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Between Knowing and Not-knowing: A Hermeneutic Perspective on 20th Century Remembrance. Analysing the Animated Film *Alois Nebel*

Abstract | The twentieth century is an on-going subject for historical debates. Issues of remembrance and historic narrations are consequently among the most contested areas in the field. One such battlefield is the Sudetenland question. Jaroslav Rudiš takes on this sensitive subject in the graphic novel and feature film entitled Alois Nebel. The protagonist, Alois Nebel, works as a traffic controller at a small railway station on the Polish border, the former Sudetenland. He is suffering from subconscious trauma as pictures from the expulsion he witnessed as a child keep flashing in his head. Following objective hermeneutics, one can view the film's title as the first hint for interpretation, as the meaning of "Alois" can be read as "knows everything" or "very wise". Every time fog appears (German: "Nebel"), the demons of his past threaten to drown him. His way of remembering the twentieth century is by revisiting memories of war and expulsion. Alois tries to cope by suppressing them, by memorizing railway schedules instead, something which is predictable and completely under his control. True to this motto, Nebel can be regarded as a typical twentieth century subject as he is concerned with the tension between "knowing/not knowing," "remembering/being urged not to remember." I will argue that the character of Alois Nebel can be regarded as typical for contemporary subjects recalling the twentieth century.

Keywords | Film studies – Hermeneutics – Twentieth Century Remembrance – Sociology – European Identity

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1 Introduction

This paper brings together certain rather loosely connected strings of interpretation from a sociological take on film.[1] *Alois Nebel* is a graphic novel which inspired an animated film. It is a reflexive–historical film in terms of genre as the audience is expected to reflect on history as well on their own way of understanding and narrating history. Most sociological approaches concerning film are focused on narration. Why do sociologists, however, analyse film as opposed to just reading the book to understand the plot? Perhaps film may deliver more insight than just the plot of the story. Furthermore, the question arises as to why we should go to films to learn something about history and not just read the chronicles of the twentieth century since

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[1] I would like to express my thanks to an anonymous peer-reviewer from this journal for certain insightful hints on an earlier draft of this paper.

the historical facts may be well-known. We know already from basic history classes that history indeed is actively written or narrated. These narrations may be different, not just in terms of what they are narrating, but even more so by what is not narrated. *Alois Nebel*'s dark visions touch on a blank space in the collective memory of most Central/Eastern European societies, namely, the expulsion of the German population from several countries after WWII. The author Jaroslav Rudiš was one of the first to take on that subject in a reflexive way, as it was still a blank space in the collective memory.[2]

We might find one possible objection if we are dealing with the history denoted and described in the film. Watching a film on a serious subject may lead to misunderstandings and misinterpretations of history as we are only dealing with a fictional text, even if a plot such as *Alois Nebel* makes use of elements of the grotesque in its narration. As we already may know from history class, history is not only a fixed affair about facts and data, but is about the narratives emerging from their interpretation. I will draw two main lines of interpretation in this paper.

I will first analyse the underlying meanings contained in just one sequence of the film as well as its title. Both texts are expected to contain a maximum of meaning. Following the hermeneutic concept of sequential analytics, I will take a close look at the beginning of the film. I apply, on the one hand, an approach from adaptation studies and post-structuralism influenced sociology. Following this poststructuralist inspired approach, a film is not merely a solitary work but closely related to other narratives, artefacts, political discourses, etc. I will draw a line to certain possible sources. As the sequential analysis is focused solely on one sequence or aspect without taking other sources into account, I will contrast this in the following part with findings from other sources. I will therefore argue that the animated film *Alois Nebel* obtains a further relevance for the post-modern subject as it addresses the subject's position between knowing and not knowing. The politics of remembrance tends to create a certain kind of interpretation. Some facts are possibly simplified and others neglected. What then do we learn from a self-reflexive film which we cannot learn by reading the book?

2 What Is the Sociological Problem?

History leaves us in a strange dilemma as we know a great deal about the facts, but nevertheless this history does not seem real to us. Walter Benjamin wrote a short essay discussing whether any authentic experience existed at all or if there is no more than subjective impressions and superficial experiences left. According to Benjamin, the soldiers of the Great War did not gain "experience." It instead seemed to their contemporaries that they lost experience.[3] Ironically, there has been a vast body of literature about experiences from the front which, for all its effort, hardly reflects/captures "reality," since no one could cope with the brutal reality of the Great War to begin with. Benjamin portrayed a generation still using a horse-drawn cart on their way to primary school, but which never found the real words for what happened in 1914–1918.[4] Benjamin wrote those lines after WWI, but history grew even worse. The former German Federal president

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[2] Helmut Fehr, *Vergeltende Gerechtigkeit – Populismus und Vergangenheitspolitik nach 1989* (Opladen: Barbara Budrich Verlag, 2016), 116f.

[3] They did lose their ability to think in causal relationships as the things they witnessed could not be linked to the knowledge they had. Their fundamentals were not able to cope with static warfare in the trenches, inflation, economic depression, etc. To the contemporary it may have seemed as if they lost experience. Walter Benjamin's *Philosophy* contrasts *Erfahrung* and *Erlebnis* as "experience" next to the superficial "quite something."

[4] Walter Benjamin, "Experience and Poverty," in *Selected Writings, Volume II, 1927–1934*, trans. Rodney Livingstone et al., ed. Michael W. Jennings, Howard Eiland, and Gary Smith (Cambridge Massachusetts and London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, England 1999 [1933]), 731–736.

