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BEING INDIAN IN *CIUDAD DE GUATEMALA*

Marek Halbich

Abstract: ***This article first briefly presents the history of the Guatemala main cities in the context of the process of dichotomization of Guatemalan society, which is nowadays divided into two equally numerous ethnic and social groups: native (Indian), represented mainly by the most numerous Mayan ethnic groups (Quiché, Kaqchikel, Keqchí, Mam), and Ladino (mixed white/Creole-Indian). In the next part, I discuss several sociological and anthropological works on Guatemala City. Finally, I address how the forming process of "being Indian" in the capital of Central American Guatemala has been constructed. Here I combine a review of the vast ethnographic work of Guatemalan social anthropologist Manuela Camus with my personal reflection.***

Key words: ***Ciudad de Guatemala/Guatemala City, Indians, Ladino People, ethnicity, urban anthropology.***

1. Introduction

In this article I employ both theoretical and ethnographic material in order to inquire into the construction of ethnicity of Central American Guatemala Indian inhabitants who have been increasingly moving from the countryside (mainly mountain regions) to bigger cities, especially to Ciudad de Guatemala, the capital of Guatemala, as well as to Quetzaltenango, Huehuetenango, Chiquimula, Antigua Guatemala and many others. I rely not so much on my own research but on a large ethnography by Manuela Camus, which I am trying to supplement with my own short ethnographic observations from 1996, 2000–2002, 2004 and mostly from 2005, as well as with theoretical approaches to the study of ethnicity in the context of urban anthropology. The title of the article was inspired by the name of Camus' book *Ser Indígena en Ciudad de*

Guatemala[1]. The article was originally written as a review of the book; however it has since been revised and expanded into its present form.

2. Brief historical-sociological overview of Guatemala[2]

Guatemala is the most populated, though not the largest, Central American country. It can also be understood as a space where the highest density of the original native population is concentrated. Natives represent about 50% of all inhabitants, i.e., 7,000,000 people, who are mostly of Mayan origin[3]. The core of the native settlement is situated in mountainous regions of the departments of El Quiché, Sololá, Totonicapán, Chimaltenango, etc. Here, the gradual occupation of forming colonial Guatemalan territory started. Spaniards, under the leadership of Cortés's companion Pedro de Alvarado, firstly conquered one of the most important Late Post-Classic native centers of Iximché[4] and then on the July 25, 1524, founded nearby the first capital "city" of Tecpan Guatemala[5]. Because the conquest of the main Mayan regions went on very quickly and also because the Kaqchikel incessantly attacked the newly born city, Spaniards shifted their center farther to the south, where, on the November 22, 1527, in one of the fertile valleys, the second capital city, nowadays known as Ciudad Vieja[6], was founded. The dynamics of the process of founding Guatemalan capital cities was afterwards strongly influenced by natural disasters. The most fertile Guatemalan valleys are situated in still seismically very active regions, in the foothills of several volcanoes. One of them, the Agua Volcano, caused, on the September 11, 1541, huge floods and an earthquake that destroyed the

1 Indeed, Camus borrowed the title of the book from Judith Friedlander's *Ser indio en Hueypan*. México: FCE, 1975. Camus's book was published in Guatemala by the publishing house FLACSO in 2002.

2 In a much more detailed way, I am dealing with the forming of Guatemalan society from the Pre-Columbian era until the present in the currently prepared book *Dějiny Střední Ameriky* for NLN.

3 A more numerous native population than in Guatemala lives only in South-American Bolivia. Nevertheless, concerning the density of population it is 10 times less dense than in Guatemala.

4 Iximché was the capital of a new kingdom of Kaqchikel (1470–1524), shortly before the coming of the Spaniards. It is situated in the present department of Chimaltenango.

5 The present city of Tecpan is situated about 3 kms from the archaeological site Iximché. Spaniards were probably afraid of Kaqchikel revenge and did not want to build their first city on the ruins of this sacred place and chose the less important locality of Tecpan for the new city. They called their first capital city Villa de Santiago de Guatemala after Saint James, an important Spanish saint, who had his name-day on the day of the foundation.

6 Only this place can be understood as a permanently inhabited locality with a formal ground plan and a center of colonial administration (Luján Muñoz 1998: 26).

second Spanish center. The colonial authorities then quickly shifted the administrative center into the nearby valley of Panchoy and founded the third capital city of Santiago de Guatemala[7]. There, Spaniards succeeded in creating a relatively strong administrative organization on the basis of which they gradually conquered all the territory of contemporary Guatemala. While some powerful dominions of the Quiché, Kaqchikel, Tzutujil or Mam in the high mountains were conquered during the first half of the 16th century, some marginal groups such as the Itza were not dominated until strenuous expeditions to rain-forest regions in the North at the very end of the 17th century. Spaniards stayed in Antigua throughout the whole Colonial Period, until one of the other active volcanoes, Santa Marta, destroyed the city in 1773. Since destructive eruptions had indeed occurred before, the Spanish crown reacted this time by an ordinance to move the capital city once more. The fourth and last capital of Guatemala was founded on the January 2, 1776, in one of the neighboring valleys, Valle de la Ermita, about 40 kms from the original place. It was called La Nueva Guatemala de la Asunción[8] and is nowadays known as Ciudad de Guatemala or by the English name of Guatemala City[9].

This briefly sketched development of the founding of main administrative centers of Guatemala makes evident the fact that has been discernible since the early Colonial Period – a rather quick formation of a basic socio-political dichotomy conventionally called "The Republic of Spaniards" and "The Republic of Indians"[10]. These "republics" were formally separated by legislation as well as naturally by means of various and region-dependent degrees of alienation of both ethnic substrates. While close to lower situated communities of Antigua, Ciudad de Guatemala, Santa Ana de Chimaltenango, etc., Spaniards lived with Indians, inhabiting dispersed settlements near

7 The city was later, on the June 10, 1566, re-named by the Spanish king Philip II to Muy Noble y Muy Leal Ciudad de Santiago de los Caballeros de Guatemala (i.e. "The very Nobel and very Loyal City of James of the Gentlemen of Guatemala"). Today the official name of the city is Antigua Guatemala, but it is better known under the abbreviated name Antigua and, thanks to numerous colonial heritage sites, it was included on the UNESCO World Heritage List. At present, Antigua is for many reasons a frequented place, mainly by young people who come to study Spanish as well as some Mayan languages, marimba, salsa, or to learn the techniques of weaving of pre-Hispanic textiles, making ceramics, processing jade, etc. Due to a pleasant climate, colonial atmosphere and the openness of the local people, Antigua is one of the tourist "Meccas" of the Western Hemisphere.

8 "The Assumption of New Guatemala" (translation M. H.).

9 Or simply "Guatemala."

10 This name took hold in the regions with a strong share of Indian inhabitants, besides Guatemala, in Mexico, Peru, etc.

agricultural land owned by Spaniards, quite peacefully; in the farther, higher situated regions Indian inhabitants became almost isolated from the world. In fact, the schema of the "two republics" was not so distinct as it was stated officially. Spaniards concentrated only in the capital and in several smaller settlements in its vicinity, never too far from their *haciendas*[11], where they lived together with not many black, mulatto and mestizo people. Only priest-monks acting as missionaries could live in Indian villages. In this way not only the Indian and Spanish republics were created, but also the major part of the native population (a larger number of Quiché, Kaqchikel, Keqchí, Pokomam, Mam, Itza, Chortí, etc. groups) was incorporated into colonial structures rather formally than actually. The politics of the Spanish crown, established from the first years of the Colonial Period, thus soon tended to the development whose consequences are visible today and which can be summarized as follows: (1) Spanish settlement concentrated in a smaller area of the central valleys and surrounding haciendas where a gradual mixing with neighboring Indians occurred. This gave rise to a mixed (Ladino[12] or mestizo) society that later became a base for a "caste" society similar to those known in Mexico, Peru and other viceroyalties of that time. (2) Indians, who did not want to mix with whites and creoles, started to expand further from the "limits" of the Spanish Republic in order to at least partially free themselves. This freed empty space was then inhabited by Creoles and Ladinos, part of whom also settled in some of the less inhabited rural areas of the Altiplano. More and more Indians left for more distanced mountainous and forest regions of the present departments of El Quiché, Totonicapán, Alta Verapaz, Petén, Izabal, Chiquimula, etc., where they were socially and economically isolated and marginalized.; (3) A clear caste dichotomy did not manifest itself only between the Spanish and Indian "Republics," but within each of these rather formal administrative bodies. A rivalry inside the Spanish Republic occurred

11 Hacienda can be generally defined as a system of ownership of Spanish (Andalusian) origin, which was in the Colonial Period imported into Latin America. It is a farm, generally of a substantial size, with a large land for agricultural crops, livestock, etc. The core of a hacienda is formed by residential houses, usually of high architectonic quality. A more precise definition of a hacienda was offered by social anthropologists E. Wolf and S. Mintz: A hacienda "is a rural property under a dominating owner, worked with dependent labour, employing little capital, and producing a small-scale market..." (Mörner 1973: 185).

12 *The Ladino (in Spanish ladinos)* – the name used for a culturally mixed group of inhabitants, used mainly in south-Mexican Chiapas and Guatemala. Simply said, it is a culturally transitional type between Indian and white (Creole).

between Spanish *peninsulares*[13] and American Spaniards (Creoles). At the end of the Colonial Period (around 1800), those two governing groups represented absolutely a minor part of the Guatemala inhabitants. In Guatemala, there lived about 20,000 Spaniards and Creoles, 100,000 half-castes (Ladinos), and 250,000 Indians. The latter represented the most numerous group, however, within the Republic of Indians a system of castes also developed. Descendants of the Quiché and Kaqchikel nobility, who started to Hispanize or Ladinize early, stood highest on the social ladder. Under them were those who lived and worked nearby Spanish settlements and who profited somehow, though not much, from the co-existence. On the lowest level of social stratification were those who lived quite independent lives, but who were little or not at all connected to the inter-ethnic and inter-social economic and political relations; (4) Since the Colonial Period, *municipios*, self-governed settlements created by Spanish authorities and reflecting Spanish administrative structure represented the axis and base of the social, cultural, economic and political life of the Guatemala Indians. The administrative structure has survived with some modifications until the present day. Most of the self-governed communities were founded at the locations of pre-Hispanic settlements or in their vicinity, in the so called *refuge zones (regiones de refugio)* in the area of the Republic of Indians. Although Indians took over many Spanish administrative and cleric institutions and functions such as *alcalde, regidor, alguacil*[14] or religious fraternities (*cofradías*), the pre-Hispanic political and religious structure continued to exist, or more precisely both structures mixed, complemented each other or even blended. Individual chiefs (*caciques*) and guards of religious cults were installed into the principal municipal functions. They also became mediators between the local (Indian) administration and Spanish authorities in Antigua and later in Guatemala City. The local Indian nobility was authorized to collect tributes and keep discipline, in particular in cases when the tribute was not paid to the state treasury. In this way, from the 16th century, a socially stratified society was created, even on the level of municipio inside the Republic of Indians. Simultaneously thus a sectional, *multi-centralized* local intra-ethnic identity emerged based on Indians' feeling to be more connected with their home municipio (or with a subordinate settlement) than with "their" ethnic

13 The Spanish as well as English term *peninsular* denoted people born in Spain (on the Iberian Peninsula) who went overseas for a given period to strengthen colonial administration, on business, etc.

14 i.e. mayor, councilman, and bailiff.

group as a whole. It resulted in forming the Momostec rather than Quiché identity[15], the Sololtec[16] and Chimaltec[17] rather than Kaqchikel, or more Chamula[18] than Tzotzil identity, etc.

This only briefly described development reflects the paradox connected to the way Guatemalan Indians have been apprehended. It is one of the surviving stereotypes according to which an Indian is a being from the Colonial Period (*imagen del indio colonial*). In this notion, current Indians and their world are the consequence of the conquest cruelty, which made them submissive victims of its socio-economic and pseudo-cultural problems. On the basis of this doctrine, an illusion of the need to "free" Indians from "their problems" was born. However this liberal idea raises a question: "If Indians are really understood as a result of historical development of the Colonial Period, how is it possible that they exist as Indians who have survived all the post-colonial regimes? (Otzoy 1997: 3). How did it happen that, with the onset of relatively democratic liberal regimes in the 19th century, the attempts to assimilate Indians into Ladino society were not successful? Of course, the answer is not unequivocal, though one of the reasons why, despite the cruelty of colonization and the liberal tendency to assimilate (to Ladinize) Indians, they did not become extinct, is in my opinion their almost hermetic concentration in their "own" municipal habitats, where the customs, traditions, ceremonies, languages or ideas have been preserved for hundreds of years. Many originally small and isolated municipios later became centers of Indian rebellions and resistance against the central government of Guatemala. These once independent centers gradually started to realize their wider *Pan-Mayan* identity, which now, almost five hundred years after the Spanish invasion into Guatemala, represents one of the main ideological principles of the native inhabitants within their endeavor to escape the inferior position of marginalized citizens of the lowest category.

This from the beginning rather inconspicuous and gradual process of national (Mayan) awakening started to accelerate approximately in the middle of the 1940s. Then, with the onset of a new and more progressive

15 After the Quiché town of Momostenango, in the department of Totonicapán.

16 After the Kaqchikel town of Sololá, in the department of the same name over the Atitlán Lake.

17 After the town of Chimaltenango in the department of the same name where the majority of the population is Kaqchikel.

18 After the Tzotzil town of San Juan Chamula in the south-Mexican state of Chiapas. A similar development to that sketched above can also be found in the south and partially in central Mexico, and in some Peruvian, Ecuadorian and Bolivian regions.

regime[19], young Indians started to be more involved in local political structures, even in the towns having been originally solely in the hands of Ladinos. Colonial municipios, established administratively, meanwhile became quite densely populated due to the growth of the native population[20]. The municipio lacked infrastructure and depended mainly on agricultural production. Crops from the surrounding maize fields became insufficient to supply the growing "urban" population. Thus in the era of political liberalization, modernization, urbanization and growing demographic pressure a so-far unique phenomenon occurred – a gradual migration of the Indian rural population into predominantly white and Ladino towns of the Guatemala Central Highlands, mainly into the capital. Since then the process has never stopped. On the contrary, after the burst of the long civil war in the middle of the 1950s that affected mainly rural and mostly Indian communities[21] and after a strong earthquake in 1976 the migration process became stronger. Nowadays, it represents one of the most important social features of present Guatemalan society.

3. Guatemala in the context of urban anthropological/ sociological research

It is logical that the at first slow and later massive influx of Indian inhabitants to towns attracted quite early the attention of social anthropologists and sociologists to this new challenge. Together with continuing ethnological research and studies of the Guatemalan countryside scientists also started to be interested in internal, originally mainly rural-urban migration. As Hannerz points out, the beginnings of urban-anthropological research together with studies of

19 In 1944 the dictator, General Jorge Ubico, was overthrown and in the following year the Constituent Assembly gathered and the new Constitution was published, the Instituto Indigenista Nacional (National Indigenist Institute) was founded and Juan José Arévalo became the president. He promoted his own political philosophy, so-called *spiritual socialism (arevalism)*, which was a Guatemalan version of communism based on liberalization of education, agrarian reform, and including the underdeveloped regions into the national economic system (e.g., by populating the forest department of Petén, isolated mountainous regions, etc.).

20 Between 1920-1940 the absolute growth of the Mayan population was more than half a million, from about 1.3 mil. to more than 1.8 mil. This trend continued and accelerated in the following years.

21 The biggest excesses happened in 1979-1982 when thousands of people were massacred – Indians, politicians, clergymen, intellectuals, etc. (Luján Muñoz 1998: 452-453). One of the most complete testimonies of the atrocities of the military junta in the 1970s and at the beginning of the 1980s comes from the Guatemalan priest and anthropologist Ricardo Falla in his book *Masacres de la selva. Ixcán, Guatemala (1975-1982)*. Guatemala: Editorial Universitaria, 1992.

socio-cultural differences are connected with the process of settling down in cities, when the "others" started to live together in "one" (urban) space with "us" though segregated in poor, socially inferior quarters (Hannerz 1980)[22]. The city became an object of theoretical discourse of modernity as well as one of the important symbols of the modernization process that in Latin American space however has its specific sense, especially in the countries with a high share of Indian inhabitants:

> "... los supuestos "otros" no-modernos no están en otra parte, fuera de escena para que se les pueda proyectar cualquier atributo. Están y siempre han estado co-presentes con los sujetos "modernos" y todos comparten no sólo el mismo espacio territorial, sino el reto de construir su convivencia, de crear sociedades modernas heterogéneas..." (Pratt 2000)[23].

Nevertheless in Guatemala and other countries, such presupposition is rather a part of theoretical (academic) discourse. Practical everyday socio-cultural negotiations of peripheral societies about modernization rests in the state of "selective reception" (*recepción selectiva*) and "contra-modernity" (*contramodernidad*), as José Guillermo Nugent put it in his excellent essay on Peruvian mixed (*Chol*) society. Peruvian, Guatemalan or Mexican Indians are by local elites still comprehended as "contra-modern" as those unable to understand themselves as members of modern world (Nugent 1992: 73, Pratt 2000, Camus 2002: 28, Franco 2006: 15). Such an attitude only strengthens the old colonial order and therefore paradoxically excludes even those elites from the process of modernization of Latin American society. After the Indian move in the cities, both the groups live in common space, often close to each other, but the discrimination and social exclusion continue and become now even more visible.

> "...discrimination does not disappear. The urban Indians raise fears of violence and social disintegration whose indices, according to Guillermo Nugent, can be

22 The beginning of the serious scientific research of the city started in the 1920s and is connected to the Chicago School of Sociology (in detail see cf. U. Hannerz, *Exploring the City. Inquiries Toward an Urban Anthropology*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1980).

23 „... presupposed non-modern "others" are located somewhere else, outside the scene where they could be ascribed any qualities. They are and they always were part of "modern" subjects and not that all does share the same space, they also share the challenge to construct common coexistence and create modern heterogeneous society..." (Pratt 2000, translated by M. H.).

> seen in the characteristic urban Lima landscape of houses fortified behind barbed wire and iron railings behind which live the autonomous individuals..." (Franco 2006: 17).

This apt characteristic of current Lima can be applied to many other Latin American cities. The indisputable modernization trends become apparent in architecture, in the building of road infrastructure in until recently inaccessible "refuge zones," etc. Though at the same time a *pre-modernization* process of "medievalization" of the city has appeared, the process foreseen at the beginning of the 1970s by Umberto Eco. Armando Silva (1992) and Michel Maffesoli (1990) came up with a similar idea of creating of labyrinthine castles characterized by distinctive protective walls and producing new urban aesthetics when they analysed contemporary *neotribalism ("urban tribes")*. Argentinian anthropologist Mónica Lacarrieu tried to explain the apparent "new Middle Ages" that became characteristic of the contemporary city. She pursued her research mostly in the private quarters of Buenos Aires, in privileged conurban zones that have been emerging since the 1980s and proliferated in the 1990s. Behind the high walls surrounded by steel fences and barbed wire, in these almost hermetically closed micro-localities of "locked quarters" (*barrios con candado*) a new social world with its own rules has emerged (Lacarrieu 1998: 7-23).

In Guatemala, the "autonomous individuals" living in these quarters or in private palaces are above all the owners of coffee and banana plantations. The "invisible" immensely rich people living in their own microcosm are those who *feudalize* or *medievalize* the country. Indians on the other hand exist at the social and economic periphery despite living in city-centers. However, they use modernization technologies more and more and are more included in the political life of the country, become successful in municipal, departmental and statewide elections and it is only a matter of time until they start following their Bolivian, Peruvian or Venezuelan "paragons"[24].

The beginnings of anthropological research in Guatemala are closely connected with interest in the research of Indian groups and are immediately related to the birth of indigenism and to many community studies done in various parts of Mexico[25]. A serious interest of social anthropologists in urban

[24] Current strongly left-minded presidents of Bolivia (Evo Morales), Peru (Ollanta Humala) and Venezuela (Hugo Chávez),

[25] The Instituto Nacional Indigenista (INI) was founded in Mexico. At the beginning of the 1940s the Instituto Indigenista Interamericano (III) was founded and since then much ethnographic research

space appeared shortly after WW II and related especially to the rapid growth of urban population and to the process of migration from poor countryside regions.

Guatemala used to be a terrain explored heavily by comparative community research of rural communities (Tax 1937, 1941, 1949, Gillin 1945, 1948, Tumin 1949, etc.). By means of the studies of cultural features and social organization of these rural and country town communities, an empirical base for sociological and anthropological research of Guatemala City was established. I believe that Guatemala was not chosen haphazardly as a terrain for vast fieldwork of North American social scientists. A possibility to research great differences between "traditional" and "modern" worlds epitomized by, e.g., the sacral site of Chichicastenango (Bunzel 1952) on one hand and Guatemala City on the other, was one of the major reasons. Sol Tax (1939) even likens Guatemala to Detroit rather than to other Latin American cities.[26] What attracted researchers probably the most was the fact that "modernity" was in many respects illusionary, especially in social and political spheres (nets of social services and centralized power of the town-house resembling the era of colonial governments, etc.).

The first long-term research in the capital of Guatemala (in 1948-1949) was done by an American sociologist Theodore Caplow, who employed the Chicago School methodology of ecological perspective. This indeed affected the main interest of his research – the interrelation between social organization and spatial distribution and the consequences of urbanism as a way of life. When in his pioneering work Caplow summarizes the features of Guatemala at that time, he points firstly to the problems of migration and extreme poverty of immigrants and he sketches its main trend:

> "... The demands of an impoverished in-migrant population for housing thus tend to be met by the utilization of marginal peripheral land, rather than by the increase of density on obsolescent sites and in obsolent structures..." (Caplow 1949: 127).

of many Mexican and other Indian groups has been done. Numerous studies were published in the III journal *América Indígena*; pilot studies of the Mixe (Beals 1942), the Trique (Comas 1942), the Nicaraguan Miskito (Pijoan 1944, 1945), the Yaqui (Spicer 1945), the Tzotzil (Weathers 1946), the Otomí (Jenkins 1946), the Guatemalan and Honduran Chortí (Girard 1947), the Tepehuan (Mason 1948) and many other groups in Central, South and North America.

26 "... the appearance of Guatemala is strikingly 'modern'" (Caplow 1949: 124).

El Gallito, one of the worst Guatemalan slums, exemplifies the trend taking place after the earthquake in 1918 of poor quarters to emerge on the outskirts of the city rather than in older parts due to the growing density of the population, (Caplow 1949: ibid.).

The boom of community studies between the 1930s and the 1950s was followed by a slight decline caused to some degree by a complicated internal political situation in Guatemala. Only at the end of the 1960s some research studying specific social urban microcosms appeared. Roberts's research of Protestantism in marginal quarters of the capital (Mendoza 2005: 96) can be seen as the most important of them. Roberts is influenced by Weber's Protestant ethics and he tries to interpret it in a dominantly catholic socio-religious space. Even though the process of "Protestantization" ("evangelization" or "de-Catholization") of Latin America started at least in the 19th century and it has intensified in the last decades, we do not have many studies on the impact of the converse on Latin American society and urban religious enclaves. On the basis of comparative research of two quarters, Roberts concludes that the inclination of young people to the Protestant doctrine is more pragmatic than formal. Its general meaning is actually to reach advantages like easier creation and upkeep of a social network, which enables people to improve personal economic and social conditions (Roberts 1968: 766-767)[27].

4. Manuela Camus: *Ser Indígena en Ciudad de Guatemala*

In the 1990s another release of tension took place in Guatemala culminating in the signing of a peace treaty that confirmed the end of a more than 40 years long civil conflict. Even though anthropological research in urban and rural areas was never suspended absolutely, social scientists could engage in systematic research in calmer conditions only since the end of the 1980s and beginning of the 1990s. A remarkable book by a prime Guatemalan social anthropologist of the middle generation Manuela Camus is also from this period. The book

27 Later on, at the beginning of the 1970s, B. Roberts did an ethnographic research in Guatemala City among poor families. On the basis of the research he analysed the processes of creation of migrants' social organization, consumer cooperatives and subsequent re-organization of the poor in an urban environment and their strategies of settling down. Unfortunately, his book *Organizing Strangers: Poor Families in Guatemala City*. Austin & London: University of Texas Press, 1973, which is a result of his research and which is considered as a classic one (Mendoza 2005: 97), was not available.

represents the result of a long-term (almost 10-year) study of sociocultural reality of chosen groups of the native population that has been concentrating in the last decades in the capital Ciudad de Guatemala. At the beginning of her research, which she started in 1990 in cooperation with Santiago Bustos, Camus concentrated on social nets, adaptation and subsistence mechanisms of the people living in the poorest parts of the city. The cooperation of the two scientists resulted in a short study *Indígenas en la ciudad de Guatemala: subsistencia y cambio étnico* (1990) and in more synthetically oriented books *Sombras de una batalla. Los desplazados por la violencia en la ciudad de Guatemala* (1994) and *Los mayas de la capital: un estudio sobre identidad étnica y mundo urbano* (1995). These two works are explicitly interested in a controlled "culture of violence," which represented a serious problem for the Guatemalan capital incessantly from the mid-1950s when after the short period of democracy a long civil war started. The other topic dealt with in the books is the more and more visible formation of *pan-Mayan* identity gradually shifting from rural communities to urban space.

Camus' book *Ser Indígena en Ciudad de Guatemala* (2002) represents a climax – so far – of Camus' work. It is a moderate modification of her PhD thesis defended in the Centro de Investigaciones de Estudios Superiores de Antropología Social, CIESAS-Occidente, in 2000 in Mexican Guadalajara. In it, the author examines the transformations of ethnic identity caused by the growing mobility of the Indian population quickly leaving the levels which were traditionally reserved for them in Guatemalan society. She tries to review the officially accepted idea that Indian immigrants assimilated (assimilate) culturally to urban environment and they mixed (mix) with Ladinos. Camus strives to disprove simplified amalgamation theories that deny the Indianization processes occurring in the city. She understands an "urban Indian" as one of the symbols of Guatemalan society in the period after the official cease of violence on the December 29, 1996, when the Firm and Last Peace Agreement (*Acuerdo de Paz Firme y Duradera*) was signed.

In accord with Camus, the capital of Guatemala can now be understood as a privileged space where changes of ethnic differentiation can be observed. Here the destinies of more than 20 ethnic groups of this most important Central American country cross and intermingle. During the process not only the urban landscape, but also the meaning of ethnicity itself is transformed. As the prime Mexican sociologist María Lourdes Arizpe noted when writing about the capital of Mexico: "what will also be changed is the root (the core, the base)

of ethnicity" (1986). It is so because the social and cultural construction of an Indian as a "primitive" creature bonded firmly to the ground and to his/her community has been modified. Urban Indians living in Guatemala are mostly taken as "infected," "cunning," "deceitful," etc. and they are still not a part of the Mayan political discourse, the epicentre of which is mostly located in the Quiché[28] zones in the Guatemala Highlands. Urban *indígenas*[29] has become a sort of a new caste, a non-desired social product already born in the Colonial Period and now as if it were being reborn.

The whole of Camus' book is divided into three large parts – the first one (pp. 21-70) is a vast theoretical introduction to the studies of ethnicity; the second one (pp. 71-284) is the biggest and represents the core of the book – extensive ethnographies of three native enclaves in various parts of Ciudad de Guatemala; the last part (pp. 285-369) is an attempt to generalize the studied problems of ethnicity and territorialization of the capital city. It also contains a separate part on the ethnicity of Indian women, who are the visible bearers of ethnic identity even long after the final shift from the original communities to the city.

The first part (theoretical-methodological) is also a historical overview of various concepts of ethnicity in sociology, social anthropology and history. It starts with a gentle reflection of the first definition of "ethnicity" by Max Weber, who understood ethnic groups as communities with an entitlement to special status based on their unnatural character. Then it continues with a re-evaluation of the "great turnover" brought by F. Barth (1969). His understanding of ethnicity as a tool of social analysis overcame the idea of ethnic groups as having culture with its own specific content.

Camus studies ethnicity in the period of modernity and she disrupts the traditional schema according to which ethnic groups are captured in stereotypes reflecting the social organization of rural-communal type, and tries to formulate her own definition of ethnicity: "*...it is a discipline studying social forms deviating from its ideal in the sense of their own cultural homogeneity...*" (Camus 2002: 26, translated by M. H.). At the same time, Camus warns against

28 *Quiché* – the most numerous Indian ethnic group of Guatemala living mostly on the Altiplano in the departments of Quiché, Totonicapán and Quetzaltenango. According to the last available census of 2002, there were 1,270,953 Quiché in Guatemala.

29 In Guatemala *indígena* is a general name for a member of any Indian group (for an Indian in general), which is consistently used as an opposition to the rather pejorative *indio* (compare expressions *Rom* vs. "Gypsy.")

the dangers present when studying ethnicity in countries such as those in Latin American countries where the Indian population is more significantly represented. The methodological trap – given by the special historical construction of Latin America – is that the "others" means "we" in the sense that they are first of all constituents of the social experience and not only some anomalous component or a tolerated curiosity. Camus sees the Indian as an integrative entity which is a part of the modernization process and of the formation of modern nation. She does not omit the fact that Guatemalan Indians are at least since the 1950s – as was said above – co-creators of the modernization process despite the fact that the other half of the population (Ladinos and Creoles) consider them unable to integrate in the national dynamics. In Guatemala and in many other countries of Latin America with a significant share of the native population, the Indian question was "solved" within the politics of *indigenismo*, a Latin America form of nationalism, when the national identity is reinforced on the basis of Indianism (*indianidad*). In it, the Indian becomes one of the bearers of national values. For several tens of Guatemalan ethnic groups, indigenism also opened the channels of social mobility and gradual incorporation into the class structure as well as mestizo, acculturation, integration and assimilation processes, and gradually became the most powerful political tool of multiculturalism (Bastos and Camus, eds. 2007).

Before Camus defines her own theoretical-methodological position, she tries to critically cope with the powerful concept of *hybrid cultures (culturas híbridas)* devised by Néstor García Canclini (e.g. 1989). This term was understood as a Latin American contribution to the debate on "overcoming" modernity that emphasized cultural otherness from different positions than multiculturalism. García Canclini advocated the socio-cultural reality of cultural hybridism or mixing between modernity and tradition also understood as an antinomy between "educated" vs. "native/ethnic." He claims that the relations between cultural systems were always more fluent than they could seem and that the forms that cause mixing of cultural projects are various, incomparable and contradictory. Within the process of trans-nationalization of cultures, urban cultures are also recomposed. Their hybridization presupposes three key processes: 1. breaking off and then mixing of ensembles that organized (original or previous) cultural systems; 2. de-territorialization of symbolic processes (within the Guatemalan context, it is their transition from a rural environment to urban agglomerations) and 3. blending of culturally impure elements as a self-evident result of acculturation impact (García Canclini 1989: 264).

The concept of hybrid cultures thus emphasises unification, merging, communication, and multi-centrism rather than cultural differences and oppositions as accentuated by multiculturalism. It is in this distinctiveness of the today so much discussed and still influential and brilliantly formulated concept where Camus sees the main problem. It is a question whether the hybridization leads to an indefinable "sprawl" *("potingue")*, a kind of disgusting melting pot, in which in the end the power of mass media wins, while the "native" and the "ethnic" stay in the positions of uninformed naïvism. In other words: the concept of hybrid cultures can in its extreme form lead to two or more otherwise differentiated ethno-cultural entities blended one into the other and becoming a hardly definable cultural and social amalgam similar to mestizism or syncretism.

Although Camus refers to the cultural hybridization *(hibridación cultural)* throughout the text, she infuses it with new meaning: she relativizes the term "hybridization" as for the phenomena pointing at mixing of cultural elements – e.g., an Indian woman dying her hair blond or an Indian man in sandals browsing the Internet. She does not only understand this "hybridization" as a result of necessarily hybridizing cultural processes, but she studies *ethnicity* as a basic theoretical frame from the point of view of political economy, i.e., more as a reflection of social conflicts than of cultural mixing (see also e.g. Kokotovic 2000: 291). Camus sees the Guatemalan society as a complex one into which various culturally differentiated social groups are incorporated. The uniqueness of Guatemalan society lies in an extreme manifestation and survival of two axes, the socio-economic and the ethno-cultural, that Camus closely interconnects.

The second, most extensive part of Camus' book is a description and analysis of the almost 10-year-long ethnographic research among three native groups settled in various zones of Ciudad de Guatemala, in quarters, colonies, urban gorges, on peripheries and nearby the town market. Camus studies three places *(lugares)* that represent both physical and symbolical space *(espacio)* in the city. The first place is *La Terminal*, the main wholesale town market of Guatemala and the center of local and inter-city transportation where many Indian stallholders are concentrated. She is predominantly interested in "migrants with a double residence," i.e., those who spend part of the year in their own original community on the Altiplano and the rest in the city where they coexist with other already settled Indians. The second place is a small Indian village *La Brigada*, part of the Mixco district, that has just recently become a peripheral

colony of the capital city. The third place is the small colony of *La Ruedita* lost in several gorges of the city center. The core of the group consists of families coming from the district of Sacapulas (the Sacapultec)[30]. Camus gives each of the three places an ethnically-territorial metaphor, which defines its features. While Indians (mostly the Kaqchikel[31] and Quiché) living and working in the La Terminal market represent a relatively isolated "island" in the heart of the city, La Brigada represents for its inhabitants rather a "corridor," through which mainly migrants from the north and north-west pass (ethnically mostly Kaqchikel and Poqomam[32]; fewer, Poqomchí[33]). Some stop there, others continue deeper into the city center. Nevertheless, due to massive ethnic mixing, it is almost impossible to carry on a thorough analysis of at least one of the passing groups. The inhabitants of La Ruedita are ethnically clear, they themselves identify as Sacapultec, and thus form a native "metropolitan community." All the three studied groups differ among other things in the character of their social (socio-economic) adaptation – the first can be metaphorically characterized as "transhumants," the second as "nomads," and the third as "residents." If maize needs to be seeded or harvested, most of the male population of La Terminal moves to the villages on the central Altiplano. La Brigada is only a temporary "pastureland," transient subsistence space for most of its inhabitants who move immediately more deeply into the center, where they settle permanently or at least find their livelihood. They can keep only a rented house or a room in La Brigada. Only La Ruedita is a residential area for some of the Sacapultec, who take the capital as a *place* where all their socialization and reproduction take place. They thus return to their original villages only to visit relatives or to spend a short holiday. The capital city is their home.

The most turbulent circulation of the Indian population happens at the marketplace of La Terminal in the very center of Ciudad de Guatemala. As it is also a place where the central bus station is, for many incoming people from the Guatemala Altiplano it is where the very first contact with a metropolitan

30 The *Sakapultec* – an Indian ethnic group, in 2002, they represented 9,763 inhabitants.

31 The *Kaqchikel* – along with the Quiché and the Keqchí, the third most numerous Indian ethnic group of Guatemala (in 2002, 832,968 inhabitants declared themselves members of this group). They live mostly in the central departments of Guatemala – Guatemala, Sacatepéquez, Chimaltenango and Sololá.

32 The *Poqomam* – another native ethnic group of Guatemala living mainly in the central departments (42,009 inhabitants in 2002).

33 The *Poqomchi* – an ethnic group, the culture and language of which is close to the Poqomam. They live mainly in the departments of Alta Verapaz and Quiché (114,423 inhabitants in 2002).

environment is established. We could say that hundreds of "culture shocks" concentrate in this place and every newcomer goes through them. Culture shock quickly passes because the newcomers gather on the marketplace, which is also the space known for Indians from the pre-Columbian period. Moreover, many of them are prepared for such a way of life: "*We are like doves. When we get wings, we have to fly. Through many generations we saw our fathers do the same and now you can find the Momostec*[34] *traders from the United States to Panama, and inside Guatemala we are in Petén*[35]*, Livingston*[36] *and in many other places...*" (Camus 1998: 133, translation M. H.), says one of the Momostec street salesmen. He in fact describes one of the archetypes of the Central American Indian – a trading nomad[37] traveling since the pre-Classic Period with his goods among Utatlán[38], Kaminaljuyú[39], Iximché and other important pre-Hispanic centers. The places have changed, but the aim stays the same: to quit at least to some extent the traditional agricultural way of life depending on the cycles of nature. When Camus uses the metaphorical term – *insular ethnicity* – she probably also means representatives of this group, who despite frequent stays in the city do not intend to settle there or at least they resist it intensively. Their ethnic identity is therefore quite easily decipherable. Those who for some reason settle in the city reproduce only among themselves and do so not only on a social level, but also economically because the majority of their customers are Indians. La Terminal thus becomes a growing indigenous "island" in the middle of the two-million "sea" of dominant Ladinos. The endeavour to keep the ethnicity pure – either spontaneous or enforced – has its negative consequence: to *be* an Indian in Guatemala means to be a citizen of the second category.

34 The *Momostecs (*in Spanish *momostecos)* – Guatemalan Indians often declare their ethnicity as an affiliation to their home community, in this case to the town of Momostenango in the department of Totonicapán. Concerning language and ethnicity, they are members of the Quiché group.

35 *Petén* – the largest and from the demographical point of view the least populated department, situated in the northern Guatemala. From the ecological point of view it is mostly a lowland tropical rainforest, which has gradually become a homeland for many Guatemalan migrants.

36 *Livingston* – a small port in Bahía de Amatique on the Caribbean shore of Guatemala where one of the two non-Mayan minorities of the country – *Garifunas* (sometimes called *Black Caribs*) – live. Today they mix more and more with Indian, mostly Keqchí, migrants.

37 In Yucatan Mayan (yucateco) they are called *ppolm*, in Náhuatl they were called *pochteca*.

38 *Utatlán* – the name in Náhuatl for the capital of the Quiché kingdom, in the Quiché language called *Gumarcaaj*. The ruins of the center lie about 4 kms from the capital of the department of Quiché Santa Cruz del Quiché.

39 *Kaminaljuyú* – an important pre-Hispanic town inhabited since the pre-Classic Period, whose inhabitants already traded with Mexican Teotihuacán in the 4th century. Today it is a part of the zone 7 of the capital city.

Ethnicity is formed in a different way in La Brigada, the border colony of the capital. There, Indians also represent a dominant ethnic substrate but not as significant as in the previous case. The main specificity of La Brigada lies in the ethnic-space borders being indefinable stemming from the surviving urban-rural dichotomy of the way of subsistence. If Camus characterizes the ethnicity of most of the local people as a "corridor" or an "edge" ("orilla"), she expresses by that their prevailing ambiguity: as if they live in an urban environment but at the same time keep their minifundios, little fields where they grow inferior types of vegetables hardly sufficient to survive. Mixco[40], where La Brigada is located, does not offer potential residents any stronger alternative sources of income. Most of the men earn their living as seasonal bricklayers and women traditionally by preparing maize pancakes. Local life thus resembles the cycle of tide and ebb: changes of urban and rural spaces (most of the newcomers are originally from the nearby small towns of San Pedro Sacatepéquez and San Juan Sacatepéquez) happen so quickly that it is possible to sketch the prevailing ethnic identity only very approximately due to its incessant transformation. The researched group is probably the most typical representative of what García Canclini calls hybrid culture.

Metropolitan ethnicity is represented by about 30 Sacapultec households, who started to arrive in the city at the end of the 1950s. Migrants of the first generation settled in several gorges on the edge of the city center where they founded the colony of La Ruedita. Since Sacapulas, the original community of the group, was abandoned by only a part of the inhabitants, the tension has built up not only between newcomers and the urban population but also and maybe even more strongly between those who left and those who stayed. Camus thus comes to a basic question when studying the group: Is it possible to be released ethnically from the original community and transformed into a new community in the city, or, in the words of B. Anderson, in a community "imagined"? In other words, is it possible to conceptualize Sacapultec sociability after the permanent shift to the city as the Sacapultec one? Is it possible to avoid the process of Ladinization? It seems that, even after 50 years of the stay in the city, the Sacapultec are still a collective, a group *en sí mismo*, i.e., a group which preserves its endogamous impermeability. It is not, of course, absolute, as Camus indicates in the text. When she speaks of La Ruedita she speaks

40 *Mixco* – apart from this peripheral quarter of the capital, there is the old Mixco *(Mixco Viejo),* several kilometres to the north, once the center of the pre-Hispanic Poqomam.

about a "less imagined community" ("comunidad menos imaginada") and thus of course weakens Anderson's concept. It looks as if she implicitly supported an older thesis by Mexican archaeologist and ethnohistorian Alfonso Caso, for whom an affiliation to the home community is one of the features of ethnic (Indian) adscription (Caso 1948: 246). Such a statement is still valid for La Ruedita, however with a difference that the home community was created in the middle of the non-Indian city.

