition in the new*

The pilot announces, in a calm routine voice, that we will be touching down in Prague in approximately fifteen minutes. Sitting on the small, cheap, but comfortably uncrowded flight from a discount airliner, I take advantage of the unexpected peace to look over the numerous declensions I would need to employ in asking for a bus ticket at the transportation kiosk within the next half hour. The declension tables in my textbook, which just five months ago had seemed like an impossible assortment of arbitrary letter arrangements, have gradually become a merely daunting but approachable set of figures that have begun to have a vague sense of logical order in my mind. While I have no anticipation of being able to converse in a manner even close to fluency, I am determined to at least be able to communicate basic requests at restaurants and information kiosks without recourse to English. Suddenly, the plane jolts. Startled out of the daze of my mental exercises, I realize we have landed.

Looking out the window, expecting to see my first line of Czech text whilst physically in Bohemia, I am disappointed to see giant capital letters saying not *‘LETIŠTĚ VÁCLAVA HAVLA PRAHA’* but instead *‘VÁCLAV HAVEL AIRPORT PRAGUE’*. Continuing inside I follow the signs pointing to the baggage claim, a task made easy for my American eyes by the English text in large font, beneath which sits the Czech text written in smaller font and at the very bottom a version in Cyrillic for Russian visitors. Arriving in the large room, I am finally greeted by a Czech sentence free of any English translation, *‘Vítejte v Praze’* (‘Welcome to Prague’). Turning counter clockwise, I see a billboard with pure white china dishware laced with light blue etchings, contextualized by the words *‘Tradici v novém’* (‘Tradition in the new’).

Turning finally to face the baggage carousels (the baggage from previous flights is still rotating) I am struck by what, to my eyes, is the strangest choice of decoration for an airport baggage claim I have seen. Hanging as a mural on the wall overlooking the carousels is an unsettling and almost violent scene, all the more upsetting because there is nothing particularly gory about the imagery. It is a collection of pottery, handprints in clay, various tools, weapons and replication dwellings all echoing a sense of a primordial Slavic past. Placed across from the image of the modern airplane in the welcome sign and adjacent to an image of reproduction 19<sup>th</sup> century dishware, I find the odd assortment of three very different time periods disorienting.

Passing quickly through passport control, I find myself in the central atrium of the terminal, the kiosk for bus tickets in the exact location it appeared in the photos I had viewed the day before. Feeling triumphant that my expectation had matched the reality, I joined the back of the queue, only two persons long. Waiting nervously I repeat in my head exactly what I intend to say in Czech: that I wish to purchase the three hour bus pass, and could you please tell me from which gate the bus to Dejvická will leave? Shortly it is my turn, and jarred awake by the kiosk attendant calling me, I trip over my own bag and stumble awkwardly to the counter. Hoping to save face, I finally say aloud the line I had been rehearsing for hours.

Following a brief look of confusion, her face softens into a good natured laugh and she immediately switches to English. She tells me the bus had stopped running an hour ago and that I would have to take a taxi, directing me to her colleague in the next kiosk. Dejected, I console myself with the knowledge that if I can't be competent, at least I can be entertaining.

The airport being situated far outside the various central squares of Prague, the taxi driver and I pass through the outskirts of the city. I am struck by how familiar the post-socialist concrete structures are to my hometown of Akron, Ohio. The graffiti anarchy A's, hammers and sickles and various English obscenities are identical designs found on almost any structure in the economically post-industrial city that now lies half a world away. Suddenly we are on a long bridge and yet again I am jarred into awareness of where I am. Overlooking the picturesque and imposing view of Prague Castle, an intimidating Baroque structure placed high above its surroundings, I realize I am in a place at least one thousand years older than any I could have possibly known at home.

*ii. Czech society as a 'bridge': connecting past and present, East and West*

Six years following the Velvet Revolution that officially ended the Communist system in the country and three years following the Velvet Divorce that separated the Czech Republic from Slovakia, two events in sociocultural anthropology brought Czech society and anthropological traditions within the purview of the English-speaking world. First, several papers from the 1992 Congress of the European Association of Social Anthropologists held in Prague were published under the title *Grasping the changing world: anthropological concepts in the post-modern era* and edited by organizer Vaclav Hubinger. Of particular note, Hubinger provided succinct descriptions and a timeline of the various Czech ethnographic traditions, from Revivalist *narodopis* to Socialist *etnografie* to contemporary *etnologie*, all of which were and are 'closely related to folklore studies' and in this manner quite distinct from the Malinowskian traditions of Anglo-American ethnography (1996:18). Besides certain brief descriptions by American anthropologist Zdenek Salzman in the 1970s, this was the first major English language description of Czech anthropological methodology made available to a large-scale audience.

Second was the publication of anthropologist and Czech expatriate Ladislav Holy's ethnographic monograph on Czech society *The Little Czech and the Great Czech Nation*. It was and has remained the only extensive ethnographic work on Czech culture as conducted in the Anglo-American tradition. Within both works, the metaphor of Czech culture and anthropology as a bridge plays a powerful role. Characterizing the 'root metaphor of Czech culture [as] the "centre"', the image of the 'bridge' between East and West presents an understanding of Czech society as 'a structure that links both sides' (Holy 1996:182). Far from being a new understanding, Holy states that 'Czech national identity has been built on this metaphor since the 19<sup>th</sup> century' citing a historiographic work written in early 20<sup>th</sup> century that identified the 'historical task of the Czech nation' as providing 'a bridge between German and Slav, between East and West in Europe' (ibid).

Likewise the very title of Hubinger's paper echoed this image, only in temporal rather than spatial terms. Entitled 'The present: a bridge between past and future' Hubinger presented the 'role ethnography played in the process of creating a picture of the modern Czech nation's past, and how it participated in the realisation of its "future"' (1996:17). Whereas in Anglo-American ethnography, constructing self-knowledge of the anthropologist's home culture was done through implicit abstraction from the 'other' of the exotic context, this construction was an explicit goal of the Czech ethnographic 'science about the folk of one's nation', as has been typical of Central and Eastern European anthropology (ibid.:31). The inward focus of Czech anthropology, coupled with the enormous popularity of the discipline in the Revivalist and to a lesser extent Socialist periods, meant that the image of 'the core of the Czech nation' presented by such work 'set the image of Czech folk culture for the next hundred years' (ibid.:20).

It is because of the substantial impact that Czech anthropology has had on Czech identity that directly studying such works over the 20<sup>th</sup> century provides a unique and important contribution to Anglo-American anthropological literature. First, such works have constructed powerful and influential discourses of Czech identity, analysis of which has been limited to very few previous studies. Observing continuities between Revivalist and Socialist period ethnographic constructions and contemporary popular discourses of identity can provide substantial illumination to Holy's final monograph and Czech culture in general. Second, ever since the emergence of hermeneutic interpretivism in Anglo-American anthropology in the latter half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the heightened concern for reflexivity and the recognition of social research's capacity to not only describe but to create sociocultural and sociopolitical phenomena, has placed the disproportionate power of the anthropologist and the ethics of representation at the forefront of methodological concerns.<sup>1</sup>

The manner in which Czech anthropology not only described the cultural aspects of rural 'folk' populations, but successfully modelled 'authentic' Czech identity in its image, provides a unique research subject by which to explore the profound and problematic dynamics of this capacity. Finally, the intensive study of nationalism in the Czech context provides significant illumination both to the manner in which nationalism exists within the post-Communist European setting and to the foundational anthropological understandings of nationalism provided by Ernest Gellner's *Nations and Nationalism*, himself an expatriate whose theories were heavily influenced by his native Bohemia.

---

<sup>1</sup> Post-colonialism and anti-orientalism in particular; see Asad, T. *Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter* (1973) London: Ithaca Press.

In assuming my role as a 'bridge' between the worlds of Czech and Anglo-American anthropology and culture, it is only appropriate that I make explicit certain 'structural' weaknesses in serving this capacity. First, while I have studied the Czech language intensively over the past year and have developed a working capacity to translate Czech texts, I am far from fluent. As mentioned in the acknowledgements, I have received significant assistance and feedback from native Czech speakers in constructing translations as representational of the original as possible.<sup>2</sup> Additionally, due to constraints of time and often limited access to Czech language sources, I have frequently made use of French language sources written by Czech authors.

This is particularly the case in my analysis of the late Revivalist period and of certain texts in the Socialist period. While in the Socialist period the ability to analyse French sources provides certain advantages due to Communist censorship within the former Czechoslovakia, and while I do not believe differences in language constitute any significant confounding of the author's original intention, the fact that they are filtered with a view to a French audience should be kept in mind by the reader. Throughout this thesis, I will clearly indicate the language of the source from which I constructed my English translation. For these reasons, in addition to the fact that the methodology of this thesis is textual rather than ethnographic, the conclusions and arguments I present here should be taken as entirely *preliminary* in nature. It is my hope this work will assist future ethnographic work performed in the Czech Republic, and serve as a textual foundation for further inquiry, rather than being an authoritative representation in and of itself.

---

<sup>2</sup> Certain difficulties of translation remain regardless of skill level, namely due to the linearity of English and the non-linearity of Czech. I go into further detail in Appendix pp. 107.

*iii. A brief history of the Czech lands in the 20<sup>th</sup> century*

An image that is commonly printed in ‘tourist brochures’ issued to visitors is a map of Europe represented as a female figure with ‘Bohemia, the lands of the Crown of St Wenceslas, at its heart’ (Agnew and Vucinich 2004:3). In spite of the popular self-concept among Czechs that their ‘central position in Europe’ also entails ‘opposition to extremes in either direction’, these lands, which include Moravia to the east and Czech Silesia to the northeast, have seen radical political and economic shifts over the past century (ibid.). Coupled with Slovakia, the Czech lands successfully separated from the Austro-Hungarian Empire to create the first Czechoslovak Republic in 1918, the culmination of what is generally regarded as the Czech Revivalist Movement.

In large part it was only possible to achieve this by virtue of a strongly held notion of ‘Czech society’, as distinct from ‘German culture’, which as recently as the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century would have been thought of as unlikely, as nearly ‘every social level’ of urban society had until then been ‘assimilated to German culture’ (ibid.:156). Towards this end, the ‘expansion of education in the Bohemian crownlands since the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century’, or as Ernest Gellner somewhat more pejoratively characterized it ‘standardized and sustained propaganda’, ‘played a vital role’ in this severing of Czech from German culture (ibid.; Gellner 1983:97). As I will illustrate in the following section, Czech folkloric ethnography was also central in constructing this distinction.

However, the Czechoslovak Republic encountered numerous difficulties, with political parties that ‘had more experience with parliamentary obstruction than responsible government’ and general sentiments from Moravia and Slovakia that they had ‘exchanged Vienna-based for Prague-based centralism’ (Agnew and Vucinich 2004:175). With the state

fairly fragmented and the added pressures of the global economic depression, the centre in Prague had little capacity to contest its annexation by Nazi Germany, particularly after Slovakia had officially separated from the Czech lands as an independent protectorate under Hitler (Holy 1996:109).

Three years following the arrival of the allies in Prague in 1945, the dominance of the Communist party was solidified with the February Coup. All competing nationalist and socialist parties were liquidated and application of ‘Soviet models and practices’ could take place unimpeded, ‘frequently with direct Soviet advice’ (Agnew and Vucinich 2004:234). Following Stalin’s death in 1953 and gradual ‘de-Stalinisation’ under his successor, Nikita Khrushchev, the ‘Czechoslovak Reform Movement’ was eventually allowed to emerge in the 1960s, leading to the Prague Spring of 1968 (Agnew and Vucinich 2004:247). Based on the manifesto *Two Thousand Words*, the movement did not constitute an ‘embrace of free market capitalism’, but rather sought to illustrate ‘where socialism went wrong’ and to call for ‘democratization and reform’ largely rooted in nationalist identity.<sup>3</sup> The movement was quickly deemed ‘counter-revolutionary’ and Czechoslovakia was invaded by the Warsaw Pact armies, after which a draconian period of ‘normalisation’ was instituted for the remainder of Communist rule in the region (Skalnik 2005:73).

Following successful revolts in Poland and Hungary two decades later the ‘Velvet Revolution’ successfully ended Communism in Czechoslovakia in 1990, with the ‘Velvet Divorce’ creating separate Czech and Slovak republics from the former Czechoslovakia in 1993. Conceptualised as constituting a ‘return to Europe,’ the early 1990’s saw the rapid institution of a free market system and integration into global neoliberal capitalism (Holy

---

<sup>3</sup> [http://www.dhr.history.vt.edu/modules/eu/mod05\\_1968/evidence\\_detail\\_13.html](http://www.dhr.history.vt.edu/modules/eu/mod05_1968/evidence_detail_13.html)

1996:149). The Czech Republic officially became a member of the European Union in 2004, though full accession had been threatened by international concerns over the marginalisation and persecution of Roma populations (Fawn 2001:1193).

*iv. A brief overview of Czech anthropology in the Revivalist and Socialist periods*

a. Revivalist *narodopis* ethnography: anthropology as a formalized taxonomy of the ‘folk’

In his own ethnographic work, Thomas Eriksen cites the use of stereotyping and ‘folk taxonomies’ as a central means by which Mauritians in the Copperbelt organize their social worlds and place within it (Eriksen 2010:31). Of the major reasons for their usefulness, Eriksen describes the manner in which ‘they make it possible to divide the social world into *kinds* of people’ as well as being ‘crucial in defining the boundaries of one’s own group’ (ibid). In this way, ‘they give the individual the impression that he or she understands society’ (ibid). Additionally, they provide the means to both legitimize and reject the privileged status of a particular group, such that they can both ‘justify privileges and differences in access to a society’s resources’ as well as providing ‘the symbolic revenge of the downtrodden’ and ‘alleviating feelings of powerlessness and resignation’ (ibid).

At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Czech anthropological studies performed all three functions which ‘folk taxonomies’ played in Eriksen’s study of the Mauritian Copperbelt. Entailing a methodological understanding akin to the American ‘four field’ approach, Czech Revivalist anthropology employed ethnographic, archaeological, philological and to a substantially lesser extent biological methods to understand the ‘Slavic race’ as a general category of ethnic person with individual subcategories existing within it, the most

substantial being the ‘Czecho-slovak’ nation at the start of the century (Niederle 1914). The Czech term for ethnography, *narodopis*, can be considered an almost direct translation of the term as it exists in English, but the connotations of the term for ethnicity (*narod*) are substantially different from the contemporary Anglo-American understanding. While *dopis* simply translates as a ‘letter’ or a ‘writing’, *narod* has the explicit meaning of a ‘nation’ or ‘people’, two terms which are essentially synonymous in the Czech language.<sup>4</sup>

In his characterization of Czech ethnography’s history, Vaclav Hubinger designated the late 19<sup>th</sup> century as marking the beginning of *narodopis*, which to this day regards ‘Czech folk culture as its chief object of study’ (1996:19). Frequently referring to the discipline as ‘Czech *Volkskunde*’,<sup>5</sup> he notes the influence of 18th century German intellectual and poet Johann Gottfried Herder’s ‘conviction that it is language and tradition that create a nation’ in *narodopis*’ role as ‘one of the most important instruments of the evolving nationalism’ of the period (ibid.:18). Study being centred on rural populations of the Czech and Slovak regions by urban intellectuals, the project of *narodopis* was two-fold. First, it was intended to ‘save the Czech language’<sup>6</sup> through a synthesis of ‘very colloquial language forms’ (i.e. the language of the rural ‘folk’) and ‘a 200-year-old translation of the Bible’<sup>7</sup> (ibid.:20).

Second, and of greatest relevance to the early 20<sup>th</sup> century period where I will begin my direct textual analysis of Czech anthropological works in the next chapter, there was a strong focus on the study of ‘genuine folk culture’ as opposed to ‘urban culture’ (ibid). Designating the ‘rural inhabitants of the central areas’ of the Czech lands as ‘the core of the nation, its sound

---

<sup>4</sup> The same holds true for *lid* which in *narodopis* is often also translated as ‘folk’ particularly in the adjectival form *lidova*.

<sup>5</sup> German, meaning ‘study of the folk’ (Hubinger 1996:18).

<sup>6</sup> Hubinger notes that by the 19<sup>th</sup> century ‘the educated people in the Czech lands either spoke only German or were bilingual’ (1996:18).

<sup>7</sup> The ‘Bible Kralická’

and uncorrupted basis', these 'folk' provided the primarily urban 'consumers' of *narodopis* with 'throwbacks to the past' (ibid). The culmination of the discipline's nascent century was the Czechoslovak Ethnographic Exhibition of Prague of 1895, which eventually developed into the Ethnographic Museum of Prague, both of which 'set the image of Czech folk culture for the next hundred years' (ibid.:21). 'Folk culture' stood in contrast to the 'urban culture' of those attending, the latter seen as 'regrettably spoiled by the destructive effects of German...culture' with which it was equated (ibid.:21).

Returning to the description of Eriksen's 'folk taxonomy' with which I began this section, while Czech *narodopis* fulfils the same functions as such informal classificatory systems, it nevertheless possesses a dynamic and structure quite distinct from that in Mauritius. For the urban consumers of *narodopis*, taxonomies were indeed constructed by stereotyping an 'other' in the form of rural populations. Yet in this context, the 'other' has a Romantic (in the 19<sup>th</sup> century Germanic sense) rather than a pejorative sense as the *ideal* rather than *actually existing* state of Czech identity. Urban Czech populations of the Revivalist period saw themselves as having been 'contaminated' by the 'other-ness' of the Germans, and as such they themselves were the 'other'. In this light, stereotypes that serve Eriksen's formal model of 'I am X and not a Y' instead serve a more complex model in the Czech context as *There are X and there are Y. My temporary, contaminated identity is closer to X, but my ultimate 'true' identity is Y* (Eriksen 2010:30) Therefore, *narodopis* can be understood as the means to stereotype rural Czech culture as the 'ideal' form to which 'contaminated' urban populations must aspire. Full actualization of the individual's identity requires full encompassment of the individual identity within the great Czech nation.

Ladislav Holy maintained throughout his final monograph *The Little Czech and the Great Czech Nation* that this encompassment comprises the core of Czech identity. Holy conceives of this nationalist identity and nationalism in general as founded upon an understanding of individual personhood where ‘individuals exist only as part of a whole – a nation’ and by extension ‘their essence is the sharing with others of this transcendent whole’ (Holy 1996:61). This model will be particularly important in my interpretations of early 20<sup>th</sup> century Revivalist period works in the following chapter. Additionally, I will problematize the essentialist manner of Holy’s model in the contemporary Czech context in Chapter 4.

By the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, *narodopis* and other anthropological studies had fully adopted an identity as the ‘scientific analysis’ of ‘folk culture’, and had adopted a view of demographic and statistical approaches as providing a ‘wholesome light’ and a necessary means to ‘serve the truth’ (Hubinger 1996:19; Niederle 1911:11,12). Exemplary of this is the work of Lubor Niederle, the ‘first professor of anthropology, prehistory and ethnography at the University of Charles IV’ and organizer of the 1895 Ethnographic Exhibition (Neustupny 1947:334; Niederle 1911:2). In Chapter 2 I will examine several selections of his work, primarily *The Slavic Race (La Race Slave)* published three years prior to the First World War, as well as excerpts from the 1914 Visitors Guide to the Ethnographic Museum of Prague, published only a few months before the conflict.

#### b. Continuities in Socialist period *narodopis* and *etnografie*

In spite of the major political upheaval which occurred following the 1948 coup d’état by the Communist Party and the adoption of Soviet *etnografie*, authors characterizing Czech ethnography of the Socialist period note little alteration in the general form of such studies. Whilst ‘the nationalist element began to be suppressed’ and the ‘crucial emphasis began to be

placed on a class-based approach in the spirit of Marxist-Leninism', nevertheless conceiving of the 'folk' as 'representative of the working masses' rather than 'the past condition of a nation' constituted 'only a small step' (Hubinger 1996:25). Once again, the ideological function of the Czech ethnography of this period was to hold up a small division of society possessing the most 'authentic' identity to which the actually existing identity of the educated class consuming such research should aspire. The main alteration was a transition of ideals from the national 'purity' of rural Czech populations to the 'progressive traditions of the working class' (ibid.:26).

It has been argued that even this characterization of a de-nationalised ethnography exaggerates the difference between the early 20<sup>th</sup> century and Socialist periods. Petr Lozoviuk has described the ethnography of the period as a 'real-socialist ethnoscience' where the use of the term 'Marxism' was 'little more than a stock phrase' used only as an 'accommodation to the imperatives of the system' (Lozoviuk 2005:229). Translating a quotation from the retrospective work of prominent Czech ethnographer Jan Jech, Lozoviuk notes how 'the declared goal of anthropological research remained...the "inventorying of the national character"' (ibid). Whilst in my own research I have found the Marxist ideology of Socialist period ethnographers to be more or less genuine, I have also found additional supporting evidence of a continuing nationalist ideology in works published by Czech authors in the less restrictive atmosphere of French Socialist publications such as *Le Mouvement Social* (Horák 1962; Karnikova 1963). In Chapter 3 I will analyse such texts alongside certain central works of Otakar Nahodil, educated at Leningrad State University and an early proponent of Soviet *etnografie*, and Olga Skalnikova and Karel Fojtik, who spearheaded ethnography of the 'working class' (Skalnik 2005:70).

*v. The continuity of analytico-referentiality and its role in anthropological construction of popular Czech identity*

Timothy Reiss's *The discourse of modernity* has played a central role in my methodological approach, and as such it is necessary to clearly outline and explain the five theoretical components used in the development of my discursive analysis of Czech anthropological academia and politics over the last century: (1) Reiss's definition of discourse, its threefold criteria and the notion of dominant discourse; (2) the method of using exemplary works from a given period as a means of analysing its central discourses; (3) the notion of the analytico-referential discursive system as the dominant discourse in Euro-American society since approximately the 17<sup>th</sup> century; (4) Reiss's division of analytico-referential epistemology into what I term the *deductive* and *inductive* methods of justification, as well as the *reflexive* Galilean model and the *unreflexive* Cartesian model; and (5) mapping discursive transformations in time by the degree to which the discourses being analysed significantly differ from those preceding them. The nature of these five components and their relevance to my own inquiry requires extensive elaboration, which I endeavour to provide here in accordance with the preceding sequence.

In the first place, Reiss provides a general term for 'discourse' as 'a coherent set of linguistic facts organized by some enunciating entity' (Reiss 1982:27). In order for such a set of 'linguistic facts' to be a discourse properly called, Reiss proposes three additional criteria: (1) a discourse serves as the means of mediation between the enunciator and the world (i.e. 'they have some goal' for the speaker or writer); (2) the discourse seeks to organize the phenomena that serve as its subject, and in this way 'systematically form the objects of which they speak'; and (3) there exists some referent, that is, there is some 'reader' or 'audience' the

discourse is intended to reach (ibid.:29). In short, discourses are modes of communication that are purposive and aimed at creating a conceptual reality for the individuals who receive them.

Moreover, such discourses exist in a kind of hierarchy, where there are for a given period and cultural context certain overarching discourses. While this is by no means a claim that the only existing discourse for a given period is the dominant one – and Reiss himself admits that such a method is a largely ‘heuristic tactic’ which telescopes sizable spans of time into perhaps oversimplified singularities – the existence of a dominant discourse is evidenced by illustrating it as the ‘necessary form taken by thought, by knowledge, by cultural and social practices of all kinds’ (ibid.:22). That is, the dominant discourse is the form to which claims made in a given period must conform in order to be considered legitimate. It is through this method that I base the claims of my thesis on exemplary primary works of the Revivalist, Socialist<sup>8</sup> and Post-Socialist periods as guided largely by secondary analyses and histories written by Czech authors. The caveats both of these sources and my own interpretive limitations will be clearly identified later in this chapter.

While the dominant discourse within each of the three periods is to some extent significantly different from the other two, they can all be said to exist within the overarching discursive type Reiss describes as *analytico-referential*. While indeed it does take the entirety of Reiss’s text to fully elaborate the various components of this discursive type, it can be defined in terms of its opposition to the medieval discursive structure that preceded it. Whereas in the medieval and perhaps even classical periods, knowledge was taken as ‘a discursive *exchange*

---

<sup>8</sup> The more general use of the term ‘socialist’ rather than ‘Soviet Communist’ is due to Czech colleague’s emphasis on Czechoslovakia’s separate political existence from the Soviet Union.