Richard von Weizsäcker, who served as a captain in the German infantry during WWII, delivered a famous speech where he assumed that everyone who was interested in those shameful facts had the possibility to obtain some information about the crimes of NS-Germany.[5] Marking the fortieth anniversary of the end of WWII, he began his speech with words from Jewish wisdom: "Das Vergessenwollen verlängert das Exil, und das Geheimnis der Erlösung heißt Erinnerung." The more one tries to escape the past the more demons keep arising from that latency. Even today, and in spite of our extended knowledge of the Shoa and the two world wars, the tendency to suppress certain facts remains. According to a poll from 2015, 81% of all Germans no longer want to think about this particular chapter of history. Incidentally, within German collective imagination, the Auschwitz concentration camp is situated far way in the east even though it is in fact no more than 40 kilometres behind the Polish–German border. Unsurprisingly, the notion, long since proven false, that nobody knew what was happening there also comes up time and again. One may assume that the voices who want to leave the past behind may have succeeded in public discourse.[6]

    In 1946, shortly after WW II, the sociologist Leopold von Wiese gave a speech at the first major sociological conference in Germany. After WW II, sociologists had to forget a great deal of things from the past such as philosophies trying to interpret history. He primarily pointed at Hegel, but focused on small social units only.[7] Fascism in Germany, in particular, and other European countries is pointed out as a metaphysical secret that cannot be solved by sociology.[8] There has been a decision to ignore the past and voice no questions concerning the status quo and the past. Suppression does not solve the problem as the daemons of the past keep returning. The sociologist Karl Otto Hondrich wrote a short paper in 1992 on urgent contemporary problems in the world after 1989, such as the increasing popularity of Neo-Fascism, war in European countries, the new economic crisis, etc. The shameful question from an interested scientific laity emerges: what is the sociological take on these issues? Hondrich's pitiful answer is: "We [professional sociology] try to ignore it." After twentieth century catastrophes, the scientific view also tries to break with the past, ignore it and only focus on positive aspects such as pacifism, non-violent communication as well as progress. These issues are indeed honourable, however, if negative aspects of contemporary society are ignored they cannot be analysed. These things are ignored and violence and new fascist seducers join the scenery while the scientific analysers of the world are speechless and surprised. Interestingly enough, Hondrich's paper ends with a cinematic outlook. As the hunter in Roman Polanski's vampire comedy *The Fearless Vampire Killers* cannot succeed against his opponents, as he already carries evil parts inside his body, contemporary critics cannot cope with the challenges of contemporary societies as they are suppressed and surprised trauma may return again even after. Hondrich wrote this paper in 1992, but it could also have been published in 2017.[9] If the traumata of the twentieth century are ignored, they will return again and again. Are there any insights a film may deliver, which a written narration of history does not? Harald Welzer argues in *Opa war kein Nazi* "Grandpa was not a Nazi" that films may overwrite the real experience of twentieth century veteran reports.

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[5] Christoph Amend, *Morgen tanzt die ganze Welt. Die jungen, die Alten und der Krieg* (München: Karl Blessing Verlag, 2003), 16ff.

[6] Kurt Nelhiebel, "Über den Umgang mit Auschwitz und Fritz Bauer," *Forschungsjournal Soziale Bewegungen* 28, no. 4 (2015): 248–280.

[7] Leopold von Wiese, "Die gegenwärtige Situation soziologisch betrachtet," in *Verhandlungen des achten Deutschen Soziologentages vom 19.–21. September in Frankfurt am Main* (Tübingen: Verlag J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1948), 26f.

[8] Ibid., 29.

[9] Karl Otto Hondrich, "Wovon wir nichts wissen wollten," *Die Zeit*, September 25, 1992.

Some of the remembered scenes in Welzer's qualitative research might actually be taken from Erich Maria Remarque's classic novel *All Quiet on the Western Front* rather than from actual experiences. In empirical research one of Welzers most disturbing outcomes was that most families were convinced that their grandparents were only indirectly involved with twentieth century crimes. Even if Grandpa delivers a rankly narration that he was taking part in war-crimes during WWII, his family is convinced that this may be just an incident or even stylize him as a member of the antifascist resistance. Like the children's game "Chinese whispers", historical narration is passed from generation to generation and modified as well. Welzer and his team primarily visited those families who did not know about any of the family members taking part in war crimes.[10] They interviewed families which saw things with a certain critical perspective. So this may be literally a ragged edge.

There are occasions where one has to leave this beaten track of thinking. As we study twentieth century history, one may tend to drift away from memorizing mere facts and dates to a state of reflecting on the human condition. Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht describes in exemplary fashion one disturbing aspect in twentieth century remembrance. Taking a look at a picture taken in spring 1945 as Adolf Hitler awarded the cross of iron to soldiers who were still school kids, we may wonder if Hitler himself still believed in NS-Germany's victory. Did those boys trust him? What were ordinary people supposed to think as they dated their espousal on "the Führer's birthday" on 20 April 1945 while the final combats of WWII were growing closer and closer?[11] Gumbrecht describes his own work as the quest for latency which also delivers an autobiographical sketch. Gumbrecht himself tries to escape the past. Even when he left Germany for a professorship in Stanford he was confronted with rumours that his own father has been more involved in NS-Germany than it has been assumed.[12]

Another urgent debate arises around the political and moral judgement of dictatorships in Central and Eastern Europe. For Germany the question arises if one can subsume the GDR within a bunch of dictatorship stories, resulting in an undifferentiated mix of tales from both the communist and the national socialist dictatorships. Speaking of German "Sonderwege" as well as dictatorship–narratives, this argument arose in the 1980s but seems to be widely regarded as common sense after 1989. The fact remains, however, that the communist dictatorships cannot simply be compared to the national socialist one, although populist voices in the discourse of post-89 are convinced of it. Contemporary Europe has the urgent task of remembering the catastrophes of the twentieth century. Political scholar Claus Leggewie quotes a former resistance fighter as we should forgive but not forget. In many cases, however, remembrance can still be regarded as a battlefield. Public discourse is a battle how the subjects of European history should be interpreted today. There are arguments concerning colonialism and WWII and urgent questions of contemporary Europe—which is about migration to Europe and the way one may understand Europe as a success?[13] Fehr found that the hegemonic way of remembrance uses a vocabulary of revenge and punishment. The frame justice is used with can be viewed as repressive.[14]

From this rather theoretical explanation, I am generating a hypothesis for further work, as "we" know a great deal about twentieth century history, but actually it turns out not to be that much, since we try to forget as well. The character of Nebel may therefore be regarded as

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[10] Harald Welzer, Sabine Moller, Karoline Tschuggnall, "Opa war kein Nazi," in *Nationalsozialismus und Holocaust im Familiengedächtnis* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 2002).

[11] Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht, *Nach 1945. Latenz als Ursprung der Gegenwart* (Berlin: Suhrkamp Verlag, 2012).

[12] Ibid., 299.