In the third part called *Space and ethnicity: their multiple dimensions* it is worth noting how Camus theorizes the Indian woman, who is usually the most dominant bearer of "traditional" ethnic identity. The Guatemalan Indian woman still succumbs to Ladinization much less than men, even after many years of a stay in the city. The most visible feature of ethnic/regional/local/community adscription is indeed clothes, especially the *corte* and the *huipil*. According to the cut, color and motifs one can infallibly distinguish where a woman comes from even without knowledge of her mother tongue. These two most important pieces of women's clothes represent also an indicator of social control continually brought from the Colonial Period. An eminent Guatemalan historian Martínez Peláez even says that an "Indian who is wearing burlap and socks is no longer an Indian" (1994: 611, translated by M. H.). Camus basically agrees with this rather strong statement, but she warns against the dangers of commercial abuse of those ethnic symbols and the dangers of their politicization. Huipils, the corte and other pieces of women's clothing become a still stronger tool of fighting for "pan-Mayan identity" and they lose a bit of their original power of social control. Indian women, whose most important representative in Guatemala is Nobel Peace Prize laureate Rigoberta Menchú, often unconsciously get tangled in the fight for future political unity of all Mayan-language-speaking ethnic groups that they do not fully comprehend. All of Camus' work thus gets also a gender dimension[41].

Undoubtedly, Manuela Camus belongs among the most important Latin American social anthropologists and with this book she confirms her erudition in the field of theoretical preparedness as well as the ability to do serious ethnographic research. All the three studied localities in the city represent in fact extensive ethnographies based on long term participant observation, tens

[41] Today, gender aspects are also studied by many archaeologists re-constructing mainly classic Mayan society (cf., e.g., Hewitt, E. A. 1999. What´s in a Name. Gender, Power, and Classic Maya Women Rulers. *Ancient Mesoamerica*, 10, 1999, pp. 251-262, or other work by this Berkeley based archaeologist).

of interviews and hundreds of analysed questionnaires. The book is difficult to read and is supplemented by perhaps a too large number of word-for-word transcribed answers of some of the author's informants. This however gives the book a more authentic feel. Camus is more narrative sometimes in the sense that she lets her informants tell their life stories. However there, too, she does not stay on the surface. She always attempts a deep analysis so as to be able to capture the complex process of socio-cultural change or the development of ethnic and cultural identity of any given individual and use it in order to deduce conclusions related to one of the three researched groups. In her book Camus presents (although, unfortunately, only to a rather limited number of interested people, as only 1,000 copies were published) a social drama which has been going on since the first phase of the conquest and which now has consequently become more intense with (pan)Mayan revitalization. This drama that originally went on only in the rural environment of the Guatemalan Altiplano or in the lowlands of Escuintla, Izabal, Zacapa, Chiquimula, and in many other departments is quickly shifting to the area of Valle de la Ermita to which the rapidly growing Guatemalan capital was shifted by Spanish colonial administrators in the 1770s. Partial analysis of this huge social drama, studied through the ethnicity of three native city enclaves, is probably the biggest contribution of Camus' book that can be considered one of the best original social anthropological works published in recent years in the field of Guatemala studies.

5. Conclusion: *Quo vadis Guatemala City?*

I first arrived at the contemporary capital city of Guatemala sometime in April 1996. I remember that I stayed in an oblate's mission for several days[42] in the marginal part of the city in Mixco. There at that time Manuela Camus had been doing her fieldwork for several years, which of course I knew nothing about. Most of my information came mainly from one experienced Canadian oblate and a young Quiché Indian who had been preparing for his first mission in hard reachable areas in the department of Alta Verapaz, near the Mexican border. From their mission house I undertook several short visits to the center of the busy metropolis, which struck me by the multifariousness of women's

[42] The Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate (OMI), which was founded in 1816 by French priest and bishop Eugene de Mazenod in southern France. In the western hemisphere they started working in 1841 in Canada; gradually they spread to almost all countries of North, Central and South America. Generally, they do their missionary work in the poorest and most remote parts of a country.

costumes from many places of Guatemalan (urbanizing) countryside rather than by the beauty of its historical sites. During my so-far last stay in the summer 2005 I was already able to distinguish not only to which wider ethnic group the Indian women belonged, but I often knew from which small town or village she came.

As I wrote in the introduction of this article, I had never done any purposeful ethnographic research there. Nevertheless, thanks to many spontaneous acquaintances, I got much information and knowledge of urban Indians and of those others who come there for various reasons. On such a basis I found out, for example, that the net of second-hand bookshops where I bought many valuable books on the history and ethnography of Guatemalan Indians is owned by several Kaqchikel families from Patzun. I realized that Ixil and Kaqchikel women sell their cloths and smaller souvenirs on the central square and in several adjacent streets nearby, etc. I learned that Guatemalan Indians, the "men of maize," as Miguel Ángel Asturias, a Nobel Prize in Literature laureate, calls them in his novel, settle more and more heavily in various parts of the capital. I got to know that urbanization is an unavoidable process and one of the most visible sides of current social and culture changes.

Such a process takes place all over the world, but in the countries of the third or even fourth world it is much more significant. I agree with T. H. Eriksen's claim that the main cause of urbanization is the growth of rural population[43]. Village settlements such as Chichicastenango, Panajachel, Santiago Atitlán, Patzun, Santa Cruz Quiché, and many others have rapidly grown into localities of an urban type and are now more or less connected to commercial activities on the regional, national or international level. Eriksen points out the transition from agricultural self-sufficiency to overproduction for the market (2008: 298). This is however valid only for part of the Indian population. Only some families have access to commercial growing of maize or other commodities. A larger number are still more or less dependent on the crop from their own fields. In this way, quite a schizophrenic situation has been created: e.g., the Patzun have in their town a solid infrastructure (municipal offices, which are in the hands of Patzun men, shops, schools, big church, etc.), but because their town is outside tourist interest most of the local inhabitants are still significantly dependent on agricultural production. When visiting Patzun,

43 E.g., the number of the Panama Guaymí grew in the middle of the 1990s by about 12% (!) contrarily to the whole of Panama, that grew only about 1%.

where about 95% of the inhabitants are of Kaqchikel origin, and many similar towns, I always asked myself a question – how to define such a place. So far I have not found a satisfactory answer, nor does Manuela Camus give a definite standpoint in her book when using the above-given metaphoric names for the three studied groups of *indígenas urbanos*. Only one fact seems to be sure – despite Guatemalan Indians' symbolic erasure from the social map of the capital city and the whole country, a significant process of self-representation of related Mayan groups and their complicated, though more and more rapid unification, has been taking place.

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HARE KRISHNA MANTRA IN PRAGUE STREETS: THE SACRED, MUSIC AND TRANCE*

Zuzana Jurková, Veronika Seidlová

Abstract: ***The article introduces one of the regular outdoor musical events in Prague – the harinam, a procession of Hare Krishna devotees. This event is set in the broader context of music as an integral part of religious rituals and/or holidays. The universal connection of music and spirituality is found in two extreme positions: as culturally determined or as universalistic/objectivistic. One of the traditions that understand spirituality as intrinsically present in music and thus the connection of the sacred and music as objective, is an Indian tradition. Its two basic approaches, that is, the Vedic "Apollonian" concept and the "Dionysian" concept, present in various directions, e.g., Tantrism, are actually present in the Hare Krishna procession. Our attention is drawn to the interpretation of the strikingly culturally specific elements of this "Dionysian" stream. Using Judith Becker's (2004) concept of trance, the Prague harinam shows itself to be like a culturally conditioned form of universal models of spiritual music.***

Key words: ***Hare Krishna, mantra, trance, deep listening, ethnomusicology***

This text belongs in the broader context of ethnomusicological research of musics in Prague conducted at the Faculty of Humanities of Charles University. The material of this article derives from the dissertation-in-progress of Veronika Seidlová; she is investigating changes of shapes and functions of Indian mantras between India and the Czech Republic.[1] Our goal, however, is much narrower. We intend to describe two concepts of sacred music which we see in the case of Prague Hare Krishna devotees.

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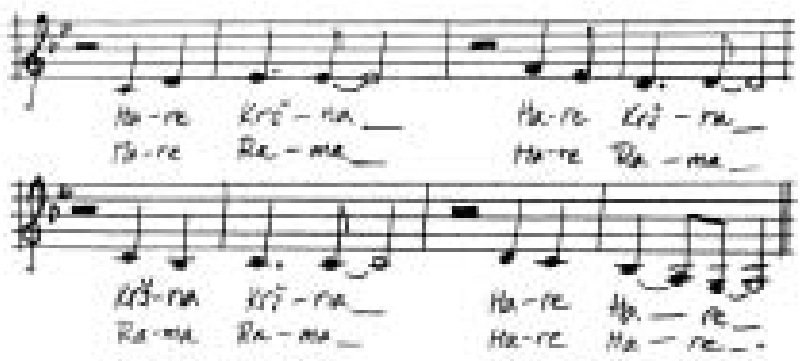
Harinam in Prague

It's a warm sunny Wednesday afternoon in April 2011. I am standing on Republic Square (Náměstí republiky) in Prague, the place crowded with tourists blocking my view and I am getting a bit nervous. I have come across Czech Hare Krishnas singing and dancing in their orange and white robes in the Prague Old Town so many times, but now, when I deliberately want to join their regular music procession, I simply cannot find them. From the official website of the Czech Hare Krishna movement I have learned that they start their Nagar-kirtans (devotional singing in the town) every Wednesday and Friday at 4 p.m. from here. Now, it is 4.15 p.m.; I have been waiting here for half an hour and nothing...and this square is so large... Finally, I hear some drumming and see a few orange robes on the corner of the luxurious art-nouveau Municipal House. The little group starts moving and turns around the corner to the street Na Příkopě ... I quickly join the end of the procession made up of two young ladies in colorful saris. I walk with the procession for the first time and do not know the devotees personally, nor do they know me. However, I talked to one of the representatives of the movement about my research and he encouraged me to go and see the harinam (another name for the Hare Krishna Nagar-kirtan) anytime without announcing.

The group walks quite fast, close in twos and threes, playing instruments and dancing while clapping their hands, and nearly all of them with or without instruments chant the Hare Krishna mantra:

"Hare Krishna Hare Krishna
Krishna Krishna Hare Hare
Hare Rama Hare Rama
Rama Rama Hare Hare."

They keep singing only these words but in many different tunes. The tempo and the melody are changed and set by a leader of the group in a call and response pattern, the leader singing one phrase, the group repeating the whole phrase once again after him. All the melodies are simple, generally in a regular four-beat meter, with a one voice line, easy for people to repeat and even memorize. The group also chants the most typical tune of this mantra, commonly heard in India. (However, Indians usually chant the words in a different sequence: Hare Rama, Hare Rama, Rama Rama, Hare Hare, Hare Krishna, Hare Krishna, Krishna Krishna, Hare Hare). The tune goes as follows:



Transcription by Veronika Seidlová, 2011

After a while of observing and participating in the procession, I can count sixteen people altogether. Men exceed women in numbers (twelve to four). Gradually, I also find out that the procession members are more or less lined up according to a certain ideal pattern which might reflect a certain hierarchy. Men and women walk separately, first men, women behind them.

Four men in their 40s and 50s lead the procession. They wear an Indian shirt and dhoti (traditional Indian men's garment, a rectangular piece of unstitched cloth, usually around seven yards long, wrapped around the waist and the legs and knotted at the waist), both of orange color, which is a color traditionally worn by Hindu monks. This traditional Indian outfit is interestingly combined with modern sport shoes, trekking sandals and socks in many colors. All of these men have a particular white marking on their foreheads (tilak) – a sign of Vaishnavas.[2] In appearance, male Vaishnavas – especially the monks – are usually easily recognizable not only by the aforementioned tilak, but also by a specific hairstyle called shikha. This Sanskrit word refers to a long tuft, or lock of hair left on top or on the back of the shaven head.[3] This,

[2] *Vaishnavism* is a tradition of Hinduism, distinguished from other schools by its worship of Vishnu or his associated *Avatars*, principally as Rama and Krishna, as the original and supreme God. Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sikha; The Hare Krishna movement founded in 1966 in New York City by A. C. Bhaktivedanta Swami Prabhupada as part of the broader *Gaudiya Vaishnava* movement founded by Chaitanya Mahaprabhu (1486–1534) in India in the 16th century. Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gaudiya_Vaishnavism.

[3] Though traditionally all male Hindus were required to wear a *shikha*, today it is seen almost only among Hindu celibate monks and temple priests. However, Swami Prabhupada made it a compulsory sign for all the male members of his Hare Krishna movement. He often referred to the *shikha* as a "*flag*," a term which illustrates the idea that the body is a temple with a flag on top. Srila Prabhupada

in European conditions a quite extravagant hairstyle, is also worn by the four Czech men in orange. From close up, I also notice characteristic small wooden beads on their neck – a third compulsory feature of a Krishna devotee.

The procession of Hare Krishna devotees is one of the very few more-or-less regular occasions when you can listen to live music in the Prague streets. This unusualness, strengthened even more by the clear spirituality of the procession is, for us who are brought up with ideas of enlightenment stressing the importance of the separation of the church (sacral) and the civic (profane) and, thus, the exclusion of the sacred from civic space, very unexpected. Some people even seem wary. Orange robes, partly-shaved men's heads and red marks on the forehead of women, unusual melodies and musical instruments, all of this attracts attention and asks for an explanation.

Sacred music?[4]

When Bruno Nettl intends to list universals of music (which itself is a cultural universal), already in second place after singing, he writes:

> In all societies, music is found in religious ritual – it is almost everywhere a mainstay of sacred ceremonies – leading some scholars to suggest that perhaps music was actually invented for humans to have a special way of communicating with the supernatural. And, too, it seems that, in all cultures, music is used in some sense for transforming ordinary experience – such as producing anything from trance in ritual to edification in a concert. (Nettl 2001: 9)

Without accepting the argument about the origin of music yet, there is no doubt about the dense connection between music and the sacred. For good reasons, we also state its use in the transformation of ordinary experience. It

felt that the *shikha* hairstyle was an important facet of his Krishna Consciousness movement, indeed a vital facet: "*I have no objection if members of the Society dress like nice American gentlemen; but in all circumstances a devotee cannot avoid tilak, flag on head, and beads on neck. These are essential features of a Vaisnava*".' Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sikha.

4 In this text we use the expression "sacred" to designate music which is used for religious occasions in the broadest sense, which means when *existential experience of our relation to anything which transcends individual life* (Sokol 1998: 11) is discussed. Although we do not accept Volek's distinction between sacred music and uses *which became part of liturgical rites* (1998: 24) and spiritual music in a broader sense. This distinction is difficult to apply in other than very petrified religious forms.

seems to us quite possible to connect both features stated separately by Nettl: the omnipresence of music in spiritual rituals and its ability to transform the experience of the time. If we accept Sokol's (2004) idea of roots of religions in holidays and their (collective) celebrations, it is easy. First of all, it seems very probable that here there could also be the origin at least of some kinds of music, perhaps just for the almost exclusive collectivity of music, presuming performers as well as listeners. The ability to organize a collective (dances, liturgy, etc.) is also relevant. Secondly, continuing Sokol's concept, a holiday and its celebration turns its attention from the ordinary and temporary (of this time) toward the transcendental (thus, into different – even time – space). Such a transformation of time is in the very substance of music: its course brings the participant into different time-space through the tempo changes, punctuation of time, etc. One more feature of music corresponds to the celebration of holidays: its impracticality, thus seeming uselessness.[5]

All this – collectivity, special organization of time and impracticality – lies in the anthropological fundaments of the symbiosis of celebrations (primarily religious) of holidays and music.

Theoretical reflections

Theoretical reflections of this striking universal symbiosis of music and the sacred lead in various directions. One of them – today undoubtedly prevailing in Western musicology – is summarized by Tomislav Volek (1998), who, however, predominantly uses the material of European Christian churches.[6] He denotes as sacral music used for the liturgy of the Roman Catholic Church and Protestant services. Its shape evidently differs according to confession as well as time. Volek adopts the basic idea from the Greek musicologist Thrasybulos Georgiades (1961). According to him, musical features do not make music sacred. Sanctifying is the reason – the function of music, and, more precisely: sanctifying is only "das Weihende," the sanctifying word. The sacrality of music is thus conditioned by the sacrality of the word.

The second direction in the reflections of sacred music can be called universalistic explanations: music and the sacred coexist symbiotically because

5 Some musical styles certainly coordinate, e.g., work activity or movements, but it is not possible to explain the origin of all kinds of music through this function.

6 Where he tries to generalize, e.g., in the case of Islam (p. 21), he reaches the limits of his understanding and his conclusions are wrong.

their natures are necessarily joined, either because they are directed by the same rules or because they are connected causally. Although today's Western musicology is dominated by the above-described first direction (if such more general problematics are discussed), we cannot miss the second direction either. Its roots are in ancient Pythagorean harmonics: According to Socrates (as quoted in Plato's *Republic*), musical modes are the primary milieu where moderation in clear form rules and so they are basic models for virtues. The chief representative of this direction is Florentine Renaissance humanist Marsilio Ficino (1433-99), in whose thoughts resonate the ideas of Plotinus (3rd century), as well as Arab-Islamic theorists, above all Al-Kindi (9th century).

The framework of Ficino's thoughts is the idea of the so-called ensouled world, where all subjects produce vibrations. They compose the music of the spheres, the general harmony of the universe which gives power (and, thus, also meaning) to words/sounds of an individual. In the ideal case, music is the expression of this harmony approachable through the senses. Ficino, although a physician, considered the effects of music more powerful than medicine.

For our text, especially interesting is Ficino's work *De Divino Furore [Divine Furor]* (1959), where he is concerned with songs performed in a state of "prophetic furor." According to Ficino, prophetic furor is a state in which heavenly beings rule over a soul, or the soul of a man wanders in ecstasy in supernatural space. The sources of singing in this state are *the similitudes linking heaven and earth* (Tomlinson 1993: 196). More concretely: *magical music allows humans to close, at various points and at will, the circle of similitude which constitutes the universe*. (Sullivan 1997: 4) To concretize Ficino's ideas it is necessary to add that the soul should be molded by liturgy, the disciplined arts (including prayers as well as pictorial and musical practice) (Werner 1984: 7), and only then can the soul, in the state of possession, meet transfiguring images originating in different types of realities.

Ficino had, in the European tradition, many followers such as Johannes Kepler (1571–1630), who – in his summa of modern mathematics, *The Harmony of the Universe* (James 1993) – measures the exact movement of planets, compares the differences in their speeds, and deduces musical intervals[7]. Another of his followers, Isaac Newton (1643–1727), remained convinced all

[7] Mars, for example, covered a perfect fifth, from C to G, the ratio 3:2, while Saturn sounded out perfect third. All the planets could produce glorious glissandos...as they intoned their way around the orbits, until each planet produced its own song. (Levenson 1994: 112).

his life that *the soul of the world, which propels into movement this body of the universe visible to us, being constructed of ratios which created from themselves a musical concord, must of necessity produce musical sounds*... (James 1993: 167)

The last in the row of European thinkers who will be mentioned here is the French anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss (1908–2009). According to him, music reveals basic laws (of mind, which are, however, at the same time absolute laws): *music and mythology bring man face to face with potential objects of which only the shadows are actualized, with conscious approximations...of inevitably unconscious truth which follow from them*. (Lévi-Strauss 1983: 17–18) How similar to the ideas of Ficino (whom Lévi-Strauss does not mention, but considers Plotinus, along with Ficino, as his muse). Music uncovers, through the evident, the heavenly order/codes of unconscious truth or *the similitudes linking heaven and earth*.

If this universalistic line of reflection of sacred music is marginal in the European tradition of the last centuries, it is, on the contrary, common in non-European cultures. Surprisingly close to Plato's formulation is the discourse of some classical texts of Chinese Confucianism related to the mutual relation of music and social conditions: *music of an ordered empire is calm; music praises the harmony of its government. The music of a disordered empire is painful and thus expresses the suffering of its people.* (Yu Ti – Diary on Music).[8] Music is thus a sort of microcosm ruled by the same order – the Order of Heaven – as the whole universe.

On the contrary, causal is understood as the relation between the supernatural realm, music and human reality by the North American Blackfoot Indians (like many other North American tribes):

> In many Native American cultures, songs are thought to come into existence principally in dreams or visions... Music has supernatural power. In Blackfoot culture, it is the song that, as it were, holds the power. Thus, each act must have its appropriate song. In a ceremony in which a medicine man is trying to influence the weather, he will have a bundle of objects which he opens and displays, but their supernatural power is not activated until the appropriate song is sung. (Nettl 2001b: 262)

8 Quoted according to Dvorská 1990.

Both of the abovementioned examples thus represent the universalistic connection of music and the supernatural realm, although, first, it is understood as analogical and, second, as causal.

The undoubted representative of the universalistic line is also the Indian tradition which is so strongly presented on the sidewalks of today's Prague when the Hare Krishna procession walks and dances there. First, Veronika will accompany them on their regular route to the Góvinda restaurant, where their weekly production ends. Afterwards, we will try to lay the fundaments of understanding what is actually happening in today's Prague streets by short characteristics of traditional Indian understanding of sound.

One of the four men in orange is undisputedly the main leader of the whole procession. While constantly walking fast, he plays an Indian harmonium hanging on a thick belt over his shoulder, the instrument placed in front of his belly. For those who have never seen or played an Indian harmonium – it is a massive wooden box, half a meter long, approx. 30 cm wide and almost as tall, where air is pumped inside with the left hand and keys are played with the right one. Although it was given the adjective "portable" when it was brought by the Christian missionaries from France to India during the mid-19th century, the missionaries were obviously not expected to play it while walking, for which it is quite heavy (around 10 kg, but it can reach up to 17). In India, where it was further developed by Indians in unique ways adjusting to the needs of Indian music and became an inherent part of the Indian sound environment (and especially of Hindu and Sikh devotional group singing), it is mostly played while seated on the floor. I have to admire the physical condition of the Hare Krishna group leader who carries the harmonium for the next two full hours – and he is not only playing, pumping the air and walking at the same time, but is also the leading singer for the whole procession! Enthusiastically, he sings in the portable head-set microphone in front of his mouth and, later on, he even adds little jumps and dance steps.

Another devotee in orange plays the double-headed clay drum mridangam, which hangs on the body in a hand-made cloth case with a belt, the case embroidered with a picture of the black head of the God Jagannath[9]. The third man in orange is playing kartals, the hand-held brass Indian cymbals with a diameter of about twenty centimeters, and the fourth man in orange next to

9 Jagannath is considered an aspect of the god Vishnu or his avatar Krishna.

him raises his hands above his head, singing and dancing. Behind them walks a younger member of the movement in a white dhoti and white Indian shirt, also with a shaven head with shikha and with little Gandhi-like glasses. On a belt, he carries a big speaker, wirelessly connected to the singing leader with a microphone. He is followed by two bhaktas, disciples who are not yet full members of the movement. They can be identified by the lock of hair, but their heads are not shaved. One of them wears cargo pants with a plain shirt and plays the mridangam; the other one in ethnic-like cotton pants and shirt claps his hands and sings. Behind them I can see slightly older men who obviously are not members, but supporters of the movement – a man with long blond hair in shorts, who plays the mridangam, a man in cargo pants and an orange cap playing small kartals, then a burly man in his fifties with a smiling and sweating face while singing, and finally a long-haired man with a big backpack, looking like a homeless person. The procession is closed by three younger women and a lady in her fifties, obviously the mother of one of them. All the young ones have long hair in a braid, wear an Indian sari with an unusually long blouse and sneakers. The older lady wears a Panjabi dress (Indian woman's dress made of a longer tunic, trousers and shawl) but without the shawl. All of them chant, clap their hands and walk with special little dance steps in a zigzag manner, two steps to the left, two to right.

Various tourists follow the procession for a while taking pictures, but apart from two curious Japanese girls nobody keeps walking as long as I do. There is actually one more member of the parade, although he is not part of it, neither is he singing or dancing. It is a young Krishna devotee in a cream dress who rotates around offering fresh handmade coconut sweets to the tourists, and to the Czechs he sometimes offers a book with Czech translations of the movement's theology. The offer is followed by a request for a donation.

Leaving the broad pedestrian zone of Na Příkopě, we arrive at a rapid pace at Můstek and dive into the crowd on a narrow walkway that leads up the right side of Wenceslas Square (Václavské náměstí). On one side shop window displays, sausage and tobacco stands on the other, rushing locals and slowly walking tourists. People naturally make way for us, wait till the procession passes while watching it curiously and continuously taking photos – if not with a camera or camcorder then at least with a mobile phone. It is interesting to watch their smiling faces and positive reactions when they are observing the joyously singing and dancing Hare Krishnas – not even once have I seen an upset face nor have I heard comments about having to

make space for the procession. Constantly, we are passing by smiling people, and some of the onlookers, usually youngsters, even start fooling around for a while, screaming euphorically something like: "Holy shit! Let's go with them!" Even a businessman in a suit smacks another one on the shoulder and shouts: "The hell with everything, let's join them, what do you say?" None of them really joins though.

When we reach the top of the Wenceslas Square, we walk around the statue of St. Wenceslas on the horse and go down the other side of the square. The Russian-speaking shopkeepers in Melantrichova Street are coming out of their shops with glass and souvenirs, exchanging looks and greeting gestures with Hare Krishnas as with somebody you see very often.

The Astronomical Clock shows exactly 4.50 p.m. as we arrive at Old Town Square. Crowds of tourists are already waiting here to take a snapshot of the famous moving clock as soon as it strikes five. Something unexpected happens here. The devotees stop walking and start playing on the spot. Then they start going in a circle while dancing with both hands raised above their heads and singing the mantra with even more energy than before. The tempo of the music is getting faster and faster, the sound louder and louder. The tourists bored with waiting watch them curiously. A group of maybe thirty young Italians is standing closest to the Hare Krishnas. A few of them immediately join the circle and start dancing too, being maybe a bit tipsy and showing off. However, within two minutes, almost all of the thirty Italians dance in "snake" like in a disco club and are joined by exultant Englishmen and by some more foreigners, already unidentifiable. Suddenly, a wild mass of maybe sixty people is whirling around! The drummers are crazily banging the drums and the leader of the harinam is now almost shouting the mantra in the microphone, bending backwards as if he didn't have a harmonium but an electric guitar in his hands. The dancing mass seems to go completely wild. The sound is so loud that you cannot hear your own voice, not to speak about the mechanical crowing of the cock on the clock which should perform any minute and which is actually the thing all the tourists are waiting for. The Hare Krishnas seem to be completely carried away. However, their timing is perfect – exactly one minute before the clock strikes five, the drummers give a few last big slow strokes, the leader slowly shouts the last "Hare Krishna!," and the dancers burst out laughing, catching their breath and wiping off sweat from their foreheads. As soon as the spontaneous happening is over, the cock on the Astronomical Clock finally crows, Death starts moving her hand holding the sandglass and the Apostles start appearing

in the little windows. The crowd claps hands and the devotees of Krishna, quietly drumming, set off towards the Charles Bridge...(I must leave them at this moment because I have to attend a compulsory PhD. seminar at the University.)

I join the harinam again the next week. The leader of the procession is the same but some of its members are different. However, the group is as big as last time with the same division of roles, instruments, etc. This week, the weather became unexpectedly chilly, so all the devotees are wrapped up in large woolen shawls and thick fleece sweatshirts. Nevertheless, one could still see them from quite far because, this time, they carry a big dark red velvet banner with golden embroidered words of the Hare Krishna mantra.

They follow the same route and timing as last time and, on Old Town Square at 4.50 p.m., I surprisingly witness exactly the same scene with excited dancing in the circle together with another group of spontaneous young male tourists from Southern Europe. Today, the devotees somehow seem to be even more exultant than last week. Mainly one young man in orange, who carries a heavy wireless speaker on a shoulder strap, is dancing as enthusiastically as if it weighed nothing, and he is almost flying above the ground.

Later, while walking towards the Charles Bridge, this devotee also distributes little leaflet-stickers, advertisements of the oldest ISCKON vegetarian restaurant Góvinda at Palmovka. The leaflet is in Czech and invites us to the singing of mantras, reading from the Vedas and a degustation every Thursday at 6 p.m. Together with a personal invitation for Thursday, I also get from him a little 3cm by 3cm orange paper, printed on one side in English and in Czech on the other. It reads:

> "Chant Hare Krishna [...] Rama Rama Hare Hare And be happy! This mantra meditation is an ancient method used to free the mind and soul from the miseries experienced in this material world. Its chanting purifies the heart and leads one to the self-realization and the perfection of human life. www. Harekrsna.cz"

The man would want to talk to me more, but he forgets that he is also carrying the speaker, so he cannot stay behind. The leaders are already calling him to move forward. We are now passing through Karlova, maybe the busiest medieval street in Prague, and are approaching a little square in front of the Charles Bridge. Here, we have to wait for the lights to cross a road with cars and trams, and it becomes another opportunity to make a little happening with

the waiting people. The next, obviously regular stop is a place under the bridge tower. Here, the stone walls and ceiling amplify the sound of drums so much that the volume becomes both great and almost unbearable to me. The devotees have evidently looked forward to this acoustical effect and clearly enjoy it a lot, their eyes absently shining, faces smiling with even more joy (if it is even possible). The tempo of the music graduates and they are ecstatically banging on the instruments and jumping on the spot or spinning in the circle, fully immersed in the music. It seems to me that they (and mainly the leader) are maybe falling into something like a trance, or an altered state of mind, but the whole thing lasts very shortly, maybe a minute or less...or maybe it just feels short, because just watching them, it unwillingly gives me goose bumps and even tears in my eyes, and I get a bit lost. The Hare Krishna girls are waving to me to join them dancing, but I just cannot stop watching the leader. Before I find myself "back," it is over and they have already started walking back via the same street to Old Town Square.

Interestingly, the second stop on the Square today does not cause the same effect as the first one. I suppose this is because it is 5.30 p.m. and, therefore, there are not enough bored tourists waiting for the Astronomical Clock. Nevertheless, the Hare Krishnas seem to enjoy the harinam more and more, just playing for themselves. By now, they have been intensively playing, singing and dancing while walking for one full hour and a half without even a little break, some of them carrying heavy instruments – and they do not seem to be tired at all, but on the contrary.

In Celetná Street, the procession again attracts some young people, who walk with us up to the Powder Tower and in front of the Municipal House, where the devotees stop and play on the spot for a few minutes. It is 5.45 p.m. and the harinam finishes with the last few strong strokes on the drums and a wild improvisation on the harmonium, while shouting: "Hare Krishna!" Then they quickly pack things in a car with coordinated experienced movements and are ready to move to the nearby Góvinda restaurant (run by the Czech ISCKON) in Soukenická Street, where a program for the public starts at 6 p.m. I am immediately approached by the girls, who warmly invite me to the event. So I walk there with them while chatting. I tell them about my fieldwork on mantra singing in the Czech Lands, and I am told that the Hare Krishna mantra is the best because it purifies the heart of all who listen to it, and that is why this kirtan (public devotional chanting) is done. I also learn about the harinam leader: he is 59 years old (which I cannot believe, because he looks at

least twenty years younger), he has a rock band, and he has been leading the Prague harinams for last thirteen years.

By the time we reach the tearoom of the vegetarian restaurant, there are already about ten people waiting for the program to start. Another ten people join later. The harinam leader is already there, setting a microphone on a low stage. Then, while sitting with crossed legs, he plays and sings together with a drummer and a kartal player for one more hour, with the public answering in a call and response pattern. The repertory contains not only the Hare Krishna mantras, but also devotional songs about Krishna. The public consist of both the official devotees and friends of the movement. People are sitting on low chairs, singing and clapping their hands. No dancing or going "wild"... The performance is followed by a lecture from the Bhagavad Gita and by a Prasadam – a vegetarian Indian dinner free or paid for on a donation basis. The whole event finishes slightly after 9 p.m.

Sacred sounds of India

For an understanding of what is actually happening during a Prague *harinam*, let us turn our attention to traditional[10] Indian understanding of sound and word. In Indian cosmology, the importance of sound is so fundamental that some researchers use, for this fact, Sonic theology[11]. For the explanation of this concept, they usually go back to the oldest Vedic text – Rigveda. In it the term *Vak* appears; two of its several meanings are relevant for us: (a) speech generally and (b) the goddess Vak as the revealing Word. In Rigveda and Atharva-Veda there is a hymn to the goddess Vak:

> I am the one who says, by myself, what gives joy to gods and men. Whom I love I make awesome; I make him a sage, a wise man, a Brahman. (8) I am the one who blows like the wind, embracing all creatures. Beyond the sky, beyond the earth, so much have I become in my greatness. (Beck 1993: 29)

The terminological merge of speech and its godly personification reveal a lot: among other things, the emphasis of aural and oral aspects language,

10 We dare to use this rather vague expression because we present more detailed historical data; at the same time, it is clear that the discussed phenomena are transmitted, although partly transformed.

11 See Beck 1993, and, consequently, Burchett 2010.

its ability to communicate with the sacred realm and also its understanding as a principle of productive energy. The goddess Vak was later identified with the developing concept of Brahman, the Absolute[12]. This concept of language as a powerful sacred (active) sound also penetrates further Brahman literature.

The basic term of Sonic theology is the term *mantra*. Its nature is already clearly understandable from its etymology: the Sanskrit root *man* (= to think) is connected with the instrumental ending *tra*, expressing that mantras are instruments, bearers (in the sense of agent) of ideas or – as Burchett suggests – *an instrument of producing (a special kind of) thought*. (2010: 813)

As one of the shortest descriptions of mantra, it is possible to use that of Beck: *A mantra is a chant formula of words and syllables in the Sanskrit language* (1993: 31) with Burchett's addition that *they may constitute a single syllable or an entire hymn; they may convey clear semantic meanings or they may appear completely nonsensical*.[13] (2010: 813) Nevertheless, we will come closer to an understanding of the concept through the respected characteristics of Gonda, who tries not only to catch the emic conceptions, but also the later development from Vedas to Hinduism and Tantrism:

> A *Mantra* is a word believed to be of "superhuman origin," received, fashioned and spoken by inspired "seers," poets and reciters in order to invoke divine power(s) and especially conceived as a means of creating, conveying, concentrating and realizing intentional and efficient thoughts, and of coming in touch with or identifying oneself with the essence of divinity which is present in the mantra. (Gonda 1963: 255)

It is also possible to approach mantras from a different angle: through an ancient Indian concept of language. Sanskrit words are not considered simple symbols of reality, thus arbitrary labels on reality (a concept common in Western linguistics) but as *sound forms of objects, actions and attributes, relating to the corresponding reality in the same way as the visual forms* (Hopkins 1971: 20), and differing from them only by the medium of perception. This relation

12 The goddess Vak became identified with the evolving concept of Brahman (vag vai Brahman), the power of speech in the Vedic ritual, such that the earliest meaning of the word Brahman [which is the later, Upanisadic term for the Absolute; Beck. 8] is a "sacred word" or "sacred formula" (Rg-Veda 10.125) and, thus, by extension the Veda in general." (Beck 1993: 29).

13 Burchett writes about uses of mantras for several reasons: besides transcendental, also for very secular reasons.

of word (signifier) and signified is the intrinsic relation of the word to reality and thus a powerful instrument of influence. In mantras, thus, two influential means merge: the sound itself of a pronounced word capable of invoking *divine powers* (that is why it is necessary to care about correct pronunciation) and the word as a manifestation of reality with which it is possible to manipulate.

Later on, we will discuss several categories of mantras, but for all of them it is true, as Jan Gonda writes, that they are perceived as *not products of discursive thoughts, human wisdom or poetic phantasy, but flash-lights of eternal truth, seen by those eminent men who have come into supersensuous contact with the Unseen*. (1963: 247)

One more note is appropriate here; it follows the concept of sound as an "objective" communicator with the sacred realm and is related to music. The sound of music is of the same music and, thus, of the same power. That is why, in Indian musical theory (it is difficult to distinguish here music aesthetics and music psychology) the concept of *ragas* has developed as an objectified collection of rules of how to shape a musical performance. The concept of *ragas* has a universalistic nature similar to the ideas connected with the effects of words and sounds, which means it did not take into consideration the individual and cultural biography of the listener. It is wedged into the broader (rasa) theory[14]. Keeping the rules of *ragas*, one of eight fundamental mental states or forms of consciousness (rasa) is supposed to be established, and also the harmonization of the spiritual and concrete physical environment. The *raga* rules determine in which mode (ladder) the music is performed as well as which tones are more important than other ones, the way of melodic ornamentation is prescribed and also the time in which the musical performance should take place (most often it is a three-hour interval in the 24-hour day cycle, but in some cases, e.g., the rainy season).

One could expect that, in our discussion of mantra singing in the Prague streets, we will pay more attention to Indian music theory. However, this is not necessary because this complex theory is targeted primarily to the style which we would most likely describe as art music; the simple melodies of mantras do not provide enough material for it.

The fundament for our understanding of the Prague *harinam* is, thus, the Indian concept of mantras. It combines the power of sound (strengthened by

14 For more details, see Becker 2004.

singing) as sound invoking "divine powers," and the power of the word which has an immediate relation to reality and which can therefore manipulate with it. We will try to approach a little closer through the categorization of mantras and an understanding of the context of these categories. In our opinion, we come closer not only to Indian and Prague reality, but also to two universal modes of sacred music.

In the following text we will discuss two different concepts of mantras in the sacred context[15]: as a part of Vedic sacrificial ritual or as part of religious practice of Tantric Vaishnavism or, more specifically, the *Bhakti* movement.

In the Vedic sacrificial ritual *yajna*, mantras, together with sacrificial fire, are the constitutive elements of the ritual. For the ritual, its connection is fundamental: Howard (2000: 238) even describes the correspondence of the arrangement of stones in the sacrificial altar and mantras which were sung during the placement of the stones. Mantras are agents of sacrifice. Even before the beginning of any ritual event, it was necessary to recite sacred sounds, mantras. *If ritual acts and ceremonies are to be performed successfully the consecratory word is an indispensable requirement* (Gonda, note 26). In this sense, the ritual function of mantras is close to functions of "songs" in the rituals of North American Indians. If the ritual is successful, the right song should be sung and, actually, it is the song which makes the ritual successful[16].

It was, indeed, the objectivity of the effects of the sacred sounds which necessitated a maximally perfect performance. It was done by Brahmans, members of the highest Indian caste. They orally transmitted and transmit the way of performance of ritual, either in families or schools/tradition to which they belong. Every school developed its own support system for memorizing long texts which would be recited and also for avoiding mistakes in performance[17]. The second security element of the proper functioning of the sacrificial ritual is a written version with markings indicating the way of performance[18]. Each of the four Vedic texts uses different forms of markings. (Marginally: various schools differ in their interpretation of the same performance markings.)

While peforming mantras in the framework of Vedic ritual, the emotional involvement of an individual is not considered decisive (the effectiveness

15 According to the subject of our article, we do not discuss the private use of mantras for secular needs, although even this use has a certain supernatural dimension.

16 Nettl 1989: 128 ff.

17 For more details, see Howard 2000.

18 ibid.

of a ritual is necessitated by keeping complicated rules), in the framework of the *Bhakti* movement[19], in which inner involvement and striking emotionality are fundamental features, the approach to their performance is, in many aspects, the opposite. If the Czech Hare Krishna devotees call their mantra chanting during regular processions through Prague *kirtans*, they are referring exactly to the Bhakti movement, the egalitarian ideas of which were broadly attractive (understandably in India, strictly divided according to castes). They still seem to be attractive, not only in India, but in the West, too. The Hare Krishna movement is proof of it.