*within* the world’ where truth was largely viewed as obtained through inward reflection and comparison with the reflections of others, analytico-referentiality is marked by ‘the expression of knowledge as a reasoning *practice upon* the world’ where truth is obtained through experimental and observational practices focused on explanations of external phenomena (ibid.:30).

Moreover, the ability to accurately interpret the results of observation and experimentation arise in both a priori and a posteriori modes. The a priori mode is characterized by appeal to the ‘true, objective and...permanent manifestation of universal common sense’ that can be termed ‘reason’ and exists as a ‘syntactic order’ which categorizes and derives conclusions from observations assumed to be identical with the nature of the external world in-itself (ibid: 37, 31). Due to its emphasis on a priori logical ordering, which is assumed to be universal, I find it conceptually useful to term this epistemological method *deductive analytico-referentialism*. The a posteriori mode is one in which the truth of a given proposition or method is the degree to which they entail ‘utility’ (ibid.:34).

Reiss does not explicitly define utility, but a telling allegory he cites is the manner in which the analytico-referential discourse emphasizes classification and enumeration as the means by which ‘the distance between the real and the fictional evaporates’ as in the fictional Picrochole’s enumeration of future conquests in Francois Rabelais’ *Gargantua and Pantagruel* (ibid.:35). Utility can therefore be understood as the degree to which the intentions of an individual are capable of being made manifest upon the world in-itself, and therefore it can be understood as a component of Reiss’s emphasis on the centrality of possession within analytico-referential discourse (ibid.). Due to the degree to which the observation of desirable external results following individual action serves as the central

measure of validity, I find it conceptually useful to term this epistemological method *experimental-inductive analytico-referentialism*. As this mode emphasises both understanding and manipulating the external world, it entails particularly problematic dynamics with regard to the study of socio-cultural phenomena.

A second axis upon which discursive classification within the analytico-referential system can be made is the opposition between Galileo's reflexive concern for the inherent manner in which the mode of discourse skews the representation of its object and Descartes' non-reflexive *cogito ergo sum* which assumes complete possession of the object of inquiry by the mind provided the appropriate rational method is used. To illustrate the difference, Reiss compares the use of the telescope metaphor – which he cites as the central literary metaphor encapsulating the analytico-referential discourse – between Galileo and Descartes (ibid.:28). Galileo recognized the manner in which analytical, scientific discourse (symbolized by the telescope) itself conditions the understanding of the object of discourse, and that therefore 'the star seen through the telescope is not the same object as the star seen with the naked eye' (ibid.:34). Moreover, even with the use of a different telescope or lens, use of a 'different instrument' will yield 'a different object' (ibid.). Galileo's method entailed at its centre the recognition of discourse as the mediating force between the object and the mind and therefore necessitated a constant revision of the discursive means by which knowledge is asserted in the attempt to represent the external world (ibid.:36).

In Descartes' work, this 'Galilean trinity' is reduced to a dichotomy (ibid.). Regard for the telescope disappears as the discourse itself entirely subsumes the object and represents it in its entirety (ibid.). In this way, the object that is in-itself in the world (such as a star) is entirely possessed by the discursive means of understanding it (the telescope), and in such a

way that analytico-referential discourse is taken to be 'objective': the Cartesian dichotomy admits of no separation between discourse and object and is therefore an absolutely true representation (ibid.). Provided the proper scientific method is used, any claim made about an object will be equivalent to the actual object itself, and will be readily discernible universally, as its truth contains no element of the enunciating subject.

Throughout the past century, popular Czech ideologies of identity presented within anthropology in the Revivalist and Socialist periods and within mass media in the early 1990s have largely appealed to this Cartesian variant in presenting politically charged and contestable claims to national identity as being governed by a clear and universal reason. The popular national personage of the *malý český člověk*<sup>9</sup> that Holy presents in his ethnography, who is 'not motivated by high ideals' and whose 'attitude is down to earth', is one blessed with the ostensibly objective clarity of vision afforded to one whose only concerns are the immediate ties of family and close friends (Holy 1996:62).

That the conclusions of a proper Czech person are those that would be evident to anyone whose reason was not clouded by ideology is a central source of legitimizing the dominant discourses of a given period while at the same time discrediting competing discourses. In such a way does early 20<sup>th</sup> century anthropologist Lubor Niederle discredit the notion that Czechs and Slovaks exist as two separate ethnic groups as a merely 'theoretical' notion that should be disregarded among other 'polemics inspired by reasons foreign to science' (Niederle 1911: 6, 123). Likewise, Socialist period Czech anthropologist Otakar Nahodil discredits elements of the early ethnographic works of missionary Pavel Šebesta<sup>10</sup> that do not

---

<sup>9</sup> Holy glosses this term as the 'little czech man', that is to say the 'little Czech' within the 'Great Czech Nation' (Holy 1996:62).

<sup>10</sup> German: Paul Schebesta

coincide with the Marxist theory of material history as being ‘no doubt founded upon the a priori religious framework of the so-called cultural strain of monotheism’ (Nahodil 1959:351). Similarly with the fall of Communism in 1989 and 1990, the popular Czech publication *Lidové Noviny* frequently presented the free market as the necessary and natural means of solving problems as wide ranging as ecological devastation (‘We know very well that the environment is most devastated in countries which lack a market economy’) to poor service at restaurants (‘Readiness to serve, a friendly attitude, and interest in the needs of the customer are basic conditions of survival in the competition of the market’) (Holy 1996:154-155).

What is important to note is that, whilst the authors presented in the three periods frame their views as self-evident and clear to those not motivated by ideology, the arguments themselves are in fact highly ideological, and it is clear that what is ‘self-evident’ appears to largely be a function of time and place. It is self-evident to Niederle that the Czechs and Slovaks have a shared ethnic origin and identity, obvious to Nahodil that human culture began with matriarchates in accordance with the Marxist-Leninist theory of history, and clear to the writers of *Lidové Noviny* in 1990 that the free market would be the solution to all the ailments affecting the new Czech Republic.

It is largely for this reason that Czech anthropologists most influenced by the British school, who represent the vast majority of English language literature on the subject, have characterized the history of Czech anthropology and other social sciences as being a tool of revisionism, at all times ‘a willing servant of ideology’ (Scheffel and Kandert 1994:16). This is contrasted with the ostensibly more objective Anglo-American approach, something

Vaclav Hubinger characterizes as regrettable, arguing Czech ethnography entails a ‘strong political charge’ which he considers a necessary element of folkloric methods (1996:22).

Yet such a characterization of Czech anthropology both overly particularizes the degree to which its methods entail ideological elements – thus overlooking numerous critiques by the Orientalist School of Talal Asad and Ursula Sharma that Malinowskian ethnography contains numerous biases which skew cultural representations in early Anglo-American anthropology<sup>11</sup> – and unnecessarily undercuts certain significant achievements of projects conducted through Charles University. While no less influenced than Nahodil by the Marxist-Leninist theory of material history, socialist-period ethnographies of mining areas illustrate the capacity of folkloric methods to map cultural change over time, something which the largely ahistorical methods of Malinowski’s approach are unable to address.

As regrettable as is the extent to which Czech anthropology has in the past entailed the discourse-as-object conflation of analytico-referentialism, nevertheless it is erroneous to think the answer lies in a complete exclusion of its methods from future work. That any representation of culture will have traces of the researcher’s own biases and ideologies is a largely unavoidable characteristic of social research which it is unlikely that any innovation in theory can absolve. The only recourse the researcher has is to recognize, as did Galileo, that the image in the telescope is a representation and not the object in-itself.

---

<sup>11</sup> See footnote 1, pp. 5.

vi. *The continuity of kulturnost in the late Revivalist, Socialist and contemporary periods*

Despite the variety of ideologies presented across the 20<sup>th</sup> century, each of the selections I analyse in the coming chapters maintain a central need to defend a teleological view of human history, affixing Czech-speaking populations either explicitly or implicitly at the forefront of cultural evolution. The latter characteristic is what is meant by the term *kulturnost*, a nominalized form of the adjective *kulturni* meaning ‘cultured,’ and which I gloss as ‘cultured-ness’ (Holy 1996:85). All of the selections cited in this thesis present various abstract teleological-evolutionary philosophies as self-evident and concrete scientific or natural facts, which thereafter entails recognizing the ‘exceptional *kulturnost*’ of Czech persons, be their identity that of a nation or subsumed within a more universal ideological project (ibid.).

Derived from his native Bohemia, Ernest Gellner’s ‘classical Habsburg’ model of nationalism demonstrates the importance of constructing a Czech ‘high culture’ through appeal to *kulturnost* in the Revivalist movement. Whereas prior to the Revivalist movement, Germanic populations had ‘privileged access to the central high culture, which indeed [was] their own,’ Czech populations had only their ‘folk cultures’ (Gellner 1983:97). However, emerging from a group of Czech ‘intellectual awakeners’ it is possible that ‘with a good deal of effort and standardized and sustained propaganda’ these folk cultures can be transformed into ‘a rival new high culture’ based in ‘the memory, real or invented, of a historical political unit once build [sic] around that same culture or one of its variants’ (ibid).

This model and its emphasis on memory also speaks to the role of the ‘imagined political community’ theory of nationalism of Benedict Anderson, whose concepts Eriksen attempted

to synthesize with Gellner's (Eriksen 2010:120). However, Holy considers the emergence of nationalism as not merely economic in nature, as characterized by the more or less commensurate emphases on 'print capitalism' of Anderson and the 'more complex division of labour' of industrial society as theorized by Gellner (Holy 1996:114; Gellner 1983:26). For Holy, a 'nation is imagined as a transcendental whole endowed with agency and with its own history, and it is belief in the existence of the nation's traditions that make such imagination possible' (Holy 1996:114).

In short, it is not merely the case that individuals in a society consider themselves as existing within a large imagined network termed 'the nation', thereafter supposing themselves to have certain shared traits termed 'traditions'. The nation is itself understood as a primordial and all-encompassing social actor that predicates the identity and behaviour of each individual within it, its traditions emerging from the nation itself and not any individual. The centrality and power of complex ideological symbolism in such 'political strategies' of the Revivalist movement is therefore more in keeping with the ethnicity theory of Bernard Cohn as presented by Eriksen, emphasizing the importance of 'primordial symbols' in constructing and legitimating contemporary ethnic and nationalist identities (Eriksen 2010:64).

Towards the goal of legitimating this rival high culture in opposition to that of the Habsburg Empire, the subjects of ethnography, linguistics, archaeology and anthropometry (i.e. what in both the Czech Republic and the United States constitutes the four fields of anthropology) played a central role in reifying Czech (and Slovak) national identity as primordial and absolute. In the use of this approach to construct domestic and international notions of Czech identity, no figure was more central than Lubor Niederle, whose influence extended as far as the United States. Niederle's central aim was to present the necessity of obtaining 'national

autonomy' for Czech and Slovak speaking populations as 'scientific fact', entailing the inevitable 'political renaissance of the individual' (Niederle 1911:4, from French).

Additionally, his work further bolstered political rhetoric regarding legitimate geopolitical boundaries and advocated combining Czech and Slovak speaking populations into a single nation state, claiming that the Sudetenland just north of Bohemia constituted 'the cradle of the Czechs and Slovaks' (Niederle 1911:100). I will examine Niederle's work in greater depth in Chapter 1.

In the Socialist period, though the ideological content changed, the teleological form and implicit or explicit cultured-ness of Czechs remained central to the Czech anthropological tradition Niederle founded. Mainstream Czech ethnography, which had transitioned in name from *narodopis* to *etnografie* but entailed only modest differences in its generally folklore-centred approach, moved from a nationalist-democratic teleology to a Marxist teleology. This teleology, developed by Friedrich Engels in *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, combines Marx's stages of economic evolution with Lewis H. Morgan's foundational kinship studies and stages of cultural evolution to create an ostensibly 'scientific history' where 'termination of a career where property is the end and aim' is the ultimate human destiny (Engels 2001:219).

For academics such as Otakar Nahodil, who appears to have maintained a staunch Soviet ideology, Czech *kulturnost* is implicit in the ostensible shedding of its bourgeois nationalist past and upholding of the universal communism of the Soviet project. While no author could publish a direct refutation of this aspect of Soviet ideology within the former Czechoslovakia without substantial repercussions, work by Czech and Slovak academics in less constrained French Socialist journals used nationalist rhetoric that was nearly identical to Niederle's, save

for its focus on Marxism. This is particularly true with regard to the extensive ethnographic and historical corpus studying the development and then contemporary urban existence of Czech and Slovak miners, led by Olga Skalnikova and Karel Fojtik. The works of these three authors and those of their closest colleagues and students will be analysed in Chapter 3.

Due to the dramatic diversification of anthropological approaches in the contemporary Czech Republic and the diminished role of *etnologie* in influencing Czech identity compared to its predecessors *etnografie* and *narodopis*, in the final chapter I will focus on continuities from Revivalist and Socialist period anthropology in the prominent discourse of contemporary neoliberal capitalism examined extensively by Holy. Once again, while the ideology expressed is substantially different in content, it follows the familiar pattern, only here based primarily on naturalist rather than scientific arguments. Arguing that such an economic system ‘is characteristic of the civilised world,’ it presents neoliberal capitalism as ideal because ostensibly ‘nobody constructed the market economy – it developed naturally’ (Holy 1996:151, 153). Additionally, I will argue that this particular neoliberal discourse sheds light on the dynamic between Czech self-concepts and Czech concepts of Roma, a dialectic brought to light by the various ‘folk taxonomies’ presented in the social research literature.

## **Chapter 2: The anthropological construction of the nation: Lubor Niederle, the qualitative image of Czech-ness and the quantitative ‘proof’ of *kulturnost***

### *i. Lubor Niederle, the ‘father’ of Czechoslovak anthropology*

The central figure of early 20<sup>th</sup> century Czech anthropology, Lubor Niederle has been described by Skalnik as ‘the most central mediator’ in combining ‘historiography’ with ‘cultural historical ingredients’ and a ‘default positivism’ in order to establish the field as a respected and politically influential discipline (Skalnik 2005:55). His early academic background consisting primarily of ‘prehistory and anatomy,’ Niederle was introduced to ‘sociology and ethnology’ by Charles University professor and ‘future first president of Czechoslovakia’ Tomáš Masaryk (Budil 2004:95, 96). A major advocate of the study of anthropology ‘as its own independent discipline,’ the field gained ‘official recognition in Bohemia in 1891’ primarily ‘through his efforts’ (Budil 2004:96). Niederle was a major factor in the popularization of anthropology and its importance in understandings of Czech identity both within Bohemia and abroad, organizing the enormously successful 1895 Ethnographic Exhibition of Prague and publishing popular works which ‘may have been the main source of information about the Slavs used by Woodrow Wilson during the First World War’ (Niederle 1911:2; Budil 2004:96).

Under the supervision of Niederle, the anthropological subfield of *narodopis* played an enormous role in the concurrent ‘development of Czech society and ethnography’ and ‘set the image of Czech folk culture for the next hundred years’ (Hubinger 1996:20). As noted in the introduction, the socio-political role of Czech anthropology was to present rural Bohemian and Moravian populations as the ideal primordial ‘folk’. As I will argue in this chapter, Niederle’s work attempted to establish an ‘objectivity’ not only to claims of the primordial

existence of Czechs in Bohemia and Moravia, but also to the claim of a shared Czech and Slovak *narod* through archaeological, philological and historical methods.

Of particular note was Niederle's use of statistics in defining the applicability of Czech, Slovak and (through subsuming the latter into the former) Czechoslovak identity across the territories of Bohemia, Moravia, Slovakia and the Sudetenland. This was justified through both the *demographic* and *cultural* superiority that Niederle largely equated with legitimate power. Demographic superiority is determined mainly through use of 'linguistic cartography' very similar to that studied by Jacqueline Ursa in her research into the use of demographics by Basque nationalists in constructing the decline of the Basque language (Ursa 1993). For Niederle, this linguistic cartography becomes equivalent with an *ethnographic cartography*, defining the geopolitical boundaries of nations in accordance with the most represented language in an area.

Overall, the use of statistical figures serves the discursive function of placing Niederle's arguments within the analytico-referential paradigm of Bourdieu and de Certeau's 'science without a scientist,' as was the case in Basque nationalism, allowing politically charged ideological claims to be presented as objective and rational truth (Ursa 1993:819). This was particularly important in the construction of Czech *kulturnost*, because while the work *narodopists* and historiographers could establish the *qualities* of Czech culture, establishing this culture as a 'high culture' in rivalry with German 'high culture' required the 'proof' of quantitative statistics, namely in the form of comparative demographics concerning literacy. The goal of this chapter is to present the manner in which images of Czech identity and culture were constructed as objective facts in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century through Niederle's use of

analytico-referential positivist discourses and the importance of these discourses in the construction of a Czechoslovak nation and state.

*ii. The primordality of the Czechoslovak nation: nationalist projections into the ancient past*

a. Niederle's origin narrative of the Czech and the encompassment of Slovak identity

In the tenth and eleventh centuries, existing on the edge of forests bordering Germany, we see a series of tribes appear: to the North belonging to the sources of the Oharka and extending East are the Sedlicany, Lucany, Lemuze, Deczany, Litomerice, Psovany, Charvaty (possibly Czech) and at the centre the Czech. Thereafter were the Cliczany and to the south in the region of Budiejovice (Budweiss) were the Dudlebes. Among all these tribes, the Czech were the most numerous and strongest. Due to their central position they dominated the other tribes from early on and founded a unique people. Since the ninth century their name has been employed to designate the whole of these tribes. (Niederle 1911:102-103, translation from French mine)

This origin story provided by Niederle has powerful implications for the manner in which the post-war Czechoslovak national identity was to be formed in the following decade. Here identity is defined as a matter of *conquest*, the identity of the most *numerous* and *powerful* group defining the identity of all the other groups living in proximity to it. The part which characterizes the greatest proportion of the whole, in demographic numbers and political power, is that which defines the whole.

This model of encompassing hierarchy, where the categorization of a universe of discourse is defined in relation to its most significant part, has been demonstrated by Timothy Reiss as the dominant aspect of medieval European discursive structures, particularly among scholastic scholars (Reiss 1982:88). Additionally, structuralist anthropologist Louis Dumont provided a useful description of its European history in his attempts to apply the model to the Indian system of caste (Dumont 1972). This application has been subject to robust criticism<sup>12</sup> due both to its teleological and universalist nature, privileging Brahmanical notions of caste and arguing that hierarchical encompassment is a characteristic of all ‘pre-modern’ societies. Nevertheless, it has historical prominence within Europe and has clear manifestations in both Niederle’s constructions and Holy’s characterizations of Czech identity.

The earliest known manifestations of this hierarchical model come primarily from medieval Scholastic scholarship. While Dumont traces the beginning of this discourse to philosopher and theologian St Thomas Aquinas in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, and indeed this constitutes its most clearly codified form, Reiss demonstrates its appearance as far back as St Augustine’s *De Trinitate* in the 5<sup>th</sup> century (Parkin 2009:45; Reiss 1982:88). Cited as being the very birth of scholasticism, within his treatise on the Trinity, Augustine describes how the ultimate attainment of self-actualisation entails recognition that one’s entire identity is encompassed by the part that pertains most to God: ‘the search for truth, the search for a complete knowledge of the “self,” leads to a final absorption into the Divine’ (Reiss 1982:89). In essence, it is in upholding to the utmost degree the divine aspect, the image of God, that is to

---

<sup>12</sup> Dirks, N.B. (1987) *The Hollow Crown: an ethnohistory of an Indian Kingdom*, Cambridge University Press; Sharma, U. (1999) *Caste*, Open University Press; Bétéille, André (2012) *Caste, class and power: changing patterns of stratification in a Tanjore village*.

say, *the most significant* aspect of one's soul, that the individual fully actualizes his or her identity.

Thirteenth century scholar Thomas Aquinas, equipped with the extensive methods of logical categorization provided by the re-emergence of Aristotle in theological philosophy in the works of Jewish and Islamic scholars,<sup>13</sup> created a comprehensive theoretical system of hierarchy with which to organize the entirety of Christian scripture, the cosmos and subjects of academic study. Central to this system is the notion of *unity*. As he writes, 'There is nothing to prevent a thing which in one way is divided from being another way undivided; as what is divided in number may be undivided in species' (Aquinas 2007:46). Such a unity would be 'undivided actually, and divided potentially, as what is one in the whole and is many in parts; in such a case a thing will be one *absolutely* and many *accidentally*' (ibid.). In such a way is God 'supremely one' in the universe, as He is the simplest (i.e. only absolutely undivided) entity in the universe (Aquinas 2007: 48). Therefore 'it is manifest that God is *one* in the supreme degree' and all things are valued in the degree to which they recognize and manifest their own identity as encompassed within the identity of God (ibid.).

There is a distinct continuity between this medieval scholastic discourse and Marilyn Strathern's methodological approach to the study of late 20<sup>th</sup> century European kinship, which Holy himself uses as the basis for his model of Czech nationalism. In drawing up a definition of society, Strathern sees it as a 'plurality of particulars' which has meaning only when conceptualized as 'a collectivity that transcends its parts' (Strathern 1992:26). Just as individuals within the medieval scholastic discourse could only be defined in relation to the

---

<sup>13</sup> Namely Moses Maimonides and Avicenna. See: Diamond, J.A. (2014) *Maimonides and the shaping of the Jewish canon*, Cambridge University Press; Dimitri G. (2013) *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, Brill: Leiden.

whole of the Supremely One God, ‘individuals can only be defined in references to the whole’ of society (ibid.:27). Additionally, referencing the use of statistics in then contemporary studies of kinship, Strathern states that ‘investment in specifying quantities’ provides a ‘measurable...*degree of applicability*’ where the extent of possession of certain qualities can be determined across a population (ibid.).

Transposing Strathern’s method of reckoning kinship onto an understanding of Niederle’s nationalist ethnographic work is applicable primarily due to Holy’s citation of Strathern in his model of Czech nationalism: ‘if individuals exist only as part of a whole – the nation – their essence is the sharing with others of this transcendent whole. In essence, individuals are replicas of one another. This...is the way in which the relationship is construed in the ideology of nationalism’ (Holy 1996:61). As seen in the above selection from Niederle’s writing, this model is certainly pertinent in the subsuming of lesser tribes into the ‘nation’ of the Czech whole. The political project of the nation state, in providing individuals with the reference to their proper national whole, was thereby seen as ‘the renaissance of political individuality’ (Niederle 1911:4). The nation state was to provide the means by which the collectivity of the nation can be ‘the master of its own *destiny*’ and therefore make the individuals within it ‘free’ (Holy 1996:61, emphasis mine). In this manner, whereas the individual was fully actualised through being one with God in the scholastic discourse, a similar fulfilment is found in making the destiny of the nation one with the destiny of the individual.

Such a model lends itself to what in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century was viewed as a necessary partnership between Czech and Slovak ethnic groups towards this ‘destiny’. With a significant ‘German minority’ in the Czech lands and Slovaks being primarily ‘an ethnic

minority in Hungary' it was only through combining that either group could be 'numerically strong enough' to separate from the Austro-Hungarian empire (Holy 1996:6). However, as can be derived from Niederle's origin narrative, this entailed an implicit disadvantage to the Slovaks, who, upon the creation of the first Czechoslovak Republic following the First World War, felt that 'their former subordination to Budapest' had simply been replaced 'with subordination to Prague' (ibid.). These feelings of Slovak subordination led first to 'declaration of an independent Slovak state under Nazi tutelage in 1939' and much later to 'the eventual separation of Czechoslovakia into independent Czech and Slovak states in 1993' (ibid).