[13] Claus Leggewie, "Schlachtfeld Europa. Transnationale Erinnerung und europäische Identität," accessed February 4, 2009, http://www.eurozine.com/schlachtfeld-europa/.

[14] Fehr, *Vergeltende Gerechtigkeit*.

an allegory for our collective minds. The facts may be well known. Most people are left alone, however, with the question as to what this history means for their own lives. How does it feel if one experiences that his own grandfather collaborated more in a dictatorship than it is officially stated? Let us keep all these things in mind as we begin analysing the material.

3   What Hints for Interpretation Does the Name Alois Nebel Offer?

I will start my interpretation of the film with points which might seem rather marginal, including the protagonist's name or the initial sequence of the film. This is my interpretative decision as I assume the fundamental subject of the film can be found in every single piece of material. The focus for interpretation lies on the beginning as the hermeneutical hypothesis.

We are not watching this film without any presumptions made about the character. In our everyday life we are used to interpreting each other from our names, e.g., just like names from ancient Greek mythology tend to mark persons from rather educated classes, we assume that students with foreign names may suffer from difficulties at school and face problems on the labour market. There are also names from which we assume they are given mostly to persons from the lower classes, consequently it is expected that these are experiencing low performance at school and are marked for misbehaviour. The psychology of this effect is based on the unity of observation, interpretation as well as appraisal. In everyday life this unity works but we may split it up for interpretation, in order to see the possible symbolisms. It can be assumed that some of the characters have names which are a hint as to their personality just like Nebel's nanny Dorothe ("God's gift") as well as his beloved Květa ("Flower"). We can assume the name "Alois Nebel" may also deliver certain insights about his personality.

If we begin with the first name "Alois." It is a common name in the Czech Republic, southern Germany and Austria, mainly for older generations. Alois therefore sounds like a name which comes from a Catholic family background, as he may have received his name from the Italian saint Aloysius Gonzaga who lived from 1568–91 and who is still revered as the patron saint of students. The literal meaning may be traced from the ancient German *alwis*, which means "wise" or "clever," literally "knows everything."

Nebel ("fog") is related to darkness, with the proverb providing the feeling that if something should be a secret, it should happen in fog and at night during a dark, foggy night. Ears which are familiar with twentieth centuries history may connect it to another film concerning twentieth century history. One of the earliest, most important, and influential Shoa documentaries was *Nuit et bouillard* (directed by: Alain Resnais). This documentary contains some sequences which are contrasted with poems written by a victim of the national socialist dictatorship. One of the reasons this documentary has been influential is because it provides direct insight into the suffering the prisoners had to endure in concentration camps. Anyone who has seen it will remember the direct, unsparing choice of pictures: the piles of shoes and spectacle frames which belonged to the millions of humans who were murdered in these camps. The title *Nuit et bouilliard* refers to the national socialist NS-campaign to breaking imprisoned resistance fighters without leaving any evidence, keeping them in solitary confinement and refusing to provide any information to friends and family members. Fog is also related to forgetting things, we know every day phrases such as someone's mind being foggy.

Furthermore if one spells Nebel backwards the word *Leben* "life" emerges. Perhaps this is a hint to turn everything upside down, just as psychoanalytic approaches would take a closer look at the latent content and the meaning of a symptom may be considered as the opposite. The surroundings of Bilý Potok seem to be nervous in a tense, restless mood, even if nothing is

happening there. Perhaps the daemons are not merely drowning but also the rest of the town is affected by the demons of its past. We may arrive at this interpretation by the hysteric reactions that some of the other railroad workers demonstrate when they make the acquaintance of the voiceless guy in front of the station.

After attempting certain readings of his name, we check what resonates with other resources. What else do we learn about Alois? He confesses himself a Catholic, a member of the communist party and, leaves us with the open rhetorical question if one can indeed be a committed member of both institutions. Alois is an educated man as he can deliver detailed information from history. He again tries to leave the rather bad memories behind as well as, as was already quoted. His own way of coping with the past is to remember and not suppress. If we summarize these readings we may identify a dichotomy which can be considered the main motif in the protagonist's personality. His personality tends to oscillate between knowing and not knowing, between the sacred and the profane, and between metaphysics and the materiality of Marxism. In the next paragraph I will deliver a hermeneutic close reading of the initial sequence of the film *Alois Nebel*. We again assume that the beginning is highly significant in terms of underlying meaning and contains a high compressed meaning. Even if we gained certain first interpretational insights, we begin this interpretation by factoring our presumptions out.

4 A Close Reading of a Sequence of the Film

For a hermeneutic interpretation we draw on a single sequence of the film, mostly the initial part, as this may provide the most meaningful insights. As stated in the previous chapter, we focus on the initial sequence as it provides the perception of the film in a certain direction. The narrative facts which are introduced later may cause problems if they do not fit with the assumptions made in the beginning. Rasmus Greiner places an emphasis on the sound. Mainly focusing on Alois Nebel, he argues that the sound creates an enigmatic atmosphere in the first sequence of the film.[15] One major methodological problem is given from the sensory relativity as there may be problems in denoting the sounds. As we cannot provide screenshots of the sounds, I have had to textualize my impressions. If they are compared to other attempts, they may be surprising as I have certain facts different, but this should remind us of how different these things may be perceived as well as interpreted.

0:00 A small light rises up.
0:14 A steam engine emerges. A strange noise begins, like the low E string of a guitar.
0:25 The squeaking noise of the train ceases, the train is arriving. We hear harsh voices like military commands. There are some more dissonant noises. We ourselves can only speculate what is happening, but we see a man watching the scenery from a window.
0:45 Change of perspective: A railway station in a rural area. At that moment we cannot see a steam engine at the station. Somebody is reading the schedules for train departures in a calm voice and the perspective changes over to the landscape which surrounds the railway station.