In the narrower sense, the term *kirtan* designates a form in which strophe and refrain alter. More often, however, *kirtan* has a broader meaning: it is devotional singing by which a soloist and a choir alternate in a responsorial way[20]. The Bengali saint Chaitanya (1486–1534) is usually called the originator of *kirtan* singing. He is also considered the founder of the *Gaudiya Vaishnava* movement, of which Hare Krishna is a part. The above-mentioned emotionality and inner involvement have their expression in the way of singing. Contrary to many Hinduistic directions, modest in their singing of mantras, *Chaitanya and his followers proclaimed that the loud singing of God's name(s) was more effective in the requisition of salvation, since [it] is more expressive and thus conducive of the kind of Bhakti [devotion] sentiments required for the highest spiritual experience, namely, love of God*. (Beck 1993: 201)

We can consider two of the described modes of mantra use and their contexts as two different ways of an approach to the sacred as well as two different approaches to reality in general: one is through a maximum of discipline and exactness, the other through intensive inner involvement, emotionality and spontaneity. Our main attention is focused on the Prague *harinam*; we will confront it with the abovementioned Indian theoretical models. Before that, however, we will introduce its other phase: a video which is available on the Internet and by which the Prague Hare Krishna group presents itself. Thus the video can be considered an emic voice of the Prague Hare Krishna devotees.

19 Sanskrit. term referring to religious devotion in Hinduism, understood as active involvement of a devotee in divine worship. The term is used within the Vaishnava monotheistic branch of Hinduism, referring to the love felt by the worshipper towards the personal God. Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bhakti (26. 7. 2011).

20 Jackson 2000: 265.

Harinam through its own eyes

Harinam in Prague[21] is a 24-minutes-long movie about the Hare Krishna music procession in Prague, freely downloadable from Google in the Google video section. Harinam means a music procession, a public chanting of the name (-nam) of the God Hari, e.g. Krishna. The video captures the procession of the Krishna devotees in the freezing cold evening streets in the center of Prague. In a few flashbacks, it also shows the devotees preparing themselves for the parade in the outskirts of the town and their journey by public transportation.

The subtitles say that the movie was shot and directed in 2007 by a certain "bh. Ezequiel." The mysterious shortcut "bh." obviously means "bhakta" – a Krishna devotee who has not been initiated yet and therefore has not received a full new name with a suffix –das (servant). After an extensive search I find out that the filmmaker comes from Spain, was 28 when he made the movie, and became a professional filmmaker with experience in advertisements. That all makes sense because Ezequiel made his movie about *Harinam in Prague* in such a way that it seems like an advertisement for the Hare Krishna movement. What is really interesting about the movie is the way he does it.

Ezequiel's short movie resembles a computer action game. This is achieved by skillful fast cuts, the camera, and mainly by unexpectedly different music. The movie doesn't start with an obligatory Indian sound and chanting of a Hare Krishna mantra, but surprisingly with a remix of electronic music of The Prodigy, whose music was used in *The Matrix* – the iconic sci-fi action film!

For those who haven't seen the movie yet: *The Matrix* is a science fiction action film written and directed by Larry and Andy Wachowski. It was first released in 1999 and became the first installment in the famous *Matrix* series of films, comic books, video games, and animation. The film depicts a future in which reality as perceived by most humans is actually a simulated reality created by sentient machines to pacify and subdue the human population, while their bodies' heat and electrical activity is used as an energy source. Upon learning this, computer programmer "Neo" is drawn into a rebellion against the machines, involving other people who have been freed from the "dream world" and into reality. The film contains many references to the cyberpunk and hacker subcultures and to philosophical and religious ideas such as Hinduism (the concept of Maya or "illusion" in Advaita Vedanta philosophy),

21 http://video.google.com/videoplay?docid=-8096811527582997164#.

Plato's Allegory of the Cave, Descartes' evil genius, the Judeo-Christian idea of Messianism; Gnosticism, Buddhism, mystics of Kung-Fu and Occultism, etc. Specifically, it draws on Jean Baudrillard's book Simulacra and Simulation, which is even featured in the *Matrix* film and was required reading for the actors. (However, Baudrillard commented that *The Matrix* misunderstands and distorts his work.) In Postmodern discourse, interpretations of *The Matrix* often reference Baudrillard's philosophy to demonstrate that the movie is an allegory for contemporary experience in a heavily commercialized, media-driven society, especially of the developed countries.[22]

Ezequiel clearly draws on the abovementioned ideas and the aesthetics of *The Matrix* movie. At the beginning, he introduces the streets of Prague – through a red camera filter, he shows an old homeless man on the street on a dark, cold night. The atmosphere of mystery, horror, tension and a certain aggressive, hostile depression is evoked by a film symphonic music – fast string and wind instruments quickly take turns and get even faster and louder in contrast to dramatically slow motion shots of walking "lost" freezing people, of blindfolding lights and neon signs of the metropolis, of fast foods and casinos. All this is followed by a short, blurred slow motion shot of a few men with drums and a red banner with a Hare Krishna mantra. Then the camera turns back to the abandoned homeless beggar. We hear a creaking sound of electronics and the crazy cacophony grows stronger and stronger, but suddenly it breaks with the sound of a jet plane just taking off. A pure white quotation without any further comments appears on an empty black screen:

> "In this age of quarrel and hypocrisy the only means of deliverance is chanting the holy name of the Lord. There is no other way. There is no other way. There is no other way." Chaitanya Caritamrta Adi 17.21.

While we are reading the quotation, we hear a few arhythmic confused dull strokes. In a few seconds, again a high dramatic sound of a jet plane rising fast. As soon as the sound of the jet becomes unbearable, suddenly comes a fast cut – and we hear rumbling rhythmic electronic music full of deep bass sounds, something that I myself would call tribal techno.

22 Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Matrix and http://www.insidehighered.com/views/mclemee/mclemee135 and Meinhold, Roman (2009). *Being in The Matrix: An Example of Cinematic Education in Philosophy*. Prajna Vihara. Journal of Philosophy and Religion. Bangkok, Assumption University. Vol.10., No.1–2, pp. 235–252 ISSN 1513-6442, available at http://www.roman-meinhold.com/matrix.pdf.

As the credits reveal at the end of the movie, the music is by a Hare Krishna devotee who is also a DJ, Jaya Sacinandana Dasa. My colleagues Peter Balog and Veronika Avellaneda Svobodová pointed out that the music was clearly inspired by or directly remixed from music of The Prodigy used in the *Matrix* film. The Prodigy is an English electronic dance music group which achieved mainstream popularity in the 1990s and 2000s (over 25 million records sold worldwide.) They make use of various styles ranging from rave, hardcore techno, industrial and breakbeat in the early 1990s to electronic rock with punk vocal elements in later times.[23] And actually I find similar electronic music in one of the fight scenes of *The Matrix* where the warriors fly in the air in slow motion as in a computer game.

Again as in *The Matrix*, there is a slow motion shot in Ezequiel's movie capturing the parade of energetic young men in a white or orange Indian thin cloth "skirt" (dhoti), drumming in the streets of Prague – they resemble fighters or action movie heroes. Bundled up in sweatshirts and caps, they proudly carry the Hare Krishna banner and dance. They jump in the same rhythm; some of them have their gloved hands raised above their heads. Farther behind them, we can see cheerful Hare Krishna women in long skirts, as well as ordinary people from the street. Electronic music is complemented by regular shouts of men as kind of tribal inspiration.

Then the pictures purposely start moving fast, in scattered shots. In a fast spinning sequence, we see a man waving from the car, the harinam leader with a portable microphone, another devotee with an amplifier on his back which looks like a little do-it-yourself mobile techno sound system, a drunken young Rom yelling "Hare Krishna!," then once again we see the leader who is the main vocalist and a harmonium player at the same time with the instrument strapped to himself – he is bending backwards in ecstasy, in a pose like a rock star with a harmonium instead of an electric guitar – and finally comes a shot of how the Hare Krishna boys jump together under "the horse" on Wenceslas Square – from a distance it seems like a Masai ritual. The aesthetics of *The Matrix* (or of some older computer graphics) are then once again recalled with a green flashing cursor writing the exact dates on the screen: "Prague, meeting time 16:30, temperature –10." Electronic music also resounds when the Ezequiel's film shows young men preparing themselves for the harinam – how they iron their dhotis ("skirts"), how they store in the boot of the car

[23] The current members include Liam Howlett (composer/keyboards), Keith Flint (dancer/vocalist) and Maxim (MC/vocalist). Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Prodigy.

their portable amplifiers and megaphones as if they were going to a techno march, and how they vigorously run together to the subway. The camera captures their joyous faces and their behavior as decisive and active.

For a little while, the movie also shows short random interviews with people on the streets of Prague asking questions about the movement and showing people's positive reactions towards it. However, the camera soon returns to the Hare Krishna men. Instead of the electronic music, we now hear their own music with drums, harmonium, cymbals and exultant loud singing, which, as evening and the cold progress, is becoming more and more ecstatic.

Their music, at least its rhythm and tempo, the repetitiveness and the base sound, now does not seem so different from techno anymore. With the graduating tempo the ecstasy progresses, and for some short moments, some of the men seem to be even passing into a trance. As Veronika Avellaneda Svobodová remarks, this is mainly visible at minutes 9′ and 20′ of the movie when the tempo of the kirtan (common public chanting) gets faster and reaches a value of bpm (beats per minute) similar to genres of electronic music, e.g. techno or psytrance (120–150 bpm depending on the subgenre). In these moments, the devotees are evidently specifically excited, collectively carried away, which fades out after the song is over.[24]

In the final part of the Ezequiel's movie as if it blurred what is reality and what is dream... More and more rejoicing people from the street join the parade, until there is just one big orgasmic party that celebrates Krishna. The film *Harinam in Prague* ends with breathing-out and calming down also symbolized by the sound of the air emitted from the harmonium, as when one shuts the accordion, and the camera finally shows a misty, tired but happy and knowing smile of the leading singer saying good-bye with the Hare Krishna statement "Hari, Hari bol"[25].

In Veronika's excellent description of the video, there are a lot of important observations. Most important for us is the relation of the connection to the film *The Matrix* (and here, thus, to the Hinduistic image of the world as Maya, an illusion) and *techno* music. We are sure that precisely this style is not here for the simple reason of its use in the film *The Matrix,* because of the director's taste or because of the effort to attract *techno* fans. On the contrary, the connection seems to be much deeper.

24 E-mail conversation with Veronika Avellaneda Svobodová from 3rd of July 2011.

25 Vaguely translated as "Lord, Lord, speak."

Music and trance

As Peter Balog (2009) argues the main value creating the *techno* subculture[26] is the concept of otherness as differentiated from the surroundings. Above all, the complex musical language is used for this purpose for which fast tempo, repetitiveness, electronic sound, continuousness and loudness with physical response are characteristic. Besides the stimuli of musical language, the feeling of otherness is also created by visual components, uninterrupted movement and also often chemical stimulants (drugs). In the most concentrated form, all of these elements are present in psytrance[27], musical (and subcultural) style, where the otherness also has a more concentrated form, the form of general ecstasy[28], escape, trance[29]. Escape from the place or its new experience (psytrance events usually happen in isolated and visually especially suitable places)[30] and, of course, ecstasy from the usually experienced sound toward altered experience of reality[31]. Blissfully smiling, dancing Krishna devotees certainly experience outside reality differently from Praguers and tourists who are standing around.

The connection of trance with sacred music is nothing new: Muslim Sufis, participants in Bali ritual *Barong,* as well as Pentecostal Christians fall into trances. We are, however, along with Rouget (1985) and Becker (2004) convinced that there is not "one trance," but that there is a culturally determined event, in a certain way, learned behavior[32], which is bound to its own

26 We use the expression "subculture" because it is common; Balog preferred the term "counterculture."

27 Psytrance belongs in the group of psychedelic (strongly affecting the psyche) music which appeared in the '60s and attempted to imitate the mind-altering experience of use of drugs, mainly LSD.

28 From the ancient Greek ekstasis (I displace). (1) intense pleasure. (2) state of emotion so intense that a person is carried beyond rational thought and self control. (3) a trance, frenzy, or rapture associated with mystic or prophetic exaltation. Source: http://en.wiktionary.org/wiki/ecstasy

29 In this text we use the expressions "trance" and "altered state of consciousness" as synonyms.

30 The meaning of the place is conceptualized by insiders in the term "setting," which is understood as a Genus Loci of a given place and the general atmosphere of the environment. In the correlation with the individual mood of the person – "set" – it basically influences the psychedelic experience. See Avellaneda 2010: 28.

31 Psytrance belongs in the realm of electronic dance music. The above-mentioned repetitiveness, in psytrance usually several rhythmic lines, leads toward trance. The experience of ecstasy is supported, e.g., by the use of various electronically modulated sounds, which stimulate listeners' fantasy on the iconic principle (Avellaneda 2010: 35 ff.)

32 For more details about the way and degree of "teaching," see Becker 2004: 45 ff.

category created in previously created religious narrative, often taught by respectful elders. This behavior is accompanied by physical reactions caused by stimulation of *specific brain areas that results in physical reactions such as crying, or rhythmical swaying or horripilation* (Becker 2004: 29). Even more important is the fact that trance causes strong emotions, mainly joy, and many trancers quote the experience of high arousal, a feeling of loss of oneself and a connection with the whole, a feeling of closeness to the sacred, of cosmic wholeness out of time and space. At the same time, however, trance is nurtured by similar emotions and feelings (in other words: it needs them for its emergence).

One more question appears: Which kind of music "belongs to trance" or "causes a trance"? At the same time, however, we cannot ignore the fact that music of the Sufis and American Pentecostal Christians differs substantially. In this context, Becker speaks (using the term and concept of Bourdieu) about the *habitus of listening.* (Becker 2004: 699 ff.) Thus it depends on the way we learn to listen to music and what we expect of it. A trance is stimulated by such a kind of music which is supposed to do so. Some common features, however, could be found. The main one is a certain dynamic intensity connected, on one hand, with expected emotional intensity and causing, on the other hand, appropriate neural stimulation. Similarly, faster tempo and a certain metro-rhythmical regularity/repetitiveness are expected, which could provide sufficient time-space for the emergence of a trance.

To summarize: Only anyone he who faces a trance as culturally accepted (perhaps even appreciated) behavior, who is emotionally sufficiently excited, who longs for a transcendental experience and who is taught to listen to music to lead him into a trance could experience it.

This is exactly the case of Prague Krishna devotees: they long for transcendental experience (above all, they are God's devotees) and for joyful emotion (during their Prague procession as well as in their video presentation, their broad smiles are striking) and for escape from this world of illusions (in the video, pictures of urban "misery," a begger, a casino...keep returning). And the *techno* style is, for many of them, connected with the film *The Matrix* or, more likely, with the *techno* subculture to which perhaps some of them recently belonged and which is built on the feeling of otherness/ecstasy, escape.

In the Prague procession three lines merge. The first is the singing of Indian mantras, those *flash-lights of eternal truth,* which ascertain contact with the

Unseen, in Prague streets not as sophisticated instruments of Vedic ritual but, in the concept of the Bengali saint Chaitanya, proclaiming obedience and *the loud singing of God's name(s)*. The second line is the concept of trance as escape from this illusory, ephemeral world, ecstasy bringing those emotional and transcendental experiences. The third one is today's Prague Krishna devotees; mantras are (as *techno* music could be, for some of them), the right medium for bringing them, through its sound shape and extra-musical context, into the sought-after spiritual reality.

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THE STRUGGLE OVER NATURE AND RELAXATION IN (SUB)URBAN SPACE: The case of garden colonies in Kbely, Prague 19

Karolína Pauknerová, Petr Gibas

Abstract: ***The article deals with a change of an urban space in Prague-Kbely as it was reflected in the municipal press, with special attention to the fate of allotment garden colonies. There used to be several garden colonies in the suburban Prague district of Kbely. In recent years some of them had to disappear in order to make space for new development of Kbely. We propose an analysis of how this change was reflected in the local municipal paper "Kbelák," which is funded by the municipality and is distributed free to every household in the district.***

Key words: ***allotment gardening, garden colony, urban politics, discourse analysis, municipal press, Prague-Kbely***

Introduction

Kbely, Prague 19, is a municipal district of Prague situated on the north-east edge of the city. It was adjoined to Great Prague in 1968, but it was mainly during the post-communist era that it lost its village character and changed into the current suburban residential area with pavements covered by interlocking concrete pavers, modern blocks of flats, regular and frequent connection to the city center, etc. In this article we would like to address this change to a (sub) urban space by concentrating on the struggle over urban nature and relaxation taking place in it. Recently, this struggle has been fueled in Kbely mainly by the debate about allotment garden colonies and their future and it is this debate, or more precisely one side of it, we are going to deal with in this article. We are going to dissect the image and discourse concerning four garden colonies that

existed in Kbely until very recently as it was created in the official newspaper of the Kbely district council.

Indeed, the articles in the council newspaper represent only a tiny part of the struggle over garden colonies and nature and relaxation in general. However, they can be used as a key to understanding reasons behind the changes to (sub)urban space of Kbely because they exemplify official (council or city) discourse that fuels the changes and that is used by officials to press for them. We hold a serious interest in the case of Kbely and recent history of its garden colonies and the reshaping of its public space. This article represents just an opening stage of our research in Kbely in which we would like to comprehend the changes by means of more complex research engagement with the garden colonies still in existence and with gardeners as well as with officials and the wider public. That is the reason why in this article we concentrate solely on official discourse on garden colonies and do not widen our scope. That is the work that waits to be done.

Therefore, in this article we will present the case of four allotment garden colonies in Kbely and their recent history informed by substantial changes to the overall character of the municipal district of Kbely as it was (re)presented by the official district council bulletin. But before we start, a brief introduction to the issue of garden colonies as a fruitful field of research for social scientists is necessary. The specific context in which Prague garden colonies do and cease to exist must also be sketched in advance. These will to be dealt with immediately, followed by an analysis of the Kbely discourse and a short conclusion.

Garden colonies and the Prague context

The garden as one of the socially most important everyday (micro) landscapes has been widely acknowledged as a topic across social sciences – from sociology to anthropology and cultural geography. The garden is conceived not only as a material background for personal autobiography, but also as a place where social ties and relationships are reflected (Tilley 2006) and where these have been actively formed (Cooper 2006). By means of researching the garden and particularly gardening activities it is possible to grasp the complex relationship between age, gender, spare time, social status etc. (Bhatti and Church 2001). Garden colonies can be conceived of as a material as well as social space imbued with gardeners' autobiographies. They do not exist simply as sets of gardens, but as time-space synergies, as anthropological places (Augé 1996)

into which gardeners are rooted by their long-term presence and activity (see e.g., Relph 1976; Seamon 1980 for this on a more general level). Moreover, the garden also represents a hybrid space where the classical anthropological culture-nature dichotomy can be fruitfully approached since it is the garden where nature has been continuously (re)negotiated in a particular manner by way of diverse activities (Hitchings and Verity 2004).

Gardening and garden colonies in particular serve in Prague as material upon which urban nature, the properties it should have and its wider social as well as spatial implication have been (re)negotiated (see also Gandy 2003 for discussion of this in the case of New York). Garden colonies thus bring attention to issues of urban space and urban change which is in Prague fueled by processes of social transformation after the fall of state socialism. Thus, to analyze garden colonies and the situation they can be found in and the development of their situation brings forward the issue of post-socialist transformation of urban space.

The link between gardening and its specific spatiality with urban space as a material as well as an imaginary entity is, as the Prague situation shows, rather ambiguous and unsettled. Garden colonies in Prague form an unusual urban space while being a materialization of particular (post)socialist experience since they stem (among others) from "chata" and "kutil" culture which fully blossomed during normalization (Bren 2002)[1]. However, garden colonies as a specific landscape component strongly inform the Czech landscape in general (Blažek 2004), not only in Prague. Nevertheless, their role in and for urban space has been continuously questioned. The matter of them belonging or not to urban space has been seriously discussed and dealt with, leading to substantial changes to the Prague cityscape.

The specific space of garden colonies has indeed its own specific aesthetic qualities. It is no surprise that aesthetic arguments play an important role within the (political) negotiations about garden colonies and their future fate in

[1] Chata is "a simple, recreational cottage in the Czech countryside, either a newly built structure or else a renovated peasants' cottage" (Bren 2002: 124). To spend a prolonged weekend at the chata has been both during socialism as well as after its fall extremely popular. Due to its popularity with the Czechs and due to time and energy spent on it, the chata is often perceived in literature to represent a so-called "second-dwelling" (see e.g. Bičík, I. et al. 2001. *Druhé bydlení v Česku*. Prague: PřF UK).

A kutil is a person who engages in do-it-yourself; he or she uses used things in order to make new ones, often with a completely different purpose. Kutil culture thrived during socialism due to the general lack of goods but it has survived until present. It has been closely related to chata culture, gardening and garden colonies.

the confines of Prague urban space. What these arguments obscure, however, is the fact that what have been negotiated are not only garden colonies, but also and more importantly Prague urban space as such with all its connections to collective as well as personal memory, remembering, past and forgetting (Forty – Küchler 2001). The future of garden colonies is thus the future of a specific part of our past.

Despite the connection that has often been made between garden colonies and socialism, the colonies are an offspring of industrialization and their origins can be traced to France and Germany. In 1837, French charity Conférences de Saint Vincent de Paul started to allot allotment gardens to the poor in order to help them with developing their self subsistence. In Germany, the main proponent of gardening in colonies was Moritz Schreiber, a physician from Leipzig who understood gardening as an ideal means of physical training and activity. The first garden society is said to be founded in Leipzig in 1841 with a particular emphasis put on physical activity of youngsters (Pletánek 1922).

In what was to become the Czech Republic, the first colonies were founded at the beginning of the 20th century, especially in relation to a lack of food during WWI. Some of them still exist although some of the oldest have been dismantled in recent years. Another wave of creation of garden colonies occurred during WWII, but it was the times after the war when gardening changed from a subsistence activity to a free-time hobby and became widespread not only in the Czech Republic but around Europe (see van Eekelen 2003 for discussion of the Dutch case).

The Czech Union of Allotment and Leisure Gardeners (Český zahrádkářský svaz) was established in 1957 and until today it is the main body representing Czech gardeners. It showed the highest number of members during the normalization period of the 1970s to the end of the 1980s with more than 460,000 members in 1989 (Generel 2009: 6). The reasons for such popularity of gardening also resulting in many new colonies founded even in the centers of big cities such as Prague were twofold: not only did gardens prove to be a solution to the lack of quality fruit and vegetables on the market, but they also offered possibilities to alternatively spend free time unseen in other spheres of private life in the socialist country.

In relation to societal changes after the collapse of state socialism in 1989, the number of members of the Czech Union of Allotment and Leisure Gardeners dropped to a current 170,000. What is more important, the number of garden colonies dropped as well, with Prague being no exception, rather on

the contrary. The number of garden colonies rose substantially throughout the 1960s and 1970s when building garden colonies was supported by the city council. After 1989 the number of colonies dropped, especially in respect to property restitution. Although proper data do not exist, it has been estimated that the area of garden colonies in Prague has dropped by at least half since then (Generel 2009: 16). While the official materials from 1996 listed 569 colonies in existence covering ca. 1000 hectares (Generel 1996), in 2009 the number of functioning colonies was believed to be 409 covering 670 hectares. A new Master Plan of the City of Prague, which is being prepared by the municipal government, proposes to "transform" the majority of garden colonies resulting in 112 garden colonies being left in Prague (though not untouched but altered as for the area).

The fate of garden colonies in the Kbely municipal district

In what follows we will build upon the context just sketched in order to trace recent development in one municipal district of Prague regarding garden colonies and the discourse that surrounds them. Until recently, four garden colonies have been part of the (sub)urban space of Kbely, Prague 19. But with recent changes to public space, only two have survived.

The largest of the colonies used to be on the place where a new public green space called Central Park Kbely was created (Fig 1, no. 1). After the dismantling of their garden colony, the gardeners were offered the possibility of moving to a new garden colony in the nearby Satalice municipal district. The second colony, locally known as "behind the ERKO hotel," used to be on the northern edge of Kbely in the area bordered by railway tracks and by Jilemnická, Veselá, and Žacléřská Streets (Fig 1, no. 2). The third colony is on Veselská Street between the PAL factory and the barracks of the Czech Army (Fig 1, no. 3) while the fourth one spreads on both sides of the railway tracks between Nymburská and Drahotická Streets on the south-east edge of Kbely (Fig 1, no. 4). The former two of them do not exist any more; the third one was reduced in size when Veselská Street was reconstructed. At least a half of the fourth colony between Nymburská Street and the railway was newly built after the first garden colony was closed; the story of its older second half is still open to further research.

Fig 1: Four Allotment Garden Colonies in Kbely
(data source mapy.cz, adapted by K. Pauknerová)

In our article, we follow the recent history of those garden colonies as it is featured in the local council newspaper called Kbelák: Bulletin of the municipal district of Prague 19[2]. Local council newspapers are quite common in Prague, where each municipal district publishes one in order to disseminate information for inhabitants of a given urban neighborhood and also to promote their successes and plans. The bulletins are publicly financed (from taxes) and offered to citizens "free of charge." Because of the link between the contents heralding the workings of a given district government and the way the bulletins are controlled and financed, some people perceive them as "council propaganda."

Using discursive analysis, we went through the 33 issues of Kbelák published between June 2005 (no. 114/115) and March 2011 (no. 32). What we did was to

2 'Kbelák' means 'inhabitant of Kbely'

search for occurrences of specific word connections – allotment garden colony (zahrádková kolonie), allotment gardener (zahrádkář), little/allotment gardens (zahrádky), the Czech Union of Allotment and Leisure Gardeners and all names of adjoining streets and local names for the three allotment garden colonies – and to learn the context in which these occur in order to trace recent history of garden colonies in Kbely, its representation in the district council newspaper and the image of garden colonies in this manner created and propagated.

After identifying all the pieces where garden colonies figure and coding them, several clusters of topics appeared. These are: *allotment gardens as agreeable surroundings* (twice), *allotment gardeners help with the "Spring cleaning of Kbely"* (three times), *gardeners litter vicinity* (three times), *decision of the district council to limit the allotment garden colonies* (nine times), *interest in renting an allotment garden* (twice), *district council supports allotment gardeners* (twice). As the above stated evidences, most of the texts in Kbelák concerning garden colonies are about decisions of municipal authorities to limit allotment garden colonies (appeared nine times). Those are informative texts about changes that were or will be imposed by the local council. They do not give any space to discussion; they just inform about the state of things.

The above-given clusters are typical for the particular case of Kbely. However two other key themes appeared: the relationship of garden colonies and nature and the issue of relaxation in which relaxation in garden colonies is put into contrast with relaxation in a public park. These, however, belong among more general key terms used in the discourse about Prague allotment garden colonies (see Pauknerová – Gibas – Čížek 2010). We skipped two articles due to their loose connection to what we are interested in – an article about a storm calamity in Kbely (Kbelák, no. 6, červenec/July 2006, p. 4), which also affected allotment gardens, and an article about changes in the Building Act, which allows the building of cabins in Prague only in allotment garden colonies (Kbelák, no. 7, září/September 2006, p. 6).

In the rest of the article, we are going to present the discourse surrounding allotment gardens and related topics and its development in the district council newspaper from rather positive to generally dismissive.

What appears in the oldest surveyed issues of Kbelák is the understanding of allotment gardens as agreeable surroundings for newly built blocks of flats (Kbelák no. 114/115 červen/June 2005, (not-numbered) úřední strana/office page) or as a place where one of the ten trees signed in the competition 'The Most Beautiful Tree of Kbely' stays – a linden tree in the 'above the

pond' gardens (Kbelák no 8, listopad/November 2006, p. 7) in the first garden colony. Other positive notes about allotment gardeners appeared three times during 2005 and 2006 informing that gardeners joined the 'Spring cleaning of Kbely' (Kbelák no 114/115 červen/June 2005, (not-numbered) úřední strana/office page; Kbelák, no 3, leden/January 2006, p. 7; Kbelák no. 5, květen/May 2006, p. 7). However, since after May 2006 no positive notes on allotment gardens or gardeners have been published.

Purely negative comments on garden colonies are quite rare. In all the 33 surveyed issues only three negative articles appeared, two of which are rather implicit. The first one is about autumn cleaning of leaves from little gardens ("zahrádka" means both little garden and allotment garden in Czech). It criticizes the practices of "many inhabitants from 'behind the railway'" to deposit fallen leaves in the area between the railway and Trabantská Street leading to "a private field to be filled with litter from a private little/allotment garden" (Kbelák, no. 3, leden/January 2006, p. 2). This littered area is right on the southern side of the fourth garden colony between Nymburská and Drahotická Streets. Moreover, the people from "behind the railway" are probably gardeners from the new allotment garden colony in Satalice. Another negative comment is even less readable; it is an announcement that drinking alcohol is prohibited. After criticizing the practice of drinking alcohol in public, the article among others listed the streets adjoining the garden colonies (Kbelák, no. 18, červenec/July 2008, p. 3) and gave the feeling that the surroundings of the garden colonies are potentially dangerous places that are to be disciplined.

The only direct negative comment comes from a person signed "Ing. Menšík," who wrote about past "fights with allotment gardeners, who, with their decaying shacks, were an ulcer of the neighborhood," and he regrets that they moved "with their entire rubbish only one district further" (Kbelák, no. 27, září/September 2010, pp. 22-23). Here the aesthetical arguments often used against garden colonies are echoed. The images of shacks and huts, decay and mess surface from time to time despite the fact that garden colonies are usually tidy places of free-time relaxation.

The issue of limiting the garden colonies represents the topic of most of the articles. The oldest articles are from November 2006 containing readers' questions about the second garden colony (Fig 1, no. 2). The first one asks about the colony behind the hotel ERKO: "How long will we have the possibility to spend time meaningfully by working in the allotment garden in the garden colony between the pond and the railway station?" And the council answers that

the situation is difficult and that no changes will be made in the following two years (Kbelák, no. 8, listopad/November 2006, p. 19). The other reader asks about the same colony whether it is true that any building is planned in place of the colony. And the council answers that a private investor intends to build family houses there (Kbelák, no. 8, listopad/November 2006, p. 19). No previous discussion about closing of the garden colony appeared in the bulletin.

The third colony, next to the PAL factory (Fig 1, no. 3) was significantly reduced when Veselská Sreet was refurbished. In January 2007, Kbelák informed the reader about the Mayor's participating in the committee to overcome the last animadversions to the road construction. There the council insisted that "the construction had to take as short a time as possible and in the highest quality and that the ***new*** scope of the garden colony had to be respected" (Kbelák, no. 9, leden/January 2007, p. 3, emphasis authors).

The biggest allotment garden colony in Kbely used to be where now Central Park is (Fig 1, no. 1). In March 2007, Kbelák informed local inhabitants that the district council decided that in the central part of Kbely in the area of the allotment garden colony so-called Central Park would be built. Such a park "will together with the pond and the connection to the forest park behind the railway create an irreplaceable rest zone not only for children and walks for adults, but also for minor sport activities and relaxation" (Kbelák, no. 10, březen/March 2007, p. 3). The "Mayor's diary" in the same issue of Kbelák informs the reader that the Mayor and his Vice-Mayor went to an allotment gardeners' meeting and announced to them the intention to replace their garden colony with a municipal park (Kbelák, no. 10, březen/March 2007, p. 3). In May 2007, Petr Štěpánek, councilman for environmental issues from the capital city of Prague, came to visit the area and fully supported the park project (Kbelák, no. 11, květen/May 2007, p. 3). And the council agreed with the Czech Union of Allotment and Leisure Gardeners that since April the allotment gardens are abolished and that the council would dispose of the things left at its own expense (Kbelák, no. 11, květen/May 2007, p. 4).

The following articles refer to the place as the area of the "previous allotment garden colony." Such articles inform the inhabitants that the capital city of Prague gave CZK 950,000 to prepare the project of the park in September 2007 (Kbelák, no. 13, září/September 2007, p. 4). In October 2008 Kbely receive 32 million to build the park from EU funds (Kbelák, no. 19, říjen/October 2008, p. 9). The following autumn, half of the park was completed (Kbelák, no. 25, září/September 2009, p. 12-13).

These short articles and notes in Kbelák give a very clear picture of how the public space in Kbely is represented and dealt with. The examples quoted show two opposing discourse strategies that are often used within the debate about colonies. While the gardeners rhetorically construct the garden colony as a place of meaningful free-time activity and relaxation centering the discourse around the word "meaningful" and its emotional resonance, the council attempts to give the impression of being absolutely neutral in emphases put on various problems and interests as well as in the language used to communicate its position. This leads to rhetorical disarmament of the emotionally engaged opponent with power remaining in the hands of the municipality all of the time. Gardeners' subjectively grounded arguments are easily overcome by a seemingly neutral, objective language of what is necessary to be done and changed in urban space in order that it functions properly for all and not only for a group of citizens – gardeners in this case. Thus the nature of the garden colony is made inferior to the nature of the park although any close look shows the strength of the argument lies in rhetorical strategy rather than in the argument per se – park nature is said to be open for all without analyzing of whom this "all" consists.

What else the council newspaper shows is that changes are represented as if they were made by the council with the silent acceptance of Kbely inhabitants since the council newspaper lacks any space for voices of opposition. People asked only (twice) and agreed with the council (once).

Only two short articles belong to the last coded topic left ("district council supports allotment gardeners"). The first is just a note about 40,000 CZK paid to the Czech Union of Allotment and Leisure Gardeners to build fences around allotment gardens in Nymburská Street as a payback for the fence left in Žacléřská Street (Kbelák, no. 18, červenec/July 2008, p. 2). The second is a not much longer note about prolonging of the contract of the lease of the area where the fourth colony is for an indefinite period (Kbelák, no. 25, září/September 2009, p. 3).

However, from the common clusters of coded topics typical of general Czech/Prague discourse about garden colonies, two were identified – that of nature and relaxation (see Pauknerová, Gibas, Čížek 2010). Opponents of allotment gardens who are in this case also supporters of the Kbely Central Park that was to replace the garden colony understand relaxation in a park as very positive. They speak about "beautiful walks in the forest park and the neighboring [new] park connected by a tunnel [under the railway]" (Kbelák, no. 27,

září/September 2010, p. 22-23). The park represents for them an "irreplaceable relaxing zone not only for children's enjoyment and walks for adults, but also for minor sport activities and relaxation" (Kbelák, no. 10, březen/March 2007, p. 3). The park also offers "pleasant quiet corners for repose, walks, or just to sit down calmly" (Kbelák, no. 25, září/September 2009, p. 12-13).

On the other hand, allotment gardeners understand relaxation by work in the garden is as "meaningful" (Kbelák, no. 8, listopad/November 2006, p. 19) and their words are infused with emotionality. This position implicitly questions the park and the relaxation in it. "People interested in gardening, meaningful and pleasant spending of their leisure time, can contact the chairperson of the Local Organization [of the Czech Union of Allotment and Leisure Gardeners]"(Kbelák, no. 28, duben/April 2010, p. 27), says one advertisement offering free allotments in the colony between the railway and Nymburská Street (Fig 1, no. 4). The park simply does not offer a potential for active engagement with (re)creating of the place of relaxation in the ways a garden does – meaningfully and pleasantly.

The cluster of topics connected to nature is rather under-represented in Kbelák, though nature, its meaning and value, its preferred shape and function in the urban fabric is implicitly omnipresent. The underrepresentation of the nature topic with respect to a general debate about garden colonies is probably given by the lack of space for, or better to say no space for discussion or alternative views in the council newspaper which would foster an exchange of argument and surely bring the issue of nature to the fore. If nature is present (either literally or not), it follows the general trends. Nature is an element present in the discourse about both garden (colonies) and park. Generally, supporters of each side see the positives of nature in either one or the other. In Kbelák in 2006, one of the most beautiful trees was said to be in one of the allotment garden colonies (Kbelák, no. 8, listopad/November 2006, p. 7). In 2008 it was said about the same trees that they could be preserved for and in the new park (Kbelák, no. 19, říjen/October 2008, p. 9). However in the following year, 2009, "most of the old and for the park unsuitable trees" were cut down "while some of the trees of poor quality were left for anti-noise and anti-dust reasons" and the new park was supposed to be subsequently filled with various new trees and bushes along with meadow and water flora (Kbelák, no. 25, září/September 2009, p. 12-13). All the traces of the former garden colony, even those materialized in natural fabric, have been erased and replaced by other natural elements not dissimilar to those displaced – trees, bushes, and flowers.

Conclusion

The analysis of Kbelák shows a significant development of the discourse about garden colonies in Kbely throughout the years. In the beginning, in 2005 and 2006, a positive picture of allotments and allotment gardeners appeared throughout the texts. The places were represented as pleasant green areas and gardeners were heralded for participating in the cleaning of Kbely public spaces. Then the years of changes and therefrom restrictions for gardeners came. In 2006 and 2007, closing of the two largest garden colonies and moving into a new one happened; many blocks of flats were built and the new park was designed. Such a radical change happened in Kbely but was not discussed in the council newspaper in any substantial detail. The later years of 2008 and 2009 seem to be years of consolidation of the situation of allotment garden colonies. They received some money for a new fence and the contract of a lease in one colony was prolonged into infinity which for gardeners means no further fear for the future.

The change of the first garden colony into the Central Park means a radical change of Kbely. The historical core was abandoned and a new center was built. It is quite alarming that in Kbelák nobody protested or hesitated about the decisions of the Town Hall and that the situation received rather unfocused attention in only 15 numbers, which is less than half of the studied copies of the council newspaper.

Without the detailed analytical study of Kbelák, reconstruction of the change in Kbely would not have been possible. The analysis gives a picture of the direct aim of the city council – allotment gardens in the new center of Kbely gave way to blocks of flats and the new park. Though expressed in neutral language, the power of the council was proved clearly. Gardeners were moved either to marginal areas at the edge of Kbely and next to the railway tracks or relocated to a neighboring district. Their carefully cared-for flower and vegetable beds would no longer spoil the image of the (sub)urban residential area.

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MODERN ANTI-SEMITISM IN THE CZECH LANDS BETWEEN THE YEARS 1895–1989

A Comparison of the Main Stages of the Most Influential Parts of Czech Nationalism*

Blanka Soukupová

Abstract: ***This study specifies and characterizes the phases of modern Czech anti-Semitism, which it defines as a range of mutually interdependent anti-Jewish manifestations. In each of these phases (anti-Semitism in Austro-Hungary, in the First Republic, in the Second Republic, during the Protectorate and after World War II) it analyzes not only specific manifestations of escalating Czech nationalism, but especially the social functions of anti-Semitism.***

Key words: ***anti-Semitism, nationalism, anti-Zionism, Jews***

> Motto: *"If Czech history is incomplete without the Semitic element, then it is equally incomplete and deformed without the anti-Semitic element"* (Křen 1997: 161).

What is anti-Semitism? This question implies another one: is there anti-Semitism in the Czech Lands as a certain form of this phenomenon? When German Professor Wolfgang Benz wanted to explain this term, he needed a whole book (Benz 2004) to come to the conclusion that anti-Semitism is, above all, a symptom of problems of the majority society (Benz 2004: 241).[1] Naturally, the term can be defined from many other viewpoints. From the abundance of possible

* This text was elaborated as part of the research plan of Charles University in Prague, Faculty of Humanities *"Anthropology of communication and human adaptation"* (MSM 0021620843).

1 Klaus Holz then attempted to explain the anti-Semitism of individual periods from the standpoint of current sociology (Holz 2001). His central thesis was the conclusion that anti-Semitism in modern society has the character of a view of the world.

definitions I have taken the liberty of choosing one which I regard as especially apt. Felix Weltsch, Doctor of Law and Philosophy, who was a prominent Prague Zionist of the interwar period, characterized anti-Semitism as a hatred towards Jews, which has been part of their destiny for millennia (Weltsch 1931: 4), but at the same time, however, as a national (group) hysteria (Weltsch 1931: 11). A similar definition has recently been used by Leo Pavlát, the Director of the Jewish Museum in Prague. He too emphasized the permanence of the phenomenon in both majority and minority history, while declaring anti-Semitism to be the most persistent hatred in the history of mankind and at the same time, a constant of Jewish history since the time of ancient Greece and Rome (Pavlát 1997; Pavlát 1997a).[2] I work with anti-Semitism as a range of mutually interconnected anti-Jewish manifestations, starting with their verbal form and extending all the way to real acts of civil, professional-economical and physical liquidation,[3] which groups in the majority society use to vent their own problems or achieve their own ambitions. At the current time the range of anti-Jewish prejudice has begun to broaden mainly through the mass-media.[4]

If we consider the relationship of culture in the Czech environment and anti-Semitism, there are without question several levels involved. We must look not only into the specific manifestations of this part of Czech nationalism, but also into the functions which it fulfilled in society. At the same time, however, we must look into the connections a small European nation has with its background and verify the validity of the well-known West-to-East waves of development. And finally, we must keep in mind both the generalities and the specifics of the Czech reception of this international and intercultural phenomenon in the Czech environment, more precisely, just how much the Czechs were involved in creating and spreading anti-Semitism. The topic as stated above, however, also introduces the problem of the whole range of reactions of individual social groups to this phenomenon, depending on how they formed their respective identities. The most influential view is probably that of assimilated

2 On the general level, he characterized anti-Semitism as a *"hatred or prejudice towards Jews and all the sorts of deeds resulting from this conviction," "anti-Jewish manifestations"* (Pavlát 1997: 83). In ancient times, anti-Judaism had the character of slander originating from the incomprehension of monotheistic Judaism while the most widespread was the slander about Jews being infected with leprosy, about Jews being atheists who instigated conflicts and on whom God had imposed the eternal punishment of exile (Pavlát 1997: 83; Pavlát 1997a: 128–129).