#### b. The use of archaeology, philology and history in constructing Czechoslovak primordiality

Given the essentialist conception of national identity Niederle assisted in constructing, it was necessary for him to demonstrate that the existence of Czech and Slovak identity extends into primordial times. As Hubinger noted, primordiality was a necessary claim to legitimacy as 'the past existence of an entity confers the right...to bring it to life, or rather revive it, while the making of something new...may of course raise doubts' (1996:19). This goal was problematic for two reasons. First, as he himself states there is no historical evidence of the Czechs as a culturally distinct ethnic group until the 9<sup>th</sup> century, the Slovaks coming even later (Niederle 1911:103). Such authors as Hubinger even go so far as to assert it was only in the modern period that Czech identity emerged as a politically distinct identity (1996:22).

Addressing the first problem required Niederle and his contemporaries to make use of a methodology outside of history; this was supplied largely by the use of archaeology. Citing

the existence of certain cremation chambers exhibiting Lusatian culture,<sup>14</sup> Niederle claims that these structures represent ‘a Slavic and particularly Czech character’ (Niederle 1911:99). From this evidence, and without demonstrating exactly what components of such sites distinguish ‘Czech’ Lusatian culture from Lusatian culture in general, Niederle concludes: ‘we can to a certain degree regard [the Czechs] as the autochthones of Bohemia and Moravia’ (Niederle 1911:100). Additionally, he states that the Sudetenland just north of Bohemia constitutes ‘the cradle of the Czechs and Slovaks,’ a claim with obvious political implications that would prove particularly significant in challenging German claims to the region immediately preceding World War II (ibid.).

In validating the existence of a primordial Czecho-Slovak people through use of a material record, Niederle was able to detach the evidence of his claim from the realm of history, a domain which entailed no support for it, instead placing its legitimacy on the ostensibly greater truth entailed in a physical object of study. In such a way, the absence of Czech and Slovak identity prior to the 9<sup>th</sup> century was not a matter of it not existing, it was simply that they had not yet been ‘attested historically’ (Niederle 1911:103). Moreover, the broad ability to make claims from the archaeology of this period, due to the lack of a developed epistemological theory, meant that it was a common tool of nationalist political movements in attempting to establish primordality in certain contested areas.<sup>15</sup>

Yet while this expansive capacity to appeal to archaeological evidence in making political claims was in many way indispensable to Niederle, it entailed no inherently greater validity

---

<sup>14</sup> An archaeological classification of material culture found throughout Central Europe, including contemporary Czech lands, Slovakia and Poland. Notably, name derives from the Eastern Lusatia region of Germany. See Coles, J.F and Harding, A.F. (1979) *The Bronze Age in Europe*, Routledge.

<sup>15</sup> See Trigger, Bruce (2005) ‘Culture historical archaeology’ (Ch. 6) in *A History of Archaeological Thought*. Of particular relevance, German archaeologist Gustaf Kossinna.

than competing interpretations of archaeological evidence supporting contradictory political ideologies. Particularly dangerous to Niederle's political goals was the claim that Czechs are an Occidental Slavic group, while the Slovaks are a Meridional Slavic group and therefore closer to Serbians and Croats than Czechs (Niederle 1911:100). In response, Niederle rejects this argument as a failure to take into account historical and philological bodies of evidence, an argument that, while certainly supportive of Niederle's thesis of close Czech and Slovak relatedness, generally discount his central thesis of the primordality of either group (ibid).

Within *La Race Slave*, Niederle's primary method is to interpret and construct archaeological, demographic and ethnographic evidence to substantiate the reality of his primordial narrative, entailing the ethos that the ideal *destiny* of the Czech and Slovak peoples is one of a unified nation state where the identity of the latter is subsumed into the former. A mere three years later the encompassment would be complete, at least in a discursive sense, the 'Czecho-Slovaks' being described as a single people in the 1914 Visitor's Guide to the Czechoslovak Ethnographic Museum.<sup>16</sup> Given the axiomatic system of hierarchical values expressed in the origin story, that *numbers* and *power* legitimate the organization and encompassment of identity within an area, the scientific tools of statistical ethnographic mapping and archaeology provided the appearance of objectivity to Niederle's highly political conclusions.

---

<sup>16</sup> *Národopisná Výstava Českoslavanská*

iii. *The ‘wholesome light’ of statistics: statistical demography and the ‘truth’ of a modern Czechoslovak nation*

a. The ‘objectivity’ of statistics and ‘ideology’ of qualitative description: quantitative discourses in European nationalism

In approaching the use of statistics in establishing Czechoslovak nationhood, the works of historian of science Ian Hacking on the development of statistics in political and scientific discourses and of ethnographer Jacqueline Urla on nationalism in the Basque region provide a useful framework for analysis. In *The Emergence of Probability*, Hacking demonstrates how the 17<sup>th</sup> century saw the beginning of a kind of ‘political arithmetic’ in the incorporation of probability and statistics into political discourses (Hacking 1975:102). In that earliest period, the use of statistics did not have the connotation of objectivity often ascribed to it today. Emerging from the Latin term *probabilis* meaning ‘worthy of approbation’ the 17<sup>th</sup> century notion of probability and the statistics associated with it simply meant ‘the approvability of an opinion’ (ibid.: 18, 23).

In this form, the use of statistics in a discourse generally served two functions. The first was to establish the most basic quantitative foundations of an argument, for example, John Graunt’s use of demographics to support his recommendation that a guaranteed salary be instituted in Britain in 1662 (ibid.:104). The second use was a broad rhetorical tool, employed without any rigorous demographic study, such as theologian Antoine Arnauld’s assertion that only ‘one in two million’ people are killed by lightning (ibid.).

Within the theoretical framework used by Urla in approaching and understanding statistical research and discourses employed by Basque nationalists, she provided a concise synthesis of social theory on both nationalism and statistics. In what she terms the ‘age of statistics’ beginning in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and continuing to the present day, she illustrates a substantial shift in popular conceptions of demographic statistics from the earliest period described by Hacking. Entailing ‘a uniquely privileged way of “knowing”’ that ‘equates knowledge with measurement’ and is used as ‘technologies of truth production’, statistics are no longer linked to the mere opinions of authoritative individuals and groups, but are ostensibly objective representations of society viewed in the characterizations of Bourdieu and de Certeau as a ‘science without a scientist’ (Urla 1993:819).

In such a discursive sphere, kinds of evidence are divided into two domains. First is the quantitative approach, which deems the social world to be ‘neatly divisible into material reality’ as discerned by numbers which are ‘somehow purer and less susceptible to subjective influences’ (ibid.:820). Second is the qualitative approach that is deemed as existing within ‘the domain of symbolic meaning or “ideology”’ (ibid.). Urla argues this effectively entails a dichotomous model that equivocates quantitative figures with the ‘real’ and qualitative descriptions as essentially ‘ideological’ and ruled by personal biases (ibid.).

In discussing the discursive class of analytico-referentialism, Reiss takes special note of its ability to create and dominate due to its power to name and enumerate. As he writes, ‘the systematic discourse that names and enumerates becomes, replaces, the order of the world that it is taken as representing’ (1982:35). Analytico-referentiality, and the emphasis on measurement that is at the core of the statistical method’s power, is not merely a passive mirror on the world that impartially reflects its reality, it is in fact the power to *actively create*

that reality, particularly in the sphere of social institutions and imaginings. Citing a quote from Jean Paris's *Rabelais*, Reiss notes that 'to name is the wonderful equivalent of possession. To enumerate provokes a kind of hypnosis whereby the distance between the real and the fictional evaporates' (ibid.). Given Hubinger's insistence that the Revivalist period represented a 'nascence' rather than a rebirth of the Czech and Slovak nation, and that at the very least any independent nation state certainly did not yet exist, it is clear why the work of such researchers as Niederle was so central to the national project. The following sections will explore selections from certain central and influential works of Niederle and his colleagues, illustrating how the scientific discourse of Czech anthropology effectively conveyed the existence of the Czechoslovak nation as an ostensibly *objective* reality, whose only logical conclusion was the creation of a political nation state to protect its interests.

#### b. The view of statistics in *La Race Slave*

Given the remarkable conflation of demographic statistics with objective truth, it is easy to see how the ability of a political movement to manipulate the 'statistical imagination' would be central to constructing the imagined community of the nation in the age of statistics (ibid). The foreword of Louis Léger, translator and editor of Niederle's 1911 volume *La Race Slav*, provides an illuminating example of the manner in which statistical demography was used and exalted within European political discourses of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Similar to arguments presented by Urla, the following passage from Léger demonstrates how the connotation of inherent subjective opinion in the earliest 17<sup>th</sup> century understanding of statistics had largely disappeared, replaced by an almost religious view of them as vessels of objective truth. However, while the perception of the immutability of statistical claims exists

in a manner it did not in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, its use as a rhetorical device in the personal political aims of those who employed them was very much the same. Presenting his opinion that French support of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Polish uprisings against the Russian empire was unwise, he writes:

Niederle's book emerges at a moment where the problems that provoke the Slavic race are more than ever the order of the day. These problems demand above all else to be clarified by the *wholesome light* of statistics. If for example we in France have committed numerous weighty errors regarding Poland for which we have paid dearly, it is because we ignore reports of the exact figures of their adversaries. On the 20<sup>th</sup> of April 1840, Minister of Instruction Victor Cousin presented to the Chamber of Deputies a selection of motifs for a project for a law concerning the foundation for the Chair of Slavic Language and Literature to the College de France. This document naively declared that the most spoken Slavic dialect was Polish – implying evidently that the Poles were of greater number than the Russians. If we had knowledge of the true proportions of these two nations, perhaps we could have spared the Polish and ourselves the cruel hardships and bitter disillusionment. The same report reduced to two million the number of Slavs in Turkey, a reduction rendering the problems erupting in the Balkan Peninsula completely incomprehensible to our legislators. (Léger 1911:11, from French, emphasis mine)

This notion of statistics as a 'wholesome light' (*saine lumière*) is a particularly interesting choice of words for Léger to have employed. At the risk of over-applying a body of anthropological theory that has already been used to conceptualize a nearly ubiquitous list of topics, but that is nevertheless alluded to by Urla as previously noted, analogies can be drawn from this quest for objective truth devoid of any subjective obfuscations with Mary Douglas's writings on ritual purity and impurity. It is perhaps possible to conceptualize the positivism

prevalent within the social science of the period, of which both Léger and Niederle are exemplars, as entailing a kind of unity between the sacred objective and profane subjective within the profane sphere of politics. By embodying the quality of being ‘set apart’ that is so central to Douglas’s conception of the sacred, Niederle, Léger, and the socialist period ethnographers to be described in the following chapter do indeed see their own political views as entailing a greater truth and purity than those of their competitors (Douglas 2002:10).

Going from the statistical demonstration of the superior strength of the Russians compared to the Polish, which entails the certainly legitimate conclusion that this made a Polish victory rather unlikely, Léger thereafter makes an extraordinarily leap of logic. With the presentation of logistical difficulties of the previous Polish war of independence, Léger then implies that this also necessarily entails the falsehood of the reports of Russian oppression by Polish immigrants to France which provoked the commitment of French resources to their armed struggle.

I have spoken elsewhere on what nonsense accumulated in the works of Polish immigrants that such publicists as Saint-Marc Girardin have had the fault of taking seriously, fantasies of which Henri Martin and others have presented on the claimed tyranny of the Russians. In identifying these fantasies I have naturally made enemies among those who believe they have an interest in exploiting them, but it is necessary above all else to serve the truth. (Léger 1911:12)

Here is demonstrated the degree to which statistics were still used to support claims in a rhetorical manner entirely separate from the epistemological framework of statistical theory. Additionally, it demonstrates the degree to which power could be conflated with truth.

Relying on the legitimacy of his claim to the logistical disadvantage of the Polish, Léger here equates the substantially greater *power* of the Russians as entailing the *truth* of denials of atrocities against the Polish. This profound leap in logic can be traced to the dichotomous model presented by Urla wherein quantitative: qualitative :: truth: ideology. The mere fact that Léger presents statistical data within his argument, whereas the others do not, is immediately taken as establishing the greater veracity of his opinion, even when a particular claim has *no direct relevance* to the quantitative data provided. Presentation of even a small and limited body of quantitative evidence confers on the entire argument a ‘purer’ demonstration of truth, discerned by a ‘science without a scientist’.

While it is important not to assume that the arguments and views Léger expresses are identical to those held by Niederle, nevertheless the extent of their collaboration is clear in analogous devices employed by the latter in characterizing his views in opposition to those of other academics. This is most evident in the manner in which he discounts those who see the Czechs and Slovaks as two very different peoples. In explaining the numerous controversies and difficulties that exist in clearly identifying discrete ethnic and linguistic groups, Niederle divides philologists and ethnographers into two archetypal persuasions. A Czechoslovak nationalist such as Niederle ‘holds that the aspirations of the political renaissance of the individual, that is national autonomy’ constitute ‘scientific facts,’ and that spoken Czech and Slovak are ‘two dialects of the same language’ (Niederle 1911:4). On the other side are those who obey ‘certain political considerations’ and ‘imagine new nations their rivals do not even want to hear about’ (ibid). This latter group is enmeshed in ‘polemics inspired by reasons foreign to science’ and Niederle does not seek to examine their arguments closely in his anthropological study (ibid.:6). As with his translator and editor, Niederle presents his

opinions as aspects of quantitative truth opposed to the subjective ideological impurities of opposing arguments.

### c. The mapping of the Czechoslovak nation: ethnographic cartography

The clearest geopolitical intent of Niederle's writing is the establishment of legitimate borders for the then only imagined political nation state of the 'Czecho-Slovaks'. As noted above, the central power of scientific discourse, a subset of analytico-referential discourse as outlined by Reiss, is the ability to make imagined realities socially accepted as *objective* realities, and the creation of national borders facilitates the imagined reality of the nation by relating it to physical, geological *objects* such as mountains and rivers. Opening the 1914 Visitor's Guide with a matter of fact tone, Niederle outlines what indeed would become the contemporary boundaries distinguishing the now separate Czech and Slovak Republics from their other neighbours:

The Czecho-Slavs have been established in Central Europe for over 1000 years in a region isolated from the West by the Bohemian Forest and Ore Mountains, isolated from the North by the Carpathian and Sudeten Mountains, from the South by the Danube River and from the East by the Tisza River. They form an ethnic group of about 8.5 million people. (Niederle 1914:3, from French)

Speaking on boundaries in general, Fredrik Barth writes: 'the nature of continuity of ethnic units is clear: it depends on the maintenance of a boundary' (Barth 1998:14). Yet the ostensibly primordial geographical boundaries between 'Czecho-slovaks' and other populations did not hold true in Niederle's time, Germanic populations existed throughout the Czech and Slovak lands. It was therefore necessary for him not only to present the 'ideal' physical boundaries neatly delineated by geographical features, boundaries that would soon

represent the actual geopolitical borders, but also to illustrate the less tangible boundaries of ethnic culture. This he presented in accordance with those who spoke German and those who spoke the newly reinvented Czech language.

Describing the increasing bilingual culture of 13<sup>th</sup> century Bohemia as a tragedy, leading eventually to its subjugation in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Niederle described the historical German populations as ‘a belt that ceaselessly tightened’ around Czech-speaking towns and cities (Niederle 1911:104). The contemporary period Niederle describes as a reversal of the historic loss of land to Germans, due to the fact that ‘national consciousness has developed; the momentum of an entire people has presented a solid barrier against German invasion,’ citing ethnographic maps constructed by himself and his colleagues in establishing his argument (ibid.:123).

The use of linguistic mapping as a discursive tool in the legitimation of a national movement is found in Urla’s analysis of the Basque nationalism. In this context, however, the cartography is not aimed so much at establishing the geophysical area as Basque in ethnic makeup as it is in demonstrating the encroaching ‘Castilianization’ of the Basque country (Urla 1993:827). Much like the bilinguality of Bohemia prior to the successful ‘revival’ of its language and culture, Basque nationalists saw the presence of Spanish within its borders as an evident threat of ‘impending assimilation and imminent death’ and evidence that ‘the “enemy” has penetrated within’ (ibid.:829). The purity of Czechoslovak culture against the German onslaught was a very potent rhetorical tool, inverting the pre-existing cultural dominance of German high culture and Czech provincialism into the unjust temporary power of German ‘barbarity’ as opposed to the courageous Czech *kulturnost* (cultured-ness).

iv. *Quantifying and qualifying kulturnost: literacy and folk culture in the development of Czech high culture*

a. The importance of *kulturnost* in the nationalist project

Ernest Gellner, himself a Jewish Czech émigré who left Prague shortly following the Communist coup in Czechoslovakia, presents a theoretical model of ‘classical Habsburg’ nationalism that makes clear reference to the Revivalist period, beginning with an imperial culture that has ‘privileged access to the central high culture,’ a culture to which powerless subjugated populations possess only highly restricted access (Gellner 1983:94). The subjugated populations do have their own ‘folk cultures’, however, and ‘with standard and sustained propaganda’ they are able to create a ‘rival high culture’ by the efforts of a group of ‘intellectual awakeners’ who, given sufficient geopolitical circumstances, are able to eventually create their own state as a means of protecting the ‘newly born, or reborn...culture’ (ibid). Foretelling the fate of Germans and other minority groups within the Czech and Slovak lands, Gellner writes: ‘non-speakers of the new culture...now face the options of assimilation, irredentist effort, immigration, disagreeable minority status and physical liquidation’ (ibid). The ability to establish and protect the cultural superiority of Czech and Slovak ethnic groups was and is central to the national project, and it spelled drastic consequences for minority populations that existed in the enormously multicultural cities of Bohemia of the time.

Spurred in large part by 18<sup>th</sup> century German philosopher Johann Gottfried Herder’s declaration that Slavs were the ‘Greeks of the modern age’ there was a tremendous felt need on the part of the nationalist movement to connect itself with learning and Greco-Roman culture (Hubinger 1996:18). Historically, however, the claim to Czech *kulturnost* posed a

significant problem for Niederle, given the fact that Slavic peoples in Bohemia did not encounter Greco-Roman culture and learning until the 9<sup>th</sup> century. While Slavic peoples of the contemporary Balkans had direct exposure to Greek culture, even Slavic historiography portrays a general image of their ‘simplicity’. To this effect, Niederle cites the 9<sup>th</sup> century Prince Ratislav as saying ‘We Slavs are a simple people’ (Niederle 1926:3). Further, he writes:

The Slavic way of life altered decisively due to its intense and multiple relations with foreign civilizations. In effect we find Roman customs, modes of dress and industries, or more accurately Romano-Germanic (i.e. of Roman origin but received through Germans as the intermediary). We also see here distinctly Germanic customs and institutions. It is here we acquired advancements in agriculture and maritime activity, here our art was raised to the imitation of Germanic and Byzantine styles. We see how the Slavs of the South and East participated in the Golden Age of the Orient and how Christian ideas were introduced little by little into the stubborn pagan religious tradition. (Niederle 1926:3)

That much of Greco-Roman culture, which Niederle equates with development, came to the Czech and Slovak lands only through the intermediary of Germany would pose a problem for the Czech claim to *kulturnost*. Indeed, it is noteworthy that Niederle’s willingness to depict such an historical image only comes nearly a decade following the First Czechoslovak Republic and nearly a decade prior to the annexation of the Sudetenland to Germany. Additionally, the vehemence with which Niederle denied that the Slovaks represented a subgroup of the Occidental Slavs gains added context, as the perceived veracity of such a claim would entail a greater Slovak claim to *kulturnost* than that of the Czech. Moreover, this characterization does not appear in Niederle’s more popular works, being written here in a dense academic tome in the French language.

## b. Quantifiable 'proof' of *kulturnost*

In the 1914 Visitor's Guide, as with the population demographics of ethnic populations, then available contemporary statistical data on literacy and education provided Niederle with the ability to construct a hierarchy of cultured-ness. In his origin story of the Czechs, Niederle notes that it is not merely a greater population that legitimates significance but power as well, and in this sense the degree of cultural development can be seen as central to legitimate power. Towards this goal education is central, for as Holy describes, if an individual possesses only the 'most rudimentary forms of education' they cannot convey 'the products of high culture' which are the believed heritage of the Czech nation (Holy 1996:85).

In the Visitor's Guide, Niederle makes a direct challenge to the 'high culture' of the Germans, just as Gellner outlined in his Classical Hapsburg model of nationalism. Niederle's particular method was the use of literacy and education statistics, reducing the value and advancement of culture to the 'objective' measures of the capacity to read and write. Much as Holy would cite in the contemporary period that 'Czechs can demonstrate to themselves their *kulturnost* by pointing to the number of theatres and bookshops in their country' (ibid.:86), Niederle points out that:

The Czecho-Slovaks take great care in the development of public education. Illiteracy is very rare in the lands they inhabit. It is exactly 4.1% in Bohemia, 5.1% in Moravia and 7.1% in Silesia. In Austria the average is 32.3%. In Slovakia the number of illiterates twenty years of age or younger is higher, 28.8%. In Hungary the average is 40.7%. These magnificent results are mainly due to the organization of primary schools. After the exercise of 1909 the number of Czech schools rose in Bohemia to 3231, in Moravia to 1858 and in Silesia to 120.

(Niederle 1914:6, from French)

c. The importance of *narodopis*: qualifying Czech *kulturnost*

Yet for all of the statistics on the parameters and advanced character of Czech and Slovak culture, it would at best have only been a hollow concept if it lacked reference to a *qualitative tradition*. It is here that the use of folkloric *narodopis* proved most central. Similar to the value dichotomy of qualitative and quantitative research as discussed by Urla, Niederle makes direct note of his misgivings as to the validity of folkloric methods in discerning ancient Slavic and Czechoslovak culture. He did indeed believe that ‘it is impossible to doubt that in contemporary Slavic life, especially in peasant areas which provide a better circumstance for the preservation of archaic forms, much has been preserved from ancient times’ (Niederle 1911:11, from Czech). However, just as in his mind the Czechoslovak nation had almost entirely forgotten its identity due to modernisation and interactions with external cultures, this necessarily led to the difficulty in discerning what elements of then contemporary peasant customs ‘are archaic remnants and which only emerged in the Christian period or were imported from elsewhere’ (ibid.:13).

In spite of such reservations, Niederle’s conviction that peasant practices contained substantial elements of the nearly forgotten nation was sufficient to spearhead the 1895 Ethnographic Exhibition and the subsequent establishment of the Ethnographic Museum of Prague. In the version of the Visitor’s Guide to the museum published in 1914 – the same year as the start of the First World War, whose end would see the creation of the first Czechoslovak Republic – the emotive tone of the section describing folk ‘Rituals and Customs’ stands out against the dry detailing of ethnographic geography and the comparative literacy statistics analysed previously in this chapter. Echoing the theme of forgetting, the section opens as follows:

Rites and customs, whatever their origin, religious or profane, reflect the period of primitive naturalism where the memory of the moral, intellectual and social life of a nation resides. Certain traditions and ceremonies have survived over the ages thanks to the pious attachment of the folk, believing that these numerous beliefs, practices and symbols that continue to nurture humanity are ordained for eternity. Certain customs have disappeared without a trace, while others are relegated to a memory in the form of various children's games and colloquial forms of speech, wherein survive the paganism of primitive times. (Niederle 1914:15, from French)

In approaching an interpretation of these passages, it is necessary to theorize two overarching themes within this section. First, it is significant that the various traditions cited were from particular towns and villages, largely in Moravia, but were discussed as entailing traditions in the whole of the Czechoslovak region. Evident within the text is a central concern for asserting that the village traditions being cited are testimonies of 'the unity of an ancient symbolic system'. Toward this end, broad and vague designations such as 'in certain regions' are commonly used as a means to generalise very particular ethnographic contexts (ibid.:16). Secondly, the metaphor of forgetting presents a sense of urgency within the text. As the cited paragraph implies, only a few of the traditions that were at one time 'ordained for eternity' survive, and if these die out, so too will 'the moral, intellectual and social life' of the Czechoslovaks (ibid.:15).