If we want to understand the sound of this sequence, we have to read this sequence without pictures. What do we expect from an arriving steam train? Mostly the typical, rhythmic stomping sound of the steam engine, the fizzling sound of steam running through the valves of the engine as well as the typical, low "toot-toot" sound or a similar, higher sound blowing a whistle

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[15] Rasmus Greiner, "Filmton, Geschichte und Genretheorie," in *Transmediale Genre-Passagen. Interdisziplinäre Perspektiven*, eds. Ivo Ritzer and Peter W. Schulze (Wiesbaden: Springer, 2016), 183–194.

or sometimes even the sounds of a ringing bell. Although those are actually signals to stay away from the rails while the train is still moving, nevertheless we expect this sound when we see a steam train. Consequently, without these noises, if we would not see the steam engine itself appearing, we would not recognize it as a train arriving at a station. There is no doubt that the sound is important for understanding what is happening in the scenery. Some of those noises are familiar, some less so. The typical squeaking noise is part of our everyday life, although, we may not realize it.

The appearance of a steam train in the scenery of 1989 may appear anachronistic since the last steam engines stopped regular service in the late 1970s, with details probably only of interest for a small circle of railway enthusiasts. The sound at 0:14 reminds us of a computer game, like the appearance of a wizard, rather than the sound when a train arrives in a real railway station. The appearance of a steam train may remind us we are witnessing a flashback from an earlier date in the twentieth century.

Most interpretations will focus on the narrator's voice reading train schedules like a rosary which calms down the narrator. Let us go one step further as train schedules are viewed as reliable, exact and a kind of objective knowledge which everybody will recognize.

To put it in more abstract words: this scene draws a dichotomy between the subjective, emotional side of a person, who is dealing with flashbacks emerging from the subconscious, and the rational, reliable and knowing side of that person. Do we take this sequence as real or just as a dream? We already had the topic of history as a corpus of facts and data which we know a great deal about, but we do not know all that much about how this history feels. Away from psychopathology the protagonist may wonder what may have happened at "his" railway station not long ago.

Even if everybody knows, our senses may play tricks on us and we tend to take false pictures for real. Since, however, this appears to us as an animated film we are not tempted to take anything for real. One might be urged to reflect on what twentieth century history may mean to our personal life. As mentioned earlier, there are occasions to wonder about these things if we take a look at the small traces it has left behind like the picture of child-soldiers in WWII. This paper will argue that the film has an impact on the way the audience may think about history even if it is not about facts but uses funny and grotesque elements. The way real or not real in discussed in cinematic purposes will be discussed in the following paragraph.

5 The Relevance of the Films

Film can serve as a huge source of historical or social knowledge, but how do we obtain scientific knowledge which is more relevant than narrating just another story? Sociological giants such as Theodor W. Adorno emphasized artefacts as an important source for sociological findings but did not provide a systematic approach for their analysis. Siegfried Kracauer, another master, noted film as the seismograph of society, but also delivered no methodology. Documentaries have begun to have an educational aspect as they may inform the audience about urgent problems.[16]

Semiotic and post-structural works that emerged in literary studies in the second half of the twentieth century have focused on intertextuality, stating that an artwork cannot be interpreted solitary as an artwork on its own but in context with other works and the relationship between one other. The urgent question arises as to what insights a film can deliver that cannot be found by reading a book? Why should we try to interpret the film or pictures instead of reading the book or just looking at the facts? We know from the constructivist perspective that we can gain

[16] Ulrich Hamenstädt, *Politik und Film – Ein Überblick* (Wiesbaden: Springer, 2016), 4.

important insights by taking a look at the spectator or interpreting the interpreter. Following this intertextual approach, the film has to refer to other films as well and we also may assume that the graphic novel may actually rather refer to films than to books.

A process of interpretation from the book to film can be assumed. The film is a shortcut of the book and the director has to decide which parts or scenes will fit for an approximately 90 minute feature film. There are many more decisions the director has to make, such as location or cast. The audience may tend to remember the cast and associate similarities between two films and maybe not what they learned from another book.

Perhaps this proposition is taken for granted so often that no one ever takes the effort to examine this with regard to its possible sociological impact; perhaps this an insight for future work on film. Film is an interpretation as the director may read a classic text in a different way than the author's contemporaries. A classic example is *Moby Dick* as there may be many different messages a reader may obtain from the book; a different message from the author's contemporaries. Is it a narration about "adventure," "despotism" or "ecology and sustainability?" If the film is based on a graphic novel there is a further decision involved. Will you make an animated film, a feature film with real-life actors or a rotoscopic approach, like it was used in *Alois Nebel* or *A Scanner Darkly*? There have been graphic novels, of course, transferred to feature films with real actors such as *Ghost World* or *The Invention of Hugo Capret*. In summary, creating a film is a subject of interpretation which can be regarded as a process of interpretation and recreation which can be interpreted once again. A film such as *Alois Nebel* provides a huge corpus of material for interpretation.

A text is not assumed to be a solitary work but something set in contrast to existing and contemporary works. In this paragraph I will draw a line to other graphic novels and animated films over contemporary debates in politics to influences from academic psychology. In comparison with other works we may ask how they relate to each other as we assume that there are intertextual relations between the works that influenced them, and how this work presents itself in contrast to their surroundings.

The subject of the real and not real, which is a classic subject for cinema such as Alfred Hitchcock's classic masterpiece *Rear Window* (1954) which has a second subject between the window and the frame, was the subject in the previous paragraph. We arrive at a second reality if we take a look outside the window while the frame offers us the interpretation. We therefore have another perspective on the plot as we are reflecting between realities and even look behind the way we interpret. How does film initiate this?

Alois Nebel makes us switch from one reality or one sphere of reality to the other. This is once again a well-known motif in cinema. In contrast to Hitchcock's *Rear Window* or *Fight Club*, we are not concerned with false reality,[17] but rather with two spheres of reality such as the more fact-based historical narrative and what it means to be part of that history. There may be no question that his daemons refer to a historical fact or not. The question posed is more if his daemons fit into the daily lives in contemporary societies. We may know a great deal about history, but less about how the subject may cope with the burdens of the past. As we know from Gestalt psychology, reality is not merely delivered by the projection of light in our eyes (indeed, our eyes work very similar to the basic cinema apparatus), but also by cognitive act. The subject of the real and not real is provided by the motif of fog in the depiction of Alois Nebel's story. Further than just the question of real and imagination there is a genre which is working on the way we think about history.

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17 Ibid., 15.