3 Some very interesting classifications of anti-Semitism are proposed in Weltsch's book. (Weltsch 1931).

4 Historian Wolfgang Benz named among the tools which helped spread anti-Semitism "language, images, gestures and understanding" (*Einverständnis*) (Benz 2004: 235nn.).

Czech Jews during the 1890s, which was expressed in virtually the same terms in the following century. The notion of a so-called Czech nation that had been and still was uncontaminated by anti-Semitism or one that at most took action on the local level against an actual or supposed usurer of Jewish origin found a certain justification in the contrast with the more extreme anti-Semitic movements in neighboring countries and states;[5] but more importantly, it built on the myth of a tolerant Czech nation (Soukupová 2000: 149; Soukupová 2004: 37–38) and of a nation of reformation, of Jan Hus, and from the time of the First Republic, of T. G. Masaryk. Another influential myth was that of the prudent and circumspect Czech farmer, the exemplary core of the Czech nation in Jungmann's conception, or the myth of the wise Czech village. In this case, modern anti-Semitism in the Czech environment was explained by the destructive influence of the city upon the village (Soukupová 2004: 37–38), an idea which was still very popular in the period between the wars. In the atmosphere of escalating clashes between Czechs and Germans towards the end of the 19th century, modern forms of anti-Jewish hatred were also from the beginning discredited as a Viennese or a German movement (Soukupová 2000: 143, 146; Soukupová 2004: 38). Rather than condemning the insufficient depth of reflection by Czech society, it would be more appropriate to take into consideration the self-preservation strategy of Jewish proponents of assimilation. And a certain role was played by traditional Jewish thinking with its emphasis on examining one's own behavior towards those around oneself.

Although anti-Semitism in its earlier form as anti-Judaism can already be found in ancient civilizations, the modern forms of this hatred deserving this name cannot be found until the last third of the 19th century. Not only did the concept of anti-Semitism spread from Germany into Central and Eastern Europe and thus to Austria; so too did the idea of its exploitation as tool of party politics[6] and as a tool to remove political and economic competition.

5 E.g., after World War I in comparison to the situation in Austria, Poland and Germany, where Jews were blamed for starting the war, for the humiliating peace and for the post-war attempts at coups. A-h. Antisemitismus po válce. *Rozvoj*. 9 January 1920, year III, No. 2, p. 1.

6 Many historians consider the year 1873 to be the beginning of modern anti-Semitism. That is when Marr's *"Der Sieg des Judentums über Germanentum"* was published (Graml 1995: 23). The first attempt to establish an anti-Semitic party took place in Germany as early as 1876 (Düwell 1991: 171). In 1878 Adolf Stoecker's Party of Christian-Socialist Workers was founded in Germany (Wistrich 1992: 15). In autumn 1879, with the help of clerics, Wilhelm Marr founded the Anti-Semitic League (Jochmann 1997: 183). There were not many organized anti-Semites, the Anti-Semitic League having only 600 members. The first anti-Jewish congress in 1882 was attended by between 300 and 400

Anti-Semitic editor Jan Klecanda, creator of the notion of rusty wires in the Jewish ghettos and of outdated forms of protection of Christian society against Jews, suggested a boycott of Jewish-owned firms and shops (Soukupová, 2007, p. 23). An indisputable turning point in the development of anti-Semitism was the founding of anti-Semitic institutions – such groupings as Česká družina (Czech Fellowship), Národní obrana (National Defense), Česká vzájemnost (Czech Togetherness), Nový klub lidový (New People's Club)[7], the anti-Semitic press and the writing of the cult texts of Czech anti-Semitism[8]. A number of associations enforced a so-called Jew-expulsion paragraph (Soukupová 2000: 153–154). Whereas in Germany, one of the centers of modern anti-Semitism in Europe, anti-Semitic efforts developed into a movement in the first half of the 1880s (between 1882 and 1889 that country hosted four international anti-Semitic congresses), the Czech lands opened up fully to anti-Semitism starting only in the mid-1890s. In Czech-German society, its manifestations can be found a little earlier – in the first half of the 1890s.

Anti-Semitism in the Czech Lands experienced its golden age in the decade between 1897 and 1907,[9] with a spectacular culmination in the so called "hilsneriada" (1899),[10] resulting in a boycott movement of unprecedented dimensions.[11] It was not of course the first time that an economic boycott had been officially called for in the Czech lands; that dubious honor goes to a text by the Young-Czech journalist Jan Neruda, *Pro strach židovský (For Fear of the Jews)* from 1869,[12] representing an immediate reaction to the legislative achievement of Jewish emancipation (constitution of December 21, 1867) and

anti-Semites (Benz 2004: 102). The second wave of anti-Semitism hit Germany in the 1890s when simultaneously the Social-Democrat movement was on the rise (Jochmann 1997: 194–195). For anti-Semitism as a tool of political party agitation in the Czech lands, cf. Soukupová 2004: 11.

7 Members of these associations represented the intelligentsia (attorneys, physicians, journalists), business people, the self-employed and artists (Soukupová 2007: 22–23).

8 They were published some fifteen years after the classical text of French anti-Semitism had appeared (E. Drumont, *Požidovštělá Francie*, 1882).

9 In that same year, a Czech translation of one of the cardinal anti-Semitic texts also came out, the book *Jews: Their Origin and the Reasons for their Influence in Europe* (*Židé: jejich původ a příčiny jejich vlivu v Evropě,* transl. Jiří Hora, Prague, published at his own expense), by Houston Stewart-Chamberlain, a native Englishman and a naturalized German. According to Benze, the book greatly impressed both Emperor Wilhelm II and Adolf Hitler (Benz 2003: 23).

10 Best summarized by Kovtun 1994; Šolle 1968.

11 Jews had no opportunity to be employed in state administration, municipalities and associations. In 1902, Young-Czech Václav Březnovský attacked the Shechita. Anti-Semitism also disrupted everyday relationships between neighbors (Soukupová 2004: 40–41).

12 For a detailed analysis, cf. Soukupová 2007: 15–17.

to the inclination of Jews in the Czech lands to support the competing German liberal program. The political and economic rivalry for a time led Neruda to the proclamation of so-called a-Semitic ideas, i.e., emancipation from Jews. Newly established political parties and fellowships could thus connect themselves not only with foreign traditions but also with domestic ones. Václav Šafr, a direct follower of Neruda and author of the brochure *Národní očista* (National Cleansing) of 1898,[13] placed Czech anti-Semitism into an international framework (Křen 1997: 162).[14]. The focus of political-party anti-Semitism of the 1890s shifted to the radical wing of the strongest Czech political party, the Young-Czech party, the party of the National Socialists, of the Christian Socialists[15] and to the periodicals and fellowships related to them,[16] just as to professional associations, especially to those branches with a strong representation of Jews.[17] This political party anti-Semitism was then interconnected by countless links with the anti-Semitism which accompanied popular insurrections (with the anti-Semitism in the streets). If we look at the anti-Semitic rhetoric of the time, we will come across stereotypes from vastly differing ages.[18] The leitmotif was the notion of the Jew as Germanizer, but at the same time as the Moor of the Germans (Soukupová 2007: 19, 20; Soukupová 2004: 9), a stereotype from the last third of the 19th century and one that contrasted with the

13 The text was written on a commission from the Political Club of National Workers (Soukupová 2000: 110).

14 Text byl napsán na objednávku Politického klubu národního dělnictva (Soukupová 2000: 110).

15 The Christian Socialist journalist who expressed most prolifically his anti-Semitism was Rudolf Vrba, the author of the *Czech Christian Socialist Party Platform* (1897) and of *The Murders in Polná*. In 1897 he published an anti-Semitic work *The Future of the Nation: Reflections on Clericalism and our Social and National Program* (*Budoucnost národa: úvahy o klerikalismu a našem sociálním a národnostním programu*, Prague: Cyrillo-Methodějská knihtiskárna a nakladatelství V. Kotrba);and in 1899 the cult work of Czech anti-Semitism, *National Self-Defense: Reflections on the Material and Moral Decline of the Czech Nation* (*Národní sebeochrana: Úvahy o hmotném a mravním úpadku národa Českého*, Prague: R. Vrba as commissioned by the Cyrillo-Methodějské knihkupectví G. Francl); in 1899 he published the book *The Czech Panama: Several Little Images of the Material and Moral Decline of the Czech Nation* (*Česká Panama: několik drobných obrázků o hmotném a mravním úpadku národa českého*, Prague: Vlasť). Vrba was still publishing during the First Republic: in 1923 appeared the anti-Semitic opus *The Mystery of World-Rule* (*Záhada světovlády,* České Budějovice: J. Cibuzar).

16 Anti-Semitism was embraced in particular by university associations of physicians, lawyers and technicians (Soukupová 2004: 16–17).

17 Besides business, those most often involved were law and medicine. The preference for these jobs among Jews was also typical for Germany, Austria, et al. In 1885, Ludwig Börne, an anti-Semite from Frankfurt, suggested that Jewish tradespeople, doctors and attorneys have to wear a badge (Börne 1885: 24).

18 For the stereotypes, cf. Lendvai 1972: 40–51.

fact that more than half of the Jews in the Czech lands at the end of the 19th century used Czech as their main language (Bihl 1980: 906); of the Jew as a foreigner sponging on host nations (Soukupová 2000: 113). Another popular notion was that of the Jew as a trickster, a usurer, the holder of economic monopoly, the parvenu, the swindler, etc. (Soukupová 2000: 113, 135, 140; Soukupová 2007: 27, 29); or alternatively as an instigator of ritual murder; as a lecher (Soukupová 2000: 35). These prejudiced notions contain in concentrated form the blame for all the changes brought about by the modernization of the society. These stereotypes were then topped off by the notion of Jews as a people cemented together with an exclusive faith (Soukupová 2004: 9); a people incapable of assimilation, whose basic integrative element was the Talmud – a work of anti-Christian hatred.[19] In the Czech lands of the 1890s, mainly through the efforts of the National Socialists and then in Vienna at the initiative of the Christian Socialists, the notion of the Jew as leftist took root (Soukupová 2000: 117–118), as did the notion of social democracy as a means to establish world rule by the Jews (Soukupová 2004: 11), i.e., notions which were reactions to the massive waves of middle-class and lower-class Jews who joined the European Social Democrat parties. Political party rivalry found a suitable instrument in the propagation of contemporary popular anti-Semitism (or, on the contrary, in its refusal). The stereotype of Jewish world rule, however, achieved general currency, even before *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* was published. The platform of the Christian Socialists, whose official line was already anti-Semitic, also showed racial anti-Semitism.[20]

At the same time, however, an equally vigorous "counter-anti-Semitic" movement was created by a range of political and ideological rivals of the internally heterogeneous political-party anti-Semitic movement, with at its head an activated mass of the exemplarily organized international Social Democrats,[21] supported by realists and by liberal Young-Czechs and Old-Czechs. A similar counter-reaction developed in Germany as early as the summer of 1890, after anti-Semites had won five seats in the nationwide elections in February, and then already in the 1893 elections 16 seats.[22],[23] There too, the "counter-anti-

19 This notion was also shared by realists (Soukupová 2000: 58–59), who moreover worked with the stereotypes of Jewish cunning, affluence and love of money (Soukupová 2000: 61).

20 Czech historiography denied the existence of Czech racial anti-Semitism (Frankl 2007: 7–10).

21 For the manifestations against anti-Semitism, cf. Soukupová 2000: 94–95.

22 Anti-Semiten-Spiegel 1900: 21.

23 Cf. Anti-Semiten-Spiegel 1900.

Semitic" movement was used to immunize the grass roots against socialism (Jochmann 1997: 179, 181). And in the case of Germany too, the opponents of anti-Semitism[24] were fighting for national honor: "It is a question of honor for a great civilized people like the Germans to triumph over and end this movement as soon as possible"(Anti-Semiten-Spiegel 1900: 4).[25]

According to Social-Democrat ideology, political anti-Semitism was the result of clerical impotence in dealing with social matters (Soukupová 2000a: 49). This bipolar world view, the simplistic division of society into capitalist exploiters and exploited proletariat, led them to circumscribe their other enemy: undifferentiated "capital" (Soukupová 2000a: 50–52). Anti-Semitism was rejected as a harmful ideology and blamed on rich and influential Jews (Soukupová, 2000a: 52, 55; Soukupová 2004: 14–16). Reverberations of this ideology can be found even in the later Communist propaganda.

If Prague as the capital of the Czech lands had after 1848 been the battlefield where Czech-German national antagonisms were manifested at their highest intensity, with the completion of the process of industrialization in the 1890s, it now also became also the venue of the most important social clashes and eventually the center of anti-Semitism in the Czech Lands, which exploited all national [26] and social shortcomings. The social-political rise of the lower and lower-middle classes of society, their rapidly increasing ambitions, the decline in importance of traditional dignitaries and the resulting changes in political culture, the unsuccessful attempts to settle matters between Czechs and Germans, the extreme acrimony of the struggle between Czechs and Germans,[27] the general feeling of insecurity in the late 19th century – these were realities that undoubtedly could undoubtedly reinforce the hysteria of certain groups and individuals. Another important circumstance was that virtually simultaneously with the anti-Semitic movement, national-Jewish (Zionist) ideology too, after the Dreyfus affair, spread from Vienna to Moravia as well as to Prague and the Czech lands, with its unequivocal conviction that anti-Semitism –

24 The first General Meeting of the Committee against anti-Semitism took place on November 28, 1893 (Anti-Semiten-Spiegel 1900: 53; members p. 56).

25 "*Es ist eine Ehrensache für ein großes Kulturvolk wie das deutsche, daß er baldigst siegreich zu Ende geführt wird".* At the same time the opponents of anti-Semitism pointed out that there were 51 million Germans and only half a million Jews in Germany (Anti-Semiten-Spiegel 1900: 1).

26 Let us remember the pogroms in December 1897 and in autumn 1899 – reactions to the failure of language reforms which would have given equal standing to Czech.

27 For more details about these demonstrations, cf. Krejčová – Míšková 1999: 46–49; Frankl 2007: 254–262.

a range of anti-Jewish manifestations – was a permanent movement. At the same time, however, defense of the Jews spread from Germany; anti-Semitism was to be defeated in an open, scholarly debate. Also, a center point for Zionist intellectual life was created in Prague. But even in the period between the wars, when Czech Zionism, reinforced by foreign impulses, grew into a movement, the main Zionist base remained Moravia and Silesia with their Jewish communities brought up in German culture. In this area, the process whereby Czech society set itself apart from and up against the Germans progressed much more slowly, and as a consequence, there was more opportunity for other national endeavors and movements.

After World War I, in which anti-Semitism again erupted (for Germany Benz 2003: 31–32),[28] anti-Semitism and the Czech environment took on a new character: Central Europe was restructured, monarchies disappeared, and on their ruins national states emerged. The Czech people now lived in a Czech state, and their fundamental aim was to convince the Entente Powers of their ability to form a state. Their dependence on the reorganization of Europe under the Versailles peace settlement was the key question for the further destiny of Czechoslovakia. The pogroms that accompanied the dawn of the new state were therefore unequivocally condemned by the government. Their diminished scale and less serious impact as compared to those in neighboring states can be attributed mainly to the consideration of political alliances in the new-born Czechoslovakia. This change is best illustrated in the speeches of individuals at the turn of the century, of mainstream anti-Semites who became welcoming to Jews as citizens (Prague mayor Karel Baxa, National Socialist politician Václav Jaroslav Klofáč). Another important factor, however, was that postwar Czechoslovakia managed to launch an economic upswing relatively quickly. Nationalist hysteria was then undoubtedly tempered by the joy at the birth of their own independent state and at the fact that Czechoslovakia stood on the side of the victorious powers[29] (Soukupová 2005: 24). Despite that, a great part of Czech society understandably did not escape postwar traumas of both a psychological and economic nature: high prices, loan-sharking, unemployment, begging and inflation.[30] Many people shared the influential European anti-

28 One of his arguments was the pro-Austrian patriotism of Austrian Jews, which contrasted with Czech feelings (Křen 1997: 163). Also cf. Soukupová 2005: 15–22.

29 Unfortunately the historian Kateřina Čapková included these theses of mine in her well-known work of 2003.

30 For post-war poverty, a summary in Kárník 2000: 49–54.

Semitic stereotypes of the time, widespread by the agrarian party that wanted to take attention away from the failures of its policies, especially the notion of Jewish Bolshevism, the treacherous behavior of the Jews during World War I and Jewish world-rule. *"The association of Judaism and Bolshevism is a feature of the regular inventory of an average Czech brain,"* wrote Kamil Kleiner, a prominent Czech-Jewish official, in 1920.[31] In comparison to defeated Germany (Winkler 1997), Austria and Hungary, the prospects for anti-Semitism in Czech society were substantially worse. It is in this light that we must also view the wave of pogroms in the years between 1918 and 1920; the uprising of the so-called "Hussite women" in September 1919 on the Old Town Square in Prague; the anti-Jewish feeling during the election campaign in spring 1920; the anti-German and anti-Jewish upheavals in November 1920; and finally the position of anti-Semitic parties and groups then being founded. Their significance on the Czech political scene was marginal.[32] Anti-Semitism (political and street) re-emerged in September 1930 in the Prague demonstrations against German sound film (Becher 1993); in 1934 (the so-called insigniada); and in 1936 (when the film *The Golem* was shown in Bratislava). Despite all the intricacies of the postwar era, however, of all the states which emerged after the disintegration of the monarchies, Czechoslovakia remained the country most tolerant towards Jews (Lipscher 1983).[33] This fact also became apparent after Adolf Hitler's rise to power (1933) when German changes caused the strengthening of anti-Semitism in the Czech as well as Bohemian-German environments successfully masked by a number of democratic acts. Already in spring 1933, the Czechoslovak public organized a wave of protests against Nazi anti-Semitism

31 KLEINER, K. Jako u nás. *Rozvoj*, 6 February 1920, year III, No. 6, p. 1.

32 The following years witnessed anti-Semitic excesses on the Czech-German side. Their center was the Prague German University (Míšková, 1999, pp. 101104). Late in 1929, however, Czech academics joined German university students in demanding the institution of a *numerus clausus* (Míšková 1999: 104). One of the most famous anti-Semitic journalists in the First Republic was painter Karel Rélink. In 1926 he published his book *Spása světa: [ubozí, pronásledovaní židé]: úvahy z denníku pravého humanisty* (*The Salvation of the World: [Miserable and Persecuted Jews]: Reflections from the Diary of a True Humanist* (Prague: J. P. Schořík). Back in 1919, Ferdinand Zahrádka had published his *Židé ve světové válce a v republice* (*Jews in the World War and in the Republic, Za očistou*, No. 4, Prague).

33 The demonstrations in the late 1920s were condemned by the central Agrarian daily *Venkov* (*The Country*), which up until then had used anti-Semitism as a means of transferring its own party responsibility for the initial social difficulties in the young republic onto a sacrificial lamb: the Jews. *"Only ''Národní listy," 'Národní Demokracie' and 'Čech' are pleased by the recent happenings,"* observed journalist Alfred Fuchs, a famous convert from Judaism to Christianity. FUCHS. A. *Po pražských demonstracích* (After the Prague Demonstrations) *Rozvoj*, 27 November 1920, year III, No. 26, p. 1.

(Křesťan – Blodigová – Bubeník 2001: 41–42). On October 9, 1935, a manifestation against the Nuremberg Laws took place under the leadership of the Union of Czech Jews, during which prominent church leaders made an appearance (Křesťan – Blodigová – Bubeník 2001: 42–43; Soukupová 2005: 70). Also significant was the aid to refugees from Nazi Germany. The new edition of *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, required reading in the schools of Nazi Germany, was discredited as a forgery in Peroutka's *Přítomnost* (The Present Time) (Soukupová 2000b: 57). In spite of all this, however, anti-Semitism (political and folk) was on the rise in society. This fact was also pointed out in May 1938 by metal-worker František Jeřábek (Jeřábek 1938)[34] and rightly so: the Social Democrats remained throughout the whole of the First Republic the most significant "counter-anti-Semitic" force (Soukupová 2005: 23).

Still in the 1920s and 1930s, the unifying element of anti-Semitism in the Czech Lands[35] remained its anti-modernity. This manifested itself in the period between the wars in the rejection of scientific rationalism and the emphasis on the role of emotion. Moreover, "common sense," unspoiled by education, was supposed to celebrate its triumph. Other consequences of modernization were likewise rejected: the emancipation of women; the discussion of abortion; the disruption of the patriarchal model of the family; the secularization of society; the political party and corporate systems that had long been worked out. Anything that was not in accordance with anti-Semitic interests was characterized as a Jewish work of destruction: the Versailles System; parliamentarianism;

34 Jeřábek in his work criticized Ferdinand Peroutka's editorial in *Přítomnost*. For him, Peroutka symbolized the reality that the spokespersons for democracy in democratic states had capitulated to anti-Semitism (Jeřábek 1938: 8). Jeřábek considered his own anti-Semitism to be the result of the economic and political violence of financial capital (Jeřábek 1938: 9). *"Repression of the Jews is only one part of the process whereby all strata of working-class citizens are to be deprived of their rights,"* he said (Jeřábek 1938: 11). Even in 1938, other papers rejecting anti-Semitism were still being published, e.g., a text by school principal Johann Storch (Storch 1938). In it, among other things, he also combated influential anti-Semitic stereotypes.

35 In the 1920s it was primarily the following groups that were active: Všeslovanská jednota (All-Slavic Unity) in Prague; Slovanská strana sociální (Slavic Socialist Party); a group around the periodical Štít republiky československé (The Shield of the Czechoslovak Republic); Slovanská strana protižidovská (The Slavic Anti-Jewish Party) and fascist groups, which after 1926 merged into the Národní obec fašistická (National Fascist Community). In the 1930s, the anti-Semitism of the right-wing intelligentsia gained importance. Vlajka (The Flag) was founded (1930, merging in 1936 with the Movement for New Czechoslovakia), The National Front with NOF (founded 1934), National Unification (founded 1934, from 1935 to 1936 part of National League), The Slavic Fascist Community (after 1937). For details on the ideology of these associations, cf. Soukupová 2005: 46–62, 68–69, 72–76, 82–85. See also Pasák 1999: 61–67, 134–145 et al.

Czechoslovak democracy; the Czechoslovak government; Prague Castle and even T. G. Masaryk himself. The Slavic, Moravian and Slovak cards were played. The stereotype of the Jew as Germanizer was contrasted in some anti-Semitic groupings (especially in Vlajka – The Flag, which promoted racial anti-Semitism, and in Hnutí za nové Československo – The Movement for a New Czechoslovakia) with its admiration for Nazi anti-Jewish and anti-leftist policies. The model for dealing with the Jews relied for the time being on their social isolation, even though it did not actually renounce violence (Soukupová 2004a: 132–136; for stereotypes, also see Soukupová 2005: 17–22, 46–53, 55–63, 68, 72–79, 82–83).

The Munich Agreement launched a new phase in the development of anti-Semitism in the Czech Lands, resulting in the collapse of parliamentary democracy. The frustrated Second Republic,[36] increasingly oppressed by Nazi Germany, yielded up space for professional boycott memoranda; definitions of Jews (Rataj 1997: 111); their expulsion from institutions; the anti-Semitic press, especially the periodicals of the Integral Catholics and of Jiří Stříbrný; leaflets and brochures (Křesťan – Blodigová – Bubeník 2001: 63–65; Soukupová 2007: 92–93; Soukupová 2008: 64–69). [37]

Anti-Semitism (political, economic and verbal) became an unmistakable characteristic of a great part of the frustrated Czech society of the Second Republic (Soukupová 2008: 55, 56). The anti-Semitism of the ruling Strana národní jednoty (Party of National Unity), whose only non-anti-Semitic component was the National Socialists, was supplemented by the anti-Semitism of professional institutions, that of Sokol, and of course also by the anti-Semitism in the streets (Soukupová 2008: 57). In most cases it was an attempt to use anti-Semitism as an instrument of competition. Just as in the 1890s, now too the proponents of anti-Semitism were representatives of prestigious

36 For the repercussions of Munich, cf. Rataj 1997: 11–47.

37 The most prolific anti-Semitic writer of 1938 and 1939 was Jan Rys. Among his publications were the study *Judeo-Masonry: the Scourge of Humanity* (*Židozednářství – metla světa,* Prague: Masonic correspondence 1938) and *Hilsneriada and TGM: Towards the Fortieth Anniversary of the Murders in Polná, 1899–1939* (*Hilsneriáda a TGM: ke čtyřicátému výročí vražd polenských 1899–1939*, Prague: Masonic correspondence 1939 – the second edition appeared in March 1939). The second book was mainly an attack on T. G. Masaryk, who in Rys' terminology was a half-Jewish sage, a Great Philosopher. Traditional anti-Jewish stereotypes can be found in both "works," including the medieval superstition about ritual murder. In the second text, the following explanation of Nazi anti-Semitism can be found: *"Germany's struggle today is the struggle of all European nations; it is a struggle to protect European culture against the destructive influences of a race that has always remained totally alien to the European way of feeling and thinking ... It is a struggle to defend Europe against the poison from Judea."* (p. 4; p. 5)

Czech associations and professions (lawyers, physicians, notaries public, engineers). The ruling Party of National Unity was radicalized when it was joined by the Národní obec fašistická (National Fascist Community) and in particular by members of the discontinued, ultra-right Vlajka – Hnutí za nové Československo (The Flag – Movement for a New Czechoslovakia) (Gebhart – Kuklík 2004: 58).[38] But the most ardent proponents of anti-Semitism were, apart from the adherents of the former Vlajka, also the supporters of Jiří Stříbrný and the Integral Catholics (Rataj 1997: 104–107). For politicized Catholicism, which in the Second Republic attempted to improved its positon in the prevailingly secularized society of the Czech Lands the Jew became a symbol of the project of modernism which had corrupted traditional Christian society with its supposedly healthy values. But instead of physical violence, according to militant Catholics, anti-Semitic legislation was to be applied (Soukupová 2008: 57–60; Rataj 1997: 115–117). If in the first weeks of the Second Republic anti-Semitism had primarily targeted the Jews expelled from the Czech border areas[39] and if even in early December 1938, the government had not been willing to introduce the Nuremberg laws (Gebhart – Kuklík 2001: 105),[40] already the following January the situation was different. Anti-Semitic legislation, based on Nazi legislation (Rataj 1997: 113; Kárný 1989: 186n.), started to be put into practice.[41] By accepting a racist notion of nation on the legislative level, the rapidly accelerating anti-Semitism of the Second Republic came to a head (Soukupová 2008: 61–62). The efforts by what remained of democratic society to protect Czech Jews, expressed most controversially in Ferdinand Peroutka's editorial *Češi, Němci a židé* (*Czechs, Germans and Jews, Přítomnost,* February 22, 1939), wherein by resorting to anti-Semitic stereotypes, he explicitly gave up on the fate of Czech Jews, was condemned to failure from the beginning.[42] At this same time there came a decline in the influence on Czech politics from Great Britain, France

38 Even the extremist anti-Semitic organization ANO attempted to join the SNJ (Gebhart – Kuklík 2001: 59). In February 1939, it started putting together lists of the alleged Jewish firms and individuals (Krejčová 1999: 152).

39 For a brief summary of their fate, see Gebhart – Kuklík 2004: 33.

40 The program of the Young National Unity had indeed formulated the racial principle of the nation already in December 1938 (Gebhart – Kuklík 2001: 120; Rataj 1997: 103, 105, 233).

41 Already on January 10, 1939, two government sub-committees for the Jewish question were set up. The evacuation of the Jews began. On January 27, a discriminatory measure against state employees of Jewish origin was passed (Rataj 1997: 115–117). Jews were forced to leave government administration and partly also private professions (Gebhart – Kuklík 2001: 216).

42 For a critical appraisal of the editorial, see Soukupová 2000b: 70–78.

and the United States, whose representatives had shown an interest in the fate of Czech and Slovak Jews (Nižňanský 1999: 213).

On a general level it can be said that Second-Republic anti-Semitism combined anti-Jewish and anti-Semitic stereotypes of different ages (Soukupová 2008: 77–78); it differed, however, from the preceding modern periods by introducing anti-Jewish legislation. And yet the notion of the Jew as a foreigner had become a leitmotif.

The Jewish reaction can also be labeled as traditional: assimilated Czech Jews continued to invoke the Czech nation as the nation of Hus, Comenius and Masaryk and the crowning manifestation of Czechness, which was the democratic First Republic. In the Second Republic, they too identified with the newly constructed model of a national state (Soukupová 2007: 85–92). On the other hand, Zionist organizations strove to win their adherents over to emigration.

The Nazi program aimed at liquidation of the Jews in the Protectorate built on the anti-Semitism of the Second Republic, on the definitions of Jews that it had elaborated and on historical anti-Jewish prejudice. Czech Fascists proceeded to the lynching of the Jewish population and to physical violence although owing to their small numbers, this never achieved the character of a mass movement (Pasák 1999: 280–282). Still it must be said that the Aryanization of the supposedly vast property of Jewish victims was a measure introduced by the Nazi regime, which also took a 70-percent share in the Aryanization of small and medium-sized properties. Medium-sized and small businesses and trades were Aryanized by Czech Germans (Jančík – Kubů – Kuklík ml. 2003: 41–42; Jančík – Kubů 2005). Starkly discriminatory government regulations (Křesťan – Blodigová – Bubeník 2001: 11–14) were issued under pressure and under the direct supervision of Third Reich institutions. Official Czech politocal-party anti-Semitism (the anti-Semitism of National Solidarity), even at this time, concentrated primarily on the social isolation of the Jews (Křesťan – Blodigová – Bubeník 2001: 70–71; Kural 1994: 74). However, this was a problem facing the Protectorate government too (Krejčová 1999: 155). According to historian Václav Kural, both Beran's and Eliáš's governments were at first authorized and compelled to *"destroy the Jewish element"* by the Third Reich; then they also took their own initiative (Kural 1994: 72), but after June 21, 1939, the active part was taken over by the occupiers (Kural 1994: 73).

Of all the anti-Semitic stereotypes, the most important one was again the notion of the Jew as Bolshevik and the stereotype of Jewish world-rule. This was to be achieved by the Jews with the help of the Freemasons, of the

Bolsheviks or, if need be, of their other tools (the First Republic, Prague Castle, the Czechoslovak government, Parliament, political parties, the National Council, Czech universities, the legionnaires, Sokol and scout organizations). Political anti-Semitism in the Protectorate arose under pressure of Nazi Germany as well as being caused by opportunism and fear and then served most of all to discredit First-Republic traditions as the promised land of the Jews, Jewish works and their top representatives. The greatest attention was focused on Czech ex-president Edvard Beneš, who was labeled a wretched servant of the Jews or as Masaryk's Golem. Masaryk himself was described in this spiteful propaganda as a representative of the Jews, the chosen one of world Judaism, the man who defended the murderer Hilsner. Another aim of official Czech Protectorate anti-Semitism was to discredit the countries in the anti-Nazi coalition, especially the United States and England. And finally, by resorting to anti-Semitism, it was possible to explain many of the economic difficulties in the Protectorate; the harmful Jewish spirit had supposedly survived even the deportation of the Jews.[43] The crowning work of Protectorate anti-Semitism was *The Anti-Jewish Textbook: A Manual for the Jewish Question in the Czech lands* (*Protižidovská čítanka: příručka k židovské otázce v zemích českých,* Hugo Tuskány, Emil Šourek, Karel Rélink and others) of 1944.[44] Here we can find in concentrated form a sample of Protectorate anti-Semitism; another is the essay *Czechs and the Jewish Question* (*Češi a židovská otázka*, Gustav Dörfl, printed in May 1944 in *Přítomnost* (which had been revived in 1942 in a collaborationist spirit). In his conclusion, the writer suggested establishing a Czech institute for research on the Jewish question (up until that time Czechs had been relatively unwilling to accept such pseudo-scholarly institutions that served to promote racism): *"Let no one be deceived: to us, the Jewish question is not a matter that has been settled. Yes, the Jews have disappeared from public life, finance, industry, business and culture. But it is not we Czechs who can take credit for that. For that we owe our thanks to the strong German hands, which pulled up the weeds in all the places where they could be seen. But until everything the Jews have sown and left behind here is found and neutralized, the Jewish question is still open and*

43 These conclusions are based on excerpts from the Czech Protectorate press.

44 The book was edited by Rudolf Novák, with the assistance of the editorial board of the Aryan Struggle. It appeared in Prague in Holinka's printing office. Earlier, in 1941, Karel Jiří Loula published his essay *Jews and Blood: a Contribution to the Study of the Jewish Question Based on Russian and Jewish Sources* (*Židé a krev: příspěvek ke studiu židovské otázky podle ruských a židovských pramenů,* Prague: Vlajka magazine).

current for the Czech nation; its danger, immeasurable because it is poorly understood, will still threaten the normal quiet development and stabilized future of the Czech nation. The Reich's anti-Jewish measures are essentially a rough, general outline. The anti-Jewish laws were actually only the culmination... of a tremendous campaign to educate and enlighten, successfully conducted and actually completed by German National Socialism. The anti-Jewish struggle in the Reich was never based on hatred, but on a scientific mission."[45]

The liberation of Czechoslovakia did not bring an end to anti-Semitism[46] *for the small number of Jews in the Czech lands who had survived,*[47] *even though the pogroms were concentrated mainly in Slovakia (in 1945 in Prešov and Topoľčany, in 1946 and 1948 in Bratislava). As Social Democrat František Kohout puts it: "... all over the world today anti-Semitism as an organized movement and as a publicly proclaimed ideology lies in ruins; anti-Semitism as a psychosis, as whispered propaganda and therefore as a potential new danger has survived both Hitler and Streicher" (*Kohout 1946: 5).[48] In the Czech lands, anti-Semitic rhetoric was used mainly in the restitution of confiscated industrial enterprises, e.g., in the so-called Varnsdorf affair (1947)[49] , and this mainly by trade unions. That is to say that unions and Communists wanted to prevent the restitution of confiscated industrial enterprises (Jančík – Kubů – Kuklík ml. 2003: 64). Folk anti-Semitism also appeared in the form of cynical slander: people spoke about holes in the gas chambers and the peculiar range of fire of enemy weapons (Soukupová 2009: 75).[50] Long traditional stereotypes were reactivated: of the Jew as Hungarianizer and Germanizer; of the Jew as a war-time malingerer who boycotted even the Slovak National Uprising (Soukupová 2008: 56); in the case of Topoľčany, the medieval stereotype of a Jew as a poisoner of Christian society was spread by the majority of former members of Hlinka´s party, by one-time Aryanizers and by clerical circles. (Kamenec 2000). Kohout of course believed that his

45 *Přítomnost*, XVII, 1944, No. 8, 1. 5. p. 127.

46 The growth of postwar anti-Semitism has been treated in a whole series of works (e.g., Rothkirchenová 1992; Nepalová 1999; Svobodová 1998; Krejčová 1993; Soukupová 2008).

47 It was a group of about 15,000 Jews, two-thirds of whom were organized into Jewish religious communities (Pěkný 2001: 348).

48 At the same time, however, Kohout believed that as a result of the nationalization of industry and banking, anti-Semitism would die out. (Kohout 1946: 13). He was one of the first to point out anti-Semitism in the so-called people's democracy.

49 These were essentially efforts by Communists and trade unions to retain industrial enterprises that had been confiscated (Jančík – Kubů – Kuklík ml. 2003: 63–66).

50 For the atmosphere in society, cf. also Nepalová 1999; Krejčová 1993 and others.

party had found a cure for anti-Semitism: socialism. *"Socialists are no quacks trying to cure leprosy by sticking on band-aids; since the beginning of the working-class labor movement, they have always led the fight against anti-Semitism as well as the fight against the very causes of that social evil,"* he wrote (Kohout 1946: 17). He saw the solution "*in a free brotherhood of nations having rid themselves of a false sense of superiority"* (Kohout 1946: 23). Even many Jews succumbed to this illusion about the omnipotence of socialism (Soukupová 2008: 48, 60).

Manifestations of anti-Semitism can be found even after the February coup, on the level of both the state and primitive individual acts[51]. The state's newly created church policy was defined by the triad of control, repression and "benevolence." In the case of this third pillar, the intention was mainly to patch up the clumsy centralized economy with foreign monies obtained with the approval of the state from international Jewish organizations for the victims of the Shoah (Soukupová, manuscript). Communist Czechoslovakia officially condemned anti-Semitism. Offering for sale in a bookshop a work denying the Holocaust would have been inconceivable.[52] The Jewish victims of Nazi racism were exploited in official propaganda: they were presented as combatants against imperialism, for the new socialist order. Even the controversial negotiations of the World Jewish Congress and Israel , which became a capitalist state, with Germany in 1952 were presented in this light.[53] Communist propaganda assessed them as new proof of the allegedly Fascist orientation of the Jewish state. Primary Soviet, and thus Czechoslovak aid to the emerging Jewish state was past. The danger of a statute of limitations on war crimes which was to go into force in 1965 also served as a new reason to condemn West Germany (Soukupová 2010: 35–37).[54]

In the Soviet satellites, however, anti-Semitism took on the shape of anti-Zionism (Holz uses the term "Marxist-Leninist anti-Zionism; Holz 2001:

51 Among the documents of the church department of the Ministry of Schools and Culture, one finds the following *Note on Cases of Hooliganism on Properties of the State Jewish Museum: "...On February 5, 1966 (on a Saturday when it was closed), unknown perpetrators broke into the Jewish cemetery in Josefská Street, turned over about 10 gravestones, and damaged some of them.... On February 7, 1966, three teenagers came to the entrance of the synagogue in Dušní St. (a clothing store). An employee of the Jewish State Museum asked them to pay the entrance fee. She was given the following reply: "You Jewish bitch, you even want us to pay you for that?" It is not impossible that a physical assault might have ensued, had it not been for the fact that another visitor appeared."* NA, MŠK, 47/VIII, 1957–1967, Box no. 56, dated February 10, 1966.