In addition to Gellner, the necessity of inventing a unified body of cultural tradition in the project of the nation state has been the subject of thorough elaboration and theorization by the historian Eric Hobsbawm. In particular, Hobsbawm provides a useful conceptual framework by which to reckon examples of invented tradition. In the first place, he provides definition and distinction to the concepts of tradition and custom, the former 'imposes fixed (normally

formalized) practices, such as repetition,’ while the latter does not preclude ‘innovation and change up to a point’ (Hobsbawm 1983:2). Though using the term ‘custom’, it is clear in the definition provided in the Visitor’s Guide that its meaning is closer to Hobsbawm’s concept of tradition: ‘Rites and popular customs are annual, observed regularly on certain fixed dates of the year, or occasionally celebrated only on certain events in one’s private life. The former type are inspired by memories attached to celebrations of renewal, organized to exalt the revival of young vegetation and animal life’ (Niederle 1914:16).

However, it is Gellner who outlines the central place tradition holds in the creation of a high culture. Only from ‘folk culture’, consisting of ostensibly primordial traditions, could the newly imagined nations within the Hapsburg Empire ‘construct [their] own high cultures and states against the imperial centre,’ as the commentary in John Breuille’s foreword notes (Breuille 1983:xlvii). Not only must there be an advanced educational system to produce this high culture, there must be some unifying concept of shared identity with which to begin. In numerous cases this is ‘based on elements drawn from a distant past, and reassembled to create something in fact quite new’ (Gellner 1983:75).

Through the qualitative description of *narodopists* and historiographers, as well as quantitative detailing of literacy and educational investment, Niederle and his fellow Czech anthropologists were able to provide a *quality* to Czech traditions of the ‘folk’ as unspoiled ‘by the destructive effects of...German culture’ while at the same time providing quantitative ‘proof’ of the exceptional *kulturnost* of these traditions (Hubinger 1996:20). As I will attempt to demonstrate in the chapters that follow through covering the ethnography and ethnohistory of the Socialist period and popular discourses of the post-Velvet Revolution period, it is no exaggeration to say, as Hubinger did, that the work of these Revivalist anthropologists ‘set

the image of Czech...culture of the next hundred years' (1996:20). The need to establish the superiority of Czech culture as an objective truth through the use of some teleological theory of cultural evolution holds for all the texts I analyse in all three periods. Though the content of ideologies varied throughout the century, Niederle and his anthropological contemporaries established the analytico-referential structure of academic Czech self-concepts, concepts which have profoundly shaped popular concepts of Czech-ness even to this day.

### **Chapter 3: Innovations and manipulations: Czech anthropology of the Socialist period**

#### *i. Overview of Socialist period Czech ethnografie*

Writing the most extensive history of socialist period Czech ethnography available in the English language, Petr Skalnik cites three central prominent figures of Czech anthropology at Charles University during the Socialist period: Otakar Nahodil, Olga Skalnikova and Karel Fojtik. Skalnik describes Nahodil as a founding ‘Czechoslovak champion of the Soviet brand of Marxism’ who brought back from his studies at Leningrad State University ‘a prophetic vision for transforming positivist narodopis in his homeland’ (Skalnik 2005:63). Nahodil wrote of Soviet *etnografie* as one which ‘knew the discipline only as an historical science, both descriptive and interpretive, which, unlike its bourgeois counterpart, did not classify nations into historical and non-historical (Skalnik 2005:64). His primary interest, in ‘searching for factual confirmation of Marxist historical material theory,’ was to provide ‘evidence’ that ‘[Engel’s] matriarchate had preceded the patriarchate’ through use of archaeological and ethnographic evidence from ‘early human societies’ (Skalnik 2005:66).

In this chapter I will engage in a close textual reading of one of his more central ethnographic works, ‘Ethnographic parallels to Palaeolithic sculptures of women in a South Asian region’ (Nahodil 1959). While I have stressed the general importance of recognizing the potential problem of ‘telescoping’ entire judgements based on the few works from each period I have been able to study in depth, it is especially important to stress this here. Skalnik writes how ‘It remains an open question whether he was an ideologue rather than a scholar’ (Skalnik 2005:63). Given Skalnik’s own lived experience of Socialist period anthropology, I have no doubt there is legitimate reason for the question to remain open. However, in Nahodil’s

‘Ethnographic parallels’ there exist deliberate and fraudulent misquotations and misrepresentations of an earlier Jesuit ethnography as a means to tautologically support Nahodil’s Marxist ideology. It is perhaps only a particularly egregious example of fraudulence, but nevertheless this text profoundly tips the question in the direction of Nahodil having been an ideologue.

The second major project of this period was the application of ethnographic, sociological and historical methods towards developing a theory of urban communities, which was used in the ethno-historical study of the Kladno, Žd’arsko and Rosice-Oslavany mining regions. Led by Skalnikova and Fojtik, the cumulative theoretical work of this project was *Towards an Ethnographic Theory of Modern Times*<sup>17</sup> (or, as Skalnik translates it to emphasize the folkloric character of their approach, *Towards a Theory of the Narodopis of Modern Times*). Just as Nahodil’s work looked to establish the existence of the primordial matriarchate, Skalnikova and Fojtik looked to establish the progressiveness of the ‘working class’ and the manifestation of Engel’s various predictions of cultural development and gender relations in Czechoslovak mining regions (Skalnik 2005:70).

While serving a similar ideology as Nahodil, it would be particularly unjust to cast Skalnikova and Fojtik’s work in the same light as ‘Ethnographic parallels’. Far from being fraudulent and theoretically suspect, the body of theory they developed constitutes a complex and sophisticated ethnographic approach. The conceptual framework they created was both quite similar to Radcliffe-Brown’s structural functionalism and entailed a regard for dynamic cultural processes, a rigorous incorporation of historical methods in describing present day cultural phenomena and a means of representing the interplay between the local ‘community’

---

<sup>17</sup> *K teorii etnografie současnosti*

and larger 'society' quite lacking even in contemporary Anglo-American anthropology. Towards demonstrating and analysing their body of work, I will conduct a close reading of their definition of 'folk culture' [*lidova kultura*] and their chapter 'Folk culture and its function in urban life and industrial regions' within *Towards an Ethnographic Theory of Modern Times*. This will be assisted by the brief commentary of American anthropologist Zdenek Salzman on the ethnographies of their research group. A major goal of these sections is to illustrate the central legitimacy and usefulness of incorporating their conceptual framework and the regard for rigorous historical methodology within British and American approaches.

Nevertheless, this should not be seen as downplaying the role even mining ethnography played in attempting to both construct and assert the objective existence of a theory of cultural evolution. Much in the same way as Niederle attempted to prove his presupposition of the primordial nation and Czech cultural superiority, anthropologists of the socialist period attempted to prove the inductive premises of Marxist material history having already assumed its objective truth. Moreover, while notions of a Czech people and nation were quite diminished in the mainstream academia of this period, particularly following the 1968 Prague Spring, the writings of Czechoslovak ethnographers and historians such as Jiří Horák and Ludmila Karnikova in French academic journals detail how work done in mining areas also fed into nationalist Czech notions of *kulturnost*. Indeed, while the works of Nahodil appear to securely reside within Soviet universal socialism, the mining histories and ethnographies can be seen as an attempt to establish the objective truth of Marxist evolutionary theory towards the nationalist end of affixing Czech populations at the apex of cultural superiority.

*ii. Morgan, Engels and Marxist-Leninist material history*

Friedrich Engel's *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (*Der Ursprung der Familie, des Privateigentums und des Staats*), the core theoretical model guiding the work of Czech *etnografie* in the Soviet period, was a sweeping 19<sup>th</sup> century synthesis of Marxism with the kinship theory of American anthropologist Lewis H. Morgan and to a lesser extent the folklorist theory of Swiss *Volkskunde* scholar Johan Bachofen. Aimed at supporting Marx's universal teleological theory of cultural evolution based on material determinism, Engels synthesized the works of Morgan and Marx as a means of providing an ostensibly scientific basis to the Marxist view of history. Rather than simply maintaining Morgan's materialist theory as separate but conducive to Marx's ideas, Engels claims that 'Morgan rediscovered, in his own way, the materialist conception of history that had been discovered by Marx thirty years earlier' (Engels 2001:4).

That Morgan's work constitutes a 'rediscovery' of Marx's materialist theory is a central means Engels uses to infuse his arguments with legitimacy. As noted in the introduction to this thesis, a central premise of epistemological validity in the modernist analytico-referential discourse is the ostensibly self-evident existence of reason as 'the true, objective and...permanent manifestation of universal common sense' (Reiss 1982:37). Unlike the separate destinies designated in accordance with nationality constituting the natural paradigm of human existence as presented by Niederle, the teleological Marxist theory of material history necessitates a single beginning and a single end of human history. The fact that Morgan himself saw the end of human history as 'the termination of a career where property is the end and aim' in accordance with society's ability to satisfy material needs provided

Engels with an independent assessment corroborating the veracity of an ostensibly objective evolutionary trajectory of universal cultural development (Engels 2001: 219).

Nevertheless, while both Morgan and Marx emphasize a teleological process of ascending cultural ‘progress’ based on the means of production, there are substantial differences between the respective trajectories outlined in the former’s *Ancient Societies* and the latter’s *Capital*. Particularly with regard to the present and future events of human civilization, reaching the ‘next higher plane of society’ was for Morgan attainable through an already existing trend in increasing ‘experience, intelligence and knowledge’ and therefore required no great proletarian revolution in its realisation (ibid). However, even in this respect the two theories are hardly incompatible, and merging them provided Marxist material theory with a substantial base of positivist evidence from early anthropological studies of kinship derived from contemporary and ancient ‘primitive’ societies.

Adopting Morgan’s three stages of cultural evolution, Engels applies a central focus on economy, kinship and gender relations in outlining material history. The ‘lowest’ epoch of Savagery, wherein material needs and desires are satisfied through the ‘appropriation of natural products, ready to use,’ is marked by group marriage and the matriarchate (ibid.:32). Morgan’s conception of ‘Savage’ kinship consists of a gradual three-stage transition beginning with general incestuous promiscuity (ibid.:36-40). Thereafter, group marriage of all persons within the same generation emerges, eventually entailing complete avoidance of sexual relations with brothers and sisters (i.e. the Punaluan family) (ibid.). The culmination of this trajectory finally entails a system of matriarchal polyandry at the transition to Barbarism (ibid.).

In addition to Morgan's study of the 'Barbarous' Iroquois and other 'pre-civilized' peoples, whose kinship systems provided the basis for claiming the existence of earlier consanguineous families, Engels extensively cites the work of Johan Bachofen and his followers in establishing the case for primordial group marriage and matriarchy. That Bachofen was 'the first...to search for traces of it,' [i.e. the matriarchate], 'in historical and religious traditions' is counted as 'one of his greatest services' (ibid.:36). Bachofen's most central work *Das Mutterrecht*<sup>18</sup> constituted a reconstruction of the past based on philological, legal and folkloric evidence arguing for a 'long period of matriarchy, characterized by the preferential worship of the Goddess in preclassical times, only shifting to patriarchal social systems and male gods during the classical era' (Eller 2013:191).

Bachofen's particular significance for Engels's theories was the former's ascription of certain gender dynamics to the preclassical and classical stages of material history. Following a most ancient period where 'every woman belonged equally to every man and every man to every woman' polyandry emerges as a means of mitigating 'all feelings of jealousy', which Engels presupposes to be a uniquely human phenomenon (Engels 2001:40). As such societies possess an 'exclusive recognition of lineage through the mother,' Engels presupposes inheritance and power to therefore be maternal in nature as well, with feminine entities characterizing the core of religious systems, as one might expect for a superstructure arising to legitimate the material reality (ibid.:49). Gradually as wealth increases and pairing marriages become the norm, the man is afforded 'a more important social status in the family than the woman' (ibid.:66). It is at this point that the matrilineal system of inheritance is 'overthrown' constituting 'the world-historic defeat of the female sex' where 'the woman was

---

<sup>18</sup> *Mother Right*

degraded, enthralled, became a slave of man's lusts, a mere instrument of breeding children' within the new patrilineal system (ibid.:68).

Within a contemporary capitalist society, the bourgeoisie remains in a hypocritical form of pseudo-monogamy marked by the practical continuation of group marriage for men (in the form of adultery, which Engels largely equates with prostitution) with women being the only sex forced to be truly monogamous (ibid.:85). For the proletariat, however, with the 'reintroduction of the entire female sex into public industry' women once again have access to material wealth and therefore power, which aside from prostitution had been completely denied them with the advent of patriarchy (ibid.:90). However, ultimate equality between genders is only to be realized with the social revolution, where prostitution disappears along with wage labour in the complete socialization of property (ibid.:91).

*iii. Otakar Nahodil's 'Ethnographic parallels to Palaeolithic sculptures of women in a South Asian region'*

a. The invention of 'Ja Pudeu'

As previously mentioned, Nahodil was primarily interested in establishing the existence of primordial 'matricults' (*mateřské kulty*) in accordance with Marxist material history. Using the methodology of Morgan and the earlier folkloric ethnographers of his own tradition, Nahodil studied not only archaeological findings but people exhibiting 'savage' culture in accordance with Morgan and Engel's nomenclature. As Nahodil's goal was establishing his claims as a human universal, and not simply in relation to Czech and Slovak groups as was the case with Niederle, this opened the door to 'the study of non-European materials' and the ability to focus on peoples in non-Western societies (Skalnik 2005:63). This provided an

opportunity for young Czech anthropologists, such as Ladislav Holy and Petr Skalnik, to gain exposure to Anglo-American structural functionalist anthropology and perform fieldwork in the Sudan, Malaysia and other field sites (ibid.:60). The influence of this institutional focus is prominent throughout Holy's work on the Berti, particularly his work on gender 'Fire, meat and children: the Berti myth, male dominance and female power' (1985).

However, it appears that Nahodil performed no direct fieldwork himself, and his contributions to ethnographic literature generally consisted of secondary analysis of the works of students and earlier missionaries. 'Ethnographic parallels' presents his revisions of early 20th century Jesuit missionary Paul Schebesta's (Czech: Pavel Šebesta) study of the 'pygmy' peoples of the Malay Peninsula. The use of Schebesta is a particularly symbolic one, as the missionary constitutes for Nahodil an exemplar of what he calls the 'so-called Catholic School of cultural history' (Nahodil 1959:348, from Czech). In addition to providing ethnographic data on a society Nahodil characterized as being 'until recently at the lowest stage of cultural development...possessing only backward horticulture,' Schebesta himself was a ready straw man with which to characterize the 'very limited horizon' of bourgeois ethnography (Skalnik 2005:65). Additionally, the fact that Schebesta published primarily in German, English and French gave Nahodil a substantial ability to manipulate his translation of the original with minimal risk of being challenged.

This straw man provides Nahodil with the ability not only to evidence the primordial matriarchate, but also to delegitimize the scholarship of competing Western schools. The purpose this serves is very much akin to that of Niederle's comparative literacy and education statistics in the prior period: an ostensibly objective establishment of *kulturnost* among Czech and Slovak populations in accordance with a teleological view of cultural progress. Nahodil's

work attempted to establish the existence of a primordial matriarchate and the superiority of Marxist materialist theory over Western 'bourgeois' ethnography as an objective fact and by extension the cultural superiority of Czechs as an objective fact, their identity submerged within the socialist collective of nations allied with the Soviet Union. The major differences are that objective fact in the Socialist period was created through adherence to Marxist material history rather than with an appeal to quantitative figures, and the prioritization of Soviet universalism over Czechoslovak nationalism.

Therefore, demonstrating the superiority of Marxist material history over bourgeois Western models was of central ideological importance. Through presenting a straw man exemplar of Western anthropology in the vaguely defined 'Catholic school of cultural evolution', a 'school' that appears to be nothing more than Nahodil's general term for missionary ethnographies, Nahodil's goal is not merely to illustrate the existence of a recent matriarchate among the Malay peoples Schebesta studied, but also to demonstrate that the ethnographic material 'testifies fairly unambiguously against the [Western] school's basic tenets in whole and in part' (Nahodil 1959:348). Doing so provides a useful essentialisation of bourgeois anthropology, providing a simplistic dichotomy upon which to demonstrate the superiority of Marxist-Leninism, such that 'without a doubt this material testifies in favour of the opposing [Marxist] materialist school, which provides the most satisfactory theory in accounting for the observed phenomena' (ibid.).

Towards this end, Nahodil begins his direct analysis of Paul Schebesta's ethnographic writings on the cosmological beliefs of certain Malay peoples by citing a female divinity that does indeed appear to evidence a strong matriarchal character within their belief system:

Schebesta notes that among the Ple Temer of Sakai there exists a cult centred on a benevolent elder woman, the grandmotherly 'Ja Pudeu' who was the principle supernatural being in the religious imagination of this imaginative people of the Malay Peninsula. While this woman was represented as existing in a kind of relationship with a man called 'Ta Pudeu', nevertheless an obvious interpretation of the local people indicates this is a later amendment, as feminine essence remains dominant in the cult. (Nahodil 1959:ibid.)

The problem, however, is not only that Nahodil's sole justification for dismissing 'Ta Pudeu' is that such dismissal is 'obvious': 'Ja Pudeu' is in fact a complete fabrication and appears nowhere in Schebesta's original ethnography. This 'grandmotherly' figure is an amalgamation of the characteristics of three different divine figures in Sumatran cosmology and is the result of deliberate mistranslation, misrepresentation and conscious misquoting by Nahodil. This section highlights the disparity between Nahodil's analysis and the original source material, not only to illustrate the questionable methods he used in attempting to establish the existence of matriarchal 'remnants', but also to demonstrate the sophisticated manipulation of information characteristic of the Socialist period in Central Europe.

Providing commentary on a text written in German, at that point little spoken by his Czech readers, Nahodil is able to invent the figure of 'Ja Pudeu', imbuing her primarily with the qualities of 'Ta Pudeu' (or 'Ta Pudn' in the original, a substantially more central figure despite Nahodil's claims), his wife Jamoi and the actual 'grandmotherly' goddess Manoid. Central to his thesis of a recent matriarchate among the Sumatran peoples, the 'grandmotherly' and soil-related<sup>19</sup> aspect of Manoid and the feminine quality of Jamoi were combined with the power and easily manipulated name of Ta Pudn. The original term 'Pudn'

---

<sup>19</sup> Relation to the soil was an aspect Bachofen cited as 'universal' among feminine matriarchal deities (Eller 2013:191)

had no relation whatsoever to the Czech *půda* meaning ‘soil,’ which in its dative and locative form is ‘*pudeu*’ (i.e. ‘of the soil’), preserving Bachofen’s equivalence of earth with the feminine. Indeed neither Ta Pudn nor his wife Jamoi have any relation to the soil, both being considered ‘heavenly dwellers’ (Schebesta 1929:219).

Within Schebesta’s original text, the relative importance of Ta Pudn to Jamoi is quite the reverse: Ta Pudn is constantly referenced, whereas Jamoi scarcely warrants any reference at all. While Nahodil’s claim that this is ‘due to the alterations of church censors’ certainly wouldn’t be without precedent, he gives no further proof of this claim and deliberately alters quotations from Schebesta’s work in order to support his own conclusions. Namely, whenever the powerful and ubiquitous Ta Pudn is presented in the original ethnography, Nahodil replaces him with ‘Ja Pudeu’. For example, in describing the ‘*chenoi*’, flower spirits which served to intercede on behalf of the people in times of disease, Schebesta originally wrote ‘Ta Pedn enjoys the particular reverence and love of the *chenoi*: by whom he is called “Tata Pedn”; which means something like “Grandpa Pedn”’ (Schebesta 1929:218). It is Ta Pedn, brother of the fierce thunder God Kerai, who has the power to ‘intervene and intercede for his grandchildren (men),’ because Ta Pedn possesses the ability to ‘send back the thunder to the mouth of the waters’ (Schebesta 1929:222).

Compare this to Nahodil’s description:

Two prayer songs to this female sovereign [Ja Pudeu]...ask for her to give the people the fruits of prosperity [*plodùm zdar*] so as to protect them from contagious diseases and minimize the number of those who would die. The people placed singing ‘*chenoi*’ flower spirits in their mouths, friends of the people and servants of Ja Pudeu. (Nahodil 1959:349, from Czech)

By deliberately filtering the original ethnographic observations of Schebesta through a Marxist-Leninist lens, Nahodil's claim that Marxist material history provides a superior explanation of the material holds as true in a tautological fashion. In so doing, the 'claims' of Schebesta, which Nahodil never clearly presents, can then be disregarded as 'founded upon the a priori religious framework of the so-called cultural strain of monotheism' (ibid.:351). In so doing, Nahodil creates an ethnography and a field of academic dispute entirely of his own imagination. A simplistic dichotomy of the superior Socialist East, with its recognition of Marxist material history and primordial matriarchates, stands in opposition to the backward West, with its bourgeois monotheism and patriarchy as embodied by the 'Catholic school'. With Nahodil's remarkable power to construct reality for his readers, the 'objective' truth of his arguments becomes a foregone conclusion.

#### b. Manipulation of symbols and the importance of 'symbolic ideological' modes of control

In order to understand the reasons for and importance of Nahodil's deliberate misrepresentations of ethnographic work and its ideological importance in the period of Soviet-styled socialism, it is necessary to understand the socio-economic machinations of the society within which he wrote. In her synthesis of various eastern and central European works on the collapse of the former Soviet Union and its satellites, Katherine Verdery outlines the central importance of 'symbolic ideological' modes of control, from which the basic ideological function of Nahodil's work arises (Verdery 1991:427).

Outlining the machinations of 'real socialist' societies, Verdery emphasised the fundamental unsustainability of Soviet socialism's allocative methods of wealth distribution. Verdery's

model entails a centre from which all resources emerge, distributed to various bureaucratic 'segments' whose operations are not aimed towards 'outputs of production' but rather 'input to one's segment' (ibid.:424). In simpler terms, local bureaucratic operations that were supposed to manufacture goods to be distributed by the centre instead focused on maximizing resources received by the centre. In such a system 'socialist bureaucrats allocate social rewards' just as in potlatch societies 'chiefs redistribute goods to followers' (ibid.). This lends itself to a contradictory means of achieving reputation. On the one hand allocative power is maintained through ensuring an 'economy of shortage' where bureaucratic power is augmented through highly constrained production and distribution (ibid.:423). Nevertheless in order for a bureaucratic entity to maintain its reputational and allocative power, inevitably 'real resources must be delivered' otherwise 'lower-level units cannot produce the means of production upon which both bureaucracy and apex [i.e. the centre] lie' (ibid.:425).

This contradictory dynamic where bureaucratic reputation and power, that is to say, the 'currency' of a real socialist system, depends on both producing and disabling production leads to an essentially 'weak state' (ibid.:426). With the unavoidable distribution of resources from bureaucratic centres, resources amassed outside of their direct line of control lead to an explosion in the capacity for informal economies to develop, or rather 'a pervasive "privatization" of the instruments of coercion' (ibid.:426). In order to combat this gradual depletion of allocative power among bureaucratic foci, the centre and its localized segments must rely on material incentives, physical and economic coercion, and 'symbolic ideological' modes of control (ibid.:427). Whereas the first exacerbates the problem of resources existing outside direct bureaucratic control and the second is 'inordinately expensive in the long run,' the symbolic ideological mode that depends only on 'value-laden exhortations' by

intellectuals is a mode that is comparatively far less costly and does not undermine the material basis of the regime (ibid.:428).

With his ability to ‘saturate [the] consciousness’ of his audience with ‘certain symbols and ideological premises to which subsequent exhortations may be addressed,’ namely the premise of Marxist social science compared to its ostensibly singular non-Marxist bourgeois counterpart, Nahodil’s work can be firmly classified within this category (ibid.). Drawing specifically on the themes of the ‘norms of kinship’ and ‘the values of science and knowledge in creating a just society,’ like other forms of symbolic-ideological propaganda Nahodil’s work can be seen as in part an attempt to convince his audience of the central superiority of the real socialist system (ibid). While powerful, Verdery notes that the implicit dependence on ‘socialism’s intellectuals’ was ‘both necessary and dangerous’ because ‘they and the political center have potentially divergent notions of what intellectual practice should consist of’ (ibid.:429).