Graphic novels adapt subjects from history for a essayistic and experimental form of expression such as a forgotten episode of media history in *The Invention of Hugo Cabret* (2007). The essay-like character of graphic novels and animated films has led to a certain genre which is supposed to be reflecting history, as its main goal is not just to inform about historical and social facts but to reflect on the way these facts are remembered or talked about. Celebrated examples of history reflective films have been *Persepolis* (2007), *Waltz with Bashir* (2009) and *Chicago 10* (2007).

Contemporary cinema may provide further insight for the interpretation of this film. Like *Alois Nebel*, *Waltz with Bashir* (2009) also begins with a fantastic scene as the protagonist retells scenes from a compulsory nightmare he keeps having to a friend: 26 dogs are coming to his flat to try to kill him. He knows that there are exactly 26 as it refers to an experience as a sniper leading a raiding patrol where he had shot dogs (which would raise alarm as the soldiers were approaching the enemy settlements). He remembered shooting 26 dogs. He asks his friend, a director, is he knows of someone who can help in cases of mental suffering. The film is regarded as a possibility to heal oneself as in psychotherapy. Again, this refers to classic insights into the psychology of film, as film is regarded as a psychoanalytic approach to society, as Sigfried Kracauer has proposed. The author and director in *Waltz with Bashir* has a flashback from wartime memories that night and begins to chase the part of his memory that is missing, but which he feels he will need to make sense of. He meets the former fellow soldiers that share their memories from the 1980s war in Lebanon. Some of his later talks are with experts in psychology who provide conceptional insights into how memory works. These experts refer to recent academic discourses. We are acquainted with psychological knowledge on memory such as intergenerationality: some of our memories may be transferences (Übertragungen) from previous generations as the WWII traumata are transferred to children and grandchildren.[18]

Another topic is the recreation of memory in our everyday life. The film quotes a famous experiment in which some photos from childhood memories are shown to participants. There is a fake photograph among them which shows a visit to Disneyland. Even if they have never been there, participants tend to "remember" having a very nice day with their parents there.[19] Our memory is therefore not a solid entity, but the creation of our consciousness or the way facts are recognized by our consciousness. This film may inspire people to think about the way trauma and remembrance is passed on from one generation to another.

As a last step we will attempt a synopsis of the way we interpreted *Alois Nebel* and the work of Jaroslav Rudiš. Jaroslav Rudiš is a young Czech author whose work primarily focuses on the period after 1989. More than most post-89 authors, Jaroslav Rudiš often focuses on scenery outside the Czech Republic. In one work the protagonist leaves his occupation as a teacher behind and begins a new life in a punk-rock band and part-time worker in Berlin.[20] The protagonist reflects on his own identity in contrast to narrations of a girlfriend who had similar experiences in the GDR. This quest for identity can be found in one of his last works. The graphic novel *Alois Nebel* came out as a comic trilogy and was adapted for theatre as well as an animated film.[21] The work of Jaroslav Rudiš is generally dedicated to the small narratives which emerged after the fall of the Iron Curtain in 1989. In *Der Himmel über Berlin* we meet a person called Nebel. Jan Nebel is a master craftsman serving in a slaughterhouse. Surprisingly, the 1990s cinema connoisseur will

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[18] A. Moré, "Die unbewusste Weitergabe von Traumata und Schuldverstrickungen an nachfolgende Generationen," *Journal für Psychologie* 21 (2013): 1–34; C Kölbl, A. Schrack, "Geschichtsbewusstsein intergenerational," *Journal für Psychologie* 21 (2013): 1–28.

[19] E. Loftus, "Our changeable memories: legal and practical implications," *Nature* 4, (March 2003): 231–234.

[20] Jaroslav Rudiš, *Der Himmel unter Berlin* (Berlin: Rowohlt, 2004).

[21] Jaroslav Rudiš, *Alois Nebel* (Dresden: Voland & Quist, 2012).

remember another Jan Nebel, he being the main character of a 1997 film entitled *Das Leben ist eine Baustelle*. Jan Nebel also works in a slaughterhouse. It is a typical Generation X plot as the protagonist falls hopelessly in love with a beautiful stranger and is burdened by bad news that a former lover has been tested positively for HIV. The contemporary film critique summed up this film as Jan Nebel walking around in this Fog.[22]

The most recent work is focused on 1989. The main character calls himself "Vandam" after his kick-boxing idol. Similar to a stream-of-consciousness narration, he relates his life philosophy in a grotesque monologue. He carries a dark secret as he may have been one of the policeman who worked on Národní třída street when the Velvet Revolution began. Jaroslav Rudiš reflects on this narration in an epilogue for the German edition as the quest for a small country's identity which emerges from its history with powerful neighbours such as Austria, Russia and Germany.[23]

Some of his work is related to the band *Priessnitz* which was formed in 1990 in the area where the film *Alois Nebel* takes place. *Alois Nebels'* co-author Jaroslav 99 is also the singer in this band. The band *Priessnitz* named himself after a well-known peasant farmer and famous non-medical practitioner from this region. Spotting the Sudetenland question is also a subject of this band; some of their lyrics are in German. The political scholar Claus Leggewie argues that the Sudentenland question is a misfit for remembrance as it does not fit into the dictatorship narrative, since expulsion took place while the bourgeois President Beneš was in office. The Sudetenland question is supposed to be one topic of collective European remembrance where Europeans should forgive but not forget.[24] To summarize this paragraph, the film offers more space for reflecting on the subject of real/not real. Although we may learn something about these facts from literature, the depiction, especially in animated films, allows for some hints on how the consciousness of the protagonists works. As the spectator is mainly urged to take on Nebel's perspective, the spectator may ask what history may mean to his personal life.

6 Conclusion

Fictional formats which are mixing historical subjects with fiction may be a problem as they are not just about history but are transporting a political message, where the audience is urged to make a distinction between fact and fiction.[25] In this reflective take on history, the subject of remembrance is depicted. It may sound dubious to connect a piece of fiction with academic discourses rather than other fictional products. The fictional character Alois Nebel stimulates a way of reflection on the subject's role as he is suffering from a trauma, although it is not recognized as such as the daemons from the past are instead blind passengers. They are not recognized if they emerge. The audience is moving one step further as they do not learn about historical facts, but have to reflect on what historical facts mean to their lives. As the public discourse on European history is dominated by repressive and authoritative voices, the reflection on an artefact allows for new perspectives and arguments apart from this discourse which is not about history as revenge but more about suffering, feeling compassion for the victims and recognizing and respecting the multiple fates and life forms.[26]

What do we learn from *Alois Nebel*? From our intertextual analysis we find this film to be related to academic discourses such as the construction of memory as well as other fiction or

[22] Susanne Weingarten, "Was nun, Jan?" *Der Spiegel* 12 (1997): 216–217.