52 A work titled *Nuremberg and the Promised Land* (M. Bardeche) was published in France in 1948.

53 For a summary of the negotiations about Germany's payments to Israel, cf. Sachar 1998: 376–379; also pp. 438–442.

54 For the reactions of Czechoslovak Jews, cf. Soukupová 2010a: 41–42.

431–434, 440–445; Svobodová 1999: 195–202),[55] a supposed struggle against supposed Jewish bourgeois nationalism.[56] François Fejtö called it "the Israel complex" (Fejtö 1967: 129). Official church policy crushed any kind of so-called "Zionist tendencies" (Soukupová, manuscript). The language of church officials abounded with terms like "world Jewish centers," "world Jewish organizations," "world Jewish headquarters." In the heads of church officials, the stereotypes of the Jew as the bourgeois, the Jew as Germanizer, the Jew as the enemy of socialism were still alive. The *Report on Jewish Activities in Czechoslovakia* of July 1958 stated: *"Many Jews belonged to the ...upper bourgeoisi; they could be found in the ranks of all kinds of big businesses. They mostly claimed to be German nationals and had taken part in the Germanization of our people. The Jews thus came into conflict with the national interests of our people... After 1945, when Czechoslovakia became essentially a state of Czechs and Slovaks..., the Jews tried to claim damages for injuries caused by non-Jews; some of them demanded to get back property, in particular various enterprises which the expelled Germans left behind, or the restitution of enterprises which they had owned before 1938. Before 1948 some cases were used in the political struggle against nationalization (e.g., the Jewish factory owner Beer in Varnsdorf). In some areas, e.g., in northern and northwestern Bohemia, the Jews' movement into the industry met with resistance from the workers. There also occurred other unwelcome activities by some Jews, in particular by some emigrants returning from the West about whom it could definitely not be said that they felt any desire for socialism. This became evident after February 1948 when most of those Jews went back to the West or to Israel ... But there are still many Jews left in our country who do not approve of socialism, who have not come to terms with the ban on private enterprise, and who show signs of Zionist tendencies... Certain features are typical for all our Jews: the attempt to claim advantages and concessions in connection with the sufferings caused by Nazi persecution; an excessive sensitivity to any kind of limitation on religious life (or the Jewish community), which they perceive as racial discrimination; the attempt to reach a stronger position than is in today's*

55 The first attacks against Zionism were recorded on March 2, 1948, at a public meeting of the Jewish Religious Community in Prague (Yegar 1997: 119–120). This was followed by *"years of enmity"* between Czechoslovakia and Israel (Yegar 1997: 133–192). The Slánský trial itself, judged in the world literature to be the high point of the anti-Zionist (i.e., anti-Semitic) campaign by the Soviet Union and its satellites after World War II, was actually only a prelude to the anti-Jewish campaign in the Soviet Union (Sachar 1998: 374).

56 In 1995, Lothar Mertens' aptly titled; study of *Antizionismus: Feindschaft gegen Israel als neue Form des Antisemitismus* (Mertens 1995) appeared.

conditions appropriate for their social importance. In this respect, they are striving to maintain as many religious communities as possible; they are endeavoring to establish a school for the education of new clergy; they are overestimating the importance of Jewish historical properties (e.g., Jewish cemeteries) and demanding their upkeep. In the matter of developing international contacts, moreover, they overrate their influence. When their demands are not met, it makes them feel wronged and misunderstood."[57]

In Czechoslovakia, anti-Zionism was evident in the political show trial of Slánský in 1952 (most clearly in Lendvai 1972: 81–82, 221–234; in Czech Brod 1997: 155–166),[58] which, however, was officially not anti-Semitic (Fejtö 1967: 7); in its repercussions (the condemnation of Jewish functionaries for alleged economic machinations in the mid-1950s (Brod 1997: 156); in reactions to the Arab-Israeli War in 1967, which served as a kind of catalyst for the Czechoslovak reform movement (Lendvai 1972: 235), when the ČTK (Czech Press Agency) quoted only pro-Arab sources (Yegar 1997: 177);[59] after the repression of the Prague Spring (Lendvai 1972: 252f.); after 1975, when the UN General Assembly adopted a resolution discrediting Zionism as a racist movement (Pavlát 1997a: 144); and around the origins of Charta in 1977 (Svobodová: 1999: 196). The state's church policy carefully monitored the relations of Jewish institutions with Israel (the Israeli embassy in Prague), which it labeled as an unwelcome influence (Soukupová, manuscript). Anti-Zionism grew more intense after Moscow cut off diplomatic relations with Israel in 1967. *"It is well known that international Jewish centers are drawing increasingly closer in their support of Israel and that they have announced their goal of reinforcing Jewish nationalism in Socialist countries. These endeavors have an anti-Communist mission,"* stated a document issued June 23, 1965, by the church department of the Ministry of Education and Culture titled *"Information about the Introduction of Unsound Political Intentions into the Activities of Jewish Religious Communities*."[60] In 1983, the newly founded Anti-Zionist Committee held a press conference, the aim of which was the struggle against Zionism, which at that time was

57 NA, MŠK 47/VII, 1957–1967, Box no. 56, pp. 4–5.

58 According to the Canadian sociologist Alena Heitlinger, this was the *first open and official anti-Jewish propaganda since the end of World War II* (Heitlingerová 2007: 33). For a summary of the trial, see also Pěkný, 2001, pp. 353–354. Recently, historian Lena Arava Novotná has studied these trials; her study also provides references to the basic literature dealing with the trials (Arava-Novotná 2008), including the fundamental works of K. Kaplan, J. Pernes and J. Foitzik.

59 For the reactions from the USSR, cf. Sachar 1998: 550–551.

60 NA, MŠK, 47/VII, 1957–1967, Box no 56, p. 4.

supposedly being used by American imperialism in its anti-Communist and anti-Soviet activities (Anti-Zionistskij 1983: 5–6, 8). Zionism was condemned just as was anti-Semitism; according to Soviet ideologists, both were inhumane, in ideology as well as in praxis (Anti-Zionistskij 1983: 6, 7).

A textbook example of the character of anti-Semitism during normalization can be found in the doctoral thesis of František J. Kolár, defended in 1974 in the Department of Marxist-Leninist Philosophy of the Political University of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. This ambitious candidate chose as a motto for his work an extract from the document *"Report on the Activities of the Party and the Development of Society since the 13th Congress of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and Further Tasks for the Party*," an address given by Gustáv Husák on 25 May 1971. In it, Husák emphasized the *"expansive and aggressive"* policy of Israel, *"supported by American imperialism,"* and the obligation to support the Arab states. *"In recent years, Zionism and the state of Israel which is controlled by it have become the strike force of international imperialism. This is attested by its aggressive policy towards the national-liberation movements in Arab nations in the Middle East, by its anti-Communist ideological offensive against the USSR and other socialist countries and especially by its active participation in events in Czechoslovakia in 1968–69 and earlier,"* wrote Kolár, who before the war had been a representative of the Communist Student Movement, quoting the party line on Zionism (Kolár 1974: 5). In *Lessons from the Development of the Crisis in the Party and Society after the 13th Congress of the Central Committee of the Communist Party,* Kolár's second main ideological source, responsibility for the Prague Spring was attributed to so-called Zionists in the service of international imperialism and communism (F. Kriegel, J. Pelikán, A. Lustig, E. Goldstücker, A. J. Liehm, F. Löbl, K. Winter) – and quite explicitly so (Kolár 1974: 4).

However, the text also had its historical-anthropological dimensions. Kolár did not consider the Jews to be a nation. He viewed the religious believers belonging to this minority as a closed religious and economic caste. This exclusiveness supposedly helped provoke the so-called Jewish question (Kolár 1974: 5). The solution was to be found in the late 19th century. Whereas the Jewish proletariat and a part of that minority's intelligentsia were supposedly fighting to establish socialism, the petty bourgeois Zionist movement focused exclusively on the struggle against anti-Semitism, only to become itself eventually a capitalist movement, exploiting the Shoah in its propaganda (Kolár 1974: 6–7, 8). The only healthy power in Israel then remained the Communist Party of Israel, which called for a common struggle of Arabs and Israelis against imperialism (Kolár 1974: 11).

A hatred similar to that for Israel was aimed at the Joint (The American Joint Distribution Committee), which was attacked as an instrument of American imperialism (Yegar 1997: 180). Its activity was even discontinued in Czechoslovakia in the early 1950s (Svobodová 1999: 196). Arab terrorists were trained on Czechoslovak soil (Pěkný 2011: 353).

Another particular form of state anti-Semitism was the close and thorough monitoring of Jewish religious activities to collect evidence which could later be used against individuals (Brod 1997: 160). In the normalization era, a list was drawn up of people of Jewish origin who allegedly sympathized with Zionism (Pěkný 2001: 355). In the course of the 1980s, the Council of Jewish Religious Communities (the highest organ of this minority) took a stand against anti-Semitism at least three times: in 1986, it protested against the showing of the film *Jan Cimbura* on Czechoslovak TV in the series of "films for witnesses"[61] and against Karel Hrůza's anti-Zionist article *Zionism: Racism, Aggression and War* (*Tribuna*, No. 2, 15 January 1986);[62] and a year later against the article *Life with a War Criminal* (*Život s válečným zločincem, Hlas revoluce – The Voice of the Revolution*, No. 51–52), which claimed Reinhard Heydrich was of Jewish origin.[63]

Conclusion

The rise of modern anti-Semitism in the Czech Lands was the negative reaction of a supposed part of the modern Czech nation to rapid social changes which were irreversibly upsetting traditional values and norms (Soukupová 1997: 15). Although liberal circles in Austria did not foster it, new political groupings – mass petty-bourgeois parties with their media – managed to use it pragmatically on their way into the political limelight. A distinctive sign of the time became the discreditation of the social democracy as an allegedly Jewishized party by their political rivals. In Czech society, which was then interwoven with the many other peoples of the Austro-Hungarian Empire

61 NA, MK – SPV, Box no. 231, the letter from the Council. Prague 3 December 1986. The President of the Council Bohumil Heller complained that the character of the Jewish tavern owner was included because of Nazi censorship (!)

62 *Ibid*. The protest letter was written on January 31, 1986, by Rabbi Daniel Mayer to Jaroslav Kojzar, the chief editor of the weekly *Tribuna*. His disapproval primarily concerned Hrůza's thesis that Zionism was based on Old Testament mysticism, national chauvinism and racism. This anti-Semitic article further developed the idea that the book of Deuteronomy predestines Jews to rule over other nations.

63 *Ibid*, letter to Dr. Václav Hájek, the President of the ÚV ČSPB, dated 23 December 1987. In the opinion of the Jewish representation, the essay turned the victims into accomplices.

(Soukupová 2004: 35), the stereotype of the Jew as pioneer and as Moor of the Germans was particularly effective. The second most influential stereotype, that of Jewish economic monopoly, was in general currency and responded to the character of capitalist society, based on competition and pragmatism.

The Jewish policy of the liberal First Czechoslovak Republic, in which anti-Semitism was regarded on the official level as a totally inappropriate phenomenon, revealed how dependent society was on the strength of European democracy and also how dependent Czech anti-Semitism was on influences from abroad and most clearly, on economic (de)stabilization. The state that arose was completely dependent on the Agreement and had to present itself as a stable state without political excesses. The official policy was therefore incompatible with anti-Semitism (Soukupová 2005: 24). At the same time it reflected the permanent basis of anti-Semitic prejudice which could always be reactivated on the level of a political-party battle and on the street level. On the governmental level, it happened. This is just what happened after Munich when the influence of European democracies on the Second Republic gradually faded (Soukupová 2008: 57). Another influence on the escalation of anti-Semitism in the Second-Republic was "popular" culture: journalism, leaflets, posters and brochures. Czech society entered the Protectorate with its old-new anti-Jewish prejudices but also with extraordinarily elaborate anti-Semitic legislation. Further initiatives in liquidating the Jews, like the main advantages derived from Aryanization, were left to the occupiers. The repercussions of the Protectorate and the Slovak State were characterized by both verbal assaults and physical violence.

In Communist propaganda, anti-Semitism was officially rejected, legally banned and condemned on the civil level as a manifestation of hooliganism. On the level of state organs, however, under pressure from the Soviet Union, anti-Zionism was embraced as was an anti-Israeli policy which, worked out in its details, became a new form of anti-Semitism. This remained in force even in the 1980s.

The relationship of Czechoslovak state organs to the Jews was ambiguous: they were respected as victims of Nazi racism; however, at the time of normalization, memories of the Holocaust grew dimmer, and as a specific religious group, on whom the eyes of the capitalist Jewish world were set, they were always at the same time closely watched and monitored. State church policy saw in them – considering their tragic fate during the war – potential defenders of peace; a welcome source of foreign exchange for the sluggish economy; yet at the same time, church policy officials never freed themselves from a number of

anti-Semitic clichés. In spite of all this, it must be said that in contrast to the situation in the Soviet Union, with the exception of the time of political trials, there was no repression or open form of discrimination in matters of education or professional activities of Jews in Czechoslovakia.

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JOCKEYS ON MECHANICAL DONKEYS – MODES OF ALTERNATIVE TRANSPORTATION IN AN AFRICAN METROPOLIS*

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Abstract: ***On the example of transportation services this paper discusses the dynamics of present-day globalization processes in Khartoum, Sudan. Building on the dialectical relation between concepts of adaptation and creativity, the article aims to show how individuals display resilience, flexibility and determination to survive by ways of harnessing modernity for their own purposes. Rickshaws as newcomers to the transportation market in Sudan undergo a continuous process of appropriation and adaptation into the Sudanese context. The current article is an attempt to capture some of the notions that control the negotiated (dis)order for such traveling and globalized technologies.***

Key words: ***globalization, transportation, creativity, adaptation***

Methodological preface

The article is based on my six-month stay in Khartoum, Sudan. Like anyone who has traveled in the teeming African cities, I have been stunned by the multilayered tapestry of the transportation means. The ways in which globalization is presented and transformed in this officially sieged country are particularly palpable in the transportation sector. Although not a focus of my stay, the everyday experience of traveling in the ebullient city has drawn my attention to this seemingly ordinary and tedious activity – getting from point A to point B. Accustomed to the ordered and neat transportation system of European towns,

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the experience of traveling in Khartoum became distinctive and exquisite. The creative ways in which the transportation conundrums are daily solved by the stakeholders of the commuting schemes urged for capture. In other words, the touchstone of this article is the portrayal of the new social velocity (Mbembe and Nutall 2004), the creative responses to changing conditions of order and disorder of the transportation industry. The ethnographic focus of this article is on Khartoum.

During the six months, I traversed from the available variety of transportation options in Khartoum. Initially, warned by well-meaning colleagues and acquaintances, I employed the "avoid public-transportation strategy." The results were easily foreseeable – overspent budget line on local transportation due to the taxi fares and deficit of sleep due to vain efforts to avoid the morning heat. Shortly after, I decided to try out the emic ways and found out the available transport options mainly consisted of buses, minibuses and rickshaws. Due to the daily need of short-distance commuting I opted for the usage of rickshaws (for details, please see "*A glance at the transportation system in Khartoum"*). By this means, I had the opportunity to be a participant observer of the creative conduct in which the space is inhabited, continuity experienced and modernity negotiated.

In order to shed light on these negotiations, I relied on qualitative methods; namely on ethnographic field notes, interviews and participant observation (Denzin 2005, 2008). While trying to understand these meanings, the basic anthropological axiom became more and more clear – the meanings that were uncovered and will be discussed are particular and selected and clearly can never be all-encompassing (Emerson 1995). Additionally, the curious questions of a young white woman, probably working for the UN or one of the international NGOs, needed to be answered in *her way*. Initially, thus, I was assured that all rickshaws are legal just like any other means of transportation, that the scary noises are the songs of their reliable vehicles that can cross anywhere – even outside Khartoum, and that the business runs smoothly and easy. A few words about 50 Cent or Akon, as well as "being from Nedved's country" shifted me towards their trust zone, which was deepened with the passing time and increasing insight into the rickshaw business. My presence was consequential and undeniably the following pages provide a snapshot of the social reality that was read over the shoulders of everyone participating (Geertz 1979, Bourdieu 2003).

Theoretical Orientation

The article discusses a specific example of appreciation of the form and structure in which the globalization processes are manifested in Africa. A voluminous body of literature presents the ways and conduct of Africans participating in the globalized world. Typically, a vital aspect of the analysis is centered on the uneven impact that globalization has on African communities. In this vein, Brecher and Costello (1994) discuss the issues of cultural and societal homogenization that is brought about with globalization. Their work holds eminent focus on possible actions and strategies to address the time-space compression. By this, they set the stage for Hertz (2001) and Klein (2000), who focus on the transnational movement of opposition to globalization.

The African continent in large is arguably considered as a marginal space of modernity; in fact it is often portrayed as the continent catching up with modernity. The often taken-for-granted marginalization of Africa from globalization (Fergusson 1999) enables research on the resilience structures and forms present in the local needs, circumstances and imaginations. Since gaining independence, the countries of the African continent have continued to be the space of extraordinary outside interventions addressing poverty, environmental crises, social exclusions and violence (Engel and Olsen 2005) resulting in more powerful and rigid interventions than any other area worldwide (Rottenburg 2009). Instead of analyzing these interventions, I turned my attention to the less visible everyday processes accommodating these larger interplays, the manifold spaces in which people resist and maneuver on the back stages of high level negotiations. In order to capture the empirical reality in valid theoretical terms, the article builds on the dialectical relation between adaptation and creativity. Hence, adaptation is not seen only as a passive process indicating lack of power or agency, nor is creativity the bearer of agency and sovereignty. As an alternative, the article starts from the empirical observation that adaptation and creativity are in a dialectical relation; adaptation is realized as long as it is adaptive to the local context, and creativity can be realized to the extent it is adaptive to the existing milieu (Bhabha 1994).

The article further builds on the observation that the societies in Africa are globally entangled (Mbembe 2002) while the scope of the entanglements has been changed. No longer can they be considered as naturally given, bounded entities. In this vein, it is not plausible to consider the local as something given and the trans-local as something to be achieved or avoided (Lefebvre 1991).

Both the local and trans-local are socially constructed and reconstructed in the given context. Therefore, the approach used in this article denounces the clear-cut distinction between authentic and foreign forms as well as the omission of the distinction between forms that were institutionalized long ago and the newly emerging forms. Instead, the following pages are intended to go beyond such an approach by focus on agency and the ways in which it maneuvers its creative and strategic ways in the globalizing conditions. The aim of the following pages is to examine the interplay between the older and the newly emerging forms of adaptation and creativity in the context of global entanglements and local appropriations.

Organizational dynamics in the transportation industry

A glance at the transportation system in Khartoum

Despite the centrality of mobility on the continent, only limited scope of research is available on the African road system. Historical accounts describe the pre-colonial routes (Wilks 1992); others link automobility and power (Gewald 2002) often emphasizing the relation between colonial oppression and automotive systems (Wrangham 2004) or the "religious logistics" (Gewald 2002). Another stream of literature questions the benefits of roads with regard to market integration and development (Wilson 2004) or raises questions about the impact of roads on land-use patterns or indigenous institutions (Kamal and Nasir 1998). Until recently, anthropological research on the road system outside Europe and the United States has mainly focused on issues related to decorations and slogans on vehicles trying to investigate cultural trends towards car cultures (van der Geest 2009). In the various bodies of literature only few have pointed towards alternatives to dominant external pressure and passive local adaptations. For instance, Porath (2002) analyses the transformations the roads bring as a field of contestation and accommodation. Featherstone (2004) goes further, examining nation-specific car cultures and culturally diverse motorscapes. Despite the fact that such an approach overcame the outsider/insider dichotomy, it provides limited space for examining the creative ways of the culturally informed practice. For these purposes, Miller's (2001) edited volume provides instrumental insights into the fact that the use of vehicles and roads is culturally shaped.

In the early 1990s, the government in Khartoum initiated severe economic reforms. The civil war in the south and the international embargo had

a disastrous impact on the Sudanese economy which in combination featured an enormous decrease in the oil supply to all relevant sectors (de Waal 2005). The old, insufficient and unorganized system of public transportation was also hit by the oil scarcity, resulting in an even more disordered transport market. The two main features one observes in relation to the transportation system in Khartoum is that it implies very little of a system – there are no bus stops, but there are buses without numbers moving; there are no schedules informing about the arrival times, but there are bunches of people waiting; there are no ticket machines and no information kiosks, but everyone seems to get to their destination. In short, the issues of mobility in the five-million metropolis give firstly the impression of being disorganized and miscellaneous at the same time. In order to get to a specific destination, one has to typically use at least two types of vehicles which are different in capacity, availability and construction. The binding fabric of the vehicles is their load – people. Boarding a crammed bus or hopping on a rickshaw, one is accompanied by an array of human behavior reflecting the African reality to the extent that the bus has sometimes been characterized as a microcosm of African life (de Bruijn 2001).

Buses, the largest in size and very rare to find, are literally the dinosaurs of transportation in Khartoum. Being leftovers of the older system, even colonial times, buses suffer from neglect and decline in numbers. Their large sizes barely qualify them to run through crowded stations, narrow streets and old bridges. Like all official public-transportation vehicles, each bus is operated by a driver and an assistant (*kumsari*[1]). The driver is responsible for navigation and the mechanical state of the vehicle. The assistant is responsible for collecting fares from passengers as well as keeping the vehicle as clean as possible. Being privately owned vehicles, the buses still need to be registered with the authorities as public transportation vehicles. Due to decreasing numbers and low efficiency, the buses have been for the most part replaced by minibuses. Explicatory for the preference of minibuses is the timing – the bus trip usually takes double time compared to the smaller and faster minibuses.

Minibuses have been the ones to conquer the streets of Khartoum for the last two decades. Equipped with 25-30 seats, they have managed to serve different destinations in all Khartoum. Their size has been an advantage needed to cross old, narrow bridges between Khartoum, Khartoum-Bahri and

[1] Despite the common usage of the word it was not possible for me to trace the exact meaning or origin of the word.

Omdurman. Their speed has also been more convenient for people working in different areas in Khartoum. Like the buses, the minibuses are privately owned and each minibus is operated by a driver and a *kumsari*.

The third competing means of bus transportation are the world-wide known smaller minibuses: *peseros* in Mexico, *otobis* in Egypt, *kombis* in South Africa, *danfos* in Nigeria, or *matatus* in Kenya[2]. In Sudan, these vehicles are called according to their trademarks: the Haice or the Grace with no particular umbrella denomination. The Haice offers more seats, thus allowing the small *kumsari* to be squeezed in between the driver's seat and the door. In the Grace, the space left for the *kumsari* is just between two adjoining seats so he needs to be very flexible and fast getting out at each stop and shouting the final destination for the potential passengers. As there are no official routes for the vehicles, the route itself is negotiated by the driver and the vehicle's passengers.

Negotiated order

On an extremely hot day, I decided not to wait for the minibus and to take the Grace that was approaching. The young *kumsari* waved from the window in an attempt to shout the final stop of the Grace "*Jackson Square.*" Using the same hand sign as the *kumsari*, I waved, the car stopped and the *kumsari* got off to let me in. Aware that these vehicles have no standard route, I had to ask him whether the Grace would take me to my destination. Passing the question automatically to the driver, the *kumsari* inquired. The driver passed the question to the passengers: "Anyone objects to going through that direction?" The driver answered: "OK, we will go there! Get in before a policeman arrives." Shortly after getting back on the road, the driver turned to the passengers announcing that the vehicle was to be stopped by a police patrol. In a confident tone, the driver asked: "Obviously, I have no papers. Would you mind pretending that we are on "a company vehicle" if the officer asks?"

A few words were exchanged between the police officer and the driver; the officer seemed to be inspecting the car, looking suspiciously at the passengers while giving the driver his license back. Soon after, the Grace got back to the main road and the driver put the music back on as if nothing had happened.

The road system of the Grace is defined not only by the normative framework guarding correct conduct; in reality the road system is much more shaped

2 For further information please see Godard and Teurnier 1992; Godard 2002.

by the social orders of the road users. In this vein, the crew of the vehicle, in the fullest meaning of the word, decides whether a newcomer is accepted onboard or not. Despite the fact that the bus driver and the *kumsari* will (hopefully) profit from the passengers – and clearly the more passengers they transport the higher the chance of profit, the final decision on the route is collective while the already boarded passengers hold the right of veto. Similarly, a joint responsibility is present while on the road –for the police we were a work team on "a corporate vehicle," thus allowing the driver to pursue his business without a legal permit to serve as a public transportation vehicle.

The event went smoothly; as if it happens all the time or as if every passenger knows the traffic laws about public transportation and the gaps that allow the driver to pretend to be on a private drive. The passengers did not act – talk. The individuals who boarded the vehicle transformed into a community on board that without speaking adapted to the joint goal – reaching the final destination with as few obstacles as possible. For this, the role of a company crew was taken up without preparation and was dropped when the first passenger embarked in the vehicle. The paucity of formal rules is adapted to serve the purposes needed – the role playing would have continued even in case the police officer had not been satisfied with the driver's performance. In this case, the passengers would all have joined in to convince the police officer to release the vehicle. In daily conduct, public transportation can be seen not as a rigid, regulated system but artisanal creative improvised conduct in the making.

Creation and transgression of boundaries

Temporal and spatial spread of the rickshaw

Two decades ago the term rickshaw did not recall any familiarity to the average Sudanese. With the worsening transportation crises, the demand for transportation solutions was on rise. The increased local needs for transportation were to be solved by a global product that was transferred into Sudan. Transfers of technology succeed if the transfer is followed by translation in which new institutionalized practices and webs of beliefs are built (Middell 2000). In 1992, the Indian company "Bajaj" started to export rickshaws through its local client in Sudan, the "United Company for Distribution." Auto rickshaws, small motorized three -wheeled vehicles have been serving in many, predominantly Asian countries. In the city of Omdurman the numbers of rickshaws started to increase from 22 vehicles, rapidly multiplying. (Albayan newspapers, interview on 05/03/2011).

According to Osman, a former jockey, these 22 rickshaws "were not actual rickshaws like these now...they were more like tuk tuks, where people in the back were seated facing each other on 2 opposite benches. Everything was different; we commuted on set routes – say from Banat to al Murada, or so. It was never meant to spread like this and go to places...even before, it was not for people at all. It was for cargo, people I think it was in Egypt, taking the gas on it; later we came with our standard routes and then with the worsening situation only these small ones came in."

The first time the rickshaw entered Sudan it was meant to serve as a cargo vehicle for gas distributors. Some retail gas producers purchased the rickshaws to deliver cylinders to households following the example of Egypt. Soon after, the rickshaw was introduced to function as a passenger transportation taxi (Sudan General Directorate of Traffic). Osman further explained that, initially, small scale cooperatives were formed and helped to run the business. From the available information it seems that the members did not form partnerships on kinship or community lines; a more plausible interpretation is that the unifying glue was based on former professional associations – mainly former public servants forced into retirement after the change of regime in 1989. This group was able to benefit from the acquired social capital and creatively respond to the transforming country and its new challenges. The question is not how it is possible that the old structures were able to benefit in the changed circumstance but more how it is possible that they were not able to dominate the new business.

When the rickshaws started to serve in the streets of Khartoum they were extremely limited to narrow streets, linking two or more neighborhoods which were not connected by public buses. The short trips usually took about 5–10 minutes.

Tamer, a jockey, revealed the history thus: "It all started in Omdurman as it is the center; almost everything is located there and back then there was no transportation... I mean there were buses and also the small buses, but it was basically impossible to get anywhere...people walked for two hours to get to work every morning...and two hours back...so it did not take long and people started to look for opportunities how to handle it."

According to similar stories the jockeys related the beginning of the rickshaw business to the need for commuting to work. Hence, for Adil the opportunity was: "clear back then, you could see it...there are people who need to get to

work, to school, to relatives, so what did you do? You bought a rickshaw and started a good business." The philosophy and process of starting the business was also repeated by younger jockeys: "In the old times, it was very easy...buy a rickshaw and earn money...it started like that!"

The year 1994 was the first year rickshaws were brought for registration. The Registration Department refused to issue registry documents for the rickshaws, but the Transportation Technical Committee agreed shortly to their registration to cover the gap during the transportation crisis back then. In 1996 rickshaws were officially approved as vehicles for public transportation in Khartoum state. (Sudan General Directorate of Traffic). Initially, thus, the market for the services was present and, by means of spotting the gap, a global – outside product was employed in the Sudanese context. Due to the high needs for commuting, this external solution was adopted to become a part of daily life.

The owners of the rickshaws at these times, adding to the cooperatives, were mostly families letting one of their sons operate the machines. The unemployment rate in Sudan was increasing annually, so any opportunity to earn money was cherished. Typically, the young men would spend their days without a job, outside the house wandering around, playing cards and smoking, awaiting their daily food. Most of them are high-school or university graduates. According to the informants the waiting time between graduation and finding a job may take up to 10 years. The dearth of official statistical data on this matter does not allow for confirmation; nonetheless most Khartoumians seem to believe in this statement and take it for granted that young educated men stay home while job hunting. Sufian (jockey) explained saying: "I am a college graduate, studied commerce and I have owned a rickshaw for the last 8 years. I do not know why there is all of this fuss over rickshaws since Sudan is used to accommodating a big number of new transportation vehicles (like the Haice, the Rosa and the Grace) and all these are known for example in Egypt as "service" and have never been controversial. I think it's a successful investment. I earn 60 pounds a day (20 USD) and this amount I cannot earn with my own degrees."

One of the possible ways out of this situation is that families purchased the rickshaws from their savings. The savings operate on a pattern present in most low-income households worldwide– a box rotates within the family circle, mainly handled by women, filled with a set amount of money by all participants. It is used for a large purchase by one of the participating families. In this case, the family needed to collect up to 15,000 Sudanese pounds

(ca. 5,000 USD). For a while the rickshaw purchase seemed like a solution for many young men to earn a living, support a family, and escape unemployment. According to informants, at that time a self-employed jockey would earn up to 60 Sudanese pounds a day (ca. 20 USD). This amount of money would cover the basic needs of a household.

The fares were standardized by each route; rickshaws entered into a new mode of transportation, like mini taxis, offering on order trips (Mushwar) to nearby quarters. These trips did not cover a large distance and were short as well. The fares were rather small: 1-3 Sudanese pounds (0.5-1 USD). For that kind of trip jockeys avoided asphalt-paved roads to keep away from policemen and tax agents. Although being considered a motorcycle vehicle by the traffic authorities, rickshaws are fined as a transportation vehicle, as Karam, a jockey, explains: "The rickshaw is a very safe vehicle if there is no traffic and the roads are clear. When we started working there were fewer paved roads and policemen did not bother us."

To facilitate their business jockeys gathered in small, unofficial stations near major crossroads and roundabouts. These stations were self-regulated and the use was based on first come, first served. Entering Khartoum streets by street and neighborhood after neighborhood, the rickshaw became the most visible vehicle during traffic jams. As Adil, a commuter describes: "Introducing rickshaws to the streets in Khartoum helped to solve the transportation crises to a large extent, but now they have become a headache for traffic. The authorities are trying to suffocate them by forbidding them from entering main roads and telling them to take side roads."

The small size of the rickshaw and its ability to maneuver in small alleys admitted rickshaws to spaces that were not accessible to other transport vehicles. The authorities declared this excessive accessibility to be a security threat for the society and started restricting the traffic zones for rickshaws. The most important restriction is the one-neighborhood policy or the bridge-crossing ban. The bridges form a physical barrier to the spread of rickshaws – to commute between the three cities that form metropolitan Khartoum it is necessary to cross a bridge. However, as argued by van der Geest (2009), vehicle inscriptions often function not only to attract attention, but the ornaments and words reveal attitudes and aspirations. For instance, one of the slogans commonly found on a rickshaw reads: "I wish to cross the bridge."

Despite the efforts to keep the rickshaw business in order, rickshaws gradually reconfigurate their operational space. The number of rickshaws increased

steadily. Between 1989 and 2009 the number of rickshaws entering the country was 48,437, but only 23,323 were reported to be registered (results of the traffic survey 2010). On Jan. 14, 2002 a decision from the Minister of Commerce numbered (15/2002) was released to stop the import of rickshaws to Sudan. By that time over 10,000 rickshaws were registered to work in the state of Khartoum solely. (Traffic survey 2010).

In 2003 the same Ministry issued a number of exceptional decisions allowing the import of 2,023 rickshaws for specific institutes and bodies. The following year, on May 20, 2004, a new resolution from the Minister of Commerce was issued to end the import of any rickshaws to Sudan.

Despite of the resolution by the Minister of Commerce No. 12 dated July 28, 2008, to halt the import of rickshaws into Sudan exemptions from that resolution were regularly given to some companies and organizations. For instance:

An exemption dated Aug. 10, 2008, for the number of 1,429 rickshaws.

An exemption dated Dec. 25, 2008, for the number of 2,000 rickshaws.

An exemption dated Jan. 21, 2009, for the number of 990 rickshaws.

An exemption dated Jan. 8, 2009, for the number of 1,100 rickshaws.

The contradiction behind the import ban and the ongoing exemptions indicates the forces of inclusion and exclusion that govern the process of space-making for the rickshaw. The groups that first occupied the rickshaw business have been overcome with newcomers. The small cooperatives gave up the way to an expanding industry, in which importers are only permitted to enter the rickshaw through the Minister's door and jockeys are hired on shifts by fleet rickshaw owners.

The rickshaw business is operating in a highly restricted regime, a regime that is governed by import bans, import exemptions, restricted zones and fines. In spite of all these restrictions, rickshaws are finding their way to the streets every day.

Almost from the inception of the rickshaws, their operation was embedded in a series of multilayered discourses hinting towards the negative consequences of their utilization. Unsurprisingly, the issues that are raised by the authorities and to some extent the public when criticizing the rickshaws are related to poor safety measures and the criminality associated with their functioning. Both significations are pertinent in the countries with a rickshaw presence (compare Choudhury 2010). The Sudanese model translated these significations into its own web of beliefs.

Although coming third after minibuses and the Haice in the rates of accidents, Rickshaws are blamed for a higher rate of accidents and mortality (Musa Hussein 2007). As an institutional response, since last year permission to import rickshaws was limited to vehicles that have doors on the back and a seatbelt for the driver. Such equipment was not a genuine part of the original rickshaws imported to Sudan. In order to address the newly emerged requirements importers started to use locally manufactured doors and seat belts to show them during the registration process. Karam explains: "The doors and the seatbelt would be put it in for the registration only. No one wants them or uses them anyway. As soon as the rickshaw is registered the doors and the belt are taken out and the rickshaw is sold."

Hand in hand with low safety, the rickshaws are portrayed as spaces of criminal behavior. Their size and ability to maneuver and enter buildings, their quantity and the young age of the jockeys form a web of myths. Hence, as elsewhere, in newspapers and everyday talks rickshaws are believed to be used for smuggling and distributing drugs and alcohol and facilitating abductions and moral-related crimes. As already shown, the government is putting in efforts to order the industry, resulting in the prohibition of night operation, restriction of operation – one-neighborhood policy and the obligation of the jockeys to register with the social security police (responsible for moral crimes).

Waheed, a senior jockey: "I reject the accusations by some people against rickshaw drivers. Especially those related to manners and criminality. I registered, I have my badge from the public-order police. I am a good man; the rickshaw driver's society is just like any other society; there is the good and the bad."

How do the rickshaw drivers overcome this *bad*, in what ways do they maneuver in the negatively perceived sensation around their mechanical donkeys[3]? As repeatedly revealed by the jockeys: "Being a rickshaw driver is much more than being a service provider or being a driver of a bus or taxi. It is a type of hero." For the rickshaw drivers, this hero-like feeling is built on: (1) the ability to drive a rickshaw in Khartoum and survive (2) the ability to adapt and run a business and (3) the opportunity to attract (girls') attention.

The ability to drive a rickshaw in the roads of Khartoum requires a certain skill and mindset. The combination of the damaged roads and the anarchic driving styles turns roads into a death trap for rickshaws. When looking closely

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at cars in Khartoum it is difficult to spot a car without a bend on its body; accident is a matter of time more than of skills or care. Rickshaws and motorcycles are the smallest victims of this vicious environment. The view of an upside-down rickshaw is a part of the scenery – after a few months of their usage getting out of the rickshaw, turning it back on its wheels and getting back into it becomes an integral part of traveling.

Despite the hero aura, none of the interviewed jockeys plans to work as a jockey for a long time – being well aware of the risks, they all dream about earning enough money to buy another rickshaw and rent it to other jockeys. This time-bound step on the professional ladder serves only an interim purpose – as can be illustrated by another slogan: "He is sleeping and I am wandering." For the time being, the jockeys adapted to their roles as petty workers, but this role is a temporary solution– at the same time they are mastering the craft in order to, as Karam put it: "Now I am learning, and I know that one day it will be me renting the rickshaws and I will know exactly how to deal with things... because I have done this I will know exactly everything."

The attention that rickshaws draw can be exemplified in the loud music that comes out of their appropriated recorders. Large speakers that are attached to the jockey's side play explosive music all the time. Attached to a modern CD player or a USB stick the music seems unstoppable. Fresh pop and rap songs followed by the newest Sudanese music comes out of rickshaws[4] in a disturbing sequence deserving their name as Khartoum's parties on wheels. The topic of the loud music divides the rickshaw passengers presumably on generational lines – just like taxis in South Africa, rickshaws cater to young and poignant trends in the youth culture (Hansen 2006). In the highly restricted context of Sudan, such carnivalesque space opens windows of uncommon interaction. Unlike most of the young men in Khartoum, jockeys enjoy less-restricted access to the opposite sex. The rickshaws are obliged to drive within neighborhoods and thus commonly their customers are women; jockeys can benefit from direct interaction in a small space with women and girls. The negative connotations of being a jockey form a dichotomy for the girls – on the one hand, the girls are constantly informed that the jockeys are part of the underworld, thus to be avoided, but curiosity often trumps the customs. In return, the rickshaws'

4 As the jockeys are due to the workload unable to download new music on their slow connections, they tend to rely on the 'music cabinets'– near to rickshaw stops temporary 'offices' selling the latest songs on USB sticks are common. Due to the short time I was not able to closely examine them; nonetheless the economy of the rickshaw business deserves a thorough analysis.

jockeys tend to exploit their appalling reputation; they revel in their reputed, what can be considered as obscene, behavior because they know that their actions will be tolerated (Mutongi 2006). As a result the jockeys become a part of the very limited circle of Sudanese men who have the ability to listen to and participate in women's conversations.

Concluding remarks

While visible on the cultural and economic level, the mundane aspects of globalization and the ways it is transformative to local societies remains a matter of further investigation. The article has placed emphasis on the procedural character of the globalization, on the accent on the dynamical relation between people – place – culture (van Dijk 2007). Beyond the obvious utilitarian function, the transportation system provides a window on the socioeconomic and political facets of early 21st century Sudan.

The aim of the paper was to illustrate the developments in the transportation industry in Khartoum through the prism of adaptation and creativity. As such, the normative framework is interpreted as a space that enables creative actions. Instead of adapting to the order, a large space for improvisation is open to creative and artisanal efforts. On the example of the imported globalized artifacts – the rickshaws – the processes of the resilience, determination and flexibility of the rickshaw drivers is discussed.

The paper sets a path for further, long-term investigation into the lives of the jockeys which would enable a closer analysis of their networks and adaptation strategies.

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WAR BONNETS AND CALUMETS IN THE HEART OF EUROPE: NATIVE AMERICAN EXHIBITION IN ROSENHEIM, GERMANY*

Indianer – Ureinwohner Nordamerikas. Lokschuppen.
Rosenheim, Germany, April 8, 2011 – November 6, 2011

Martin Heřmanský

Abstract: ***This review essay focuses on representational practices of Native Americans in the exhibition* Indianer – Ureinwohner Nordamerikas *(Indians – Indigenous Peoples of North America) in Germany. Through an analysis of the exhibition contents, it aims to assess used representational practices and discuss how this exhibition deals with common stereotypes of Native Americans. It argues that, while the exhibition contests many common stereotypes, it also consciously or unconsciously reproduces a few others. In the conclusion it tries to find the reasons why this is so, despite the fact that the exhibition curator is one of the first anthropologists focusing on the issue of representations of Native Americans.***

Keywords: ***Native Americans, representations, museum, stereotypes***

Stereotypical representations of Native Americans[1] have a tradition as long as the "discovery" of America. Stereotypes emerge even with the first accounts

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1 Choosing the right designation for native people of North America is more complicated that it might seem because there are great differences in legal concepts (different in the U.S. and Canada), popular concepts and concepts of identification of particular Native groups. For this reason, and being aware of its problematic nature, I chose to use the term Native Americans (as used in academic discourse) for addressing all native groups of North America, be they American Indians, Eskimos or Aleuts. The only exceptions, when I will use the term Indian, are words that are established as technical terms (e.g. Pan-Indianism or Urban Indians).

of Columbus's journeys. The accounts of missionaries, traders and explorers were successively replaced by representations created by the first ethnologists and anthropologists. Since the crisis of representations (Marcus and Fischer 1986), which reflexively focus attention on the anthropological production of knowledge, some authors have even spoken of anthropology as "the Indian's Image-Maker" (Strong 2004: 342-343). Although this claim is rather an overstatement, as the main source of stereotypical representation in the 20th century became pop culture led by the movie industry (see Stedman 1982; Mihesuah 1996), the question of representation remains a significant issue in contemporary anthropology which is particularly pressing in the case of museum exhibitions (Clifford 1988a, 1988b; Bataille 2001; Lidchi 2007; for alternative perspective see Zimmerman 2010).