Whereas Nahodil’s work appears to have been more or less in tandem with the Soviet centre throughout his career in the Socialist period, the same cannot be said of many of his colleagues. While with relation to work published within the former Czechoslovakia nationalist sentiment is subdued, strong nationalist characteristics and worldviews appear implicit within such works and explicit within publications distributed in areas west of the Berlin Wall, namely in France. Ethnographic work performed in the mining areas of Bohemia, Silesia and Slovakia were exemplary of this, and I examine these works in the following section.

iv. 'Folk Culture', 'working class families' and the urban ethnography of mining regions

While the work of Skalnikova and Fojtik certainly entails a similar ideological character to Nahodil's, it possesses a sophisticated theory and method quite distinct from that of their colleague. As such this section seeks not only to outline their work as a significant ideological source of identity construction, but also to analyse and present the core theory and ethnographic conclusions they derived as valid and innovative in their own right. Just like the structural functionalism of Radcliffe Brown, the structuralism of Lévi-Strauss, or for that matter any major academic work, while the work of Skalnikova and Fojtik can and should be robustly critiqued, this should not be to the extent of denying its central academic legitimacy and worth as certain more contemporary Czech authors have done (Skalnikova 2005:176).

While certainly aimed towards establishing the a posteriori claim assumed a priori that Marxist material history is valid, the conceptual framework of their sociocultural theory and the more localized conclusions of their ethnographies can provide Anglo-American anthropologists with potentially fruitful and challenging methods of connecting the local to the global and of representing the reality of culture as embedded in historical trajectories.

The first of two bodies of work I will examine in this section constitute Skalnikova and Fojtik's *Towards an Ethnographic Theory of Modern Times*, the culmination of their theoretical work 'published at the last possible moment' before 'normalization' following the Prague Spring. In particular I will analyse their conceptual framework of community and society as well as chapters on the proposed continuous historical development of the contemporary Czechoslovak 'working class family' (*dělnické rodiny*<sup>20</sup>) emerging from the

---

<sup>20</sup> Though certain authors such as Kandert refer to this as work on the 'proletariat', both Skalnikova and Skalnik place special emphasis on translating *dělnické* as 'working class'. I translate the term in accordance with its original author's characterization.

‘seed’ (*zárodek*) of medieval miners (Skalnikova and Fojtik 1971:41, 42). This work encompasses the theoretical and historical foundations and findings of the ethnographies undertaken in the mining city of Kladno, just northwest of Prague, and other regions in Czech Silesia and Slovakia. I will explore these works based on the English and French language commentaries provided by Skalnikova, Skalnik, the Slavist Jiří Horák and American anthropologist Zdenek Salzmann among others.

#### a. Theorizing ‘folk culture’ and urban ethnography

In spite of the general party line against bourgeois structural functionalist anthropology, the conceptual framework of Czech urban ethnography entails an implicit attempt to demonstrate societal structures as existing for the satisfaction of various material needs. The four-part definition of ‘folk culture’ in particular expresses a definition quite similar to Radcliffe Brown’s understanding of society as an organism:<sup>21</sup>

1. Folk culture is a formal and normative system of transmitted tradition created for the purpose of satisfying the rational or irrational needs of a ‘folk’.
2. A folk culture is bound within a localized group, typically social or professional. This group is the creator, bearer and maintainer of its folk culture, which simultaneously satisfies their needs and reinforces a sense of solidarity among its members.

---

<sup>21</sup> Radcliffe-Brown, A.R. (1940). ‘On social structure’. *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, 70(1), 1-12.

3. As long as a society consists of groups possessing an awareness of distinct localities, social, professional or ethnic characteristics (i.e. any distinguishing group criteria), this awareness will produce distinct and reciprocal obligations and rights among its members, constituting the most fundamental conditions for the development and maintenance of tradition in folk cultures. Therefore, a folk culture is not a closed historical category but a living system responsive to changes in the external and internal living conditions of the groups that bear it.

4. Never in a folk culture's development has it been isolated from the effects of external forces (Skalnikova and Fojtik 1971:35, from Czech).

Thus a 'folk culture' can be seen as intricately linked with the concept of 'the Little Community'<sup>22</sup> (*společenství*) that exists within society as a whole (*společnosti*). The division between the local and the overarching society, which was a well noted weakness of Radcliffe Brown's and Malinowski's approach, was addressed through an adaptation of the early structural functionalist American anthropologist Robert Redfield's 'folk society-urban society' continuum (ibid 1971:36). Though counterintuitive with regard to material history's teleological nature, Czech *etnografie* does not always equate 'folkness' to 'primitiveness' as Redfield did when he measured both with respect to a social group's 'degree of isolation, homogeneity, sacredness, and other characteristics' (Singer 1959:609).

One major critique, however, is the somewhat contradictory uses of the term 'folk' with regards to a 'folk society' and a 'folk culture'. 'Folk culture' relates more or less to local

---

<sup>22</sup> This concept appears to derive primarily from Robert Redfield's *The Little Community* which looks at the typically localized subjects of ethnographic study from various perspectives, such as its existence as an 'ecological system,' a 'kind of person' and 'a community within communities', three facets of which have special emphasis in Skalnikova and Fojtik's definition of 'folk culture' (Redfield 1989:v).

culture bounded within groups differentiated by certain geographical, 'social, professional or ethnic characteristics' as parts two and three of the definition propose. Therefore, instead of construing Tonnies's *Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft* as being analogous to 'primitiveness-civilization' as Redfield frequently did, the concept of 'folk culture' construes the analogy as consisting of local community-supralocal society. As seen in the definition of 'folk culture', this concept refers not to a notion of some 'primitive' society but rather to a contemporary phenomenon more or less universal to all societies. I find this conception quite useful in relation to the problem still existing in contemporary ethnography of its historical difficulty in theorizing influences and change external to a locality, a particularly necessary obstacle to overcome in maintaining the discipline's relevance in a globalized world.

In describing 'folk society', however, the Czech theorists employ the conception germane to Redfield's work, whom they directly cite as their primary influence in conceptualizing urban ethnography (ibid). Here the 'folk society' is positioned as in opposition to the 'urban society', the latter emerging as the 'second half' of Tonnies's dialectic 'peculiar to the contemporary period' (ibid). While the teleology inherent in this conception of 'folk' is more in keeping with Marxist theory, it stands in contradiction with the 'folk' as 'local' conception within their original definition. Nevertheless, the Czech theory of folk culture and urban ethnography is a sophisticated body of work drawing from a diverse set of influences, and it would be unwise for Anglo-American anthropologists to reject it out of hand due only to its folkloric and Marxist components.

## b. The scientific history of the 'working class family'

What most attaches the work of Skalnikova and Fojtik to the central Marxist theory of history depicted by Engels is its attempt to outline the development of the 'working class family' from its ostensible origins in medieval mining settlements to 'modern times'. Central to Engel's original characterization was an evolution from agricultural to proletarian means of subsistence, which entailed as consequence shifting gender relations providing a more equal footing between men and women (Engels 2001:91). Counter to this the bourgeoisie, entrenched in 'backward' agrarian gender relations, maintained a stale, hypocritical and economically utilitarian form of marriage and family (ibid.:85).

In regards to this teleology, Skalnikova and Fojtik's historical characterization of the 'working class family' is fairly standard Marxist theory. What was a particular addendum was the focus on the medieval mining industry as the 'seed' of the contemporary working class, bridging the gap between the primarily artisan centred nature of the medieval city to the industrial character of contemporary urban economies (Skalnikova and Fojtik 1971:42). Citing Belgian historian Henri Pirenne, the Czech authors mark the 'foundation of the city as the beginning of a new era in the internal history of Europe' (ibid.:35). As with any Marxist-Leninist explanation of major socio-cultural change, its development was primarily economic due to 'the need for a growing artisan class...to supply the aristocracy with its demand for quality products and specialty craftsmen' (ibid.).

Of special importance to transforming the medieval city as essentially an artisan's commune into its contemporary manifestation, the Czech authors propose the mining industry as a 'seed

that would emerge as the working class community in the course of the Industrial Revolution’:

The sites and cities that were central to mining brought into the contemporary life of our times its own body of property traditions. It was this tradition that was equal, if not greater, to the artisan traditions in importance and breadth. With international mining vocations and commerce requiring natural wealth, considerable scientific knowledge and organized production and trade, the mining tradition transcends ethnic and national boundaries.

(Skalnikova and Fojtik 1971:36)

With Engel’s focus on evolution occurring within family relations and kinship, as well as the focus on folk traditions within Czech ethnography, the ‘working class family’ serves as the centre of domestic ethnographic work of this period. The Czech authors characterize their foci in terms of five domains:

1. The origin and evolution of the working class family as a social category.
2. The structure of the working class family and the relations within this structure.
3. The quotidian life of the working class family and each of its members.
4. Lore, habits and celebrations in families.
5. Relations between the family members and the surrounding world, in regards to both formal and informal groups. (Skalnikova and Fojtik 1971:42)

In order to supply a progressive nature to the 'working class family' via Engels' criteria, it was necessary to demonstrate first and foremost greater egalitarian relations between men and women and the high degree of mobility the authors argue provided the foundation for this transformation. In the first place, a high degree of mobility compared to agrarian settings and the diversity of socio-cultural backgrounds among early miners is argued in the following summary of work on medieval Czechoslovak mining areas:

Based on small comparisons of numerous groups by impartial experts, existing knowledge about the formation of this group show individuals often of foreign ancestry, the use of foremen...the greatest portion of workers coming from the village, travelling families, gardeners and sharecroppers. (Skalnikova and Fojtik 1971:ibid.)

This highly mobile lifestyle provided the 'foundation of the future [working class] family' as well as the economic conditions for the decreasing power of men for three major reasons:

1. The father's long absence from the household, constituting days and even weeks. Male guidance on decisions thereafter was done through correspondence, limiting the ability to as readily effect their will.
2. The married woman's economic dominance over her children. Immediately following school the son enters a similar workplace as his father and is given little financial reward for his labour. This is a different paternal relationship towards the son in agricultural contexts, where the son works on the family plot without a salary, where he remains until his eventual inheritance.
3. Different attitudes towards property than those in agricultural and bourgeois families. A weakening influence of the father on the selection of life partners for his children is exhibited,

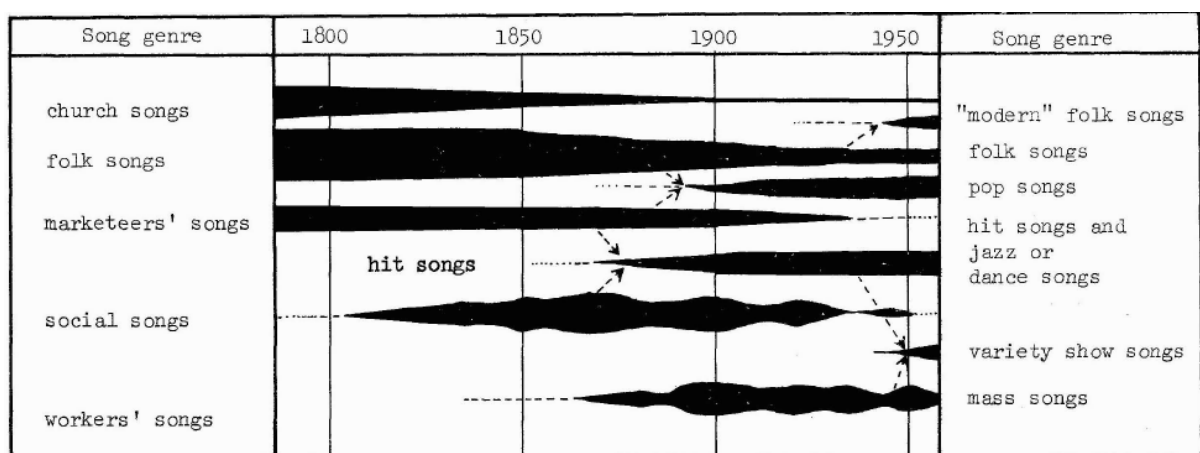
which in working class families is not guided by backroom economic agreements.

(Skalnikova and Fojtik 1971:44)

The actual ethnographic work itself was quite innovative, combining a centrally folkloric methodology with an almost archaeological approach to the historical analysis of sociocultural trends. Incorporating rigorous archival research with observations of contemporary mining communities, these ethno-historical and ethnographic works represent sociocultural phenomena as temporal trajectories rather than isolated cross sections. Of particular note is the work of Karbusicky included in American anthropologist Zdenek Salzman's brief 1970 summary of the mining ethnographies of the 1950s and 1960s. Collecting and analysing worker's songs from a span of over 150 years, including the then contemporary 1950s, Karbusicky employed both nominal categorization and quantification of song types ('folk songs', 'church songs', 'pop songs', etc.) as well as rigorous qualitative analysis providing 'ninety-four well-annotated transcriptions of representative songs' (Salzman 1970:83).

Unlike the use of quantitative methods by Niederle, Karbusicky does not appear to have considered statistics as a 'wholesome light' superior in their capacity for objective truth to qualitative methods, but rather as a representational tool. Moreover, far from simply being a tool to legitimate ideology, the conclusions of his work are rather ambiguous and lie outside the concerns of Marxist material history. On the one hand, the diagram constructed by Karbusicky does illustrate a dramatic decrease in the development of 'church songs', a pervading trend beginning a century prior to the Communist coup (Salzman 1970:87). Additionally songs of peasants, workers and the bourgeoisie were seen as 'merging' and increasingly undifferentiated in accordance with Marxist aims of 'proletarianisation' (ibid.).

However, his overarching thesis relates to the observed fact that ‘the intensity of song activity has been steadily diminishing’ over the previous century (ibid.). In this way Karbusicky’s work, like that of his immediate colleagues, was not simply the work of ideological legitimation, it was frequently a genuine attempt to represent and analyse observed cultural patterns among Czech populations through the lens of songs and stories told and disseminated among mining workers and their families.



(Salzman 1970:86).

c. Towards an Ethnographic Theory of Modern Times in context: continuities of kulturnost and nationalism

To read Skalnikova and Fojtik’s theoretical text, it would seem at first sight that any notion of nationalist identity was entirely absent in the discipline, eradicated by the centre in Moscow.

In *Ethnographic Theory*, the term ‘folk’<sup>23</sup> is used to mean any group organized by some unifying shared trait only incidentally related to ethnicity, for example, and any mention of

<sup>23</sup> i.e. *lid*.

the terms ‘Czech’ or ‘Slovak’ to designate a group are exceedingly rare (Skalnikova & Fojtik 1971:35). It is only in reading the pre-1968 published works of Socialist-period Czech ethnographers in the much safer venue of French Marxist publications that one can see the pervading influence of Niederle’s nationalism and claims of Czechoslovak *kulturnost*. With its attempts to illustrate the medieval miner as the progenitor of the ‘working class’, an industry that within Europe was most prominent in the Czech and Slovak lands as well as Eastern and Southern Germany during the medieval period, I argue that these academics sought to demonstrate how modernity and the continuing emergence of Engel’s final stage of cultural evolution were largely Czech in origin. In order to accomplish this, it was necessary to present both historical evidence of a continuity between medieval miners and the contemporary ‘working class’ and the continued status of Czech miners as ‘the largest and most progressive component of the Czech nation’ (Salzmann 1970:77).

Much as Czech academics of the Revivalist period lamented the necessity of needing to rebuild the Czech nation due to the forgetting of their predecessors, historian Ludmila Karnikova (history being a discipline closely related to ethnography in the Czech context) lamented of the necessity of ‘the new generation of young historians’ to ‘begin at zero’ in her essay in *Le Mouvement Social* (Karnikova 1963:240, from French). Due to the ‘disdainful attitude of professional historians towards an in-depth study of modern evolution’ prior to the Second World War, it was left to the new generation to create a ‘comprehensive synthesis of important stages in the life of our people’ (ibid). Whereas the generations prior to the Revivalists were judged for their ignorance of the self-evident truth of a Czechoslovak nation, the lack of a Marxist ethos in the work of their predecessors meant the Socialist period judged its worth as equivalent to ‘zero’, lacking the overarching theory which at that time served as the most basic component of a valuable intellectual contribution. Notably, the youngest

generation of anthropologists at the beginning of the post-Socialist Period such as Vaclav Hubinger and Josef Kandert would similarly discount the worth of their predecessors' work due to its basis in folkloric rather than Anglo-American methods (Skalnikova 2005:176). It is the writing of Jiří Horák that has particularly strong nationalist overtones. Writing for the *Revue des études slaves* his recounting of Czechoslovak history is particularly reminiscent of Niederle's, only with the addition of Marxist terminology:

In the historical evolution of our people, the study of material culture and folklore has at all times possessed an incomparable importance so great there is no parallel example in France. The consequences of the Thirty Years War and the subsequent stipulations of the Westphalia treaties constituted a dreadful disaster for the Czech nation which, with the loss of political independence, also lost its nobility, its cultivated classes and bourgeoisie. In short, it lost all the representatives of its high culture. (Horák 1962:151, from French)

Herein is a focus on scientific history not on a universal scale, but isolated within a single 'people': the 'Czech nation'.<sup>24</sup> Horák proceeds to further illustrate the 'invasion of Czechoslovakia by the Nazis in 1939 and the six years of terror' preceding its 'definitive liberation' as a period where the Germans sought to 'exterminate our nation by scientific biological methods, forced deportation and massacres' (ibid.). Liberation constituted a 'new period in our history', and while he cites the Soviets nowhere in his essay, he credits 'the principles of Socialist history' for providing Czech academia with a 'soaring development' in 'all varieties of human efforts' (ibid). Similar language would appear in the core manifesto of the 1968 Prague Spring, *Two Thousand Words*, which similarly cited numerous threats to Czech 'national life'. In the case of the manifesto, however, the Czech Communist Party itself was cited as the newest threat to the nation. While 'most of the nation had welcomed the socialist program with high hopes,' an ideology which most leaders of the Prague Spring

---

<sup>24</sup> Notably excluding Slovakia, for reasons not entirely clear to me.

strongly endorsed, the responsibility of power to effect its implementation ‘fell into the wrong hands’.<sup>25</sup>

The subsequent invasion of Czechoslovakia by the Warsaw Pact armies and the draconian period of ‘normalization’ that followed marked the end of the comparatively liberal treatment of Czech academia by the Soviet centre relative to other satellite nations. While, given the remarkably Marxist character of Skalnikova and Fojtik’s work, this difficulty would seem odd, within the context of pre-1968 French publications that communicate a nationalist Czech ethos without reservation, it is clear that while the anthropological works of this period certainly communicated a Marxist ideology, only the works of Nahodil and his closest associates communicated a particularly Soviet ideology.

Indeed, given the context provided by French publications, even in Skalnikova and Fojtik’s subdued final 1971 publication we can interpret their characterization of history as possessing the grand claims of national destiny and *kulturnost* that existed in Niederle’s earlier works. By characterizing the ‘seed’ of the working class as existing within the particularly Czech context of medieval mining and presenting a notion of cultural evolution with the working class as its apex, there is an implicit nationalist claim far bolder than any made by Niederle. The entire end of human history, and the very measure by which the cultural advancement of a nation is known, is encompassed within an essentially Czech development beginning in the mining settlements of Bohemia and Moravia centuries before the Industrial Revolution. It is this notion of Marxist Czech nationalism that played the central role in Dubaček’s proposed reforms in the Prague Spring, a movement which opposed not *socialism* but *Sovietism* and the communist party that had ‘by degrees bartered [the Czech nation’s] confidence in exchange for offices’. Far from disappearing, Czech nationalist ideology in fact continued within a

---

<sup>25</sup> English Translation available at:  
[http://www.dhr.history.vt.edu/modules/eu/mod05\\_1968/evidence\\_detail\\_13.html](http://www.dhr.history.vt.edu/modules/eu/mod05_1968/evidence_detail_13.html)

Marxist framework, and while subdued under Soviet imperialism, was still a central feature of Czech ethnography that was explicit in contexts not dominated by Soviet censorship. We can therefore see the power of nationalist discourse in the 1989 Velvet Revolution not as an unprecedented shift from Sovietism but as the expression of deeply entrenched nationalist ideology that persisted throughout the Socialist period in Czechoslovakia.

## Chapter 4: Neo-liberalism and post-socialist nationalism: the contemporary period

### *i. Shift in textual sources and the contemporary role of Czech Roma*

Before entering into my analysis of the post-socialist nationalist period, it is necessary to note that my methodology departs slightly from that of the previous chapters. Namely, while I have placed the focus of the previous two chapters on close textual readings of primary sources from anthropological work of either period, I have instead chosen to focus on more popular discourses within the contemporary Czech Republic as a means of developing an understanding of Czech identity in the 1990s. This is the case for three central reasons. First, whereas Hubinger describes ethnographic work as important to identity construction in the previous two periods, the ‘national function of [Czech] ethnography’ in identity creation is ‘somewhat weaker than in Slovakia’ (1996:17). Therefore, to claim that contemporary anthropological constructions of identity constitute significantly influential models of popular identity construction is much more problematic than in the previous periods.

Moreover, the second reason for the shift in focus is due to the extensive diversity of contemporary Czech *etnologie*. Whereas the anthropology of previous periods entailed generally unified or at least not openly contested models of Czech identity,<sup>26</sup> contemporary period ethnography is split between ‘modernists’ who argue for a broader European Czech identity and ‘traditionalists’ who argue for an exclusionary and isolated Czech identity, a dichotomy which has given rise to an even more complex and contested set of approaches as Anglo-American postmodernism has had increasing influence in the field (ibid.:27). The

---

<sup>26</sup> While Niederle did contest the veracity of folkloric methods in outlining the supposed primordial Slavic nation, the general model of Czech identity as modeled after the rural ‘folk’ was not contested.

nature and development of Czech anthropology since 1990 would itself require an entire additional dissertation to adequately detail.

The final reason for the change in focus is related to the materials available. The internally focused ethnographic methods of *narodopis* and *etnografie* tended to define Czech-ness in terms of rather peripheral or 'folk' populations, based on the axiom that they contained the 'true' identity of the Czech people. As such, they were typically not mere descriptions of Czech populations, they were at least in part *creators* of Czech identity, essentialising Czech-ness from rural and mining populations and presenting them as an ideal type. Therefore, understanding the nature of Czech identity during these periods entails understanding such ethnographic work as a source of identity creation and ethnographic fact in and of itself rather than evaluating the aptness of their ethnographic representations of peripheral populations. The capacity of analytico-referentiality to both create what is imagined and construct its 'objective' existence is central to understanding the role of Revivalist and Socialist ethnography. As such, an understanding of Czech identity as in part a creation of ethnographic work required close textual analysis of primary sources and interpreting the symbolic universe they created using Anglo-American and French theory as well as contemporary characterizations.

In the contemporary period, English language social research and ethnographic work exists that directly studies aspects and dynamics of contemporary mainstream Czech identity. In particular Ladislav Holy's *The Little Czech and the Great Czech Nation*, the most thorough and comprehensive Anglo-American ethnography that exists on the topic, makes use of close textual analysis of newspaper articles, academic works and popular culture materials to construct representations of Czech self-concepts, and much of my methodology in earlier

chapters comes from his approach. As such, rather than being a review of academic works as objects of analysis, this chapter is focused more on synthesizing existing analyses of contemporary Czech culture with each other and with the characterizations I have made in earlier chapters in order to construct my own interpretations.

In this chapter I argue that, much as the Revivalist period saw the creation of the nation state as the sole end point of human cultural evolution, and the Socialist period the creation of a Marxist state, the discourses of the 1990s again entailed an evolutionary teleology this time based on the existence of a capitalist nation state. Unlike the 1968 Prague Spring which fought for a truly independent nation state operated by a Socialist government, the aftermath of the Velvet Revolution entailed a rapid integration of the Czech Republic into the international neoliberal economy, with wide public support for the radical changes documented a mere two months following the sudden but monumentally successful November demonstrations (Holy 1996:149). I attempt to represent the ideological components of the economic transition, covered extensively by Holy, as possessing significant continuities with the teleological discourses of the previous two periods.

However, the sudden shift in popular opinion was not enough to immediately alter existing infrastructure and internalized notions of property, and subsequent events entailed economic difficulties and even certain national embarrassments. Immediately following the fall of communism, the notion of property as publicly owned in Socialist times has been cited as the reason for large-scale shoplifting in Austria and Germany on the part of Czech tourists, leading to signs affixed in store windows commanding Czechs not to steal (Richter 2008). Even decades later, the high rate of shoplifting within the Czech Republic has remained a source of shame (*ibid.*). Structurally, the lack of a pre-existing market infrastructure meant

that 'the initial euphoria of revolution quickly dissipated as economic and political difficulties multiplied' (Guy 2001:14).