[23] Jaroslav Rudiš, *Nationalstraße* (München: Luchterhand Verlag, 2016).

[24] Leggewie, "Schlachtfeld Europa."

[25] Hamenstädt, *Politik und Film*, 31.

[26] Fehr, Vergeltende Gerechtigkeit.

products from the feature film industry. This work can be regarded as unique for European cinema as the subject of expulsion is not all that common. Nebel also represents the mainstream of contemporary popular culture which has no vocabulary for remembering aspects of twentieth century history, but takes the first step to spot these shameful subjects. In contrast to other works of historical fiction, *Alois Nebel* shows funny and grotesque motifs and does not try to teach "what really happened", instead attempting to sensitize for the latent contend of reality. The audience may have known about this subject before, but this knowledge has remained latent. Gumbrecht describes latency as a blind passenger: it may show up, but is not recognized.[27] The protagonist's daemons appear as images from the catastrophes of the twentieth century, but are identified as a psychological disorder as nobody knows how to cope with those images. Blind passengers are nightmares survivors of one of the twentieth century's catastrophes we are suffering from. The children of WWII often have whimsical personality traits. Family members witness the symptoms, but often cannot read the signs. Sometimes the next generation is still suffering from world-war trauma without knowing it.

One argument may remain: that we are only dealing with fiction. The character Alois Nebel is loosely based on the author's grandfather. At some point there is even a meta-dialogue within the graphic novel, when the narrator and the illustrator have a debate as to whether Nebel should marry his beloved or if the strange voiceless individual should receive some more time in the plot. Public discourse on remembrance and history tends to deliver a simplified and one-dimensional perspective on history and the moral judgement of historical facts. Debates on ethics can be regarded as the question as to whether we can understand a life. We have to understand another's life such as the lives of historical figures. According to Max Weber, we do not need to be Julius Caesar to understand Julius Caesar. It remains doubtful if we can, however, deliver a serious analysis of a historical figure like Julius Caesar if we know very little about daily life in Roman times. More importantly, we have to analyse ourselves as we experience ourselves in situations which demand moral judgement. If we pose a moral question, the question may arise, "who am I?" which is often connected to questions concerning narrations of the self such as "why could I live in this way that long and not revolt against morally questionable commands for such a long time?" Questions like these arise of course in certain historical situations.

If we summarize our hermeneutic approaches in this paper, Alois Nebel is a person who is a living dichotomy between knowing and not knowing. The plot may be fictional, but the structures which this narration emerges from are not. The philosopher Ferdinand Fellmann discusses the role drama can play in teaching ethics.[28] He states that even if everything is fiction we will learn a lot about our personal identity from those fictional stories. As *Alois Nebel* proves, this is equally true for animated films which may teach us to reflect on history. In simple terms, we can change the narration of our own dramas, imaginations, and narratives but not the structures. By playing drama we offer a lot of insights to the structures of out thought and they are the boundaries of our reality.

The blank space between objective knowledge about the hurtful past and the subjective "not knowing", what it means to have those hurtful experiences and how we should cope with the past, if it is connected to our personal and family history, can be regarded as typical for remembrance in contemporary European societies. How does one cope with the information if one realizes that one's own dad or grandfather has been more involved in war crimes etc. Can Nebel also be interpreted as a typical subject in contemporary society? He knows a great deal about the

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[27] Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht, Florian Klinger, eds., *Latenz – Blinde Passagiere in den Geisteswissenschaften* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011).
[28] Ferdinand Fellmann, *Die Angst des Ethiklehrers vor der Klasse: Ist Moral lehrbar?* (Stuttgart: Reclam, 2002).

historical facts but cannot cope with the images and memories in his head as there are few ways to cope with these daemons. For his less reflected contemporaries this is merely a psychological disorder. We may use artefacts such as films and graphic novels as a possibility of coping with this blank space in today's everyday life. In art we may find a controlled catharsis without the risk of hurting our own psyche. Animated films such as *Alois Nebel* may help us fix this blank space between knowing and not knowing.

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Belief in Wooden Effigies Used for Malevolent Purposes between the Asuka and Heian Periods

Abstract | In ancient Japan, human-shaped figurines were used in various rituals such as purification, exorcism and healing. In the light of preserved written sources and artefacts, it can be stated that several effigies were used as implements of malediction from the beginning of the Asuka period. In most cases, the person who cast the curse and the person subjected to the curse are known, and the fact that their names could be primarily linked to the Imperial Court and politics raises the issue of the purpose of the applied magic. By the Nara period, belief in the figurines of malice prepense became stronger, while in the late Nara period the effigies used for malediction were banned by Emperor Shōmu, and legislation was enacted to punish those accused of the criminal act of malediction. Although malediction was subject to prohibition, the tendency to commit a crime by using magic did not diminish. On the contrary, several resources state that the use of malediction became even more prominent. By the late Heian period, this method of malediction came to be so feared that it actually influenced a certain royal ceremony. This article focuses on the written sources and artefacts preserved from a period of 600 years in Japan that reveal how the strong belief in effigies played a political role and how this belief influenced life in the capital.

Keywords | Japan – Effigy – Figurine – Malediction – Imperial Court

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1 Introduction

Figurines have been used in various rituals in Japan as far back as ancient times. Belief in the supernatural power of such dolls arose from the concept that human-shaped figurines, as well as the wood they were carved from, could be occupied by different types of spirits. It is therefore not surprising that the Japanese characters for "doll" have several meanings.

The characters pronounced as *ningyō* first appear in the twelfth century in the two-volume version of *Iroha jiruishō* (*Iroha Dictionary*): they were read as *hitokata*.[1] *Hitokata*, also pronounced *hitogata* "human shape" is a synonym for *katashiro* "substitutional object"[2] and is often represented as a model of a human being. Apart from the differences in pronunciation, the aforementioned words are synonyms. They can be categorized, however, on the basis of their purpose.[3]

A figurine can serve as a substitute god figure or provide a sacred object into which the god moves during religious ceremonies. A figurine can also be used in a purification ceremony as *nademono* "the stroked one." Misfortune was transferred to the figure by touch during *nademono*

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[1] Kanō Katsumi, *Nihon-ayatsuri ningyō shi – keitai hensen, sōhō gijutsu shi* (Tokyo: Yagi shoten, 2007), 34.