An extensive exhibition dedicated to the Native Americans of North America called *Indianer – Ureinwohner Nordamerikas* (Indians – Indigenous Peoples of North America) is taking place from April 8 to November 6 in Rosenheim, Germany, about 50 km from the center of Bavaria, Munich. Although Rosenheim is not the first place hosting this exhibition, which was originally exhibited in 2008 (from March 29 to October 19) at the Schallaburg Renaissance Castle in the town of Schollach in Austria, it is not surprising that this new one is taking place in Germany. This is because Native Americans had and still have a specific position in the Central European and particularly German tradition. Apparently no other indigenous group is as popular as Native Americans. This is obvious not just in public awareness and the positive attitude of mainstream society, but particularly in the existence of the so-called "Euroindian" or Indian hobbyist movement[2] (for basic review see Taylor 1988), with its largest member base in Germany. The popularity of Native Americans is to some extent due to Karl May, the creator of Apache chief Winnetou, the "noble savage" *par excellence*.

In this review essay, I would like to assess this exhibition with respect to representations of Native Americans which are conveyed to its visitors. I will start with some facts about this exhibition. Then I will summarize and assess each of its sections, moving to a critical assessment of the exhibition as a whole and to the conclusion.

[2] Although this movement is often subjected to criticism of some Native American activist for appropriating their culture (see e.g., Green 1988).

What, who, why and how...

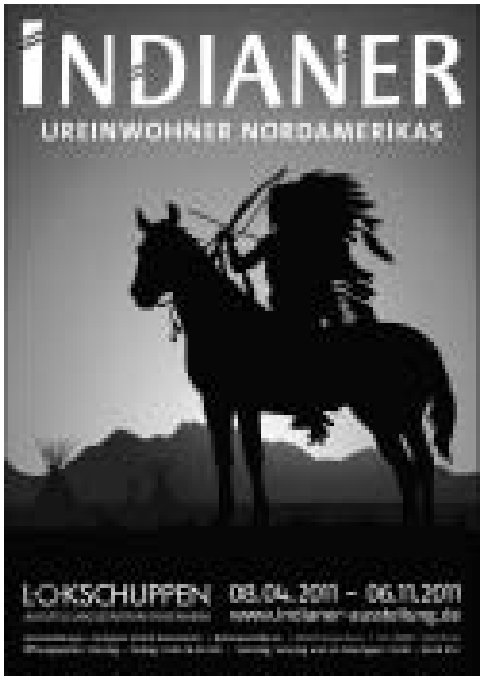
The exhibition is curated by one of the most well-known European ethnologists and ethnohistorians specializing in Native America, Dr. Christian Feest, who was the former Director of The Museum of Ethnology (*Museum für Völkerkunde*) in Vienna. Dr. Feest (born in 1945 in Broumov) is specialized in the Native American anthropology of art (e.g., Feest 1992) and is one of pioneers in the work of European-Native American contact (e.g., Feest 1999). Both of these interests have had an impact on the exhibition design and an emphasis on the displayed artifacts.

The exhibition consists of over 550 artifacts (dating from the eighteenth to the twenty-first century) and nearly 200 images. Even though it is not possible to compare it with a similar exposition in the USA concerning its size, e.g., the *National Museum of the American Indian* in Washington, DC, which encompasses an area of 17,500 m^2, it is the largest Native American exhibition in Continental Europe. Eighteen institutions from nine countries (Austria, Belgium, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Norway, Switzerland, and the Vatican) led by The *Museum für Völkerkunde* in Vienna participated in this exhibition. Since it deals with indigenous peoples in the United States, Canada, and Greenland, the title "Indians – Indigenous Peoples of North America" is rather inaccurate. The term Indians, which is used, does not usually cover Inuit and Aleut, who distinguish themselves as a specific group. The choice of title is understandable considering its intelligibility for German people, but it should be discussed and explained within the exhibition.

According to the curator, the aim of the exhibition is to "tell the story of Native Americans from their first meeting with the Europeans [...] to the present life [and to] demonstrate the diversity of [Native American] cultures" (Feest n.d.: 1, translated by the author).

The exhibition is arranged into twelve sections, each with its main theme which tries to convey the aforementioned story of the Native Americans. The underlying idea is the effect of colonization on indigenous peoples of America, which clearly exhibits the academic interest of the curator mentioned earlier.

Although the concept of culture areas is not the main ordering mechanism of the exhibition, it is still used to convey the sense of cultural diversity. Therefore all the sections, except for the first one and the last two, are dedicated to one of the culture areas or subareas (the Northeast culture area and Southwest culture area are both represented by two subareas), even though it is not explicitly stated there.



Exhibition logo employing a common stereotype of Native American, a horseback buffalo hunter. Source: http://www.indianer-ausstellung.de/

With respect to this, it is important to note that the concept of culture areas is the most common mechanism for ordering museum exhibitions in the 20th and even the 21st centuries. Even though it is not used as an explanatory tool anymore, it provides a common language for anthropologists working in a particular area. Moreover, most social scientists still specialize in just one or two culture areas and thus this concept is, despite its critique for being frozen in time, excessive focus on artifacts and arbitrarily delineated borders, still used (see Berg 2006). This is especially true for Americanists; therefore it is important to appreciate that this exhibition tries some other kind of structuring of its expositions, even though it is only partially successful.

Not all culture areas are presented though. The Subarctic and California culture area are covered only sporadically and the Southeast, Great Basin and Plateau culture areas are completely absent. The reason for this might be a lack of artifacts originating in these areas or the aforementioned alternative organizing mechanism. But because of omitting some of the less familiar cultures (e.g., specialized desert gatherers of California), the cultural diversity of Native American indigenous cultures might seem less diverse and therefore the representation even distorted a little bit.

Who is the "Indian"?

Right at the beginning, the exhibition contests the stereotype of "Indian-ness" by asserting that "Indians" are a European concept, an artifact of a colonial encounter. This is exemplified by Columbus's well-known mistake by which

Native Americans were labeled as "American Indians." The story of Pocahontas then demonstrates commodification of Native Americans by the movie industry and the emergence of the stereotype of the "Indian Princess" (see Stedman 1982).

At the same time, the first section is successful in conveying the seemingly immeasurable language and cultural diversity of Native America. A dominant feature of this section is an interactive language map projected on the wall which enables visitors to listen to words in chosen languages of different language families. Because the culture area concept is only implicitly present here, a map of culture areas, which would have shown cultural diversity, is absent. Instead, there are more than a dozen various headdresses placed all over the room which at first sight invoke a sense of astounding cultural diversity of native cultures which produced them. Thus it is possible to see a Great Plains feather war bonnet alongside a Pacific Coast basket hat, an Iroquoian headdress and a contemporary Inuit baseball cap.

First-contact situation

The second section is devoted to the Northwest Coast culture area and the first-contact situation between the *Nuuchahnulth* of Vancouver Island (formerly known as *Nootka*) and Captain James Cook on his third voyage in 1778. Cook's account describing this contact is full of respect and even idolizing admiration for these people. Visitors are thus presented with one of the contact models between Europeans and Native Americans, yet without explicitly stating that it is the product of the "noble savage" stereotype, which at the same time further reproduces.

Traditional *Nuuchahnulth* culture is shown as a culture of whalers and the photography of a landed whale which is being portioned on the beach is one of the dominant features of this section. Typical artifacts of the Northwest Coast culture area, like *Chilkat blankets* or wooden ritual masks, as well as the exclusively *Nuuchahnulth* ones, like twined "onion dome" knob-top hats, are also on display.

Besides traditional culture, there are also photographs that demonstrate the change of *Nuuchahnulth* culture in the 20th century and its adaptation to modernization trends. At the same time, it is also shown that these people preserve some features of traditional cultural knowledge, like the art of twining, wood-carving or traditional means of gathering halibut eggs by using cut-off branches immersed in a stream.

The example of *Nuuchahnulth* is also used to discuss one of the most acute problems of contemporary Native Americans – the loss of linguistic competence in native languages and the endeavor for revitalization of native languages which is arduous because of the low number of fluent speakers. But it forgot to mention that some Native American nations are successful in these revitalization attempts and that these endeavors are supported by many organizations.

Indigenous lands

The third section is dedicated to Northeast culture area (specifically the Iroquois subarea) and the issue of indigenous lands. The American Revolutionary War is claimed to be a crucial moment in which the future of indigenous lands was decided. In both this and the French and Indian War[3] it is emphasized that the Native Americans fought for the interests of European governments and their involvement often led not just to intertribal wars but also to intratribal divides, as among the *Iroquois*, where *Mohawks*, *Senecas*, *Cayugas*, and *Onondagas* fought on the British side, while *Oneidas* and *Tuscaroras* on the side of the USA[4].

The issue of Native American land, as a primary motive of European colonization, is presented as a problem of different perspective on Native Americans and Europeans concerning the sale and purchase of land. From the European perspective, the land was a commodity and, by its purchase, the owner acquired exclusive right to its disposal. From the perspective of Native Americans, it was possible only to use the land, but not to own it. What was sold were the rights of usage, not ownership. This very difference of these perspectives is claimed to be the primary source of many conflicts.

However, the issue of indigenous land seems kind of unfinished at that point. If the issue of indigenous land is to be presented in its complexity, it should not omit its importance for treatment of the Native Americans in the following centuries. Thus I would find it appropriate to also add information about the Indian Territory, the formation of Indian reservations and the infamous Allotment Act. Although is it understandable that, because of the limited extent of the exhibition and retaining of culture area principle, these facts had to be omitted; their presentation would however contribute to comprehension of the importance of this issue.

3 The *French and Indian War* is a prevalent but mistaken name of the war between Great Britain and France, because Native Americans fought on both sides, not just the British one.

4 It also interesting to note that the official statement of the Iroquois Confederacy was neutral.

Section devoted to *Iroquois,* stylized to resemble deciduous forest. Foto: Andreas Jacob.

By the means of children's painting criticizing the destruction of nature and activities of oil industries, the land issue is presented as an environmental problem. The environmental consciousness of contemporary Native Americans is also demonstrated by a 1980s flyer appealing for participation in protest meetings concerning Colorado uranium mines, where many Navajo men worked back in the '80s. These protests were aimed at drawing attention to health risks associated with mining of uranium. Emphasis on this environmental issue reproduces the stereotype of the "ecological Indian" however (see Krech 1999).

Besides weapons and medals related to these aforementioned wars, there is also presented an authentic scalp (an approximately 7 cm piece of almost hairless skin stretched on a wooden frame). The practice of scalping is asserted to be a non-universal among Native Americans. It is claimed that it spread only after the introduction of steel knives and was also practiced by Europeans (since the announcement of bounties on Indian scalps). There is an evident effort to contest another of the common stereotypes that of the "ignoble savage," the "Indian longing for scalps." While it is praiseworthy, the origin of scalping is still highly contested and it would deserve more profound discussion whether it is an indigenous or a European-introduced practice (see Axtell and Sturtevant 1980; Abler 1992).

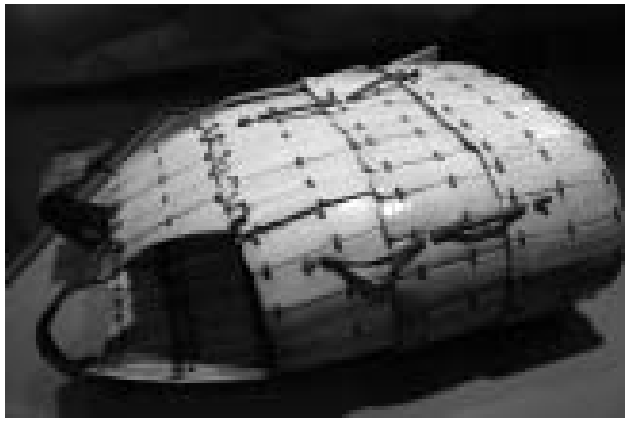
The traditional culture of the Northeast culture area is demonstrated in particular by quillwork (a form of leather embellishment using the quills of porcupines) as there are several beautifully decorated moccasins and typical buckskin clothes (leggings and shirts). A syncretism of both native and European tradition is shown by a buckskin coat of European cut decorated by Native American decoration which belonged to a German soldier. In relation to the land issue, the whole showcase is devoted to wampum belts as an important and exclusive part of treaty making.

Autonomy and abuse

The following two sections are dedicated to the Arctic culture area – the fourth to Greenland, and the fifth to the Aleutian Islands. These are the only sections that are not assigned to American Indians, but to *Inuit* and *Aleuts*. Both sections are meant as contrasting examples of European colonization of indigenous people. Greenland provides an example in which colonization ultimately led to autonomy, while in Alaska (Russian America) and particularly in the Aleutian Islands, colonizers, Russian fur traders, literally abused and enslaved native people living there.

The main feature of the fourth section is a unique artifact, an authentic plank house built in Greenland in the 1950s, which was purchased in 1987. Even more than in the Northeast culture area there is an evident syncresis of European and native culture or rather a diffusion of European artifacts into *Inuit* culture (particularly weapons, iron cookware and later also synthetic materials).

The strategies of subsistence and alimentary practices and their change brought about by the influence of European culture are the leitmotif of this section. A displayed kayak and an accompanying description of hunting and fishing techniques serve at first sight to demonstrate the enormous skill and tenacity of Inuit hunters and fishermen. Unfortunately, this combined with exhibits demonstrating the alimentary practices reproduces the stereotype of the primitive "blubber eater" who was in need to be civilized. This representation is constructed not merely by "new" foods that were introduced into the diet by the impact of Inuit-European contact (milk-powder, dried eggs, sugar, biscuits, etc.), but above all by the emic perspective of a young *Inuit* boy. His narrative consists of a description of his life in a displayed house. He emphasizes that he is happy because he no longer has to eat the seal blubber his grandmother told him she was used to because his favorite dish is spaghetti.



Torso armor made of bone. Inupiaq (?), Alaska, circa 1830. Walrossrippen Museovirasto, Helsinki. Foto: Scheueregger.

The representation of Inuit primitivism is further reproduced by the information that until the 1990s most Greenland *Inuit* communities did not possess electricity and hot water in their houses. This representation also continues in the fifth section, where one entire showcase displays traditional artifacts in contrast to their contemporary counterparts. There is a traditional sandstone bowl displayed alongside a contemporary plate, a traditional seal oil lamp and a contemporary gas lantern or a ladle made of skin and of a tin can.

Apart from the aforementioned criticism of abuse committed by European colonizers or more precisely Russian fur traders, there is great emphasis on the display of tradition arctic clothing. Besides *parkas*, pants, boots, mittens, *ulus* and other typical artifacts, there are also displayed two relatively uncommon pieces – torso armor made of bones and women's panties made of fur. These pieces are extraordinary because the armor contests the stereotype of "Eskimos as pacifists," and indigenous underwear is one of the rare exhibits that are to be seen in any exhibition[5].

What's left...

The following (quasi)section has a quite different character from all the other ones. It differs not just by its expanse, which is less than a third of the other sections, but also by an absence of any unifying component (be it a theme or

5 Except for Melanesian penis sheaths, I have actually never seen indigenous underwear before in any exhibition.

a culture area). Artifacts of three groups belonging to three different culture areas are displayed there – clothing of *Dena'ina* from the Subarctic, twined bowls and jewelry of the *Pomo* from California and *Chilkat blankets* of *Tlingit* from the Northwest Coast. The absence of any unifying principle makes this section seem as if the authors had some artifacts left and they were sorry (for whatever reason) not to display them. The only apology for this is that in the case of *Dena'ina* and *Pomo* absence the exhibition would lack any artifacts from the Subarctic and California culture areas. But if this is the case, it is not clear why there are also not similarly exhibited (even just by one artifact) the Southeast, Great Basin and Plateau culture areas. In the case of the *Chilkat blanket*, its display seems to me utterly redundant because another similar *Chilkat blanket* is already exhibited in the second section devoted to the *Nuuchahnulth*.

Indian Wars

The following two sections are special in that you can hear them before you enter the room dedicated to them. There is a roar emanating from the room in several-minute intervals. Only after entering the room can the visitor discover that the roar is a sound of a running buffalo herd projected on a screen just beside the entrance (in the shape of a *tipi*). The sections sharing this room are dedicated to the Great Plains culture area, particularly the *Lakota* (even though they are presented as *Sioux*), and to nomadic tribes of the Southwest culture area, particularly the *Apache*. Both these nations are used as contrasting examples for the origins and effects of the "Indian Wars" of the nineteenth century and, in both cases, they are represented by famous leading figures of native resistance – Sitting Bull (*Tatanka Iyotake* or *Tatanka Yotanka*) of the *Lakota* and Geronimo (*Goyathlay* or *Gokhlayeh*)[6] of the *Apache*.

The *Sioux* resistance is represented in the manner of battles and massacres. Therefore there is an account of the most famous Native American battle at Little Bighorn in 1876 and also adversely the famous massacre at Wounded Knee in 1890, which marks the end of the conquest of the Wild West. The Apache resistance is on the other hand portrayed in a manner of skirmishes and evasions of Apache warriors led by Geronimo who were able to continually escape U.S. troops until they surrendered in 1886.

6 In case of native names, I deliberately use a simplified form of their English transcription.

Besides native resistance in the "Indian Wars," a substantial part of the sixth section deals with horses and buffalos as the crucial components of the strategy of subsistence of the Plains tribes. Even the buffalo massacres are mentioned as a means of weakening the Plains Tribes population by removing their main source of subsistence and of pressuring them onto reservations. Although the exposition mentions that the horses were acquired from Europeans, this information is not emphasized enough to make apparent that the whole culture of the Great Plains is actually a product of European colonization, caused not just by introducing horses, but also by directly or indirectly forcing migration from other culture areas (e.g., the Great Lakes tribes). Because of the effect of colonization on indigenous peoples of America being an underlying idea, I found this omission an important one. The influence of European colonizers is then represented primarily just through the wagon used by a merchant on the Plains. On the wagon, there is also an interactive presentation of the trade language of the Great Plains, Plains Standard Sign Language, which was developed to overcome the great language diversity of this area. But then it is omitted again that this great language diversity was to a great extent produced by the immigration of tribes from other areas caused by European colonization.

I would like to stress that, at this point, the exhibition tries to contest the stereotype of the "Indian just as a brave warrior and bison hunter." By means of the narrative of a *Lakota* woman and artifacts concerning motherhood (e.g., a baby carrier), the issue of a woman's world view and domestic life is represented. It is but a pity that this contestation did not traverse into the gender issue by presenting the phenomenon of the third gender, the so-called Two-Spirit, formerly known as *berdache* (see Roscoe 1998), which would have contested this stereotype even more.

The contemporary culture of the *Lakota* People is demonstrated through photographs of The Big Foot Memorial Ride (a more than 450-km-long winter horse-back ride to commemorate the Massacre at Wounded Knee), a hat decorated with the traditional beadwork and a painted buffalo skull used at the Sun Dance in the 1980s.

The section focusing on the *Apache* deals, first of all, with the Karl May heritage, which, through Winnetou formed and is still forming German (and Central European) representations of Native Americans. *Apache* artifacts thus instead of a Great Plains influence shows a diffusion of Pueblo culture, which is obvious particularly on ritual masks and *Apache* pottery, but also on clothing. Besides these, there are displayed the production of traditional fermented

maize beer called a *tiswin* and also an *Apache* fiddle, called "wood that sings," whose sound is available for visitors to listen to. This unique musical instrument, which has no parallel among Native Americans, is presented as a Spanish import from the Philippines.

Rather unfortunate is the presentation of the continuation of Native American resistance in 20th century through the Red Power Movement, a movement for Native American rights. This issue is represented by one artifact only, a yellow T-shirt with the red outline of an Indian head with a war bonnet and the writing "Apache Power." Supposedly due to a lack of other artifacts this important chapter in Native American history is represented in such a modest manner. Even more, displaying this issue in this section dealing with the *Apache* creates the false impression that the *Apaches* were the leading force of this movement. With respect to this, it would be more appropriate to represent the Red Power Movement in the previous section focusing on the *Lakota*[7].

Christianity

The eighth section focuses on the Western Great Lakes subarea of the Northeast culture area and the influence of the fur trade, Christian missionaries and the emergence of Native American Christianity.

Traditional culture is represented by typical artifacts of this region – war clubs, (model of) canoe, calumets, bows and arrows, birch-bark containers and snow shoes – and also by distinctive subsistence activities – gathering of maple syrup. Consequences of European influence, demonstrated through the narrative of a *Chippewa* chief, were, above all, dependence on European goods obtained by the fur trade, leading to sedentarization of Native American bands for easier access to trading posts and the loss of some traditional cultural knowledge.

Highlighted is also the tragic effect of European diseases brought in, which are also claimed as one of the aspects leading to Christianization of the natives. While native medical practices often failed in their treatment, European missionaries were slightly more successful, which undermined the authority of native medical-religious beliefs and practices in favor of emerging Christianity.

European influence is most noticeably manifested in a change of decoration motifs – from curvilinear to floral – that were used both on profane and

[7] Even though there were many other nations who took an important part in this movement (particularly *Iroquois*, *Cree* or *Ojibwa*).

Section devoted to *Apache* stylized to resemble mesas and a desert. Foto: Andreas Jacob

sacred artifacts. The most unique artifact in this section, the only one of its kind that has been preserved until today, is an altar from the 19th century from a mission church made of birch-bark panels that are embroidered with porcupine quills.

Although this section focuses on the Western Great Lakes, I would find it appropriate to mention the e xistence of the Native American Church (which was founded in Oklahoma) as an example of the syncresis of Christianity and native religious beliefs[8].

Religions

The ninth section, dedicated to the *Hopi* as representatives of the Pueblo subarea of Southwest culture area, stands as an example for the complexity of indigenous religious and ritual practices. The *Hopi Katsina*[9] religion is presented through a set of chosen *Katsina* dolls accompanied by a description of their spiritual counterparts.

8 Also because the Native American Church is the most widespread indigenous religion among Native Americans in the United States.

9 Usually better known as the *Kachina* religion.

The life-size photograph of a *Katsina* dancer in a *Katsina* mask demonstrates the cardinal ritual practice of *Katsina* dances while the ritual calendar corroborates the elaborate ritual yearly cycle. Stress is put on the exclusion of women from active participation in *Katsina* dances, because even women *Katsinas* were impersonated by men dancers.

Alongside *Katsina* dances are also displayed photographs of the famous Snake Dance in which members of the Snake Society danced with live rattlesnakes in their mouths. Because this dance was a sought-after tourist attraction, which entails its misinterpretation, the narrative of the highest religious person of the *Hopi*, the Sun Priest, is used to convey an emic perspective on this ritual practice.

Alongside the Snake Dance, ethnotourism is also shown by the commodification of indigenous art, especially *Katsina* dolls, which are a sought-after tourist souvenir. This led not only to the manufacture of *Katsina* dolls for the tourist trade, but also to the development of new forms attractive to tourists.

The aforementioned classical stereotype of the "horse-back buffalo hunter" is contested by presenting traditional Pueblo culture as based mainly on maize planting, rain being the main focus of religious practices. Traditional clothing and pottery are also displayed as is the photograph of the famous distinct traditional hairdo of *Hopi* girls, "squash blossom," which was an indicative of their eligibility for courtship.

While some European or American influence on the *Hopi* (in the form of tourism) is mentioned, it lacks the emphasis of the long-term Spanish influence and at least a mention of the Pueblo Revolt (also known as *Popé's* Rebellion) in 1680. Additionally, there is no mention of *Hopi* witchcraft and witch-hunts.

Beadwork

The ninth section was the last which was dedicated to some culture area or subarea. The tenth and eleventh sections present Native American art, reflecting the curator's academic interest in the Native American anthropology of art.

The tenth section focuses on the quintessentially Native American art form, beadwork. Even though beadwork is an adaptation of traditional techniques used in quillwork (which was shown in the sections dealing with the *Iroquois* and the *Lakota*), it is important to be aware that it was enabled by trading glass beads manufactured in Europe and Asia to natives and therefore has to be seen as a direct consequence of European colonization of America. Besides more than a dozen artifacts presenting the diversity of beadwork (e.g., bandolier bags

from the Great Lakes region with floral motifs, a war shirt from the Great Plains area decorated with geometric designs, etc.), there are also shown various kinds of beads and especially various kinds of stitches used in beadwork (e.g., the "lazy" stitch or the "Crow" stitch). The visitor thus has an opportunity not only to see the products, but also to get to know the process itself. Various kinds of beadwork and the various techniques used in their creation illustrate that European goods (and ideas) did not necessarily level cultural differences.

Kwewu (Wolf-Katsina). Navajo, circa 1990. Holz, Fell, Stein. Museum für Völkerkunde Wien. Foto: Scheueregger.

That beadwork is alive even today is displayed by examples of contemporary beaded patches from various locations in America. It also demonstrates that beadwork is now one of the identity-forming features of Native American cultures and I really appreciate that there is a whole section devoted to this important art form.

But the compact composition of this section is somehow disturbed by a large-scale photograph of *Mohawk* skyscraper construction workers which documents participation of Native Americans in the building of New York skyscrapers, including the Empire State Building. While I find it of real importance to mention the contribution of Native Americans to American society (and this is as good an example as any other), I find it quite inappropriate to do so in the context of native art.

Native art

The following eleventh section deals with other kinds of indigenous arts (woodcarving, painting, pottery, sculpture and weaving) for which the previous section serves as a kind of introduction. It presents the basic distinction of Native American art based on gender and geographic lines. At the gender level

it defines so-called art of men, which is figural, and art of women, which is abstract. These gender distinctions are demonstrated by Great Plains painting on hides. There are *parfleshes* (rawhide bags or boxes) decorated with abstract geometric designs and buffalo robes decorated with both abstract and figural motives according to the respective gender of its creator.

Geographically-based distinction distinguishes between western art, which is mostly geometric, and eastern art, which is curvilinear, as was shown in the previous section focusing on beadwork.

Alongside historical artifacts of daily usage and contemporary products based on traditional crafts serving as tourist souvenirs (e.g., Pueblo loom-woven textiles) some works by indigenous artists are also exhibited. Visitors can thus see some pottery made by *Nampeyo*, the most famous *Hopi* potter of the second half of the 19th century and first half of the 20th century, or several stone sculptures and other works by Bill Reid, one of the most famous *Haida* artists of the 20th century. There are also other art pieces from various Native American nations from all over North America covering various designs, forms and themes, e.g., a *Maidu* picture of a trickster, an *Ojibwa* picture of fish or a *Haida* picture of a killer whale.

Through all of these artifacts, the encounter of Native American art with the Western art world is conveyed, arguing that whether it is primitive or gallery art both are made for the Western audience. Even though this opens space for questioning the authenticity of contemporary native art production and its commodification (see Ryan and Aicken 2005), the exposition leaves this question unmentioned.

Limiting the art exposition only to primitive and gallery art seems to be a significant shortcoming of this section. By omitting other relevant art forms as literature, music and film, it creates an incomplete and therefore distorted representation of contemporary Native American art. The native literature that started the wave of the so-called Native American Renaissance (Lincoln 1985) is an important example of the syncresis of Native American tradition with the Western art world. World-wide known authors such as N. Scott Momaday (who received the Pulitzer Prize for Fiction in 1969.), Leslie Marmon Silko or Sherman Alexie, to name just few, are examples of contemporary Native American artists that cannot be omitted. Similarly, it is not possible to exclude contemporary native music, whether being based on traditional music forms (e.g., the Black Lodge Singers or Carlos N. Nakay) or having appropriated Western music styles (e.g., the punk-rock band Blackfire or hiphopers Tru

Section devoted to beadwork with various beaded bags. Foto: Andreas Jacob.

Rez Crew and Anybody Killa). Over the last 15 years, there has been a boom of independent native movies and some of these native film-makers are becoming known all over the world, e.g., Chris Eyre (Smoke Signals, Skins) or Zacharias Kunuk (Atanarjuat: The Fast Runner).

Contemporary Native America

The final, twelfth section of the exhibition focuses on the contemporary Native American experience. While it conveys many aspects of today's Native American life (from *pow-wows* and casinos to alcohol abuse and identity issues), the space devoted to this issue greatly limits its extent.

The leitmotif of this section is the contests of stereotype of the "vanishing" or even "vanished Indian." The message of this section is explicit in stating that, while Native Americans lived though the 500 years of colonization, they are more numerous in the 21st century then ever in history[10]. At the same time, it is important to know that their lives have dramatically changed,

10 This claim is a problematic one, because, according to the 2000 Census, there were approximately 4 million people identifying themselves as American Indians (i.e. Native Americans), while the pre-contact population of North America excluding Mexico is estimated between 4 and 7 million people (see Heřmanský and Hrdličková 2009).

like the lives of any other peoples on Earth and they are not to be supposed to be living in *tipis* and hunting buffalos anymore. They share their traditions with their ancestors as we (Euro-Americans) do with ours.

There is also a great emphasis on the issue of dual identity, as members of their tribes or nations and as Native Americans in a Pan-Indian sense. At this point, I would welcome a more a detailed discussion of Pan-Indianism, especially in respect to Native American boarding schools and the Red Power Movement. The concept of dual identity also omits the fact that many Native Americans are actually patriots as shown by one showcase devoted to their clothing embracing the U.S. flag pattern. Thus it would be better to talk about a triple identity[11]. This is actually also supported by the fact that Native Americans form independent nations, but, at the same time, they are also citizens of one of the U.S. states by law[12]. As enlisted members of recognized tribes, they have some special rights, but, at the same time, they are perceived and perceive themselves as disadvantaged[13].

With respect to changes which have taken place over the last century, the importance of cars for contemporary Native Americans is emphasized. It is claimed that the functions originally belonging to a horse pass to the car both on a symbolic and a practical level as the car enables mobility (as is nicely shown in the movie "Powwow Highway" based on a novel by David Seals). There is a paradox in that originally nomadic people who were forced to settle on reservations are now again forced to be mobile to get a job in cities near the reservations because job opportunities on reservations are scarce.

A substantial part of this section is devoted to *pow-wows* as manifestations of native festivities which present an important opportunity for intertribal interactions and at the same time are manifestations of native identity. The origin of *pow-wows* is presented through the narrative of an *Ojibwa pow-wow* dancer. A great effort was made to give the visitors an idea of a *pow-wow*. The atmosphere of the *pow-wow* is presented not only through parts of dance costumes, but also by two short videos displaying dancing *pow-wow* dancers.

11 I am well aware that the primordial concept of identity used here is a simplified one, omitting the situational and relational character of identity and that it would be better to talk about multiple identities (in the plural) and do not count. On the other hand with respect to the general audience, this simplification is meant to present the identity issue in a comprehensible way and thus my comment is intended to specify the issue in the context used in the exhibition.

12 Although not all of them consider themselves to be the U.S. citizens.

13 For a basic review of these disadvantages see Heřmanský and Hrdličková 2009; for a more extensive review see Johansen 2007.

Dance shirt using American flag symbolism, example of Native American patriotism. Blackfoot, Montana, circa 1990. Foto: Andreas Jacob

The light side of the contemporary Native American experience is not the only one represented there. Problems which have to be coped with on an everyday basis, such as alcohol abuse, domestic abuse, high murder rates or health problems, are also mentioned. And even the controversial issue of native casinos and bingo halls is discussed, arguing that instead of improvement of the financial situation of native tribes which have rights to operate them, they often lead to an increase of the divide between the poor and the rich.

Poetics and politics of representations at Rosenheim exhibition

For the formal aspects of this exhibition, it is necessary to applaud the authors. Each section is stylized to resemble the environment of the respective culture area. Thus the section dedicated to Vancouver Island contains spruce poles and the floor is covered with a carpet of bark; in the Northeast section you can find poles made of birch and the floor is covered with fallen leaves. The Apache section decoration resembles mesas and a desert, whereas the floor of the Great Plains looks like trampled grassland. The effort to evoke the environmental conditions of each section reaches its climax in Greenland and the Aleut section, where the temperature is noticeably lower than in the rest of the sections.

I have to appreciate the fact that the exhibition also strives to employ other senses apart from sight. In the Greenland section, for example, there are samples of skin of arctic animals to be touched. Several sections employ audio recordings (e.g., words in native languages, the sound of an *Apache* fiddle, hoofbeats of a buffalo herd) and there are also a few video projections (a stampeding buffalo herd, sign language, *pow-wow* dancers). There are also some efforts for interactivity, albeit only on occasion (language families and sign language).

Due to the location of the exhibition in the heart of Bavaria, the legend of each exhibit is only in German and just the main panels are bilingual (in German and English). Although it is understandable that the exhibition is primarily aimed at the German-speaking audience, it significantly limits conveying the message to non-German-speaking visitors. For an exhibition of this magnitude I could expect a more multilingual approach, even in the form of a special booklet in other languages.

On the other hand, it is possible to buy an audio guide which is in both German and English. Although it mostly conveys information on the main panels, it does it in a way that gives the represented the power to speak for themselves. These audio commentaries are in the form of a narrative of a person involved in the discussed issue. Even though it does not always convey an emic perspective because some of these narratives are by people of European origin (Captain James Cook, a German soldier in the Indian War, a Russian trader and a Dominican missionary), the majority of these commentaries do. It is thus possible to hear an "authentic" narrative of an *Inuit* boy, a *Lakota* woman, a *Chippewa* chief, a *Hopi* Sun priest or an *Ojibwa pow-wow* dancer and even narratives of such famous figures as Chief Geronimo or the *Hopi* potter *Nampeyo*. While the authors try, by this strategy, to evoke an impression of heteroglosy or polyphony in the ethnographic sense (Gobo 2008: 296-297), it might be just simulated because it cannot be assumed that these narratives are authentic in that sense, that these are words by which these people wanted to be represented.

Concerning the content of the exhibition, I miss representations of all culture areas, as I mentioned earlier, even if they were represented by just a few artifacts each, as was the case of the Subarctic and California culture areas. Inclusion of these would enable pointing out the issues that were not displayed at all. For example, the *Cherokee* of the Southeast culture area might have been used to represent the issue of relocations of Native Americans through the Trail of Tears and the successful syncresis of Native and European culture among the Five Civilized Tribes. The Plateau culture area might have been represented

Three tipis in front of exhibition entrance. Foto: Andreas Jacob.

by *Nez Perce* to convey the issue of cultural change induced by the diffusion of Great Plains culture traits and another example of native resistance through Chief Joseph (*Hinmaton-Yalaktit*).

Another flaw of the exhibition is the total absence of any reference of the Native American contribution to the rest of the world (Weatherford 2010). It seems as though the Native Americans were just receivers of conveniences of civilization, that they adapted to the new conditions, and that these changes were influenced by colonization. Emphasizing reciprocity would create a more compact and multi-sided representation of Native Americans. This also applies to a discussion of Pan-Indianism and Urban Indians issues, which are also absent.

Representations of individual Native American nations are, except for minor flaws, successful to the highest degree. More surprising is the inconsistency in their naming. Taking the second section, where the autonym (*Nuuchahnulth*) is preferred to the more commonly used exonym (*Nootka*), as a precedent, I assumed that it would be the same in other sections. Unfortunately, it is not the same. The exonym *Iroquois* (even though it is a derogatory term) is used instead of the autonym *Haudenosaunee*, similarly *Sioux* (again derogatory) is preferred to *Lakota*. To the contrary, instead of using the exonym *Eskimo*, which is (despite the common mistake shared in academic discourse) not derogatory (Goddard 1984), it employs the autonym *Inuit*. Although a non-professional

visitor probably does not notice this contradiction, eventually he would see it as an unimportant detail; with regard to representation of these nations I find it an important issue which should be dealt with consistently.

Since Dr. Feest was one of the first anthropologists who dealt with the problem of representations of Native Americans in anthropology and in Euro-American culture in general (see Strong 2004), it could have been anticipated that he would make a great effort to contest the common stereotypes of Native Americans. And I have to admit that, in most cases, his endeavor was successful. Probably the best result was achieved in the case of the "vanishing Indian," not just in the last section, but in the course of the whole exhibition. Almost all of the sections display some contemporary artifacts or photographs contesting this stereotype. Similarly successfully contested were other stereotypes – "ignoble savage," "Indian princess" or "warlike warrior" (see Stedman 1982). But not all these efforts bear fruit. To some extent, there are still some stereotypes that were reproduced within the exhibition, particularly "noble savage" and "ecological Indian." The worst case was then the *Inuit* stereotype of the "primitive blubber eater." There were also some rare cases of exotization of Native Americans (as in the *Hopi* Snake Dance).

Even though the exhibition tries to contest the stereotypes by its content, it is not possible to say the same about its presentation as an event. The first sight of the exhibition is three oversized *tipis* standing in front of the exhibition entrance, which serve as places of an accompanying program of games for children, etc. The fact that they are visible from a great distance and to some extent they serve as the dominant feature of the exposition makes them one of its important symbols. Since *tipis* connote the Plain Tribes, they reproduce the stereotype of Native Americans as "horseback buffalo hunters living in *tipis*."

Even more, a serious reproduction of common stereotypes occurs in the case of the exhibition logo. The logo is placed above the entrance to the exhibition, but also used on billboards and in newspapers and magazines. The logo consists of the silhouette of an Indian with bow and arrows on horseback in the sunset[14]. It reproduces not only the aforementioned stereotype of a "horseback buffalo hunter," but also that of a "noble savage."

[14] At the exhibition website (http://www.indianer-ausstellung.de) there are also five other variants of this logo, two of which try to contest this stereotype (two Indians in a canoe and an Indian woman cultivating maize). But the "two Indians in a canoe" logo is also stereotypical. And the last variant (a totem pole with three *tipis* lighted by a campfire in the background) represents one of the most erroneous and at the same time common stereotypes that mix the Great Plains and Northwest culture areas.

The stereotyping continues even after one enters the building in which the exposition takes place. There is a souvenir shop just in front of the main entrance at which you can buy plastic figurines of Native Americans. As expected, they all hold weapons in their hands and thus reproduce the stereotype of the "ignoble savage" or the "great warrior."

There it is also possible to purchase "Indian bread" that, by not stating which nation's recipe it is, e.g., *Cree* bread or *Hopi* bread, reproduces the stereotype of "commonly shared Indian-ness," the stereotype that the exhibition tries to contest the most by demonstrating their immense cultural diversity. Not to mention the opportunity to purchase "authentic" artifacts like calumets, war bonnets and war shirts. This commodification of Native Americans conveys the impression that it is possible to freely appropriate Native Americans and "have a piece of your own Indian at your home."

What kind of "Indian"?

As every exhibition, even this one is practically a product of three mutually different discourses – academic, commercial and visitors' expectations.

Curators are forced into a role in which they have to try to balance out the academic discourse with the other ones. The story that they want to tell is contested by the commercial potential of the exhibition, which in the end has to be at least partly successful. Both the logo of the exhibition and the souvenir shop, which stereotype Native Americans, can be understood as a part of this commercial discourse.

At the same time, it is necessary for curators to take into consideration the visitors' expectations (which are based on stereotypes); therefore we can see the kind of artifacts the visitor expects to see, like weapons, scalps, war bonnets, calumets. But simultaneously this curator, for example, tries to contest these stereotypes by displaying altars, a woman's world view, *katsinas* and the contemporary native experience.

And, last but not least, curators are limited in telling the story they want to tell even in academic discourse by the artifacts they have at their disposal. And also this can lead to some stereotyping of representations. In the case of this exhibition, this might lead to the absence of some culture areas or to excessive accent on some aspects at the expense of others.

But it is necessary to say that the curator of this exhibition managed to negotiate these discourses to great result and the exhibition is successful in

telling the story of Native Americans in a way which almost does not reproduce any stereotype (except for few exceptions) and on the contrary manages to contest many of these.

To an unacquainted visitor, the exhibition offers insight into the Native American experience, which to a great extent is different from the one s/he might know from the media and pop culture. For scholars, it presents an opportunity to realize the limitations of every representation and to think about how the story they know is different from the story represented here and what the reasons for and consequences of this difference are.

In every case, if the aim of the exhibition was to show an alternative history of Native Americans and to demonstrate the immense diversity of their cultures, then, in this case, it was completely fulfilled.