In this regard, pre-existing discourses of Roma-ness as equivalent to 'savagery' and 'otherness' provided a useful conceptual category of person to serve as the scapegoat for difficulties in the capitalist transition. While subjugation and exclusion of Roma has been a hallmark of Romani habitation in Europe for centuries, in the contemporary Czech context Roma have played an especially important role in constructing Czech identity and legitimating claims of Czech *kulturnost*. 'Gypsy-ness' serving as the antithesis of 'Czech-ness' provides an actual physical manifestation of 'backwardness' in the form of persons along the continuum of a neoliberal evolutionary trajectory.

I would like to stress to the reader how particularly 'tidy' the model I have presented is, and the fact that 'tidy' explanations for sweeping and contested cultural phenomena are seldom able to effectively encompass an entire ethnographic reality, in this case what 'Czech-ness' means to any given contemporary Czech person. Even in 1990, the view of capitalism as the ideal system was far from ubiquitous, with numerous mass media publications criticizing the free market system as inherently unequal and a 'betrayal of the programme of the November revolution' (Holy 1996:163). Rather than attempting to describe *the* discourse of contemporary Czech identity, this model only seeks to describe *a* significant discourse of Czech identity that existed immediately following the fall of the Iron Curtain. In the new millennium, as disillusionment with the free market economy mounts and the role of 'other' is additionally being filled by immigrants from Turkey and other Islamic countries, this discourse may potentially have diminishing significance. Nevertheless, it is important to detail this culturally and politically consequential discourse emerging at the very beginning of

the contemporary period, which has had wide-ranging effects on political and cultural identities within the Czech Republic.

In the final section, I will problematize Holy's rather essentialist representation of Czech concepts of the nation and the role of individualist democracy, particularly in his depiction of the concept of 'freedom' as understood in the Czech context (Holy 1996:70). Representing Czech nationalist sentiment as entirely one of collective national will that devalues the individual, Holy reduces the mutlivocality of 'freedom' from one which paradoxically values agency in both the abstract nation and the concrete individual to one which sees the value of individual rights as a conceit to support the existence of the nation-state. This representation oversimplifies the complexities of contemporary Czech nationalism, ignoring the importance of the individual in nationalist discourses extending at least to Niederle and which composed a central political philosophy of inter-war Czechoslovak president Tomáš Masaryk and first president of the Czech Republic Vaclav Havel.

*ii. Holy on the free market discourse: market economy as natural balance*

Seemingly a radical change, the rapid transition from a planned to a free market economy was symbolically founded on discourses of the natural and objective essence of Czech-ness and human nature. Just as Niederle held 'that the aspirations of the political renaissance of the individual, that is national autonomy' are 'scientific facts' and the various socialist authors held the Marxist state to be the inevitable end to the trajectory of cultural evolution, the concept of the free market emerged as 'a symbol of the rational organization of society or even of rationality itself, and economic reform was often talked about as "the return of rationality to our society"' (Holy 1996:153).

This notion of return to an ostensibly pre-existing mode of existence, central to Niederle's arguments for a unified Czechoslovak state, constructed an intimate link between capitalism and the nation which did not exist in any marked sense in the Revivalist period. The notion that anomalies that had offset the natural course of Czech nationhood, such as the Habsburg victory at White Mountain in 1526 and subjugation by the Soviet Union, had to be 'undone' (*odčiněný*) was of central importance to collective belief in a continuous nation (Holy 1996:120). In this sense, return to a Czech nation state and the 'return' to a free market economy was not simply a return to the 'natural' mode of existence for Czechs, but to Europe and 'civilized society' as well. Holy translates several passages from newspaper editorials to this effect, such as the following notable selection:

As a slogan of our 'gentle revolution' we chose 'the return to Europe', including the adoption of an economic system which is characteristic of the civilized world and which shows that, in spite of all its shortcomings, no better arrangement of economic relations exists. (*Lidove noviny*, 10 March 1990)<sup>27</sup>

Whilst arguing for the opposite socio-economic system, nevertheless the ability to claim *kulturnost* is based in essentially the same narrative: Czech society is advanced because it recognizes and has adapted to the social system most characteristic of high evolution and civilization. Though in appearance radical, the discursive shift to capitalism was in fact simply a minor alteration within a pre-existing teleological construct. As Holy discusses, the reforms of the Velvet Revolution did not so much concern inventing new discursive symbols and constructs, but rather operated within a 'shared...single symbolic system' employed by

---

<sup>27</sup> Holy 1996:151.

the Communist Party as well (Holy 1996:55). The swiftness with which the Velvet Revolution altered Czech society can perhaps in part be explained by the fact the claims of the protestors emerged from a single discursive field within which it won supremacy over the Socialist regime.

Additionally, the notion of civilization and *kulturnost* as related to literacy and high cultural traditions re-emerges in a manner quite similar to the Revivalist period. At the centre of *kulturnost*'s manifestation in the contemporary period is the belief that its heart resides in 'traditions' whose 'carrier is the nation as a whole, not any of its particular members' (ibid.:85). As such it is only through education and literacy that one can become truly 'cultured' in the advanced Czech tradition, especially in regards to the ostensibly Czech 'democratic tradition' of which there were no longer any persons with "'lived" experience' in 1990 (ibid.). This 'high culture' is also communicated through the prevalence of literary and performing arts, Czech *kulturnost* often being asserted based on 'the number of theatres and bookshops in their country...or to the great number of books which can be found even in the households of workers and farmers' in a manner akin to Niederle's literacy arguments at the beginning of the 20th century (ibid.:86).

Returning to the topic of the free market, one significant area which has not had precedence in the texts I have examined from earlier periods is the notion that the advanced nature of capitalism is its capacity to balance human will and 'nature'. Holy demonstrates two distinct meanings of 'nature' which it is necessary to explicitly define. First is the definition of 'nature' as one side of a dichotomy between 'will' defined as 'processes designed and controlled by human agents' and 'nature' as 'those [processes] outside such control and design' (ibid.:181). The second sense is in many ways equivalent to the notion of 'reason'

and pertains to a proper balance and moderation between the two domains of this dichotomy (ibid.:182). Should a proper balance not be maintained, the result is an ‘unnatural’ state, the problem of which is characterized by the Czech saying ‘too much of anything is harmful’ (*všeho moc škodí*) (ibid.).

Criticisms of the previous Socialist system tended to be based on this dichotomy, with both an excess of artifice and animalism cited as the reasons for its failings. Will is conceived as only being a good when it is exerted within the boundaries of reason, which ensures that it limits itself to certain natural confines. It is for this reason that an editorialist argued that the attempt by the Communist Party to build ‘the prosperity of the state in the framework of the “world socialist system”’ was an ‘opinion’ which ‘did not agree with what is logical and *natural*’ (ibid.:184). Similarly, Holy cites editorialist Petr Havlik, who comments on the ‘omnipresent heritage of the *jungle*’ leftover from the days of Socialism, due to its lack of regard for ‘human cultivation’ (ibid.:185).

While it is certainly possible that the prevalence of dialectics within contemporary Czech discourse in Holy’s ethnography is the result of his own leanings towards structuralist theory, nevertheless explicit examples of dialectical modes of thought appear to exist in Post-Socialist as well as Socialist and Revivalist discourses, as my own analysis in previous chapters has attested. Moreover, while the emphasis on balance does appear to be relatively recent in regards to the limited selections I have been able to analyse, the overarching narrative of Czech-ness as being central within an ideology conceived as advanced and natural (democratic nationalism, Marxist material history and neo-liberal nationalism respective to each period) persists throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century. As I will attempt to illustrate in the following section, the manifestation this narrative has embodied in the decade

following the Velvet Revolution has had profound consequences for the Roma, who became a major source of definition of Czech identity in their provision of an ‘anti-thesis’ to Czechness.

### *iii. Czech Roma in the Socialist and Post Socialist periods*

Study of European Romani populations has been a fairly extensive subject of study within social science and humanities fields. Of specific interest to this thesis is the work of the sociologist Will Guy, who has conducted and published ethnographic surveys of Czech and Slovak Romani since his doctoral thesis in 1975. He provides a useful summary of the modes of exclusion and forced assimilation which have historically constituted central and eastern European constructions of Roma identity, with special focus on comparing the Socialist and Post Socialist periods. Drawing from the work of Czech-Romani intellectual Nicolae Gherghe, Guy characterizes the first mode of Roma identity as a ‘social’ definition (Guy 2001:6). Characteristic of the Socialist period and medieval Slovakia, this definition entailed their ‘incorporation into the local labour market and to the eradication of Romani nomadism’ often through ‘direct assimilation’ (ibid.:7). Under Communism, ‘all aspects of their culture, without exception, were regarded negatively as relics from the past and as obstacles to their successful integration into wider society’ (ibid.:11). Moreover, while Roma labour was considered indispensable in accordance with official party policy, this was complicated by local prejudices due to the fact ‘Gadje<sup>28</sup> memories of wretched and impoverished Roma were deep rooted...and examples could always be found to confirm negative stereotypes’ (ibid.).

---

<sup>28</sup> Non-Romani

In theorizing the acceptance of Roma labour but rejection of Roma personage (that is to say, the individual enculturated into particular Romani traditions), historian Colin Clark provides a useful application of Foucault's theory of governmentality that exists in tandem with Reiss's characterization of analytico-referentialism. Emerging from the Enlightenment tradition that sought 'the application of reason and efficiency to particular activities and knowledge,' attempts at assimilation of Roma were done as a means to 'evangelize and modernize them' (Clark 2004:236). However, 'the reforming of these "primitives"' can in fact be considered itself a superstructural mask of exploitation by the ostensibly Marxist regime as a means to 'enhance the efficient exploitation of human and natural resources' (ibid.). Cultural destruction provided the means to 'remove a threat and a nuisance', while maintaining the bodies of Roma individuals meant they could still 'assimilate into the wage-labour work force' (ibid.).

Negative and dehumanizing though the consequences of the 'social' mode of external definition were for the Roma, the 'ethnic' definition which has since re-emerged entails even graver consequences. Having at its core the notion that Roma are in some sense biologically and naturally incapable of assimilation and education justified the post-Communist reduction of 'Roma employment levels into almost universal unemployment' (Guy 2001:13). Typically as a 'direct effect of institutional discrimination' Roma were 'the first to be made redundant and the last to be hired' in the Czech Republic (ibid.). The subsequent effect was a Catch-22 where Roma were both 'driven to subsist on whatever state benefits that existed' and at the same time frequently 'deemed ineligible' due to difficulties in proving their residency (ibid. 2001:14). Resorting to the informal economy and black market, the apparent rise in Roma crime rates 'were widely reported and when the initial euphoria of revolution swiftly

dissipated as economic and political difficulties multiplied, such media coverage fuelled mounting resentment against Roma' (ibid.:14).

In certain circumstances, there is a strong racial charge to such discourses, particularly from the far right. Fawn notes that government allocations of money to build a monument in Lety to Roma killed at the former concentration camp was criticized by the far right *Republikáni Miroslava Sládka* (RMS) party as 'building a monument to gypsies' which constituted 'an insult to all white citizens of this state' (Fawn 2001:1201). Prior to the allocation of funds and international outcry, the site of the concentration camp had served as a location to raise and slaughter pigs (ibid.).

The culmination of these attitudes was formally effected through what is typically considered the 'deliberate but indirect' exclusion of Roma from citizenship instituted through the amendments to the Czech Citizenship Law following separation from Slovakia (ibid.). Formally requiring proof of residence in Czech lands, the 'paper-filled application process, which puts the burden of proof on the applicants, has often been scrambled by district officials who knowingly gave Roma applicants false information or simply told them to get lost' (ibid.). The effect has essentially been the creation of a nation state which has the capacity to exclude on the basis of ethnicity, entailing the 'disenfranchisement of thousands of Roma and their placement in a condition of statelessness' (ibid.). Given the figures presented by Fawn, this means over one third of Roma living in the Czech Republic at the time of his publication lacked even the most basic protections as citizens (ibid.:1195, 1201).

#### *iv. Roma as Czech 'anti-thesis'*

##### a. Historical European concepts of the Roma and structuralist binary models

While Guy's synthesis of the work of Gherghe and other intellectuals is useful in characterizing the overarching socio-economic effects of these different modes of Roma definition, Clark provides richly descriptive characterizations of the 'ethnic' type that have had strong continuities throughout Europe. Two aspects are of greatest note in the Czech context. First is the characterization of Roma's 'blackness', 'savagery' and 'otherness' as central to their European conception, all three traits of which Clark argues are equivalent to each other (Clark 2004:230). While commonly referring to skin colour, Colin illustrates how the characteristic of 'blackness' transcends the physical trait, as evidenced by the assertion that blackness is a necessary trait of the 'real gipsy' regardless of 'whether they are tawny or not' (ibid). This trait refers to general European connotations of the colour black as relating to 'the primeval unknown, disease, death and decay, sorcery, evil and the devil' (ibid). This is contrasted to connotations of white, representing among other things life, goodness and God (ibid).

While structuralist models of binary opposition have been routinely and justifiably critiqued for attempting to oversimplify complex, multifarious and contested cultural systems into sets of basic dichotomies, I nevertheless find a certain usefulness of the method in grappling with the complexities of the interplay between European (and particularly Czech) identity and Roma identity found in this discourse. That Roma have existed in Europe for centuries and are yet consistently characterized as 'other' provides a kind of paradox: they are both a

common presence within European society and are yet excluded from it. To this end I find binary opposition particularly useful. Whereas structuralist theory typically presented such models as an all-encompassing metaphysical reality somehow not known to the members of a culture themselves, I construct the following dialectic as nothing more than a *representational tool*. Its aim is to represent the various relationships I have observed through limited textual analysis of a discourse of identity significant in the 1990s and the first decade of the new millennium.

Two major modes of representing binary oppositions exist within structuralist anthropology. The most common is that of categorical opposition, where a concept and its opposite (such as white:black) were depicted as two mutually exclusive categories, sharply and absolutely separated from one another. This model was exemplified by Oxford anthropologists of the structuralist period, particularly Rodney Needham's cross-cultural analysis of notions related to right and left, building on the much earlier work of French sociologist Robert Hertz (Parkin 2009:47).

The second model was one of encompassing hierarchical opposition, where the opposition entails an implicit hierarchy involving a superordinate category encompassing a subordinate category, upon which the former depends for definition (ibid.). This model is identified as such by French anthropologist Louis Dumont, which I cited in the Revivalist chapter as having marked similarities to Reiss's presentation of medieval scholastic discourse and Holy's depiction of Czech nationalism. While both Needham and Dumont argued vehemently against the approach of the other, I find both useful in depicting the relationship between Czech and Roma as found in textual sources. Moreover, I believe that the two models in fact represent *equivalent forms* of each other, that is to say, neither contains any additional claim

not logically implied by the other. For those interested, I have provided a Boolean demonstration in the appendix supporting this claim.<sup>29</sup>

#### b. Comparing the ‘otherness’ of the Roma with the ‘otherness’ of Slovaks

Given the previous characterizations, we can consider the categorical model to be *bounded* and *exclusionary* while the encompassment model is *inclusive* but by definition *hierarchical* in its depictions of dichotomy. As discussed in my analysis of Niederle’s work, both models are relevant to his conception of the relationship between Czechs and Slovaks. The pre-World War I existence of Czech and Slovak territories as divided was seen as a temporary injustice, masking their ‘primordial unity’ as emerging from the same ‘cradle’ (Niederle 1911:100). Actualization of both identities into their ‘natural’ state required combination into a single unified nation state by subsuming Slovak identity into that of the Czech.

In this sense, the ‘otherness’ of Slovaks has a similar form as the ‘otherness’ of the Roma. Holy notes that in spite (or perhaps because) of the Czech perception of the Slovaks as ‘their most significant Other’ since the 1945 expulsion of German-speaking populations, ‘Czechs have been construing their national identity mainly in opposition to Slovaks’ (Holy 1996:6). This ‘otherness’ is typically construed in the form of a fraternal metaphor, entailing ‘the basic notion of inequality in spite of close kinship’ that is ‘expressed through the image of the Slovak as the Czech’s little brother’ (ibid.:104). However, whereas opposition between Czechs and Slovaks is seen as a proximate and kin-based otherness, and thus has a

---

<sup>29</sup> Appendix pp. 119

resemblance to the various myths of twin opposites analysed by Levi-Strauss,<sup>30</sup> the otherness of the Roma is seen as absolute as the difference between black and white.

While the Roma exist as an *absolute* counterpoint to what it means to be Czech, the Slovaks exist as a *proximate* counterpoint. How this can be the case is understood by the primary definition of Czech as entailing substantial *kulturnost*, therefore defining the concepts of Slovak and Roma as by extension entailing a lack of cultural progress. Common Czech stereotypes of Slovaks cited by Holy entail emphasis on ‘traditional community’ over ‘modern society’, ‘emotion’ over ‘rationality’ and ‘nature’ as opposed to ‘culture’ (ibid.:107). In this manner, the Slovak is a perpetually infantilized younger brother, requiring that the Czech always ‘look after him’ so that ‘when alone he will not lose his way or drown’ even if ‘he rejects your helping hand, he kicks you’ as early 20<sup>th</sup> century Czech author Karel Kalal framed it (ibid.:104). Thus this view emphasizes the aptness of encompassing opposition, one which is inclusive of Slovak identity, but only as hierarchically subordinate to Czech identity.

The concept of the Roma, on the other hand, is everything the concept of Czech is not in an absolute sense. As I will detail in the sections to come, stereotypes of Roma primarily entail an assumption of a wilful ignorance and acceptance of ‘a lifestyle of indolence, theft and unsanitary conditions’ as more or less germane to the core nature of the Roma (Fawn 2001:1196). As such, Roma are seen as inherently incapable of integration, thus legitimating social and ‘legal disenfranchisement in the post-communist space’ (ibid.:1193). In this domain, the model of categorical opposition is particularly useful in understanding the exclusion of the Roma. Paradoxically the fact that the Roma are considered in all ways

---

<sup>30</sup> Lévi-Strauss, Claude, ‘Harelips and twins: the splitting of a myth’, in *Myth and Meaning* (pp. 25), Schocken Books, New York, NY (1995).

opposed to Czechs itself entails that Roma are intimately linked to an understanding of what it is *supposed to mean* to be Czech, and therefore the model of hierarchical encompassing opposition also provides a useful means of representation.

c. Holy on the *malý český člověk* versus the *čecháček*

In Holy's ethnography, he makes a clear distinction between Czech self-concepts as they pertain to the 'ideal' existence of Czech individuals within the nation and how they exist in the contingent present. In accordance with his model of Czech nationalism, the greater extent to which a Czech individual identifies with the traditions and values of the nation, the more they exhibit 'ideal' traits. Embodying these ideal characteristics is the ideal type of the *malý český člověk* ('little Czech man'), typically abbreviated simply as 'MČČ'. Holy describes this 'role model' of Czech-ness as one whose 'attitude is down to earth,' an individual who is 'certainly no hero' and whose concerns are 'delineated by his family, work and close friends' (Holy 1996:62). The MČČ is one amongst many 'common, ordinary and unexceptional people' connected by 'a strong feeling of egalitarianism' (ibid.). Moreover, 'the Czech nation survived three hundred years not because of its heroes but because of the little Czechs who were the nation' (ibid.).

In Holy's conception, it is only through subsuming one's identity into that of the collective nation that the unexceptional MČČ has his or her place in the exceptional cultural heritage of the Czech people. Holy presents positive Czech self-concepts as revolving around the notion of having 'golden Czech hands', that is, having the capacity to 'cope with everything they touch' due to being 'talented, skilful and ingenious' (ibid.:73). These qualities do not pertain to any particular individual, rather they are the inheritance of membership in the Czech

nation. The MČČ can be seen as ‘the embodiment of ordinariness and healthy common sense. Whatever else he may lack, he does not lack intelligence’ (ibid.:72). It is important to note that, in my conversations with Czech friends and acquaintances, MČČ has begun to take on a more derogatory sense, and scepticism is warranted towards the relevance of Holy’s depiction in the contemporary meaning and import of the discourse.

A darker mirror image of this is the *čecháček*, which in its literal sense also means ‘little Czech’, however grammatically it is a diminutive (and therefore somewhat infantilizing) form. In many ways this ideal type embodies the negative aspects of the egalitarian ethos and limited horizon of the MČČ, exhibiting traits such as ‘petty mindedness...intolerance to views, attitudes and conduct which differ from one’s own, envy and a conviction that whatever one does or thinks is best and that those who deviate from it should be reminded in no uncertain terms of the error of their ways’ (ibid.:76). Whereas the nation is ‘democratic, well-educated and...highly cultured’, Holy argues that Czech individuals see themselves as ‘envious, resentful...cunning...intellectually limited and mediocre’ as well as ‘lazy’ according to surveys conducted in 1990 and 1992 (ibid.:77).

The particular characteristic of being ‘cunning’ and its negative connotations with criminality are to a large extent rooted in events taking place in Austria and Germany following the Velvet Revolution, and thus are of great impact to international reputation. Following the opening of Czech borders with Austria, shoplifting on the part of Czech tourists became a major problem, leading to shopkeepers installing signs commanding ‘Czechs don’t steal here’ (Richter 2008). The continued problem of shoplifting, particularly on the part of employees where blame cannot be easily placed on Roma, is a continued source of national embarrassment, a 2008 study branding Czechs as ‘Europe’s biggest shoplifters’ (ibid.).

Explanations for this problem often rest on the ‘corrupting’ influence of the learned ‘unethical practices of the totalitarian regime’ (ibid.) Czech journalist Jan Richter blames in particular the totalitarian suppression of ‘religion with its moral code of conduct’ and the belief such a code has ‘never made a comeback’ (ibid.).

#### d. Comparison of negative Czech and Roma stereotypes

In comparing negative Czech self-concepts as presented by Holy to negative Czech stereotypes of Roma, there are remarkable similarities. One such example is the stereotyped personality trait of lazy, stubborn and wilful ignorance. As characterized by various commissioned human rights studies, a central reason for the poor image of Roma in the Czech Republic is due to the education system, which generally segregates or excludes Roma from Czech schools, a problem which it is believed ‘could be improved with classroom integration’ (Fawn 2001:1201). In spite of the success of small-scale measures to this effect in Bohemian towns such as Rokycany, support for more generalized policies has been limited due to assumptions that ‘Roma would [not] actually embrace the opportunity to be educated’ (ibid.:1200).

In addition to the assumed disinterest among Roma in regards to education, assumed laziness is the basis for continued discrimination of Roma in employment and access to state benefits. Excluded from higher and even primary education, Roma are typically only able to offer unskilled labour, and a living salary in such positions ‘is not achievable in the job market for Roma,’ additionally implying that the market even for unskilled labour is different for ethnic Czechs (ibid.:1196). As a result, those Roma who do acquire citizenship typically depend on

government subsistence allocations, who, given typically 'much larger families' are afforded payments which are 'unequally distributed' (ibid.). A significant reason for this resentment as presented by Fawn is the perceived manner in which 'Roma had their socio-economic standing elevated under Communism' (ibid.).