[2] Ueda Kazutoshi and Matsui Kanji, *Nihon kokugo daijiten* (Tokyo: Fuzanbō, 1986).

[3] Ibid., 370–371.

ceremonies, after which the figures were cast into a river to float away. A figure could also function as a substitute for a certain person, for whom a prayer or a curse is offered. In some respects, the methods of "exorcism" and healing can be classified as part of both these categories.

A wooden figurine[4] found at the eastern main canal of Heijō Palace is clear evidence for the use of healing figurines in the Nara Period (710–794). A face is drawn in *sumi* ink on the front of the figure, and an inscription which reads *hidarime yamai okoru kyō* on the reverse. This means "the left eye became ill on this day." Supposedly, the illness was transferred to the effigy during this ritual, whilst prayers were simultaneously offered for the recovery of the sick person.[5]

Another example is the figurine found in the northern trench of the palace of Fujiwara Capital.[6] This effigy has an irregular black spot on the left eye with two lines across the belly. The *mokkan*s (wooden boards used for taking notes), excavated near the archaeological site, reveal that the area used to belong to the *Bureau of Medicine* (*ten'yakuryō*), and the figure could have possibly been used by a *jugonshi*, i.e., a taoist magician, for healing.[7]

There are no names indicated on the aforementioned effigies. As treatment could harm the recipient, these figurines were in all probability used as substitutional objects by the doctors and magicians of the era.[8]

In ancient Japan, illnesses and calamities were thought to be the work of demons or fierce gods. Several effigies have frightening faces but no written names, which implies that they do not represent a specific person but instead a mischievous god, i.e., an *Onigami*.[9] The undesirable spirit or god was presumably exorcised from the prepared figurine, purifying the human body associated with it.[10]

Both the exorcism of harmful spirits and the treatment of serious illnesses had been part of doctors' and magicians' duties throughout the era, the traditions of these *ten'yakuryō* or *jugonshi*[11] respectively having been adopted from the Asian continent.

The concept of deliberately using specific types of wood in the course of these rituals also originates in ancient China. Supernatural powers were attributed to certain types of wood and, accordingly, the doctors of the era chose specific raw materials when creating an effigy. Peach tree and cypress wood were used most frequently, with the former supposedly feared by demons and evil spirits,[12] and the latter used for its healing attributes.[13]

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[4] Nara National Research Institute for Cultural Properties, *Mokki shūsei zuroku Kinki kodaihen* (Nara: Nara National Research Institute for Cultural Properties, 1985), PL 49.

[5] Kaneko Hiroyuki, "Nihon ni okeru hitogata no kigen," in *Dōkyō to higashi Ajia – Chūgoku, Chōsen, Nihon*, ed. Fukunaga Mitsuji (Kyoto: Jinbun shoin, 1989), 38–39.

[6] Nara National Research Institute for Cultural Properties, *Mokki shūsei zuroku*, PL 49.

[7] Tatsumi Jun'ichirō, "Katashiro no shurui to katashiro wo tsukatta saishi to noroi," in *Nihon no bijutsu 6, no. 361*, ed. Tatsumi Jun'ichirō (Tokyo: Shibundō, 1996), 30.

[8] Ibid., 30.

[9] Mizuno Masayoshi, "Onigami to hito to sono ugoki: shofuku josai no majinahi ni," *Academic Bulletin of Nara University Department of Cultural Properties and Heritage Studies* 4 (1986): 10.

[10] Ibid., 10.

[11] Kaneko, "Nihon ni okeru hitogata no kigen," 39.

[12] Zhèng Xuán (A.D 127–200) mentions in the commentary on the Confucian text *Zhōu Lǐ* (*The Rites of Zhou*) that "the peach-tree is what the demons fear." Li Xueqin, ed., *Shi san jing zhu shu: Zhou li zhu shu (Xiaguan Sima)* (Taipei: Wu-Nan Book Co. Ltd., 2001), 1001. All the translations made by the author.

[13] According to the ancient Chinese medical text *Wǔshíèr Bìngfāng* (*Recipes for Fifty-Two Ailments*), using a pestle made of cypress was part of the healing method of inguinal hernia, which the patient was asked to hold while taking *yǔ* steps, dragging one foot after another (very similar to limping). Fukasawa Hitomi, "Uho, henbai kara migatame-e: Nihon onmyōdō tenkai no ittan toshite," *Ōtsuma kokubun* 43 (2012): 22.

The *tóng* tree,[14] however, played a significantly more complex role in Chinese witchcraft. Whilst *tóng* figurines had been used for healing various illnesses, there were also malevolent uses thereof. Non-medicinal uses of the *tóng* tree can be found in the *Jiāng Chōng Zhuàn* (*Biography of Jiāng Chōng*), a chapter in the *Hàn shū* or *The Book of Han*, compiled in the second century BC. According to the story, Emperor Wǔ (BC 156–BC 87) suffered from frequent illnesses as he grew older. Jiāng Chōng, a high-ranking politician who had already come into conflict with the Imperial Prince and thus feared execution after Wǔ's death, proclaimed that the Emperor's illness had been caused by a curse. His statement was proven using "a figurine made of *tóng* wood [which] had been found at the Crown Prince's Residence."[15] Using this as a precedent, Jiāng Chōng had tens of thousands of people executed, including the Crown Prince himself.[16]

The use of such figurines for malevolent purposes is probably as ancient as the belief that prayers could definitely be heard by supernatural powers.[17] Here one should ask, however, who would attempt to harm or kill a person by casting a deadly, or almost deadly, curse on him/her, and what was their motive?