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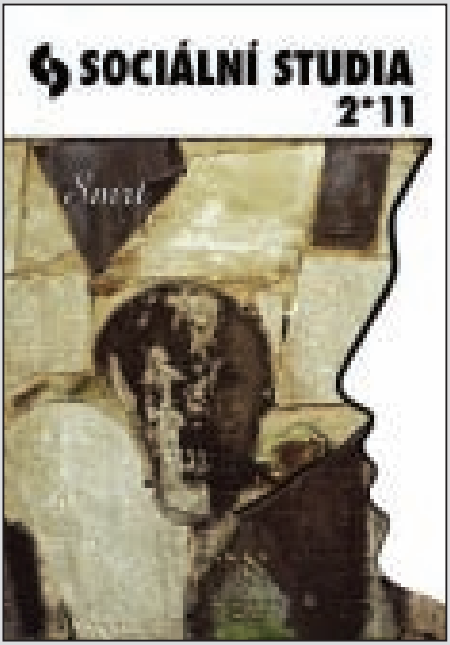
SOCIAL STUDIES 2/2011
DEATH



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DRUHÝ BŘEH ZÁPADU. Výbor iberoamerických esejů.* [The Second Coast of the West: Anthology of Ibero-American essays.] Introduction and editing by Anna Housková.

Prague: Mladá fronta, 2004,
ISBN: 80-204-1139-9, 372 pages.

A team of scientists-teachers and PhD students (eleven altogether including the editor of the volume) of the Department of Romance Studies, Faculty of Arts, Charles University in Prague, led by renowned Czech Hispanist, Professor Anna Housková, recently published a vast collection of translations of important essays presenting various sides of history, culture and everydayness of the Hispano-American and marginally also of the Luso-American world to Czech readers. Essays from eleven countries of Latin America are presented in the collection. There are 30 translations, mostly from Argentina and Mexico – five each, followed by Cuba and Peru with four essays; Brazil is represented three times, Venezuela, Uruguay and Columbia twice each and the Dominican Republic, Chile and Paraguay once.

In her introduction (pp. 11-26), Hispanist Anna Housková reflects on Ibero-American culture, which is of course not completely unknown to the Czech public. Let us mention some of the works published recently showing the identity of Latin America and its distinctiveness from Anglophone and Francophone Americas in the north: C. Fuentes, *Pohřbené zrcadlo*. [The Buried Mirror] Praha: Mladá fronta, 2003 (review also being part of this issue), E. Lukavská, *"Zázračné reálno" a magický realismus*. ["Magic Reality" and Magic Realism] Brno: Host, 2003, A. Housková, *Imaginace Hispánské Ameriky. Hispanoamerická kulturní identita v esejích a v románech*. [Imagination of Hispanic America. Hispano-American Cultural Identity in Essays and Novels] Praha: Torst, 1998, or A. Müllerová, *Hledání kulturní identity Španělské Ameriky*. [A Search for Cultural Identity of Spanish America] Thesis, Praha: Filozofická fakulta UK, 1998. Europeans always denoted Latin America and its inhabitants, both autochthonous Indian tribes and since the early Colonial Period Mestizos, Creoles, Mulattos, Zambos, Quadroons and members of other mixed groups[1], as "the others" and their problems as the "problems of the others" (cf. T. Todorov, 1996). However Latin American thinkers often educated in European and North American universities think differently: "We are the outpost of the West," *un extremo de Occidente*, as one of them, Mexican Octavio Paz, emphasizes. On the other hand, world-known North American political scientist Samuel Huntington in his controversial book *The Clash of Civilization* published 1996, regards Latin America (Ibero-America) as one of eight independent world civi-

* The project was subsidized by the Grant Agency of Charles University in a grant called *Iberoamerika jako soužití kultur* [Ibero-America as a Coexistence of Cultures].

[1] Since the middle of the 17th century the colonial authorities in Mexico have distinguished sixteen socially clearly differentiated groups (castes).

lizations. From the civilization point of view, at least according to some authors, Latin America represents the most western promontory of Europe. Its situation resembles that of the countries of the Iberian Peninsula where three different cultural worlds co-existed for hundreds of years: Christian, Arabic, or better to say Moorish (Berber-Arabic) and Jewish. In Latin American countries, these three dominant ethno-cultural substrates were joined by the original one – native, Indian; this group was of course not homogeneous. On the contrary, e.g., there were without any doubt bigger differences between Classical Mayans and nomadic North-Mexican tribes than between Iberian Christians and Moors. And due to a highly developed slavery system, the three substrates were soon supplemented by an African one. Already at the end of the Colonial Period, the topic of unity and variability became the main object of self-reflection of Latin American culture and it still continues to be. Within particular Latin American countries, the opposition of civilization and barbarism is most often studied. The topic was most significantly formulated in Argentinian "material" by Domingo Faustino Sarmiento in his famous book *Facundo*, which will be discussed later on.

An endeavor to delimit themselves from the powerful northern neighbor is another "eternal" topic for Latin American philosophers and scholars. Some of them, such as the abovementioned Octavio Paz, see in both the civilizations "two various, but probably irreconcilable, versions of western civilization." Others, like Uruguayan essayist and philosopher José Enrique Rodó, succumbed to the *Nordo-mania* fashion, whose advocates praise the United States as their ideal.

The review cannot cover all 30 translations; therefore we limit ourselves to the essays that contribute to the studies of cultural identity of Latin America and their topic is more or less related to social/cultural anthropology. The very first essay of the anthology can surprise many readers because it is the famous *Letter from Jamaica* by nobody other than El Libertador (the Liberator) **Simón Bolívar (1783–1830)**. The letter, addressed to British citizen Henry Cullen living in Jamaica, is an outline of Bolívar's vision of the future America after gaining independence for Latin American countries. Although Bolívar wrote it during battles against colonial oppression, he compares the state of America at that time with the situation when the Roman Empire broke down and each part created a political system suiting its interests leading to the old nations being restored after some time. Bolívar criticizes the disunity of Latin America stemming from indefinite identity: "... *we keep only ruins of what had existed, and we are not Indians and not Europeans, but something between legitimate keepers of the country and Spanish conquistadors...*" (pp. 30-31). All of Bolívar's endeavor is aimed at gradual unification of the subcontinent. The center of the subcontinent could have been, according to his ideas, in Mexico or in the Isthmus of Panama[2]. In his *Carta*, Bolívar shows that

[2] Bolivar was aware of the surviving paternalism of the Latin American countries. Thus he saw in powerful Mexico a paternalistic center capable of caring for their weaker neighbors. Later he promoted the idea of creation of

he was not only a man of the "sword," but also a man of the "pen[3]," though his pan-American visions were fulfilled only partly and only temporarily (see his anticipation of a wider Central American union).

Such a representative handbook of Ibero-American essays cannot do without a presentation of one of the pioneer works of not only the essay genre, but of Latin American literature (novel) in general – Sarmiento's *Facundo*[4]. **D. F. Sarmiento (1811–1888)** captured in this essay, as well as in others, some of the cultural features of cultural identity developed mostly or solely in Latin America. For example, only on the immense Argentinian pampas could the specific nature of their inhabitants have developed. The essay is characteristic by its stoic resignation towards violent death understood as an "accident that is an integral part of life." In this very space a distinctive type of cultural hero – the "white savage," the *gaucho* – came to existence. Sarmiento describes Argentina as a country which by the character of its nature strongly determines the customs of its inhabitants. The pampas (excluding Patagonia in the south of Argentina) were practically not populated when the first Europeans came, as if even nomadic Indian tribes did not want to proceed in their depths. The gaucho in Sarmiento's various versions of "gaucho – tracker," "gaucho – guide," or "gaucho – singer" replaced the "traditional" representative of savagery and barbarism (Indian, Zambo, Cimarrón, etc.) in Argentina as well as in South America more generally. The gaucho became an opposition to the bearers of civilizational cultural values – urban inhabitants personified in Sarmiento's Argentina almost exclusively by the inhabitants of Buenos Aires[5]. This "environmental heritage" has survived in Argentina until today to some degree. The pampas as well as all the Argentine countryside are still divided into hundreds of private "feudal" lands, a fertile land where another Latin American social (arche)type comes from – the *caudillo*, an unlimited, generally

a metropolis in Panama where he expected the formation of a world trade crossroad. In 1826 (June 22 – July 15), congress was summoned to Panama for the purpose of creating a constitution of the Pan-American confederation where Bolivar vainly tried to enforce the idea of the formation of "the greatest nation in the world."

3 The publishing of his political speeches and letters numbering 11 volumes in total simultaneously anticipates the Hispano-American essayist genre.

4 The whole title of the essay from 1845 is: *Civilización y barbarie: vida de Juan Facundo Quiroga. Aspecto fisico, costumbres y hábitos de la República Argentina (Civilization and barbarism: the life of Juan Facundo Quiroga. Physical aspects, traditions and lifestyle of the Argentine Republic).*

5 At the time when Sarmiento was writing his book, most of the other Argentine cities also lived with a few exceptions from pasturage. Nevertheless, livestock was then bred for the most part in Buenos Aires proper. Recently the Argentine authorities attempted to somehow cultivate the areas southward of Buenos Aires. They came up with a project of shifting part of the state administration to the smaller city of Viedma, which should become the basis for the future settlement of the pampas. The new settlers should mainly be European immigrants who were attracted to purchasing the lands for very low prices. As far as I know this attempt failed or was postponed.

uneducated leader, mostly a representative of the "barbarian" world that often allows him to rise, even as high as to the function of presidency[6].

Ezequiel Martínez Estrada (1895–1964) returned in his works almost one hundred years after Sarmiento to the opposition of city vs. countryside. In the collection, he is represented by the first chapter of the fourth part (pp. 130-133) of his *Radiografía de la pampa* (1933) devoted to Buenos Aires. Inhabitants of the Argentine capital *(porteños)* are described as those who rejected the inland as they were not brave enough to enter it after they had crossed the ocean. On the contrary, they gradually built a "dream paradise of laziness" beyond the borders of which lies a foreign country, a gaucho's pampas, so vividly described by Sarmiento. Can there be a better place on Earth where the *art of idleness (arte del ocio)* proliferates, as J. E. Rodó once put it, than the area of La Plata?

"Our America," "Nuestra América," an essay from 1891, is one of the best of the Hispano-American essays (pp. 55-63). Its author is Cuban politician, writer, and reporter **José Martí (1853–1895).** Although Martí spent part of his life in the USA where he met with American principles of society and culture, he felt a temperamental need to disqualify himself from North America in his essays. In North America he saw a much bigger danger for Cuba and Latin America than in Spanish dominance, against which he fought actively. Firstly, he saw the danger in ignorance and intentional incomprehension: "*...Disdain of the huge neighbor, who does not know our America, is its biggest danger"* (p. 62). Martí turns away from the idea of positivist progress. He does not find any ideals in contemporary Europe and in the USA worth following. He finds them in the past, thus becoming one of the first thinkers lauding the colonial past of Spanish America and Indian roots. According to him, this is the only way to reach the "unity of continental spirit" spanning from Rio Bravo to the Strait of Magellan.

As just a feeble pick at the thoughts of more biologically oriented colleagues, I add that Martí did not accept the term *race*. He suggested that those who operate with it often unintentionally stir up polarity and hate among groups of different cultures and languages.

The next essay of the collection inveighs against blind *Nordo-mania* (pp. 65-77). It is the fifth chapter of the book of Ariel (1900) written by Uruguayan thinker **José Enrique Rodó (1871–1917)**. He along with José Martí and Nicaraguan Rubén Darí are considered the founding trio of Hispano-American modernism. Rodó also delimits himself against the United States, but contrary to Martí he does not leave aside Indian tradition and the present[7]. He is aware of the

[6] Sarmiento himself lived under one of the worst Latin American dictatorships of President Juan Manual de Rosas. The cruel dictatorial regime was in Argentina in the second half of the 1970s when the military junta governed there.

[7] No Indian people lived any longer in the territory of the Oriental Republic of Uruguay in the time of Rodó. The former Uruguay was always only sporadically settled by native people. The *Charrúa* were one exception, but in fact they were exterminated during the first half of the 19th century.

uncontrollable penetration of the *American way of life*, the desire for material success and abundance in America. Nevertheless, Rodó's essay is not an autotelic critique of the USA because, as he says: "*... even though I do not like them, I admire them...*" (p. 67). He admires firstly the enormous will to *want*, the ability of great determination to work and create, the courage to risk. Could this be the source of the more and more apparent ambivalence of Latino-Americans towards North America? Rodó is also aware of certain mental differences within the United States. He notices that the center of power is shifting from the eastern "Atlantic" states to the "Pacific" West. The following words, that after more than one hundred years still seem to be prophetic, target today's Californians and Texans, the main bearers of so-called *pocha culture*[8]: "*...Utilitarianism disengaged from its ideal content, cosmopolitan vagueness and the superficiality of bastardly democracy will probably triumph...*" (p. 74). However, when we reflect on the identity of the bearers of this "defective" or "bastardly" culture, a problem emerges. Who is the most responsible for the spread of such a *hybrid culture*[9], e.g., in Los Angeles, where the majority is nowadays of Hispanic origin? An answer to that question cannot be found in Rodó's *Ariel*.

Peruvian writer and politician **Manuel González Prada (1848–1918)** prefigured in his essay *Our Indians* from 1904 (pp. 79-90) the beginnings of *indigenismo*, a movement striving for a respectable life of marginalized Indians. While Martí in "Our America" discerned more ethnocultural substrates, González Prada strives to edify the original inhabitants of the continent. He is aware that half-breed *encastados*[10], who outnumbered the previous majority, are the worst evil for Peruvian Indians. González Prada even more strongly than Martí refuses to work with the term *race*, which is for him, like for Novicow, "a subjective category of our mind without external reality" (p. 79). The Indian question lies in the socio-economic problem and "revolution": the only solution is to get rid of poverty and low-class position. "*Indians will be saved only by their own efforts, not by humanization of their oppressors"* (p. 90).

Writer and ethnologist **José María Arguedas (1911–1969)** put even stronger accent on the Indian element in Peruvian culture. In his essay *Cosmic loneliness in Kechua Poetry* (pp. 207-216), he particularly points out the growing contrast between the mountains and the shore caused by hundreds of years of isolation of Kechua villages inaccessible until the middle of the last century. Shortly after that, the Industrial Revolution started to penetrate the Peruvian Altiplano and the "cosmic loneliness" of

[8] *Pocha culture* –a Spanish name for the superficial, utilitarian-oriented North American culture. This expression is probably derived from the *Yaqui* word *pochi´= "stupid"; however, its etymology may be more complicated*.

[9] The term *hybrid culture* is promoted by the Argentine-Mexican social anthropologist Néstor García Canclini.

[10] The term *encastado* includes persons who are a mixture of white and Indian parents (*cholos* and *mestizos*), those who are a mixture of black and white parents (*mulatos*), and those who are a mixture of black and Indian parents (*zambos*).

its inhabitants started to fade out rapidly. Hundreds of thousands of Indians shifted immediately to the shore and settled in Lima, where they built hundreds of illegal peripheral quarters, so-called *pueblos jovenes*[11], some of which have nowadays up to one million inhabitants. Peruvian Lima probably became the most rapidly growing city in the world.

An essay important for anthropology is the essay *The Process of Transculturation in Cuba* (pp. 115-120) by Cuban ethnologist, sociologist, historian, linguist, etc., **Fernando Ortiz (1881–1969)**. In it he presented the term *transculturation* that should have replaced the older term *aculturation*, first defined by North American cultural anthropologists R. Redfield, R. Linton and M. J. Herskovits in 1935[12]. In spite of more and more frequent use of the term aculturation, the term promoted by Ortiz – transculturation – sanctified by Bronislav Malinowski seems to be more accurate. It does not have to be applied only to Cuba where according to Ortiz continental Indians, Jews, Portuguese, Anglo-Saxons, yellow Asians from Macao and other newcomers pass through double fateful events of destruction and renewal. At first, all of them go through the process of *deculturation* or *exculturation* followed by *aculturation* or *inculturation* and overarched by the synthesis of phenomena in *transculturation*. It is an incessant migration dynamic, social and cultural surf.

Works of the Brazilian sociologist and anthropologist **Gilberto Freyre (1900-1987)** represent a deep anthropological insight into an archaic community of Brazilian sugar-cane plantation owners. This is in the first place exemplified in his extensive fresco *Casa-Grande e Senzala (Manorial House and Senzala)* from 1933. The essay *Borderlands and Plantations* (pp. 148-163), translated from a book called *Interpretation of Brazil* (in Spanish 1945), is an analysis of two different groups that took part in inhabiting Brazil – the so-called *vertical* (plantation owners) and *horizontal* founders. The former are early settled families, for whom firm stone and brick houses or *casas grandes*, large houses scattered all along the Atlantic coast, became a basic socio-economic cells. The latter are men with nomadic inclinations ("men of the borderland") who dispersed to the north, south and west of the country and earned their living as traders with Indian and black slaves. Their mutual "symbiosis" led by pragmatism rather than by mutual affection between otherwise completely different groups lasted practically unchanged until 1888 when slavery was abolished in Brazil. However, the symbiosis is with some modifications visible even nowadays.

Venezuelan writer, university professor and politician **Arturo Uslar Pietri (1906–2001)** draws attention to the difficulties of looking for identity on the language level in his essay *No name World* (pp. 189-194). In the very beginning of his rather short contribution, he says: "*A name is a constituent of identity...*" (p. 189). He then illustrates the problems with identity by referring to the name for the "other

[11] Literally *young villages* or *young cities*. Some of them arose overnight in pre-chosen sandy places.

[12] Cf. R. Redfield, R. Linton, M. J. Herskovits, A. Memorandum for the Study of Acculturation. In *Man*, 35, 1935, pp. 145-148.

America." While North Americans never had to hesitate over their name, no *pan-autoethnonymum* exists to the south of Rio Grande. There are thus always hesitations if it is Spanish America, Hispanic America, Ibero-America, Latin America, Indo-America. Carlos Fuentes, a current Mexican writer, even tried to squeeze all the most important traditions in the name: "Indo-Afro-Ibero-America" to express as precisely as possible the polyculture nature of this cultural super-area. Pietri considers this hesitation over the name to be an important part of thinking about identity but even he cannot find any satisfactory "solution."

When writing about categorizing of Latin America in his essay *Latin America: Long way to itself* (pp. 223-234), the great Mexican philosopher **Leopoldo Zea (1912–2004)** does not speak of assimilation, but of *juxtaposition* of various cultural forms caused by Iberian colonization. Various cultures forming Latin American identity have been placed next to each other, while one has always been leveled above the others. Zea believes that nowadays we can witness another attempt at a new juxtaposition imitating cultures of Western Europe – Anglo-Saxon and French. Like Mexican scholar Antonio Caso before him, Zea also warned against idle imitation, against the Latin American variant of *bovarism*, and exhorted his fellow countrymen to "think a bit."

Another great Mexican poet and essayist **Octavio Paz (1914–1998)**, one of five Hispano-American laureates of the Nobel Prize in Literature, deals with the topic of double Mexico – *developed* and *developing* in his essay *The Critique of a Pyramid* (pp. 235-255). This is according to him an essential problem, "*whose resolving is the key point of our national existence"* (p. 235). By the *Developed Mexico* he means the part of the society that enforces its model of society on the other part – *Developing Mexico*. The former Mexico however does not realize that such a model is only a copy of a North American archetype leading to the attributes of the abovementioned "pocha culture" like wheat meals and leather boots replacing maize pancakes and *huarache*[13] that are much more comfortable in the given climatic conditions. When anthropologists study the developing Mexico, they use the term "culture of poverty" (O. Lewis). Paz argues against the term and stresses primarily the "otherness" of this predominantly poor and miserable Mexico. He identifies the main cause of a huge, lasting abyss in economic and social spheres of today's Mexico[14] in both intentional and unintentional overlooking of otherness. At the same time, Paz criticizes the fact that Mexicans chose the Aztec as their archetype of the pre-Colonial Period. However Paz considers Aztec rather the predecessor of the Spanish conquistador and today's politicians. In other words, a direct path leads from the Aztec *tlatoani* to the viceroy of New Spain and then to the president. All

[13] *Huarache* – Indian sandals formerly produced from cattle skin leather, today mostly produced industrially, e.g., from bald tires. Corn pancakes, *tortillas,* are still one of the main components of the Mexican diet despite a strong penetration of western cultural attributes.

[14] The Zapatista Movement mainly widespread in the South Mexican federal state of Chiapas is one of the results of these lacks of comprehension.

three are representatives of centralist and authoritative tradition, whose material and spiritual expression in the Central American is the pyramid.

The work and life of Paraguayan writer **Augusto Roa Bastos (1917–2005)** was influenced by the fact that his mother tongue was Guaraní. A bi-culture environment where he grew up and the troubles connected with the "trans-culturability" such as translating Guaraní expressions into Spanish are reflected in his socio-linguistic essay *Oral culture* (pp. 261-274). Paraguay, where both languages are equal, can thus be talked about as the only fully bilingual or better to say "di-lingual" country in the world.

Brazilian cultural anthropologist **Darcy Ribeiro (1922–1997)** was interested in Brazilian Indians, among whom he did a great deal of fieldwork. In the reviewed collection, his work is represented by the essay *The Afro-Brazil* (pp. 276-280). It is a minor ethnographic probe into the life of black people in Brazilian Society introduced there in accordance with its ecology – by monoculture and the slavery system.

The last author to be mentioned is Mexican novelist and essayist **Carlos Fuentes (born in 1928)**. Czech readers mainly know his novel "*Nejprůzračnější kraj*" [The Clearest Country], where he describes particular social classes of the capital city, and some other books translated into Czech. In the essay *Hispanic world of North America* (pp. 288-298), chosen for the volume from his book *The Buried Mirror*, he thinks about how Latin America would probably develop further on despite millions of its inhabitants escaping over the northern border, which is for him a hardly healable wound. Fuentes is optimistic and he believes that Latin American culture is strong enough and that the "*enchilada* can stay next to hamburgers." He speaks about the more positive side of acculturation or transculturation: "*...cultures prosper only in contact with other cultures; in isolation they become lazy*" (p. 294). Only this way, apparently, can the bleeding wound be healed. Thus, Fuentes is more conciliatory than many of his colleagues. He basically believes in the equal co-existence of both "other Americas."

In conclusion: The anthology includes comprehensive notes, a selective general bibliography, and bibliography of the authors together with their short biographies. It is without hesitation a very useful handbook for all who are interested in a thorough study of "Hispano-American" and "Luso-American" cultural identity. It is a relatively representative volume covering most of the important countries or wider areas of Latin America – Mexico, the Caribbean area and above all South America. In the anthology I miss only representatives of Central American countries that also gave the world many excellent writers and thinkers (M. A. Asturias, A. Monterroso, R. Darío, R. H. Valle, etc.). However, they were rather novelists, poets, or philosophers and did not concentrate that much on writing essays. Nevertheless, I think that at least **Luis Cardoza y Aragón (1904–1992),** a Guatemalan poet and reporter, and his essays *Guatemala, las líneas de su mano* (1955) are so important that they could have been included in the otherwise very well done anthology.

Marek Halbich

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Peter Salner: MINULÝ ROK V JERUZALEME. [Last Year in Jerusalem.]

Bratislava: Marenčin PT, 2010, 256 pp.

The new book by the Bratislava ethnologist Peter Salner, published in a beautiful format by Marenčin PT publishers in a Bratislava-Pressburg edition, follows up on Salner's previous title *Budúci rok v Bratislave alebo stretnutie (Next Year in Bratislava or a Meeting)* (Albert Marenčin PT 2007),[1] paraphrasing the blessing connected with the Jewish seder, which is, in its importance, comparable to Christmas Eve in the Christian tradition. Last year's title is dedicated to the already-300-member group aged between 55 and 70 years old, socially and religiously heterogeneous, centralized around the Internet forum *Meeting* (founded in 2004; in 2009 renamed *Light*) and one moderator, who also includes in the Web pages (in Slovak) information about happenings in Israel, interesting events, books, television and radio broadcasts, Slovak anti-Semitism. This forum connects Slovak Jews who emigrated after August 1968, mainly to North America, Israel and Germany, Switzerland and Austria, and the Slovak version of the Czech *Children of Maislovka*. Its original core (Bratislava Jews meeting in a Kitchen) gradually spread, however, to more Slovak and Czech Jews – descendents of victims of the Shoah with experience of the August occupation in 1968.

[1] A review of the book appeqred in Urban People, 12, 2010, 2, pp. 445–446.

The book reflects (and not only in the text, but also by means of tens of authentic photographs) preparations for the meeting and the meeting itself of the group at the Dead Sea in Israel in 2008. However, it simultaneously recalls a previous meeting (the first and most emotional in Bratislava, 2005), in Košice, where today the second most numerous Jewish community in Slovakia lives (in 2006, more than 200 participants) and in the Low Tatras (Tále, 2007, 180 participants). This text was also constructed by Salner, primarily on an abundance of e-mails exchanged by the members of the group before and after the meeting and, further, interviews with them and the participant observation of the researcher and, at the same time, interested participant. Salner attempts to grasp the identity of the specific group, which is constantly developing.

If, in the past, Judaism was the pillar of Jewish society, today it is, as Salner and his informants correctly repeatedly emphasize, mainly the experience of the catastrophe to which the Jews give the Hebrew name Shoah. The primary aim of Salner's work, however, shows how the group gradually welded together (it became a family) and how it began to fill its social function (including complementing knowledge about relatives of their members). But as Salner convincingly showed in his analysis of the texts, the main topics on the Web pages are today cornerstones of the postmodern Jewish identity of *children of the Holocaust*. Beside the theme of the Shoah (including the constant investigation into the fate of murdered relatives, the monitoring of cultural documents with the Shoah thematic, mainly, then, "reprises" of the journeys of Jewish children on the so-called Winton trains), there is Judaism (differently experienced primarily in the attitude toward Jewish holidays), worries about the fate of the state of Israel, which, also for non-Israeli Jews, fills a function of great significance (primarily potentially safe asylum) and lands of origin (Czechoslovakia, Slovakia). In relation to Slovakia, at the same time nostalgic memories of childhood and youth (entertainment, games, food, outstanding Jewish personalities) are mixed with negative experiences of life under the totalitarian regime, which continue reflections about the insufficient care of the synagogues and cemeteries in today's Slovakia. A wave of emotion was induced by the death of the popular singer Waldemar Matuška, who was perceived as an erstwhile idol of respondents and/or a symbol of their youth. The axis of the identity of this group is also, however, the experience of occupation and the subsequent emigration which is today perceived positively by those successful and cosmopolitan people. The erstwhile trauma was entirely overlayered by the experience of a better life in democratic states of the Western type compared to communist Czechoslovakia, better property security; in addition a feeling of difference from the Slovak surroundings lasts. The final pages of the book, then, zoomed in on the subjective experience of the meeting in Israel which, in 2008, celebrated the sixtieth year of its existence.

What to write in conclusion? Anyone who takes this book in his hand will immediately be attracted to the rivet-

ingly related story of one specific group, mediated mainly through its main language. A specialist, then, will value the highly interesting material about the problematics of the rise of group solidarity, social networks and also, of course, Jewish identity, however much he will regret that the book does not develop certain outlined theses into greater theoretical depth and breadth. However, Peter Salner does not write only for theoreticians of minorities but – primarily – for all who are interested in the history of Bratislava and the thinking of Slovak and Slovak-Jewish society. And the great reader success of his works proves that this strategy is, to a great extent, right.

Blanka Soukupová

Helena Nosková, Eva Tošovská: KAPITOLY O PROMĚNÁCH POHRANIČÍ SE ZŘETELEM NA KRÁLICKO. [Chapters about Changes on the Borderland with Regard to Králicko (the Králiky area).]

Praha: Ústav pro soudobé dějiny AV ČR (Prague: Institute of Contemporary History, Academy of Sciences, Czech Republic), v.v.i., 2010, 255 pp.

The new book by Helena Nosková, an ethnologist and historian, senior researcher at the Institute of Contemporary History of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, and her colleague Eva Tošovská, a lawyer and economist, came about in the framework of a project of the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports of the Czech Republic, which is dedicated to the development of borderland regions. At the same time, however, it presents some sort of finalization of the long-term archival and field research of borderlands realized by Helena Nosková, one of our best field ethnographers and, simultaneously, one of the key workers of the former Institute for Ethnography and Folklore Studies of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences. After her discharge from the Academy as a result of its badly thought-out restructuralization, Nosková was forced again to fight her way to scientific work through her position of high-school teacher. She never lost her love for the field of borderlands and, after 1989, she "discovered" a new microfield – the microregion of Králicko. Despite the voices of the unenlightened, the borderland remained, after the so-called Velvet Revolution, an extremely interesting anthropological laboratory; at the same time, however, because of its complicated historical development (before 1947 it was an area with a Czech minority as a result of the postwar expulsion of the Czech Germans, with an interruption of continual development) and because of its peripheral position bringing economic vulnerability and cultural backwardness it remained the Achilles' heel of Czechoslovakia and the Czech Republic. The transition to market economics after 1989 could both worsen and reduce these handicaps.

The highly up-to-date work of both authors consists of a macro-analysis devoted to borderlands and a micro-analysis focused on the concrete micro-region of Králicko. The first study by Helena

Nosková follows, in the first postwar years, year by year, waves of migration of Slovaks heading, from the beginning of the summer of 1945 until 1995, for the borderland. The chapter draws from a thorough knowledge of the main, regional and company archives and, of course, fieldwork. The arrival of Slovaks is rigidly connected to the development of so-called great history, which did not favor the existence of national minorities and is mainly connected to strategies of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. This strongest postwar political party logically favored poor Slovaks from Romania (so-called Slovak-Ore-Mountain Slovaks came, mainly in 1948-9), who promised political support over Slovaks from Austria, France, Belgium and overseas, but also Slovaks from Hungary. Nosková's critical text does not mask the dismal situation in the postwar borderland; new settlers did not manage to replace the resettled qualified German farmers. Important also is the author's assessment of the wave of Slovak migration from 1960 to 1989 and after the break-up of the federation (1992), when the flow of Slovaks again increased. As a result of this increase, minority associations were again activated. In the chapter on the diversity and frequent migrations of the Slovaks, Nosková brought up the thesis that the Slovak minority in the Czech Lands, as a result of their historic development, did not create united Slovakness. In her second chapter, then, the author concentrated on circumstances (including consideration of the Czechoslovak government in exile and Slovak exile politicians, opponents of Czechoslovakness (or, to use Nosková's terminology, Czechoslovakism) and the character of re-emigration of the most numerous Slovak group – compatriots from Romania, mainly from the Transylvanian Slovak Ore Mountains, colonists from the 18th and 19th centuries who were originally to be settled in Slovakia. The re-emigration of Czechs and Slovaks from Yugoslavia, on the contrary, ran into the interests of the Soviet Union and communist Yugoslavia. Nosková supplements the second chapter in the third study with an analysis of memories of their own history of the Slovaks from Transylvania, of circumstances of settling the borderland and of the changes of the annual folk-ritual cycle, to which were also projected Romanian influences. One can only regret that the author did not devote even greater attention to the communication situations arising among the minorities around their ceremonies and traditions. On the other hand, however, this very chapter whose most important ascertainment I consider the thesis about the agreement among historical sources and oral folk tradition shows best Helena Nosková's exemplary approach to the informants. In a simplified way, it can be characterized in three words: unpretended interest and respect. This respect for others, without regard to their current social situation, was probably best applied by Claude Lévy-Strauss, the French researcher with Jewish roots. A series of indicators (marriage rate, rise of socio-professional status in the generation of grandchildren), with which anthropologists have worked, testify, besides, to the fact that social and educational handicaps can be relatively quickly overcome.

In the fourth chapter Nosková focused on the topic of Slovaks from Hungary in the borderland. This particular group had already relocated there at the end of the 17th century and, after 1918, it became a striking minority of 200,000 to 400,000 compatriots. After 1945 it was to replace the Hungarian minority of southern Slovakia. The difficulties of Czechoslovak-Hungarian discussions, however, brought about the relocation of only part of the Hungarian Slovaks. Their position in Czech society (there were more than 20,000 people) was, however, unsatisfactory for a long time. As Nosková correctly states, the Protestant Slovak minority from Hungary also felt that the interest of the politicians and human destiny were, as a rule, at variance.

This macro-analysis is supplemented by an analysis of one concrete micro-region. Eva Tošovská followed, on the basis of extracts of data from the city chronicles of the town of Králiky, the development of the economic situation in Králicko from the 1890s until the period after the Velvet Revolution. She came to the conclusion that the area is lacking in sufficient education; on the other hand, however, this population is young and active. This is a region of little-disturbed nature. Helena Nosková, who concentrated on the historic connection of the colonization of Králicko from 1945 to 1960, including the problematics (until 1947) of Czechoslovak-Polish relations, also takes into account the fact that the present is, to a certain extent, anchored in the past. But what is most valuable is Nosková's analysis of colonization (Králicko was not to be fully colonized and in 1954 it was transferred to the category of the so-called non-preferred borderland). In the closing chapter, then, the main editor summarized, inspired by the work of Pierre Bourdieu, the development and contemporary state of the so-called cultural and social capital (a complex of social connections, righteousness and seriousness) in the micro-region. Doing so, she focused on modern times up to the present. She took into account both the capital of the original German population and the capital of individual minorities who completed the settlement of the border area after the Second World War. She also came to the thesis, even if, for the present, only on the basis of a first outline, that the majority the population still lacks that cultural capital, and therefore Králicko is less resilient in its reactions to economic changes and turbulence.

In conclusion, I can only repeat that the book by Helena Nosková and Eva Tošovská presents an exceptionally rich work which can become one of the cornerstones of a large monograph about the border areas of the Czech Lands and of theoretical considerations of the topic of center and periphery, majority and minority.

Blanka Soukupová

René Petráš (ed.): AKTUÁLNÍ PROBLÉMY PRÁVNÍHO POSTAVENÍ MENŠIN V ČESKÉ REPUBLICE. [Current Problems of the legal status of Minorities in the Czech Republic.] Collection of papers from the seminar on Minorities and the Law in the Czech Republic, Prague 2010.

Prague/ Office of the Government of the Czech Republic, 2010, 121 pp.

This reviewed book consists of seven studies written by six leading experts – graduates of law and history faculties and one ethnologist. The editorial work this time also fell to the young lawyer and historian René Petráš, a researcher at the Institute of Legal History of Charles University who worked his way up to being the leading expert in the history of the legal status of national minorities in the Czech Lands in the past century. Petráš also wrote the introductory study in which he emphasized the non-existence of a legal definition of the key term of minority, mainly *national minority*.

Instead of an explanation of minority as a handicapped group vis-à-vis the dominating position of the majority population he used the main delimitation of a minority by language. At the same time he revived the definition of minority given by the World Court in 1930 where, according to this institution, an important sign of a minority became the will of the intergenerational transmission of identity.

Petráš is entirely right, then, to point out an important aspect of international policy in relation to minorities (this problem, by the way, was experienced by Czechoslovakia in connection with the internationalization of the so-called Sudeten-German question in the 1930s) and the difference between autochthonous (historical) and allochthonous (immigrant) minorities. He divided *Contemporary minority problems* themselves into legal problems, problems connected with differences of the minority, historical problems and problems developed by chauvinism and racism (there is, however, the question of whether the last aspect is not present in the first two and in the fourth situations). As a lawyer, however, the author dealt mainly with peculiarities in the approach to the minority from the point of view of the law as a universal and traditionalistic phenomenon. Czechoslovak postwar law was connected to state attempts at liquidating the non-Slavic minorities. In 1968 a new special constitutional law was passed, but interest in minorities returned only at the time of the revolution in 1989. Reflections of the situation in domestic legal science are still far from the ideal state. Czech legal science today does not have an established bibliographic database; it wrestles with the unavailability of a series of quality work published (but not by prestigious publishing houses), with insufficient access to foreign literature and with the non-existence of a coordinating center of research.

Helena Petrův, Petráš's colleague at the Faculty of Law, attached to the introductory paper information about the contemporary status of national minorities in the Czech Republic defined by the Charter of Fundamental Rights and

Freedoms. She differs national minority (a person becomes a member of it on the basis of his own decision) and ethnic minority as an objective category. Not until 2001 was there a law about the rights of members of national minorities. In this case also, however, the law works with the dichotomy of national and ethnic minorities, while autochthonous minorities are legally advantaged. The law understands a national minority as a group of citizens of the Czech Republic living on the land of the current Czech Republic, a group that strives for the preservation and reproduction of its own identity. As an appropriate inspiration for the modification of this law Petrův sees the Hungarian legal system, in which minority rights are connected with minority obligations.

Andrej Sulitka, long-time head of the workers' secretariat of the Council of the Government for National Minorities, presented preparations of the so-called minority law, a reaction of the minority and the state administration to its adoption. He himself saw the main problem in the contemporary model of public administration, concretely in the impossibility of influencing the decisions of the district and the city. Andrea Baršová of the Office of the Government of the Czech Republic attempted to outline the historical relations between state citizenship and the position of national minorities in Austria, in the monarchy, in the First Republic and after the war. She tried to prove that historical intellectual patterns endured to the present, concretely that the institute of state citizenship served to prefer Czechs and Slavs.

The last two empirical papers were devoted to specific problems of two minorities. Jan Kuklík, the director of the Institute of Legal History of the Faculty of Law of Charles University, described the development of legislation in relation to the restitution of Aryanized and postwar nationalized property of Jewish fellow-citizens. It was only in the spring of 1992 that there was a breakthrough of restitution limits which were identified with the February coup d'état. In 1994, after protests of the Jewish representation, the condition of permanent residency of the restituent in the Czech Republic was withdrawn. The real turning point, however, was brought by the law of June 23, 2000, concerning the reduction of some property injustices incurred by the Holocaust. This law enabled restitution to be brought to a close. The example of property restitution just mentioned showed how strong the influence of the foreign policy situation can have on the position of the minority.

In the last text Harald Christian Scheu, a specialist in the defense of human rights and basic freedoms, and Wolfgang Wieshaider of the University of Vienna, pointed out the lapse of the Austrian Supreme Court in the case of a law about the wearing of a niqab in a courtroom of a Muslim woman accused of terrorism in March 2008. According to both specialists, in the case of any doubts about of religious expression, religious freedom should be superior to criminal law.

In conclusion it is perhaps possible to state that the contemporary permeability of the world creates ideal conditions for the rise of new minorities and/or for the activation of old minorities. One can consider this reviewed book to be highly

timely. However, currently in the environment of social scientists it would be read as a stimulus for close cooperation with lawyers and legal historians who offer us necessary aspects of the cohabitation of majorities and minorities.

Blanka Soukupová

Oldřich Tůma a Tomáš Vilímek (Eds.): OPOZICE A SPOLEČNOST PO ROCE 1948. ČESKÁ SPOLEČNOST PO ROCE 1945. [Opposition and Society after 1948. Czech Society after 1945], vol. 6.

Prague: Institute for Contemporary History, Academy of Sciences, Czech Republic v. v. i., 2009, 224 pp.

The sixth volume in the series *Czech Society after 1945* presents four good quality empirically founded studies dedicated to burning questions of Czech society after the February Revolution of 1948. The first study by Květa Jechová is the result of a long-term project about Czech and Slovak women at the time of so-called real socialism. The author's basic premise is that the history of the emancipation of women presents the possibility of looking into the history of the entire society. However Jechová, accepting the optic of gender, as one of the first researchers (unforunately it is still true that writing of the historiography of women is, to a great extent, the domain of women[1]) opened up in her text not only the question of the relations of society to maternity, including its reaction to decreasing childbirth in the 1960s and the problematics of maternity leave, but also the highly sensitive (and therefore discussed in every regime) question of birth control and abortion. One can only regret that her study did not allow voices to be heard of those who actually experienced wanted and unwanted maternity. Jechová depended mainly on the analysis of sources of women's institutions of the time, Communist Party committees, legislation of the time discussed in the press and samizdat publications, and of sociological research of the State Commission on Population. On the basis of these fundamental sources she was able to outline the history of women's emancipation based on the indicator of reproduction. Furthermore, she analyzed the development of state population policies and, finally, she also destroyed the popular myth about the so-called Husák children. In a sensitive analysis, the apparent success of the normalization of the regime appears as a result of the fact that strong postwar generations came into their reproductive years as well as the consequence of the resonance of the reforms of the '60s, in which the model of state support for families with children was worked on, a model that completely, in an unplanned way, served to establish normalization. However, Jechová also refuted the myth of the mechanical connection between the employment of women and the drop in the number of children. At the same time she pointed

[1] Cf. also the survey of basic work about maternity, employment and public activity of women by which Jechová was inspired..

out the discussion about the profitability of women's employment. To these problematics she organically connected the development of abortion legislation (including the insufficient use of modern birth control in the Czech society) with key changes in 1950; abortion was legalized for health reasons), in 1957 (abortion could be performed for other reasons than health reasons; criminalization for abortions was abolished and abortion committees were established),and in 1986 (the right to an abortion became a women's right; the abortion committees were abolished as ineffective and professionally and ethically questionable institutions). As one of the first, Jechová called attention to so-called unwanted children, unloved children. The repeatedly quoted statement of the Canadian sociologist Alena Heitlinger can be very surprising: that education for parenthood in Czechoslovakia at the time of normalization was more open, more specialized and more systematic than in Western states. It would be worth exploring this thesis, however, in connection with the little influence of churches in modern Czech society.