Rather than blaming employment and educational discrimination for the high numbers of Romani families on government assistance and the fact that 'statistically, few members earn wages and pay taxes,' the anti-Roma discourse Fawn cites appeals to an essentialist and naturalist argument (ibid.). In the 'common Czech view' the lack of working Roma is to be blamed on 'a lifestyle of indolence, theft and unsanitary conditions' which are perceived to be 'preordained, ethnically based, or even biological' (ibid.:1196). Whereas the 'natural' characteristics of the Czech nation consist in being 'hardworking', 'skilful' and 'highly cultured' – an existence which is not fully realized because of the aforementioned 'corrupting' aspects of the Communist regime – the 'natural' state of Roma is to be 'indolent' and 'criminal' (Holy 1996: 76,77). The existence of Czech 'laziness' and 'cunning' criminality in the form of shoplifting, that is to say, traits most chiefly opposed to the effective implementation of a neoliberal economy, is an accident of history imposed on it by an immoral regime and something which simply needs to be 'undone'.<sup>31</sup>

For the Roma, their 'natural' state embodies these vices, and in a sense their popular stereotype can be seen as embodying an anti-capitalist ethos. The assumed 'indolence' and criminality of the Roma provides a convenient counterpoint to what Czechs 'should' be, and the assumption of these two traits creates what Fawn calls a 'vicious circle' where the very traits created by the exclusion of Roma from education and employment are the very reason

---

<sup>31</sup> *Odčiněný* as 'undoing' as presented by Holy (1996:120).

for the perceived existence of those traits (Fawn 2001:1195). Though reviled, Roma play an important role in certain significant contemporary discourses of Czech identity, providing a conceptual repository in which to place the leftover economic and cultural remnants following the radical transition from Soviet-styled socialism to neo-liberal capitalism. Like a repentant sinner rejecting the devil and all his works, the Roma concept provides a means of ‘purifying’ the Czech nation of its communist past by providing a scapegoat.

*v. Competing discourses of ethnic nationalism and democratic neoliberalism: the paradox of Czech ‘freedom’*

The idea that Czech ethnicity has a central place in nationalist ideology and the contemporary legitimacy of the nation-state is ubiquitous throughout the academic literature I have presented here. It is therefore useful to differentiate between ethnic and civic characterizations of national identity. Political philosopher Zagorka Golubovic created a useful theoretical distinction as a means of framing the rapidly dissolving former Yugoslavia shortly before the 1998 conflict that would completely fragment the former socialist state. As noted in the introduction to this thesis, this distinction entails differentiating between the mostly understanding of nationalism as ‘civic’ identity attributed to French political philosophy from the ‘ethnic’ understanding attributed to German romanticism. Though Golubovic speaks of the two as distinct kinds of states, I find it better to conceive of them as two concepts of nationhood that exist together to greater or lesser extents within many and perhaps all nation states.

Golubovic describes an ethnic nation state as one marked by an understanding of the nation as ‘a unity which homogenizes peoples and restricts pluralism of cultural expressions to

nationalist symbols' where ideally state and the society of the ethnic majority are unified (Golubovic 1998:78). This model contrasts with civic nationalism, which 'distinguishes between state and society and does not strive to construe a monolithic community (ibid). Though describing the distinction as a differentiation between two distinct categories of states, there are numerous descriptions of either type that can be understood as two different manifestations national sentiment, which may or may not both exist within the same nation-state.

An ethnic nationalist sentiment can be understood as the belief that one's nation emerges from 'blood and soil' and that it requires the 'subordination of individuals to the people as a hypostatized entity which dominates as an inevitable fate contrary to the individual will and freedom' and need not even have a state to exist (Golubovic 1998:79). Civic nationalist sentiment can be described as connecting with a wider community in terms of possessing the 'same language and cultural continuity,' thus providing a 'foundation of personal identity' while also allowing for 'unique character structures of individual members' (ibid.:78). To this extent, the divide mimics the dichotomy of *ethnos* and *kratos* in the Greek context as presented by Roger Just in *Triumph of the ethnos* (1989).

Whereas the civic conception is complimentary to democratic and neoliberal ideology which establishes the individual as an autonomous entity distinct from his or her society, the ethnic sentiment of nationalism is antithetical and contradictory to this understanding of the individual. Subordination of individual agency within a superordinate nation entails that the 'natural' behaviour of the individual is to act in a manner in concert with the abstract national will, and any action counter to this collectivity is seen as 'unnatural'. Conversely, civic nationalism sees the nation as merely a social sphere delimited in terms of language and

cultural symbolism, and therefore not so much an abstract social agent as a field of discourse upon which individual actors can operate and coherently interact. While one might attempt a neat distinction between the two by giving the examples of France, Great Britain and the United States as civic nation-states and the Czech Republic, Balkan states and other Central and Eastern European nation-states as ethnically oriented, close examination shows the differentiation is not as clean as one might assume. Given the recent political success of UKIP in Great Britain and even the Front National in France, which Golubovic cites as the origin of the civic nationalist concept, ethnic nationalism has the capacity to constitute a powerful discourse within most any nation state. Indeed, it may be an inextricable aspect of nationalist political organization, period.

The coexistence of these two seemingly contradictory yet frequently combined discourses in contemporary nation states is exemplified in the Czech context by Holy's description of a Czech understanding of 'freedom'. During the November 1989 protests and since, the notion of 'freedom' has entailed not only the 'right to express individuality as the basic attribute of a person' but also the attribution of 'freedom' to the abstract collective of the nation (Holy 1996:55). In the latter understanding, freedom of the nation is the primary goal of political action, a goal which is only realized 'not simply when it has its own state but when the state is the instrument for the management and channelling of its interests' (ibid.). In such a way can we understand the far-right characterization cited by Fawn of the allocation of government funds for the purpose of a memorial to Roma victims of the Holocaust as an 'insult' (Fawn 2010:1201). Directing state resources towards a monument for non-Czech persons, particularly at a time when the government was levying increased taxes, was seen by the far right as a violation of the liberty of the nation and by extension each individual within it (ibid).

Yet while the notion of freedom as entailing the liberty of the Czech nation is common, its complete separation from considerations characteristic of civic individualism is far from mainstream. The individual cited by Fawn was a member of the aforementioned far right RMS, a party which received no more than 0.9% of the vote in any legislative election and which was forced to dissolve in 2013 by order of the Supreme Administrative Court of the Czech Republic. Its influence pales in comparison to that of UKIP and the Front National in Western Europe, and to characterize Czech national identity as being of an entirely ethnic type with no regard for individual identity and rights would be an even graver misnomer than characterizing British identity as derivative of Nigel Farage's political ideology.

Unfortunately, instead of interpreting the concept of freedom that emerged approximately two decades following his move to Britain as a paradox that warrants intense study and admits of no immediately apparent answer, Holy instead opts to view it as a contradiction<sup>32</sup>. In his conception freedom defined as liberty of the abstract ethnic nation is the truly held understanding, freedom of the individual being merely a hastily accepted artifice to justify the former (Holy 1996:70). Echoing the collapse of society and state mentioned by Golubovic as a hallmark of ethnic nationalism, Holy states that 'the 'velvet revolution' can be seen as an effort to bring the existing relations between the state, the nation and the individual in line with the culturally constituted ideal' (ibid.). In his conception the democratic and neoliberal characteristics of the state desired by the protestors, and the notions of freedom they entailed, had little to do with a desire of such forms of governance and economy in and of themselves. Instead he asserts that 'questions of the specific form the government should take were

---

<sup>32</sup> It is important to note that it is only in theorizing the 'freedom' concept that Holy take this extreme a view. He speaks later of democracy and nationalism as entailing a kind of 'balance' in popular conceptions. See Holy 1996:187-9

initially quite secondary' (ibid.:71). The demand for a democratic government by the protestors was essentially instrumental in Holy's conception, being merely 'the means for achieving their main objective: an end to the hated [Communist] state' (ibid.:170).

While the incorporation of neoliberal capitalism was certainly new within the Czech context, to claim democracy as essentially an afterthought of the desire of Czechs to create a nation state in the contemporary period as if it were unprecedented is to ignore the concepts of a democratic nation extending at least to Lubor Niederle and Tomáš Masaryk. As shown in Chapter 2, Niederle equated the 'political renaissance of the individual' with 'national autonomy' and argued that both exist as objective 'scientific facts' (Niederle 1911:4). In Niederle's conception, national autonomy is a good precisely because it allows for the 'rebirth' of the individual person's importance, not the other way around. Moreover, while Niederle's notion of the Czech nation was certainly far from advocating ethnic diversity, both first Czechoslovak president Tomáš Masaryk and first president of the Czech Republic Vaclav Havel had the 'original vision' to create a 'multiethnic state based on human values' during their respective foundational presidencies (Fawn 2010:1194).

The core fault in Holy's representations of contemporary Czech 'freedom' is a weakness fairly common to structural functionalist and structuralist approaches. Rather than representing a cultural context as containing multiple conflicting and competing discourses, he attempts reduce these complexities to a single overarching discursive system. For this reason, his characterization of Czech identity, which 'stresses the importance of the collective...identity over the personal one', perhaps has more to do with his attempt to condense Czech culture into singular discursive systems than the cultural context itself (Holy 1996:63).

While I believe Holy is correct in arguing that Czech concepts of the freedom of the nation and the individual are to a certain extent contrary to one another, they are contrary for the very reason the political discourses of the Labour Party differ from those of the Tories in the United Kingdom: they are competing political visions of Czech nationalism existing within the same geopolitical entity. Moreover, the existence of nation states entailing both ethnic and civic characteristics in Golubovic's terminology, as both the multivocality of 'freedom' in the Czech context and the rapid emergence of ethnic nationalism in Western Europe show, is a complex matter that is too widespread to be reduced to instrumentality alone. This paradox is at the heart of contemporary nationalist movements, and further study of the Czech context provides particularly rich grounds for understanding this paradox further.

## CONCLUSION

In the preceding chapters, I hope I have constructed for the reader a coherent account of the manner in which the analytico-referential discourses provided by Revivalist and Socialist period Czech ethnography have created and legitimated the *kulturnost* claim of a distinct and advanced culture, discourses enormously influential on Czech self-concepts to the present day. However, my own representation of 20<sup>th</sup> century constructions of Czech identity suffers from the very same problem of 'telescoping' that Reiss cited as problematic in his own characterizations of European Scholastic and Enlightenment discourses, and it is necessary to point out the ways in which future research can more fully develop and potentially problematize the representation I have begun here.

First, the texts I have analysed from Revivalist and Socialist anthropology have primarily consisted only of the works of certain central figures, and while they constitute the best regarded academic work of their respective periods, they are only an infinitesimal portion of the total work of *narodopists* and *etnografers*. This is particularly significant as, in focusing on them, I have inherently privileged *textual* ethnographic theory and conclusions, whilst the manner in which ethnography was conveyed to the general public was primarily through exhibitions of ‘folk’ costumes and living quarters within the space of museums.<sup>33</sup> Given that such exhibitions were informed by textual academic works, the limited resources of time and writing space and the focus of my degree programme on general social anthropology rather than museum ethnography, my approach has provided a legitimate and useful first step, but this should by no means be considered a comprehensive characterization. Moreover, the authors I have analysed were entirely from the mainstream Charles University, excluding more marginal but still potentially influential academics from Brno and elsewhere in the Czech lands.

In many ways, Czech identity has been and continues to be constructed and consumed within the space of museums. Since the 1895 Ethnographic Exhibition in Prague, the museum space has provided a venue in which the presentation of ‘traditional materials’ can be used by Czech ‘consumers’ to construct their ‘present’ (Hubinger 1996:20). Today the National Museum,<sup>34</sup> whose main building is a colossal and imposing structure situated at the top of Wenceslas Square, continues to be a highly frequented public space. With exhibitions on ‘the theme of death in Czech folk culture’ and ‘Life in the Czech Countryside’, the

---

<sup>33</sup> While I was not able to explore museum-focused theories of nationalism due to limited space and the nature of my degree, a landmark text on the topic is Tony Bennett’s *Birth of the Museum* (1995). Covering Britain, Australia and North America, research on museum-based constructions of Czech identity would be a worthwhile addition.

<sup>34</sup> Národní Muzeum

essentialisation of Czech identity into the ‘folk’ continues to provide a highly marketable consumer experience.<sup>35</sup> While within the limited writing space and time provided I have focused on the academic foundations of this experience, it would be worthwhile and necessary for a comprehensive image of Czech nationalist identity to understand the experience as a *visceral* consumer good provided largely within the space of Prague’s numerous museums.

Nevertheless, I believe I have provided a useful and coherent framework for understanding the basic modes and characteristics of Czech identity throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century, through the lens of Czech anthropology. Czech anthropology has largely provided the means by which ideological social constructions of ethnic and social identity have been reified into the appearance of objective and almost physical fact, and this framework provides a useful basis for understanding the social marginalization of Roma and possibly other minority groups in the Czech Republic.

While it would be facile for those in Anglo-American anthropology to simply disregard the past methodologies of Czech anthropology as disturbingly positivist and ideological, such a view would be both dismissive of the latter’s methodologically useful inclusion of rigorous historical analysis and overly presumptuous of our own ‘purity’ from ideological concerns. More than anything else, I hope my descriptions of the anthropological traditions of an ‘other’ provide a means by which Anglo-American anthropologists can more clearly understand the potential of social research to create social reality, and act as a stimulus to critically examine the extent our own methods might create the social phenomena we ostensibly are only seeking to describe. Working in tandem with Czech anthropologists, we

---

<sup>35</sup> <http://www.nm.cz/Current-Exhibitions/>

can perhaps grow to have a heightened regard for this capacity in social research in general, 'bridging' Czech anthropology with that of Western Europe and the United States, and our respective guilty pasts with the hopes we have for our respective disciplinary futures.

## ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Agnew, H. L. and. V. W. S. (2004). *The Czechs and the Lands of the Bohemian Crown*, Hoover Institution Press.

Aquinas, T. (2007). *Summa Theologica*. New York, Cosimo Classics.

Barth, F. (1998). *Ethnic groups and boundaries : the social organization of culture difference*. Prospect Heights, Ill., Waveland.

Breuilly, J. (1983) Foreword in, Gellner, E. *Nations and Nationalism*. Oxford, Basil Blackwell Ltd.

Budil, I. (2004). Teaching and Learning Anthropology in the Czech Republic. *Educational Histories of European Social Anthropology*. Drackle, D; Edgar, I.R.; Schippers, T.K. , Berghann Books. **1**: 94-101.

Clark, C. (2004). 'Severity has often enraged but never subdued a Gypsy': The History and Making of European Romani Stereotypes. *The role of the Romanies: images and counter images of 'Gypsies' / Romanies in European cultures*. N. a. T. Saul, S. Liverpool, Liverpool University Press: 226-246.

Douglas, M. (2002). *Purity and Danger: an Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*. London, Routledge.

Dumont, L. (1972). *Homo hierarchicus : the caste system and its implications*. London, Paladin.

Eller, C. (2013). "Matriarchy and the Volk." *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* **81**(1): 188-221.

Engels, F. (2001). *The Origin of the family, private property, and the state*. London, Electronic Book Co.

Eriksen, T. H. (2010). *Ethnicity and Nationalism: Anthropological Perspectives*, Pluto Press.

Fawn, R. (2001). "Czech Attitudes towards the Roma: 'Expecting More of Havel's Country?'" *Europe-Asia Studies* **53**(8): 1193-1219.

Gellner, E. (1983). *Nations and Nationalism*. Oxford, Basil Blackwell Ltd.

Guy, W. (2001). Romani identity and post-Communist policy. *Between past and future : the Roma of Central and Eastern Europe*. W. Guy. Hatfield, University of Hertfordshire Press.

Hacking, I. (1975). *The emergence of probability : a philosophical study of early ideas about probability, induction and statistical inference*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Hobsbawm, E. J. (1983). Introduction: Inventing Traditions. *The invention of tradition*. E.. Hobsbawm and Ranger, T. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Hobsbawm, E. J. (1983). Mass Producing Traditions: Europe, 1870-1914. *The invention of tradition*. E. a. R. Hobsbawm, T. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Holy, L. (1985). Fire, meat, and children: the Berti myth, male dominance, and female power. In *Reason and morality*. J. Overing. London, Routledge.

Holy, L. (1996). *The Little Czech and the Great Czech Nation: National identity and the post-communist social transformation*, Cambridge University Press.

Horák, J. (1962). 'Quinze années d'études ethnographiques en Tchécoslovaquie.' *Revue des études slaves* **41**(1-4): 151-161.

Hubinger, V. (1996). The present: a bridge between past and present. *Grasping the Changing World: Anthropological Concepts in the Postmodern Era*. V. Hubinger, Routledge: 17-34.

Just, R. (1989). Triumph of the ethnos. *History and Ethnicity*. Tonkin, E.; McDonald, M.; Chapman, M. London, Routledge.

Karnikova, L. (1963). "Les travaux sur l'histoire de l'industrie minière et de mineurs en Tchécoslovaquie parus après 1945." *Le Mouvement Social* **43**: 239-256.

Léger, L. (1911) Foreword in, Niederle, L. *La race slave : statistique, démographie--anthropologie*. Paris, F. Alcan.

Lozoviuk, P. (2005). The Pervasive Continuities of Czech Narodopis. *Studying Peoples in the People's Democracies: Socialist Era Anthropology in East-Central Europe*. Hann, C.; Sarkany, M.; Skalnik, P. Münster, North Rhine Westphalia Germany, Lit Verlag: 227-236.

- Nahodil, N. (1959). 'Mateřské kultury: Etnografické paralely k paleolitickým plastikám žen z jihoasijského území' *Československá etnografie* 7(4): 348-351.
- Neustupný, J. (1947). 'Lubor Niederle.' *Artibus Asiae* 10(4): 334.
- Niederle, L. (1911). *La race slave : statistique, démographie--anthropologie*. Paris, F. Alcan.
- Niederle, L. (1911). *Život starých Slovanů*. Praha, Nakladem Bursika & Kohouta.
- Niederle, L. (1914). Guide du visiteur des collections: Musée ethnographique de Prague, Prague.
- Niederle, L. (1926). *Manuel de l'antiquité slave*. Paris, Champion.
- Parkin, R. (2009). *Louis Dumont and hierarchical opposition*. Oxford, Berghann Books.
- Reiss, T. (1982). *The discourse of modernism*. Ithaca, Cornell University Press.
- Richter, J. (2008). 'Czechs top the list of Europe's biggest shoplifters.' (News article) *Radio Prague*.
- Salzmann, Z. (1970). Concerning Two Czech Publications on the Ethnography of Industrial Regions. *Symposium on Eastern European Ethnography*. University of Massachusetts - Amherst.
- Schebesta, P. (1929). *Among the forest dwarfs of Malaya*. London, Hutchinson & Co., Limited.
- Scheffel, D. a. K., J. (1994). 'Politics and Culture in Czech Ethnography.' *Anthropological Quarterly* 67(1): 15-23.
- Singer, M. (1959). 'Robert Redfield, anthropologist.' *Science* 130(3376): 609-610.
- Skalnik, P. (2005). Czechoslovakia: From Narodopis to Etnografie and Back. *Studying Peoples in the People's Democracies: Socialist Era Anthropology in East-Central Europe*. Hann, C.; Sarkany, M.; Skalnik, P. Münster, North Rhine Westphalia Germany, Lit Verlag: 55-86.
- Skalnikova, O. (2005). The Foundation of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences in 1952 and Its Importance for Czech Narodopis. *Studying Peoples in the People's Democracies: Socialist Era Anthropology in East-Central Europe*. Hann, C.; Sarkany, M.; Skalnik, P. Münster, North Rhine Westphalia Germany, Lit Verlag: 171-182.
- Skalnikova, O. and Fojtik, K. (1971). *K teorii etnografie současnosti*. Praha, Academia.

Strathern, M. (1992). *After Nature: English kinship in the late twentieth century*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Urla, J. (1993). 'Cultural Politics in an Age of Statistics: Numbers, Nations, and the Making of Basque Identity.' *American Ethnologist* **20**(4): 818-843.

Verdery, K. (1991). 'Theorizing socialism: a prologue to the "transition".' *American Ethnologist* **18**(3): 419-439.

## APPENDIX: SELECTED TRANSLATIONS AND OTHER SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIALS

### *i. Brief overview of translation methods*

Translations of primary materials presented in this thesis consist of four types: (a) selections I myself have translated from Czech, (b) selections translated into English by another author, (c) selections translated into French by another author, from which I construct my own translations and (d) commentary on Czech writings originally written in French. In the first category are all primary selections from the Socialist Period and one selection in Revivalist period (namely, *Zivot Starychslovanu*). Translation of these selections were drafted by myself, edited with the assistance of Czech tutor Ms Vanda Pickett and further informed by DPhil student in anthropology and native Czech speaker Johana Musálková.

While translation from any language entails a certain risk of doing violence to the meaning and style of the original, this is especially true for a translation from Czech into English. The Czech language, like most Slavic languages, is one which depends on a complex system of declensions in order to assign certain words their grammatical function. This is sharply contrasted with English which largely depends on word order for this purpose. As a result, the Czech language has an enormous capacity for expressing ideas in a non-linear fashion, a freedom of word order which allows for subtle emphases and greater scope of ideas within a single sentence which are impossible to translate directly into a linear English framework. Moreover, the greater scope and non-linearity of Czech means that a sentence which is quite eloquently put in the original would appear convoluted and confusing without a significant amount of reshaping by the translator. In such a context, the ability for a translator to misstep even with extensive assistance by native speakers, should be kept in mind as a necessary caveat to the reader.

An illustrative example is the following sentence from Otakar Nahodil's 1959 essay on ethnographic evidence of matriarchates among various peoples in Indonesia, derived from missionary ethnographer Pavel Sebest's earlier writings. I provide this example so that the reader may judge for him or herself the degree to which my method either obfuscates or elucidates the meaning of the original. Below I have cited the original Czech, a word for word translation and my finished translation. As is shown, I frequently found it necessary to divide a single sentence in the original into two sentences of translation, entailing a degree of fragmentation. Additionally, the weaving of certain constant themes and the multivocality of single words (such as *uctival*, which entails numerous meanings referring broadly to worship) were beyond my skills as a translator to effectively convey in English.

Z publikovaného materiálu je možno jako nesporné vyčíst především to  
[In] [published] [materials] [it is] [possible] [as to] [questionless][clear][above all][this]

že Kenta uctívali Babičku Manoid a že zřejmě tato předpokládané  
[that][Kenta][sanctify][Grandmother][Manoid][and][that][apparent][these][implied]

nadpřirozená bytost byla uctívána jako matka nebo pramatka mnohých  
[supernatural][beings][were][sanctified][as to][motherly][or][grandmotherly][several]

nebo snad dokonce všech nadpřirozených sil, uctívaných u Kenta, včetně Kaei,  
[or][may][even][all][supernatural][force],[hallowed][at][Kenta], [including][Kaei],

boha(?) hromu, a spolu s tím byla původně jistě ne  
[goddess(?)][of thunder][and][jointly][with][thereby][was][initially][for certain][not]

spolutvůrcem, ale vlastním tvůrcem, prarodičkou lidí.  
[co-creator],[but][held as][creator],[grandparent][of people].

‘It is without question that the Kenta hallowed Grandmother Menoid as a supernatural mother or grandmother to many or perhaps all supernatural forces, including Kaei god(ess?) of thunder. It is clear Grandmother Menoid was not co-creator with Karei but rather was originally held as the sole creator and grandparent of the people.’

What follows are certain selected translations. I have selected them according to the extent I believe providing a fuller account would assist the reader in understanding and critiquing my interpretations, and for this reason is not comprehensive of all texts cited.

*ii. Excerpts from Lubor Niederle*

a. Niederle [Manual of Slavic Antiquity Tome II: Civilization Paris, Librairie Ancienne Honore Champion, 1926] (From French)

[Primitive Unity of Slavs, Civilization from Rome and Germany, page 3]

The Slavic way of life altered decisively due to its intense and multiple relations with foreign civilizations. In effect we find Roman customs, modes of dress and industries, or more accurately Romano-Germanic (i.e. of Roman origin but received through Germans as the intermediary). We also see here distinctly Germanic customs and institutions. It is here we acquired advancements in agriculture and maritime activity, here our art was raised to the imitation of Germanic and Byzantine styles. We see how the Slavs of the South and East participated in the Golden Age of the Orient and how Christian ideas were introduced little by little into the stubborn pagan religious tradition.

All this contributes to the elevation of the Slavs at the earliest possible moment to its place among civilized peoples. At the same time, their civilization began to denationalize: it took to forgetting its origins, which though without a doubt rather meagre, nevertheless gave it its proper Slavic character. It did not lose this sense entirely, it maintained enough to place its own mark on the imprints made by foreigners. But no less is it the case that by the end of pagan times it was already entirely different from the epoch of Slavic unity. While it did not match the wealth and development of neighbouring Oriental Romano-Byzantine or even Germanic peoples who benefited from earlier assimilation into Roman culture, it was itself richer and more developed than before.

[In Old Slavic] 'We others, the Slavs, are a simple people' said Prince Ratislav in the 9<sup>th</sup> century to characterize his people in a letter to the Emperor Michael requesting for a magistrate to at last convert the Moravians to Christianity. It is this civilization which we will present as a succinct tableau, which does not claim to be a systematic or complete exposition of the ancient Slavic civilization.

#### b. Excerpt from *Zivot Starychslovanu* (From Czech)

There are other causes that in my opinion make it even more problematic to employ contemporary local customs and folk practices towards understanding ancient pagan culture, ways of life and domestic and social organization. It is impossible to doubt that in contemporary Slavic life, especially in peasant areas which provide a better circumstance for the preservation of archaic forms, much has been preserved from ancient times that might contribute to a picture of Slavic life one thousand years ago at the end of the pagan period. In order to accomplish this, however, it is necessary to know exactly what in contemporary folklore actually constitutes such archaic forms. So far, very little work has been done towards resolving the problem of what elements pertain to prehistoric and modern periods respectively. Not only this, more recent and increasingly frequent works have contributed even greater scepticism towards these hypothetical pagan remnants.

For my part I have not been able to fulfil this goal. In attempting to systematically examine, let alone critically analyse, the immense folkloric literature that exists I quickly realized that my own abilities are not sufficient to discern which elements are archaic remnants and which only emerged in the Christian period or were imported from elsewhere. In a word it is necessary for a fresh young researcher, or better yet group of researchers, to invest an immensely greater amount of work in the separation of these two categories in years to come. In the meantime, my own efforts have yielded no gains in the study of parallels between ancient Slavic and contemporary folkloric culture except a few chief manifestations that show naturally similar characteristics with ancient customs (e.g. weddings, interments, mythology etc).

c. Visitors' Guide, Ethnographic Museum of Prague, 1914: Introduction excerpts and Chapter on Rites and Customs (from French)

Introduction

(pg 3) The Czecho-Slavs have been established in Central Europe for over 1000 years in a region isolated from the West by the Bohemian Forest and Ore Mountains, isolated from the North by the Carpathian and Sudeten Mountains, from the South by the Danube River and from the East by the Tisza River. They form an ethnic group of about 8.5 million people.

During a fairly long period they were the sole masters of this vast territory that is today divided into several regions. The invasion is marked especially on the periphery: to the North, West and Southwest one encounters Germans and to the Southeast are Magyars. Thus enclosed on three borders by foreign elements, the Czecho-Slovaks find no racial affinity to any race north of the Carpathians. The nations that exist there form part of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. These are Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia, unified by the election of Ferdinand I to the House of Hapsburg and incorporated into Austria since 1867. Slovakia, attached to Hungary under the reign of Saint Etienne (1025) were included in 1867 into the group of Hungarian countries.

[p6] The capital of the Czecho-Slavs is Prague. It is the intellectual centre, immersed in numerous houses of science and art. Among the most important are Charles University, the ancient Carolo-Ferdinandian haute-ecole, the Czech Academy for the Appreciation of Science Literature and Art, the Royal Academy of Science, Academy of Fine Arts, etc...

The Czecho-Slovaks take great care in the development of public education. Illiteracy is very rare in the lands they inhabit. It is exactly 4.1% in Bohemia, 5.1% in Moravia and 7.1% in Silesia. In Austria

the average is 32.3%. In Slovakia the number of illiterates twenty years of age or younger is higher, 28.8%. In Hungary the average is 40.7%. These magnificent results are mainly due to the organization of primary schools. After the exercise of 1909 the number of Czech schools rose in Bohemia to 3231, in Moravia to 1858 and in Silesia to 120.

Rites and Customs [pp 15]

[various narodopists]

Rites and customs, whatever their origin, religious or profane, reflect the period of primitive naturalism where the memory of the moral, intellectual and social life of a nation resides. Certain traditions and ceremonies have survived over the ages thanks to the pious attachment of the folk, believing that these numerous beliefs, practices and symbols that continue to nurture humanity are ordained for eternity. Certain customs have disappeared without a trace while others are relegated to a memory in the form of various children's games and colloquial forms of speech, wherein survive the paganism of primitive times.

These remnants of an immemorial time offer great interest to the historian and folklorist. Typically, the practices are accompanied by active speech. For the purpose of reproducing these ancient and venerable rites in the same manner as they are experienced, it would be necessary to make a complete visual and phonographic recording. The means available to our museum are fairly limited. It is impossible to make a profit by providing the conquests of these modern inventions. The only resources at the disposal of the Museum Society [pg 16] have been photographic reproductions of single acts within certain ancient rites, detaching certain essential elements from the unity of an ancient symbolic custom.

Rites and popular customs are annual, observed regularly on certain fixed dates of the year, or occasionally celebrated only on certain events in one's private life. The former type are inspired by memories attached to celebrations of renewal, organized to exalt the revival of young vegetation and animal life. In certain regions children joyously celebrate the return of spring on Palm Sunday, elsewhere called Sunday of the Passion. They chase death in its form as a primitive straw mannequin named 'Morana' or Winter and call out to Spring, embodied by a green bough named Májíček with which they roam through the village singing.

Palm Sunday is the time to consecrate wands called Kočičky. These bundles of sticks, typically three to four metres in length, are tied together with multi-coloured ribbons. The bundle is called Beránek [i.e. 'the lamb']. It is believed that planting these wands in the centre of a field in the form of a small cross shields it against hail. Additionally, planting them in the girders of houses, barns and cellars protects them against lightning, disease, the malice of men and rats.

The day following Palm Sunday the lads make another tour of the village. They knock at each door and whip the women and young girls with green branches of willows and birch. [pp 17] Elsewhere they have branches of artistically wound knots, but they are not used. In certain regions the boys soak the young girls with water, the bottles they carry are called 'prysky' [i.e. 'resin']. In return for the blows, the young girls give the lads eggs decorated in colourful arabesques. The process employed for colourisation is reminiscent of the *batik* in use in the Orient.

Equally diverse ceremonies relate to the driving of livestock for protection from evil. The particularly ornate celebrations of summer open at the approach of Pentecost. They hit full swing in August the period of harvest, and last until the banquets of autumn. Monday of Pentecost has entailed an annual cavalcade called the 'Turning of the King,' a game which has been preserved in Moravia in the region of Uherské-Hradiště. Lads in their good Sunday clothes travel in a procession around the village, stopping in front of each household. At the head of the procession, the spokesperson brandishes an unravelled flag. At each household he either exalts the virtues of the inhabitants in pleasant terms or describes their faults in detail. In the middle of the procession, brandishing a white flag, is the king in women's clothing with two similarly dressed boys at his flanks. Behind them, the procession is composed of 30 or 40 cavaliers.

The harvest that gives the labourer compensation for his pains has been the apex of field celebrations. Harvesters solemnly carry the farm's first sheaf of wheat, decorated in flours and ribbons called *Děd* [i.e. 'grandfather']. At harvest's end, the gathering of [pp 18] harvesters wish the husbandman strength, health and prosperity in return for a giant bundle of wheat called *Baba* [i.e. 'grandmother']. Additionally, there was a fat puppet made of wheat called *Slunce* [sun]. A dance ended the festival wherein each harvester was treated to a meal. Grain torn from *Děd and Baba* was carefully conserved for sowing the field the following year.

Autumn brings the group of celebrations called *Posvícení* [the dedications]. The field hands choose from among the *Stárky* (old ones) the oldest three farmhands, as well as the three best regarded young women of the farm, as a means to guard order and propriety. In spring, the *Stárky* erect a tree in the middle of the village around which the young women perform certain dances. As a sign of distinction, the *Stárky* wear hats decorated in stripes and flowers.

Winter festivals have been celebrated by masquerades. On the fifth of December one sees the representation of St Nicholas only on the tower of the village; his typical companions being the angel, the devil, the soldier, the Turk, etc. During the cloistered life of winter masquerades continue until the coming of the fast. Among the masks and puppets most typical: (1) *Medvěd* [the bear] covered in

dried pea shoots. Farmers attempt to tear a handful of shoots from him that they carry to their geese to assure a good brood. (2) Kozlik [white goat], (3) Biurne [brown ram], and (4) Klibne [horse]. All announce the arrival of Christmas. At the same time of year one also sees Perchta [Striga] who is especially feared by the children as well as Lucka who runs through the village to see if the spinsters have been diligent. If the work leaves something to be desired, the spinsters were rapped on the fingers.

With the approach of winter on the date of the Solstice, celebrations multiply. The people believe that on 24 December the sun is reborn when midnight sounds, reawakening nature and granting certain plants supernatural powers. It is even believed that in remembrance of the birth of Jesus certain animals enjoy the gift of human speech on Christmas night.

On Christmas the villagers mount the nativity scene with the holy family, Bergers, angels and of course never forgetting the donkey and the cow. In certain places the young lads wander around the nativity scene, the entire village singing Christmas carols. For musical accompaniment, they have a humming instrument called a bukal or býk, keeping time by striking the budzygan'. Elsewhere, villagers also mount the Christmas Serpent, depicted biting an apple. The nativity scene has been a small portable alter either made out of coloured lithographs or sculpted from wood, papier-mâché, bread or wax paint.

Winter festivals last until Ash Wednesday. In certain regions, particularly Moravia, final fast of Shrovetide is marked with the performance of the ancient dance of swords. On these days, the bailiff passes to the young boys the insignia of Law: a weapon decorated in ribbons and flowers for the occasion. The lads take the weapon to the local inn and invite the community. There over the course of the three days of Shrovetide audiences are treated to a particularly macabre series of comedic scenes. The rest of the year, the armament is a symbol of power and authority and is held in great esteem. At all times when the Council deliberates, the armament rests at the side of the bailiff.

Most often the Law takes the form of a court baton covered in nails and ending in a blackjack. It sometimes takes the form of an arm or even a serpent of wood or metal, such as the kluky used in Silesia. In certain regions it is simply the naked sabre. To protect against petty disruptions one silenced the court most typically by sounding a very large conch shell, shaking the sabre in the air or motioning with the lance.

Among the rites and customs related to the most important elements of private life, such as birth marriage and death, the most graceful are those that encompass marriage. The wedding ceremony gives place to festivities that sometimes last as long as a week, involving almost the entire

community. The bride and bridegroom are adorned in small crowns of flowers or ribbons and showered with well wishes and special attention. All wished happiness and prosperity on the heads of the newlyweds. In certain places the custom holds that a communal banner should be placed ahead of the couple at the church. As a rule numerous speeches are given. Most touching was the Speech of Goodbyes, wherein the newlyweds take leave of their parents. Similar speeches are given by friends of the bride as they render her the Crown of Womanhood. The principle oratory is typically a dialogue between the best man and maid of honour, to be made as a curt repartee between the two. One of the most important acts of the wedding night was the charge of the trousseau. In the regions of Pisak one stuffed the bed-linen in a barrel called the špých. In Moravia the young couple receive a richly embroidered shawl called an uvodnice to be used only in baptizing their children.

No trousseau was complete without the koutro, a bed curtain covered in sacerdotal embroideries. It is believed a woman in labour must tuck herself into a corner of a bed equipped with such curtains so as to be protected from the powers of Satan. During this time she should not show herself to any person and cannot look at people who traverse the edge of the curtain. She received from the godmother a special pot with something comforting: chicken noodle soup.

Finally there are rites meant to comfort in times of grief and agony. It was customary to illuminate the bedside of a woman with a candle from the chandelier and to sound a bell. Sepulchres were marked in crosses of wood or forged in iron. On the day of passing, one covers the gravestones with flowers, ribbons and hearts of foliage. When Emperor Joseph II gave the order to bury the dead in a sack, one placed the body in a common coffin that was then placed before the tomb.

In diverse cases of illness the people took recourse to medication from medicinal plants. Sometimes healers entered the scene who sought to vanquish the illness by incantation. Tuberculosis was measured (?). In certain cases of sickness recourse to aeroliths was taken. Frequently pilgrimages were taken to place votive candles on alters. In order to place the household under the protection of heaven it was customary to adorn the façade with the statue of a saint. In Bohemia, the Virgin and John of Nepomuk were most common.

#### d. Louis Léger's Foreword, *La Race Slave* (1912)

[1] Since a unified Germany took a dominating position in Central Europe, the destinies of the Slavic race have become one with our own. If this race successfully holds in check the German expansion to the East and South, in other words the Mediterranean, we can hope to maintain our present border

along the Vosges Mountains and possibly even its reestablishment at the Rhine. If the Slavs definitely fall in the struggle the future of the French nation will be irredeemably compromised.

The Franco-Russian alliance was the natural consequence of a state of affairs the gravity of which our men of state have for too long not appreciated. But the Russians are not the only representatives of this Slavic race, extending from the Pacific to the Adriatic. With regards to the Polish, they have been the subjects of a long standing and fatal popularity among us, one which incited them to hopeless struggle...they have war instead of being satisfied with their current destinies. [2] Among the innumerable publications...there are none that offer as serious a scientific interest as this which we present today...The author belongs to the Czech nation that marches on the front line of the Slavic people and has given many remarkable men to science.

[11] Niederle's book emerges at a moment where the problems that provoke the Slavic race are more than ever the order of the day. These problems demand above all else to be clarified by the sanitising light of statistics. If for example we in France have committed numerous weighty errors regarding Poland for which we have paid dearly, it is because we ignore reports of the exact figures of their adversaries. On the 20<sup>th</sup> of April 1840, Minister of Instruction Victor Cousin presented to the Chamber of Deputies a selection of motifs for a project of law concerning the foundation for the Chair of Slavic Language and Literature to the College de France. This document naively declared that the most spoken Slavic dialect was Polish- implying evidently that the Poles were of greater number than the Russians. If we had knowledge of the true proportions of these two nations, perhaps we could have spared the Polish and ourselves the cruel hardships and bitter disillusionment. The same report reduced to two million the number of Slavs in Turkey, a reduction rendering the problems erupting in the Balkan Peninsula completely incomprehensible to our legislators.

I have spoken elsewhere on [12] what nonsense accumulated in the works of Polish immigrants that such publicists as Saint-Marc Girardin have had the fault of taking seriously, fantasies of which Henri Martin and others have presented on the claimed tyranny of the Russians. In identifying these fantasies I have naturally made enemies among those who believe they have an interest in exploiting them, but it is necessary above all else to serve the truth.

It is to serve the cause of truth, and at the same time our country's interests, that I have written this translation. One will find here in an impeccable and scientifically rigorous form all that concerns the distribution of Slavic nations: the statistics, demographics and anthropology of this too little understood group. It is hoped that this work becomes the handbook of our professors, publicists and political men. We have blundered enough in the study of Slavic peoples, the moment has come to make an accurate and definitive account.

*iii. Otakar Nahodil, Ethnographic parallels to Palaeolithic sculptures of women in a South Asian region*

[348] The religious imaginings which we can term 'cults of the mother' belonging to the Palaeolithic autochthone inhabitants of Europe have been preserved through various left over relics preserved for many millennia. While it is indeed possible to uncover this most ancient layer of religious conception, present as well in the Neolithic, Aeneolithic and even in cults originating in the era of civilisation as will be seen later, it is only possible the basis of specific positive knowledge of the character and essence of the most ancient expressions of mother cults. However, this positive knowledge absolutely cannot be derived from ethnographic parallels with contemporary tribes and nations possessing advanced agriculture. It can only come through the study of peoples which were until recently at the lowest stage of cultural development, who ignorant of agricultural production possessed only backward horticulture.

In this respect it is appropriate to focus attention on the exceedingly backward dark skinned inhabitants of the Malay Peninsula, adjacent to South Asia and Sumatra. This is not only in virtue of their archaic cultural features and way of life, but also due to the fact this material assembled on various tribes by a member of the so-called Catholic School of cultural history testifies fairly unambiguously against the school's basic tenets in part and in whole. Without a doubt this material testifies in favour of the opposing materialist school, which provided the most satisfactory theory in accounting for the observed phenomena. Ethnographic material on the Semeng, Sakai, and Kubai (etc) as compiled by Pavel Šebesta demonstrates his observance of certain supernatural cultic female beings, though his work is rather fragmentary due to the alterations of church censors. Nevertheless, even in these unfortunate circumstances his work is interesting and valuable.

Šebesta notes that among the Ple Temer of Sakai there exists a cult centred on a benevolent elder woman, the grandmotherly 'Ja Pudeu' who was the principle supernatural being in the religious imagination of this imaginative people of the Malay Peninsula. While this woman was represented as existing in a kind of relationship with a man called 'Ta Pudeu', nevertheless an obvious interpretation of the local people [349] indicates this is a latter amendment, as feminine essence remains dominant in the cult.

The supernatural Ja Pudeu is said to dwell in the realm of the dead where the souls of the deceased congregate. She sits in such a way that her face is turned towards the ground. With his back to her rests Ta Pudeu, her husband, whose face is turned away from the earth. Though Ja Pudeu's husband, Ta Pudeu has little to do with the earth and its inhabitants. Ja Pudeu creates everything, including people. First there was nothing, not even Karei [i.e. Malay sky god]. Ja Pudeu blew with such force

with her mouth that a great tempest arose from the earth, giving existence to stones, bodies of water, trees and everything else. Ja Pudeu blew once again upon the earth and created people. ‘The Ple Temer claim “Ja Pudeu made everything, and she is kindly towards us.”’

This supernatural female entity exists as part of a general mythological context and directs us towards other religious beliefs. Ja Pudeu is said to be housed in the West in the world of souls where she is sovereign. ‘She hangs like a bat in the realm of shadows on the Galogn perch. When we have day they have night and when we have night they have day. Living there is identical to life on earth, except there one eats only the shadows of things.’ Everything there is shadow. ‘Herein we can suspect a correlation between belief in supernatural female sovereigns and belief in totemistic entities. This is evidenced in the case of other cultic female supernatural beings such as the “Asu” which appear in several forms such as the Berai bird. A typical manifestation, Asu typically takes this form in ox fields. It is telling that the Berai bird is taboo and must not be killed.’

Ja Pudeu fits clearly into a universal paradigm wherein ‘just as supernatural beings give life so too can they bring death.’ Two prayer songs to this female sovereign of the dead (and who simultaneously governs life as well) asks for her to give the people the fruits of prosperity [*plodiŭm zdar*] *so as to protect them from contagious diseases and minimize the number of those who would die. The people placed singing ‘čenoj’ flower spirits in their mouths, friends of the people and servants of Ja Pudeu. These spirits do not speak an ordinary tongue, but rather sing in a special ceremonial language.*

Firstly, a song to Ja Pudeu reads as follows:

The Sun rises the strange jewel, oh Ja Pudeu  
We wish so very much  
Oh Goddess of fruits  
We beseech you here  
Oh do not let them die here  
You whom I love so much  
Upward I thrust my gaze,  
Bereft much of the time of fruit

The second prayer appeals to Ja Pudeu to have pity and to not let mass numbers of the people die:

Take one and cast him away  
Take two and cast them away  
Let die one or two

Who dwell among the waters  
Keep pity and let die  
Neither twenty nor ten

[350] Doubtlessly belonging to a great ancient tradition and collected at the same time by the same author, the above citation of the religious imagination of way of life of the Ple Temer evidences traces of *group marriage*. Quite obviously, however, the work of this travelling researcher of the missionary school does not comment on such traces, leaving the material without theoretical illumination.

Ja Pudeu is not the only feminine being cited in this region. Šebesta presents at the forefront of Jakudn religious beliefs the female being ‘Mantra’/’Nenek Kebajan’/’Ja Najek.

‘Kerai declares: Ja Najek sits before me in the moon. For three days in the time of the new moon is Pantang. All labour in the fields is forbidden. Anyone who dares come to the field at this time will fall ill. Thereafter, the dahan dragon consumes the moon with an eclipse. Eclipses mean great misfortune. In so doing Ja Najek is helped, as from the Jakudn there will be a great cry, because should Ja Najek die, so too shall the Jakudn die.’

Mantra/Nenek Keganej/Grandmother Kebajan is imagined as a being who at one time dwelt among the people and only later was fixed upon the moon. This elderly woman in the moon is identical with ‘Nenek Bonku’. It is reported that on the moon is a tree, below which sits Grandmother Kebajan, said to be wise and old. Additionally it is perhaps not coincidental that in the relation of the ‘riang-riang’ locust to Nenek Kebejen we perhaps have indications of totemistic connections.

Identical travellers’ accounts exist in both Sumatra and Kubu, both of which venerate Nenek Bonko as a woman seated on the moon spinning a long thread with which to ensnare people. A white mouse at the very end of the thread that eats termites prevents this from occurring. Analogical material on the Tonga-Senang tells of a grandmother that sits on the moon and wonders down.

Analogical mythical concepts exist plentifully in Kenta, where they are preserved as inherited customs demonstrating clear remains of a matriarchate. Here the traveller’s account is somewhat abstruse, having been in some respect forcefully processed in accordance with a pre-existing desired framework. Not once are any of the clear contradictions in the data noted. It is without question that the Kenta hallowed Grandmother Menoid as a supernatural mother or grandmother to many or perhaps all supernatural forces, including Karei god of thunder. It is clear Grandmother Menoid was not co-creator with Karei but rather was originally held as the sole creator and grandparent of the people. [351] It is significant that the Kenta pray to Ja Menoid as a supernatural being based in the

soil, interceding with other forces, that is to say her grandsons. This instance casts the most tortured, violent interpretation of the particular materials all too common of the Clerical School. While not possible to detail here, this is proposed by the anthropological and ethnographic research on pygmies of Professor J.V. Daneše.

It is neither possible nor necessary to deconstruct Pavel Šebesta's interpretation of his own valuable material on primitive South Asian populations. Without a doubt it was founded upon the a priori religious framework of the so-called cultural strain of monotheism. This school does not provide him the ability to assemble a complete picture of the cultic female supernatural forces studied. Therefore the collection of individual pieces of data given to us warrants a degree of abstraction in approaching the exceedingly piecemeal material, which only begin to take meaning in consideration of broad comparative material.

In this case it is entirely safe to claim it is not by chance that in each of the cited instances of the supernatural force to which people turn as the closest intermediary, she is consistently afforded the honourable kinship term 'grandmother' and is discernible as the grandmother of the indigenous peoples. Only so much is possible to deduce from the most conservative critical approach towards analysis of the material on dark-skinned South Asian peoples, distorted as it is by pressure from church censors according to the a priori requirements of the aforementioned missionary school.

*iv. Boolean demonstration: Categorical and Encompassing Opposition as equivalent representational forms*

From Chapter 4, pp. 89

Conditions of Binary Opposition

Binary opposition entails to class categories, one representing the *thesis* the other the *anti-thesis* (e.g. white:black, day:night, Czech:Roma)

Let 'thesis' = a; 'anti-thesis' = b

i.) a = 1; b = 0

If otherwise, relationship is not one of binary opposition.

LEMMA 1: Categorical Opposition satisfies conditions of binary opposition

### 1.) Condition of Categorical Opposition:

Categorical opposition entails two distinct class categories that together constitute a universal whole (e.g. right:left constitutes universe 'handedness')

$$i.) a + b = 1$$

### 2.) Demonstration

As Binary Opposition conditions are  $a = 1; b = 0$

$$i. a + b = 1 \text{ AS } 1 + 0 = 1$$

QED: Categorical Opposition satisfies conditions for Binary Opposition

### LEMMA 2: Encompassing Opposition

#### 1.) Conditions of Encompassing Opposition

Encompassing opposition requires two class categories, thesis and antithesis, where the thesis encompasses the antithesis (e.g. good encompasses evil)

$$i.) a + b = a$$

$$ii.) a * b = b$$

#### 2. Demonstration

As Binary Opposition conditions are  $a = 1; b = 0$

$$i. a + b = a \text{ AS } 1 + 0 = 1$$

$$ii. a * b = b \text{ AS } 1 * 0 = 0$$

QED: Encompassing Opposition satisfies conditions for Binary Opposition

**Therefore: Categorical and Encompassing Opposition are equivalent representational forms of Binary Opposition**