The second study of political history was done by Zdeněk Kárník. In it, the well-known historian clarified the circumstances and echoes of the "merging" conference of the left-wing of the Social Democrats four months after the February Revolution of 1948. Kárník focused on the motives for merging, the relation of the Communists to the former Social Democrats (mistrust even touched Zdeněk Fierlinger, who himself was one of the most determined initiators of the coalition) and in the varied two-hundred-thousand member group of the "unmerged," part of whom established the party in exile. Those who remained home were persecuted by the state security, which was also interested in emigrants. Some of the unmerged Social Democrats actually developed illegal activity although, however, there were no conditions for their persecution in the framework of a trumped-up mass trial.

While Kárník used archival material and correspondence of Social Democrats, Milan Otáhal attempted to interpret 33 oral-history interviews with workers who experienced normalization. Interviews, realized in the framework of Miroslav Vaněk's project concerning Czech society during normalization through the optic of intelligence and of representatives of workers' professions, turned around their experiences of political and public events of the 1960s, mainly the occupation, the Velvet Revolution, listening to Western radio during normalization and the relations of this group toward socialism, the regime, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, trade unions, formal elections, political celebrations and socialist medals and toward the opposition movement. Otáhal's interpretation confirmed that workers represented a heterogeneous group which, however, as a whole, carved out interest in public events (an exception was presented by the positive acceptance of the revival process and shock over the occupation) and it was interested mainly in its own standard of living and social securities (from here disappointment with the developments after 1989 emerged). Therefore holidays organized by the trade unions and supposedly

better relations among people during normalization earned positive appraisal. In contrast to the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, however, the unions had great prestige among workers. An ambivalent position, then, was taken by people in relation to the May Day celebration, but they had a rather positive relation to celebration of International Women's Day and to decorations for workers' performance. In general it is possible to state that the absence of civic freedom bothered people less than the consequences of the clumsy socialist economy. Otáhal's text enables us to understand better the mentality of the people after 1989; although he does not work with the older mentality of the bearers of workers' professions, the picture of the worker as a conscious Social Democrat striving for his own rights is probably only an untrue myth (being in politics was always the privilege of worker leaders); he notices only insufficiently the family basics of the informants and he does not differ between men's and women's views.

The collection concludes with a study by Tomáš Vilímek of the relations between Czech society and the opposition that governing organs successfully separated from the majority of society. The author, who most persistently followed the task given by the title of the volume, stated that most people strove for a satisfactory life and for the construction of family welfare which they did not want to threaten with opposition activity. A mutual agreement with the regime was then confirmed by a series of rituals; however research of public opinion and other sources – despite its discussibility – signalized the growing dissatisfaction of the people with the regime. An analysis of the Charta (Charter) documents, then, showed its connection with social problems, but also the fear of some of the Chartists of the ghettoization of their group. The relation of society to Charta was characterized by alleged interest, hidden sympathy, fear and lack of understanding, a minimum of knowledge. It would, however, be interesting to compare this scale of Czech attitudes with the attitudes of other national societies toward their own opposition; mainly, however, it should be attitudes anchored in the family, children of a family of a pragmatic party leader and/or of a family affected by the regime.

In conclusion it is possible to state that the four studies presented here, however connected to a rather inconsistent whole, offer a desirably critical view of Czech society after 1945. Thus, undoubtedly there can be important building stones for a large future monograph about postwar Czech society and perhaps also a monograph comparing the development in various states of the Soviet blok. It is actually evident that the circumstances of the creation of opposition and its acceptance for the most part have their roots in the processes of the formation of modern nations.

Blanka Soukupová

JOURNAL OF URBAN CULTURE RESEARCH 1, 2010

Published by the Faculty of Fine and Applied Arts, Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, Thailand. 214 pp.

A new journal of urban anthropology has been published, generously designed in content and appearance (large format: A4). If you looked for its publisher among American or (Western) European universities, you would be mistaken. It is published by a university in Thailand – Bangkok – in cooperation with Osaka City University. Its editor-in-chief is Kjell Skyllstad, professor of musicology in Oslo, Norway; on its editorial board are scientists from Thailand, Australia, Vietnam, Slovenia, the USA and Japan. According to its editorial, *(the) emphasis on the relationships between the arts and urban cultures is the main focus of the journal*. The composition of the editorial board corresponds to this broad view: on it are ethnomusicologists, specialists in fashion design, choreography, art history and urban studies.

If someone is surprised at the publication of an urban journal in Thailand, Kjell Skyllstad immediately explains in the editorial: *Asia has more than a half of the world's largest cities, including 10 megacities... Southeast Asia is steadily urbanizing... This rapid process of urbanization is accompanied by equally rapid cultural changes affecting all aspects of life* (which are perceived very often negatively)... *So acknowledging these negative consequences of rapid urban growth, why do city planners not come with programs for sustainable development that would also promote cultural continuity? The answer is that cities and towns in the region are largely self-organizing instead of planned*. (p. 6) This self-destructive situation is, to a certain extent, related to *the issue of grave environmental degradation...these problems have motivated and propelled a movement to implement intra- and interdepartmental city planning initiatives...in this vision, cultural workers and institutions, artists and art educators have a definite role to play*. (p. 7)

From the above statement, it is clear that the journal is intended mainly as a platform for applied science and/or interdisciplinary discussion.

The topic of this first volume (one volume is expected to be published yearly) is broadly formulated: *The Art of Development: Exploring the Role of Culture and the Arts in Sustainable Community Development and Social Transformation*. Within its framework are six thematic spheres which differ both by their representation and by the character of the contributions. The first thematic sphere – *Sharing Arts across the Continents*: *Art, Dialogue and Development in the Time of HM King Chulalongkorn* – contains only one historical-musicological paper – by Philippe de Lustrac of France about the Siamese composer living in Paris, Eugène Cinda Grassi. The second sphere – *Developing Creativity – Theoretical Discourses* – is also represented by just one paper: "Shaping a Creative Milieu." Here, Tom Borrup (USA), using as an example two art schools, identifies ten characteristics found to be common in the formation of a creative milieu.

On the contrary, the next two spheres contain numerous papers. *The Art of*

Development – The Development of Art includes a report on the vast Norwegian-Thai project *Transposition* (Geir Johnson, Norway); "The Progression of Art in Bangkok's Public Spaces" (Kamol Phaosavasdi, Thailand) discusses the developmental process of art projects in Bangkok; Thanh To Nhoc (Vietnam) describes the situation of "Traditional Folk Arts in Conditions of Recent Society."

Arts and Transformations – Models of Art Outreach Program for Individual and Social Rehabilitation and Development includes two comparative case studies – "Dance House: European Models of Folk Music and Dance Revival in Urban Settings" (a comparison of Hungarian and Slovenian phenomena of "Dance Houses") by Svanibor Pettan (Slovenia) and also a comparison of programs for persons with disabilities in Thailand, Canada and the USA by Frances Anderson (USA). The sphere is supplemented by a reflective essay by the British Dan Baron Cohen now living and working in Brazil, "Dialogic Performance: Toward a Pedagogy of Transformance."

The next sphere – *Music and Well-being in the City – Developing Urban Health Care in Asia* – contains two case studies: "Beyond Entertainment: Music and Health Care in Urban Parks" by Bussakorn Binson (Thailand) derived from Thai material and "Community Music Therapy in Action: Healing Through *Pirit* Chanting in Sri Lanka" by Lasanti M. Kalinga Dona (Sri Lanka), in which the author describes the history and contemporary function of *pirit,* an important public Buddhist ceremony.

Victoria Vorreiter (USA), the only author in the last sphere, *Art and Survival – Our Endangered Cultures*, reports in her rather nostalgic text "Vanishing Echoes" about her attempts to record mainly intangible cultural elements of small communities in Southeastern Asia.

In addition to information about several research projects, mainly in Japan, there are a few conference reports. The most impressive of them is from the Singapore World City Summit (June 2010); its main topic is the rebirth of Bilbao, the basis of which is the establishment of the Guggenheim Museum in the center. At the Singapore summit, Bilbao was awarded the Lee Kuan Yew World City Prize. Thus Bilbao is an example of successful intervention of art in a city. The Journal of Urban Culture Research attempts to be one of the voices helping similarly successful interventions.

Zuzana Jurková

ROUND TABLE THEORY AND METHOD IN URBAN ETHNOMUSICOLOGY

June 3 – 5, 2011, Prague, Czech Republic.

Although urban studies are widely accepted in anthropology, ethnomusicology – even though it has been dedicated to urban topics for decades – lacks generally accepted theoretical discourse. This was the main reason for organizing the chamber round table "Theory and Method in Urban Ethnomusicology" June 3 – 5, 2011, at the Faculty of Humanities of Charles University in Prague. The round table thus became part of the long-term direction of the current ethnomusicological program for research in music in Prague.

The format of the round table enabled us to invite those researchers who deal with urban ethnomusicology with clear (however different) theoretical orientations and also provide sufficient space both during structured sessions and during informal more-or-less social events for exhaustive and intensive discussions.

The first afternoon opened with the paper of Adelaida Reyes, one of the pioneers of urban ethnomusicology (in the first half of the '70s she had already written her dissertation on the music of East Harlem, New York). In "Urban Ethnomusicology: A Brief History of an Idea," she presented a history of research on music of the city as an intersection of influences of anthropology and sociology on contemporary ethnomusicological discourse. Reyes placed basic emphasis on the fact that the concept of the mosaic is not the right one; the whole is not only the sum of its parts; what is basic in the city are relations and change.

The second presentation of the first day was by Kay Shelemay, on one hand a distinguished researcher in the field of music of Ethiopia and the Ethiopians and also – relevant to this round table – the author of the illustrious book *Soundscapes,* the title of which she reconceptualizes. In her paper "Rethinking the Urban Community: (Re)Mapping Musical Processes and Places," she discussed the concept of research of the city that considers community as one of its key concepts. Starting from her "Ethiopian" material acquired both in Ethiopia itself and, above all, among Ethiopian immigrants in the USA, she put forth her idea of three types of communities: descent – dissent – affinity. As with Reyes, Shelemay also emphasized changes and, therefore, the fluidity of the boundaries of these categories.

The second day featured two basic concepts usually connected with research on the city: two different meanings of the term "soundscape." The older one was introduced into the literature at the beginning of the '70s through the Canadian sound-ecological school of Murray Schafer. It is interested in all sounds and their local anchoring, the resulting product being the sound map of a city. At the beginning of the 21st century Kay Shelemay applied the term soundscape inspired more by Appadurai's *–scapes* than by Schafer. In her concept, consistent with the Merriam's model, soundscape has social and sound dimensions.

Peter McMurray referred to both of these concepts in his paper, "Urban Het-

erophony and the Mediation of Place," which was a "collaborative project." Using three different case studies (New Orleans, Boston, and Prizren) he presented possibilities of construction and ongoing representation of the city through media. His paper concluded with the consideration of the ethical implications of ethnomusicological work in the city (including questions connected with mediation).

Close to Shelemay's concept was Eugene Dairianathan in his treatment of two musical styles (xinyao and vedic metal) popular among Singapore youth, changes of which illustrate the changing identity of performers and listeners.

Ursula Hemetek and her students have been dealing with ethnic and national minorities in Vienna for a long time. In her paper, "Unexpected Musical Worlds of Vienna: Immigration and Music in Urban Centers," she mainly emphasized the importance ascribed to musical expressions and their social function.

Bozena Muszkalska familiarized us with a collective research project of the Institute of Cultural Studies at Wroclaw University. Its key term is "phonosphere." Although its basic concept is close to the sound-ecological interpretation of the soundscape concept, the research is aimed at sound reality and its interpretation.

The last day of the round table was dedicated to two more applied topics. Zuzana Jurková, the organizer of the whole round table, presented a plan for the publication of Prague Musical Worlds, in which the concept of soundscapes (close to Shelemay's concept) serves not only as a demonstration of various types of specific musical events in Prague, but also of various ethnomusicological perspectives.

The Nestor of applied ethnomusicology Kjell Skyllstad, a long-time representative of the use of art in the mediation of conflicts, among other activities, editor-in-chief of a new, generously conceived magazine, the *Journal of Urban Culture Research,* spoke this time mainly about the Resonant Community project that is intended mainly for children of Pakistani immigrants in Oslo and its surroundings. The main feature of the project is emphasis on the social integration of cultural features that are embedded in the broader context of "immigration and educational policies."

Publication of the papers in their full-length versions, planned for Urban People 2012/2, ought to be a basic contribution to the discussion of ethnomusicology of the city.

Zuzana Jurková

RELIGIOUS CULTURES AT THE IXTH CONGRESS OF ETHNOGRAPHERS AND ANTHROPOLOGISTS OF RUSSIA IN PETROZAVODSK 2011[1]

July 4–8, 2011, Petrozavodsk, Russia

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Contemporary Russian anthropology and ethnography attentively monitor and reflect the ongoing revitalization and transformation of religious life in individual regions of the Russian Federation. The Congress held by the Association of Russian Ethnographers and Anthropologists on July 4–8, 2011 in Petrozavodsk, the capital of the Republic of Karelia, reserved, among 1,450 contributions presented by 1,300 scholars, considerable space to the issue of both historical and contemporary religious cultures related to the ethnic diversity of the country.

The Orthodox Church in pre-revolutionary Russia enjoyed a position equal to the state Church and it was to a substantial degree dependent on tsarist power. Other churches occupied a rather marginal position within the society and, in some cases, they were even persecuted. The results of the first general population census of the Russian Empire carried out in 1897 reveal that there were more than 125 million inhabitants living in tsarist Russia, of whom 89.23 mil. (71 %) were Russian Orthodox Christians, 13.91 mil. (11 %) Muslims, 11.47 mil. (9 %) Catholics, 5.22 mil. (4 %) Jews, 3.57 mil. (3 %) Protestants, and 0.5 mil. (0.4 %) were Buddhists (Roth, 1987, p. 24 a www.mdn.ru). Official records demonstrate that as early as in 1904 there were 88 mil. (70%) inhabitants professing the Russian Orthodox Church. However, the post-revolutionary development led to significant annihilation of religious life of the country. Estimations state that there was a decrease in the number of Orthodox churches existing in Russia in 1914 since only 7,000 Orthodox churches out of 70,000 were preserved until 1985, and that there are only 18 monasteries preserved out of 1,100 and only 3 clerical seminars out of 65 that exited in 1914. Moreover, before the disintegration of the Soviet Union in 1991, only 22.8% out of 270 mil. inhabitants professed the Orthodox faith whereas Catholics were presented by 5.5% and Jews by 0.2%. The ration of Muslims, Protestants and Buddhists did not record any noticeable change (www.mdn.ru).

Less than three months after the October Revolution of 1917, the Council of People's Commissioners under the leadership of Lenin announced the so-called "Decree on the Separation of Church and State, and of School and Church." Based on French laws, the state assumed possession of all church buildings and religious communities were provided with the free use of some of them on the grounds of an approved request. Religious communities began to be organized as religious associations but, unlike the French model, these were not recognized as legal persons and were not therefore allowed to possess property. From the point of view of non-Orthodox religious communities, this decree was perceived favorably as it deprived the Orthodox Church of its privileged position. The first Constitution of 1918 guaranteed in its Article 18 formal religious freedom. Although state neutrality towards particular churches was officially declared, the anti-church program of the Party assuming the position of the dominant constituent of the system denied it unequivocally by its claim to be entitled to supervise the activities of different religious groups. The Second Program of the Russian Communist Party of 1919

stated the objectives clearly: "...The Party aims to ensure total destruction of the relationship between the exploiting class and religious propaganda by means of calling for genuine liberation of the masses of working people from religious prejudice and it organizes an anti-church propaganda of enlightenment to the greatest possible extent..." (Roth 1987: 25-26). Until 1921 the state church policy had no definite outline. It oscillated between repressions against clergy, antireligious campaigns and the inability to gain permanent influence over the life of the different denominations. Only after the stabilization of the Bolshevik government from the beginning of 1921 were the churches paid increased attention. From February 1922 there was the beginning of confiscations of all valuable church objects except for those necessary for performing the ceremonies. The spokesperson asserting the state church policy during this period was Leon Trotsky who, encouraged by Lenin, struggled to enforce the hard line aiming to achieve the permanent weakening of the churches, which involved a great many death sentences as a by-product of the ongoing confiscation activities. The purposefully supported split of the Church to conservative proponents of the Russian Orthodox Church led by patriarch Tichon and individual religious groups was also meant to contribute to the overall weakened position of the Church. In October 1922, a new "Commission to pursue the separation of Church and State" was established as a result of merging several simultaneously working commissions. This new Commission was unofficially called the "Antireligious Commission." The study of protocols of this Commission made accessible in the archives during the 1990s revealed its central role when deciding about the requests and matters related to religious communities addressed to various state institutions. During the beginnings of its existence, the Commission paid the greatest attention to the preparation of the process conducted with the patriarch Tichon. Commission protocols document normalization procedures demonstrating an obvious tendency to manipulation and intrigues, lack of tolerance, propensity to make use of violence and non-observance of constitutional law, which remained a permanent part of the Bolshevik system. Apart from the Russian Orthodox Church, the Commission also dealt with Catholics, Muslims, Protestants, Russian sects, Buddhists and Jews. Lutherans are mentioned only marginally whereas Baptists, Evangelic Christians and Adventists are referred to more frequently. An important part of the Commission's activities was presented by antireligious propaganda linked with the foundation of the periodical "Bezbožnik" ("Atheist/Godless person") and its sympathizers. In 1925, this circle gave rise to the emergence of the "Union of Militant Atheists" which gradually took charge of the anti-church propaganda and it arranged a mass antireligious movement. In the late mid 1920s, the Commission most probably saw the decline of its influence and its activity was eventually terminated in December 1929 based on the initiative of the politburo (Steindorff 2007: 11-24). Though the first period of the Soviet Church and religious policy dating from 1917 to 1928 can be characterized by per-

secutions of the churches and atheistic propaganda, it was still possible to preserve certain limited life space. However, establishing new state church law and the subsequent Constitutional changes during 1928 and 1929 signaled its radical restriction solely to cult practice (Roth 1987: 24). Simultaneously with the issue of new and more rigorous regulations, "the Central Standing Commission on Religious Questions" was established in April 1928 (Steindorff 2007: 25).

The previous development laid down the foundations for Stalinist terror associated with the period of Stalinism in 1930s. The period 1929 until 1941 is most commonly referred to as the policy of liquidation. The Stalin Constitution of 1936 adopted the formulation on "the freedom of religious denomination and antireligious propaganda," which made the pro-religious propaganda practically prohibited. Atheistic propaganda dominated all the media. The union of Atheists reached its climax in 1931 when it assembled 5.7 mil. members. Simultaneously with the launch of collectivization and industrialization processes, church and religious policy aiming to eliminate all religious groups was initiated. Churches were transformed into clubs, storehouses or they were destroyed completely. Church representatives were arrested, accused in manipulated processes and killed. The bloodstained culmination of this period was the years 1937 and 1938. It was not until the invasion of German army of Russia in 1941 which made Stalin interrupt his antireligious policy (Roth 1987: 31-39).

In order to sum up the post-war development of the religious situation in Russia it is possible to quote a whole range of authors and publications which have appeared in Western Europe from the 1950s. The current situation, not only in the Soviet Union but also in the whole of Central and Eastern Europe, has been on a long-term basis the focus of the international congress held every year in Königstein, Germany, bearing the title "Church in Need." The period 1943 until 1949 is described as a period of partial religious restoration. The Russian Orthodox Church was used to serve the goals of Soviet power ambitions and this tendency also continued after the war. In 1949, the Orthodox Church disposed of 30,000 ecclesiastics and 20,000 religious communities. Until 1958, it enjoyed relative freedom provided it cooperated with the Soviet regime. The attitude to different religious groups varied on a case by case basis. Liquidation affected for example the United Church. Another wave of hard persecution of the churches followed during the reign of Khrushchev from 1959 until 1964, described as a period of the policy of repression. The available statistics reveal that during 1958 and 1966 the Russian Orthodox Church alone lost almost two thirds of its registered communities (decline from 22,000 to 7,523) and there are only 17 monasteries preserved out of 69. The tendency to perish, however, was also observable with other churches, especially members of the Islamic and Jewish denominations (Stricker 1988: 46, 50). Following the fall of Khrushchev and the year 1965 there was a certain alleviation of the religious-political situation. The persecution of priests and the closure of churches slackened and there was a slight increase in

the number of practicing worshippers. However, repressive restrictions limiting the internal life of churches remained in force (Simon 1970: 67-68). Considerable effort supported by the representatives of the Russian Orthodox Church was on a long-term basis made in terms of foreign propaganda with a view to convince the Western world about the existing freedom of denomination of Soviet Union citizens.

Already from the first years, the vote for Gorbachev as General Secretary in 1985 and the announcement of Perestroika brought about important changes for the better. Great expectations were nevertheless linked with a great many contradictory steps and reactions. As a result of an amnesty, many persons kept in prison for religious reasons were released but the antireligious propaganda continued to be rather harsh. At the same time, the new administration endeavored to produce a positive image of Gorbachev's religious policy abroad. Since 1987 new periodicals have appeared in foreign mutations referring to a less rigorous religious life. Gorbachev was depicted as the liberator of churches but giving permission to new religious communities was in reality a considerably difficult and slow process. After he failed to obtain sufficient support from the Party, bureaucratic apparatuses and other state institutions for his Perestroika reformist program, Gorbachev addressed the popular masses with the promise of religious freedom and he won significant support. The millennium celebrations on the occasion of the Baptism of Russia in 1988 accompanied by broad publicity and the wave of restitution of monasteries, churches, seminars as well as permission to establish religious communities were a welcome opportunity to demonstrate real change of the ideological trend (Stricker 1988: 43-45). In 1990, new laws on religion were adopted guaranteeing the right of an individual to full religious freedom and freedom of speech and at the same time granting the churches recognition as legal persons enjoying full rights. The results of an extensive sociological research (VCIOM / Russian Center for the Study of Public Opinion) carried out in 1990 showed that 43% of the inhabitants professed Christianity, 10% Islam, 3% another denomination and 44% of the inhabitants described themselves as atheists (Behrens 2002: 111). The support of the churches and worshippers remained an important factor for the state even after the collapse of the Soviet Union, at the time of searching for new orientations and efforts to manage the transformation process. Sociological surveys show that state institutions enjoyed only a limited credibility among the population during the 1990s whereas traditional churches, on the contrary, were generally considered trustworthy. The convergence of the state and the Orthodox Church continued especially for pragmatic reasons even under President Yeltsin. The church has become an important factor strengthening the consolidation and the legitimacy of the emerging system (Behrens 2002: 369-371). The predominant Russian Orthodox Church, previously subjected to devastating repressions and simultaneously presented as a benchmark of the socialist state was now accepted as a separate and perspective subject of the emerging new Russia.

The ongoing revitalization of the churches, religious life and above all the renaissance of the Orthodox Church were reflected by Russian scholars in their effort to develop the discipline of anthropology of religion and religious studies. In 2001 the Institute of Philosophy of the Russian Academy of Sciences (PAH) organized a seminar on "Philosophical anthropology and the anthropology of religion in contemporary discussion." The anthropology of religion in post-Soviet Russia is the focus of many contemporary authors. The most recent textbooks dealing with Russian social anthropology from 2010 reserve a separate chapter for the anthropology of religion (Dobrenkov – Kravčenko 2010: 87-89). The anthropology of religion is deeply rooted in Russia. Berdyaev had already referred to the beginnings of the anthropology of religion in the work by F. Dostoyevsky who created a specific type of artistic-gnostic anthropology. He assumes that the examination of human nature and the human soul brings about the emergence of a new Russian anthropology of religion. He also defines as the object of its interest, apart from sociocultural phenomena, the characteristic Russian features. It is the Russian philosopher V. I. Nesmelov (1863-1937) who is generally considered as the author of the first systematic philosophical justification of the anthropology of the Orthodox religion. During the 20th century the question of religious understanding became one of the decisive factors aiming to explain the current situation in the culture. The anthropology of religion has established itself as a scientific discipline dealing with the issue of the human being and human existence from the point of view of a dialogue between God and man and the relationship of man to the absolute. Within its frame the question was opened whether the specificities of a culture are preconditioned by a particular religion or whether, on the contrary, the given culture opts for an appropriate religion and then adapts it according to its own traditions (Dobrenkov – Kravčenko 2010: 88). Russian anthropology has formed separate fields for different denominations: the anthropology of Islam, Judaism, Christianity, the Orthodox religion, Catholicism and Protestantism. The roots of the anthropology of the Orthodox religion go back to the tradition of the doctrine of isihasm that was subsequently developed by the Russian conception of cosmism, the religious-philosophical anthropology of Dostoyevsky and by the philosophers of the Russian religious renaissance. The idea of three constituents of a nation – religion, soul, culture – is based on the anthropology of the Orthodox religion and its doctrine of three components of the essence of the human being – spirit, soul, body (Dobrenkov – Kravčenko 2010: 88).

The increasing interest of the broad public in culture, traditions, languages and religion of ethnic groups living in the Russian Federation is reflected in the work "Nations of Russia: An Atlas of Cultures and Religions" subtitled as "Many Nations, One Country" published by the N. N. Miklucho-Maklay Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology in cooperation with the Ministry of Regional Development of the Russian Federation in 2009. The Atlas is the product of

interdisciplinary cooperation of ethnographers, culturologists, and religionists and it describes the historical processes related to the formation of nations of the Russian Federation. It provides an analysis of intercultural and inter-religion coexistence as well depicting the mutual influence of individual ethnics and confessions.

The results of the last population census realized in 2001 reveal that there are 123 million inhabitants in the Russian federation. The religious structure of the inhabitants has undergone significant changes during the last decades. Many churches which were not allowed to exist at the time of the Soviet Union have renewed their activities. Even several new denominations have managed to establish themselves. Official statistics reflecting denominations and membership in religious organizations are not available in Russia since the law does not permit citizens to be asked about their religious concerns. The approximate data on the development of the religious situation can be obtained only from sociological surveys. The research carried out by the Russian Public Opinion Research Center in March 2010 demonstrated within the scope of two decades the most prominent increase in the Orthodox religion professed by 75% of the inhabitants. 5% of the inhabitants admitted to professing Islam, 1% Catholicism, the same as Protestantism, Judaism and Buddhism whereas 1% of the inhabitants declared another denomination. 8% of the inhabitants are atheists, 3% are believers without confessional denomination. 66% of the inhabitants state that they attend religious ceremonies on an occasional basis or during festive days (http://wciom.ru/). The Ministry of Justice of the Russian Federation registered 55 churches and religious groups, including 23,073 organizations, in total by the beginning of 2009. The Constitution guarantees that all religious organizations in the country have been independent of the state and that they are equal before the law nowadays. 55% of them (12,723) belong to the Orthodox Church, 17% (3,885) belong to Islam, 5.8% (1,335) belong to the Evangelical Christians – the Fifty Year Old Men Movement, 3.9% (891) belong to the Evangelical Christians – Baptists, 3% (693) belong to other Evangelical Christians, 2.6% (604) belong to the Seventh-day Adventist Church, 1.7% (408) belong to Jehovah's Witnesses (Žuravskij 2009: 232).

Religious cultures were the focus of the IXth Congress of Ethnographers and Anthropologists of Russia that was held July 4–8, 2011 in Petrozavodsk, the capital of the Republic of Karelia. The place was not chosen only by chance but it concerns a distinctive and ethnographically extremely interesting area of the Russian federation. The population of Karelia amounts to almost 66,000 people and more than ten thousand of them live in other parts of the country. The ethnic group of Karelians was formed from tribes inhabiting South Karelia and Southeast Finland. The predecessors of the Karelians first began to inhabit the North and the northwest coast of Lake Ladoga and from the 11th century they began to migrate to the North to the area between Lake Ladoga and Lake Onega. Karelian nationality was formed from the 12th to the 17th centuries and

it includes even the peculiar groups of Veps and Saams. From the 12th century on, when part of Karelia became part of the Republic of Novgorod, the Orthodox Church gradually spread among the population. In 1478, Karelia was part of the Russian tsardom. After 1617, however, it was annexed to Sweden for one hundred years and the effort to convert the population to the Lutheran religion led to the relocation of a considerable part of Karelians closer to the Russian inland where enclaves of a compact Karelian settlement sprang up. Based on an agreement Karelia was transferred to Russia in 1721 but after the Finnish War in 1809 it became part of Finland for one hundred years. In 1920, the borderline between Finland and Russia was at last determined and Karelia was divided into Finnish and Russian parts. The Russian part of Karelia was declared the Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (ASSR) in 1923. During the 2nd World War, however, Finland annexed Karelia back again. From 1956 Karelia was transformed into the ASSR again and it was not until the collapse of the Soviet Union when the current Republic of Karelia emerged in 1991. Inhabitants of Karelia have been the subjects of successful Russification but the Karelian language has been preserved as a modern language belonging to the Balto-Finnic group of the Finno-Ugric branch of the Uralic language family and it distinguishes several distinctive dialects. The majority of the Karelian population belong to the Orthodox Church. However, traditional ceremonies have incorporated a whole range of archaic elements linked with pre-Christian faith. An important role in Karelian culture is represented by the ancient ruins which serve as the basis for the famous Karelian and Finnish epic called "Kalevala" (Žuravskij 2009:159).

Themes presented at the Congress in Petrozavodsk reflected by no means the growing interest in Russian ethnography and anthropology as for the contemporary development of religious cultures existing in the Russian Federation. Anthropologists react to the cultural and political changes that brought about the end of state antireligious policy at the beginning of the 1990s. Though there was no separate section devoted solely to religion at the Congress, issues related to religion pervaded almost all of the discussed topics of present-day research. On the one hand, participants dealt with questions related to religion in terms of traditional ethnographic scope such as the study of ceremonies or material evidence of various religious cultures existing in the territory of the Russian Federation. On the other hand, other types of research related to religion and innovative possibilities of a national culture or individual national cultures began to be developed. Scholars agree that a renewal of spiritual life and religious cultures is occurring and that this fact is manifested in different ways as well as it influences in a number of different ways the individual constituents of the life of the particular society. Religious renewal has become an important factor for the development of individual ethnic groups, which is connected with the interest in the study of the religious situation within the particular historical eras when religion stood for an element of stabilization and integration of the society.

Within the historiographical section, reference was made to the tradition of monitoring the issue of religion from the middle of the 19th century when attention was paid for example to the problems of sectarianism and the dropouts from the Orthodox Church until the violent interruption of research in 1917. In their effort to preserve and present the ethno-cultural heritage, Russian anthropologists devote themselves intensely to the questions of preservation, study and accessibility of threatened sacral objects. Many contributions focused on the individual historical stages reflecting the development of traditional religious cultures existing in the country, their mutual coexistence and influence. Authors make use not only of written or oral sources but they also reconstruct the religious landscape of particular regions or ethnic groups by means of methods of visual anthropology such as those based on the analysis of historical photographical material (Glavackaja, p. 93) or audiovisual documentary records (Rogotněv, p. 100). The reality of a Russian socialist village is for example reflected through the memories of Christians on a Soviet kolkhoz that were gathered by employing the oral-history method (Fedosova 2011: 72) etc.

The section devoted to the ethno-cultural development of Russian nations paid due attention to the development of particular religious traditions linked with the innovations of ethno-cultural processes. After seven decades of atheistic Soviet rule religious renewal has occurred during the last twenty years. The contemporary "arrival of the Orthodox religion is based on traditions but it also brings about many innovations, it develops both 'horizontally and vertically'." Temples are being built in places which were already consecrated in the past, in places of destroyed temples or in completely new places (Melechova 2011: 128). The Russian Orthodox Church strives to carry out the missionary-enlightenment activity influencing different parts of the life of society (Malankin 2011: 190). On the one hand, there is a rapid growth in the number of believers, Orthodox consensus linked with a high degree of ethno-confessional tolerance and a close relation of ethnic and confessional identification. On the other hand, however, some new phenomena such as the contradiction between the declared confessional identity and the extremely low participation in religious practice as well as the connection of traditional religious ideas with new quasi-religious and parascientific ideas are being monitored. The monitored particularities related to the Orthodox religion in post-Soviet Russia are not interpreted as a deviation from religious norms but as a specific type of religion which was formed as a consequence of Soviet secularization and post-Soviet globalization. It is characterized by the autonomy of the believer in terms of his/her relationship to the church structures, his/her autonomy as for the regulation of his/her own participation in religious practice and the freedom to form religious world opinion, all this in preserving traditional religious identification (Bogatova 2011: 154). The accompanying phenomena such as the development of Orthodox markets in bigger cities (Sněžkova 2011: 130) or the innovation in celebrating a feast day

where ethno-cultural consolidations and the convergence of new data with the Church calendar occur are studied as well (Frolova 2011: 131). Russian researchers also focus on virtual space. Some of the new religious orientations and movements are organized in the experimental space of the Internet network by means of the so-called new diaspora, an example of which would be indigenous Slavonic religions (Šiženskij 2011: 90). There is a general tendency reflecting the growth of interest in sacral and cosmological mysteries as well as a deepening interest in ethno-culture (Tulceva 2011: 130).

Minority religious cultures, such as that of Muslims, which existed in the Soviet society as a part of the ethno-cultural tradition and which were thus allowed to be realized only within the ceremonies of the life cycle or during festive ceremonies are becoming under the new conditions part of the everyday life of the society. This process is associated with a wide range of innovations in the sphere of religious practices as a result of the ongoing internal development within the churches and the existence of new social conditions (Musina 2011: 160). However, both tradition and modernization are even monitored with other religious groups, e.g., Judaism (Komoljatova 2011: 157), etc. Scientists point out that there is a growing danger when minority ethnic groups gradually tend to lose their distinctiveness and when traditions including religious ones are violated due to vertical cultural transmission and there is the continuation of the process of nivelization (Machmutov 2011: 159).

Magdalena Myslivcová

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41st CONFERENCE OF THE INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL FOR TRADITIONAL MUSIC

July 13–19, 2011, St. John's, New Foundland, Canada

A World Conference of the International Council for Traditional Music (ICTM) takes place every two years, if possible each one on a different continent. This year's in Canada (hosted by the Memorial University in St. John's) was, in many respects, similar to the last one in the Republic of South Africa (2009) and the next-to-the-last one in Vienna (2007). Its themes were so broad that they provided the possibility of presentation of nearly every paper's or panel's topic; there were also film projections and complementary music workshops. The conference topics were: 1) Indigenous Modernities; 2) Cross-cultural Approaches to the Study of the Voice; 3) Rethinking Ethnomusicology through the Gaze of Movement; 4) Atlantic Roots/Routes; 5) Dialogical Knowledge Production and Representation: Implications and Ethics; 6) Acoustic Ecology; 7) New Research. More than three hundred active participants were involved in these themes, which made of the conference, rather than a place of concentration of the sharing of knowledge, some sort of a trade fair of data, theories, methodologies, methods...

Naturally it is impossible to participate in the entire program or even in the important part of it (in a few days up to eight parallel sections of three or four papers took place), much less to report on it. The topic I was connected with, that is,

of dialogicity, had relatively broad repercussions. It was most often connected to a dialogue between researcher/s and informants (for whom the most varied expressions were used in various contexts and discourses; to a certain extent the dichotomy of knower and doer was also used); in addition, there often appeared the question of dialogicity between the scholar-author and his reader or between the scholar and the wider community. All of these angles gathered, for example, in the panel presentation Dialogic Knowledge Production: Research Practices in Europe; eight researchers presented projects of various types in which they participated and in which the question of dialogicity was basic. At random: Ian Russell of the Elphinstone Institute in Aberdeen spoke about research of music of Scottish travelers; the cornerstone of credibility was the fact that, as members of the research team, they also employed in the institute one of the travelers who basically designed and organized the research. Svanibor Pettan of Ljubljana described the involvement of his university with two projects, one of which deals with research of the oldest music found on the territory of Slovenia (a flute 50,000 to 60,000 years old) – and, thus, it is considered a certain kind of political question; the second project has its source in Pettan's research of the music of Kosovo Roma and in the form of a film he presented this very specific musical world which the Balkan war more or less destroyed.

The panel presentation in which I participated belongs in this thematic framework. Pavla Johnssonová and I demonstrated the reconstruction of an experiment in which, with the aid of semiotic instruments, we attempted to find the answer to the question of how the process of communication between the author/performer of music and his audience proceeds. The starting point was the Bakhtin thesis about meaning arising from dialogue. Bakhtin connected us with the other panelists: Bozena Muszkalska of Wroclaw, who introduced Bakhtin's theory more complexly, and Gerda Lechleitner of Vienna, who summarized this concept of dialogicity. The following discussion, the most comprehensive of all that we experienced in the conference, showed that dialogue is clearly perceived as a burning topic by many researchers.

In recent decades the topic of change or hybridity, here formulated as Indigenous Modernities, has run through all of the ethnomusicological conferences. Various broad theoretical frameworks which are enabled – even stimulated – by this theme could, of course, be traps for those who are not deeply rooted in field experience: a sprinkling of random information in a theoretical mold enables some sort of conclusions, but the possibility of generalization and reproducibility are negligible. This happened, for example, to the American doctoral student Jesse A. Johnson in his presentation "Soundscapes of World Music: Postsocialist Possibilities and Traditional Music in South Moravia." Moravia was also in the title of another paper, "The Inuit Voice in Moravian Music" of Tom Gordon and others. In it they presented not only a brief history of the missions of the Moravian Brothers in Northern Labrador, but mainly a project trying for

a revival of the music of the songbook of this mission. The revival seems meanwhile to be very successful because, among other reasons, it brings back into use Inuktitut, an Inuit language which was, after the joining of Labrador to Canada in 1949, replaced on the official level by English. According to the presenters, the original autochthonous language reinforces the group identity of the Inuits; this was mentioned with reference to the well-known respect with which the Moravian Brothers dealt with the Inuits.

The keynote address, "The Intimate Distance of Indigenous Modernity" by Michelle Bidengo also dealt with the topic of Indigenous Modernity. In this address she described her experience with the Japanese concert tour of South American musicians playing the Pan flute. Bidengo, who also plays in the group, pondered the position of the musician playing "foreign music" (thus, the "intimate distance") and ways of construction of collective, primarily of national, identity; these ways are then reflected in how we relate to this foreignness.

During the conference there were various, relatively numerous, committed voices; committed mainly for the benefit of those who are not heard. This was also dealt with by the panel "Safeguarding Living Cultures – The State of Affairs as Regard the 2003 UNESCO Convention," which, however, ended up relatively powerless: voices of cultural organizations are, compared to state administrations, almost very weak. A similar theme was dealt with in the reflective paper of Adriana Helbig of Pittsburgh, "Reversing the Gaze: The Rise of Musical Tourism in Eastern Europe's Romani Settlements." In it, the author considered the ethic of "experiential tourism" to Romani settlements (compared to countless numbers of negatives, it is possible to put on the positive side of the scale the fact that most often Romani NGOs deal with this tourism and, thus, they can competently decide about economic help brought by such projects). Another very current question was a concrete joint project of the University of Pittsburgh and the Faculty of Humanities of Charles University in Prague, which is oriented not only toward theoretical, but, as far as possible, also at least a bit toward practical recognition of music of the Central European Roma. How to do it, though, so that American students are not, in the best case, tourists, in the worst, voyeurs? In the following discussion, Adriana Helbig received a few recommendations. It seems that, as usual, initiatives from the ground have a more pronounced potential to be successful than those from the top.

Zuzana Jurková

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