2 Definition of *Enmi* (Curse)

In ancient Japan, human-shaped figurines used in rituals were primarily discovered in Nara, Kyoto and the agglomeration of provincial administrative bodies.[18] Similarly, most of the effigies used for malevolent purposes were found in the Imperial Court and its immediate vicinity, indicating that their use was in some way related to the old capitals. The use of cursed (Japanese: *enmi*, Chinese: *yàn mèi*) effigies originating on the continent may also explain why these figurines were found in such specific locations. In order to clarify who used these curses, *enmi* (one of the *Ten Abominations* or *shí è*) must first be defined. Within the *Yōrō ritsuryō* (*Yōrō Code*), which was based on the Chinese *Tánglǜ shūyì* (*T'ang Code*) and enacted in 757, *Zokutōritsu* (*The Laws of Theft*) include a reference to *enmi*:

> Where because of hatred for a particular person magic is used or demons are summoned, there are many methods (of *en*), and they cannot be described in detail. Magic comprises such acts as drawing likenesses, or carving images tying the hands and feet of the likenesses or images. *Mi* refers to summoning demons or wrongly practicing "ways of the left." Cursing is to use spells. These are in order to kill a person.[19]

The endorsement of *Myōreiritsu* (*Terminology of Precedents and Laws*) in both the *Yōrō Code* and the *T'ang Code,* which inspired it, thus defines *enmigoto* as "evil manner, dark deeds, violation of rules as well as the preparation of effigies, stabbing its heart, penetrating its eyes by nails, binding its hands and feet in order to kill or harm a person."[20]

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[14] In classic Chinese texts, the character for *tóng* can refer to a number of types of wood, e.g., *Vernicia fordii* or *Paulownia tomentosa*, etc.

[15] Wang Yucheng, "Chūnichi daiyaku juso hitogata hōjutsu reisetsu," in *Kōsaku suru kodai*, ed. Waseda University Institute for the Comparative Study of Ancient Literature (Tokyo: Bensei, 2004), 256.

[16] Ibid., 256–257.

[17] Saikawa Makoto, "Zokutōritsu enmijō wo megutte," in *Ritsuryōsei no shomondai: Takigawa Masajirō hakushi beiju kinen henshū*, ed. Takigawa hakushi beiju kinenkai (Tōkyō: Kyūko shoin, 1984), 238.

[18] Kaneko, "Nihon ni okeru hitogata no kigen," 44–45.

[19] Translation: with reference to Wallace Johnson, trans., *The T'ang Code, Volume II: Specific Articles* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1997), 267; Ienaga Saburō et al., ed., "Ritsuryō" in *Nihon shisō taikei 3* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1978), 97.

[20] Mizuno Masayoshi, "Kugi, hariutsu jusaku – sono bekkenroku," *Bulletin of Nara University* 11 (1982): 43.

Both the Chinese and the Japanese laws provide exact descriptions of how figures were cursed: stabbing the heart, penetrating the eyes with nails, binding its hands and feet. In addition, the curse is further materialized with an accompanying supernatural power. The *Nihongi* (*The Chronicles of Japan*) includes several references to so-called "shamans" (*kannagi, fugeki*), yet they were not associated with cursed effigies and committing the crime of malediction. Although the *Ryō no shūge* (*The Collected Interpretations of the Administrative Laws*, a commentary on *Yōrō Code* compiled in the ninth century) refers to *kannagi* as a person who "knows the way of fierce gods,"[21] these "shamans" cannot be accused of casting fatal curses. Instead, the perpetrators were most likely "private individuals" who, in most cases, invoked supernatural powers to carry out their dark intentions. In examining this theory, preserved written sources and artefacts from ancient China and Japan need to be examined in great detail.

3 Early Written Sources of *Enmi*

In China, the use of effigies for malevolent purposes is documented relatively early, in approximately the third century BC. The record in question exists in the *Liù Tāo* (*Six Secret Teachings*, a treatise on civil and military strategy) and describes events taking place in 1046 BC.

> King Wǔ attacked Yīn, Dīng Hóu [however] did not surrender, the Great Duke[22] painted the image of Dīng Hóu on a bamboo slip and shot [it] through by three arrows. Dīng Hóu fell ill and the oracle's divination stated that he was cursed by the Zhōu Dynasty. Dīng Hóu was horrified and begged the people to let him become a servant of King Wǔ. On the day of *jiǎyǐ*, the Great Duke had the arrow placed in the head of Dīng Hóu pulled; on the day of *bǐngdīng*, he had the arrow placed in the mouth pulled; on the day of *wùjǐ*, he had the arrow placed in the stomach pulled. Dīng Hóu's disease was finally cured. The people of the surrounding provinces heard it and they all paid their tribute.[23]

Incidents in which cursed images, figurines or statuettes were used for malevolent purposes later became more common. The *Zīzhì Tōngjiàn* (*Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Governance*, written in the eleventh century AD) reports that in 553, the Emperor himself committed the crime of malediction: preparing a figure, he "cursed it by driving nails into the limbs."[24]

Whilst Chinese records of curses involving wooden figures can be traced back to ancient times, the earliest record of similar practices in Japan exists in the *Nihongi*. It records an incident in 587 AD, when Nakatomi no Katsumi (?–587) "prepared figures of the Imperial Prince Hikohito, the Heir Apparent, and of the Imperial Prince Takeda,[25] and detested (cursed) them."[26] The fact that Katsumi tried to kill the Imperial Princes using carved images reflects the prevalence of the technique in the Japanese Imperial Court. Whilst the Chronicle is not specific regarding the exact methods used, the first Japanese record of using effigies for malevolent purposes thus dates back to 587, in the Asuka period.

The act of *enmi* was banned by Emperor Shōmu (701–756) in 729, after the suicide of Prince Nagaya (684–792). The Emperor promulgated the following decree.

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[21] Ōe Atsushi, "Ritsuryō kokka to 'fugeki' – ōken no kiki to 'enmi' wo megutte," *Hisutoria* 158 (1997): 12.

[22] Jiāng Zǐyá (c. 1100 BC), advisor to King Wén of Zhōu (Zhōu Wén Wáng, 1152–1056 BC).

[23] Wang, "Chūnichi daiyaku juso hitogata hōjutsu reisetsu," 254–255.

[24] Ibid., 257.

[25] Hikohito no Miko (6th century), Takeda no Miko (6th century).

[26] Kojima Noriyuki et al., ed., *Nihon Shoki, vol. 3* (Tōkyō: Shōgakukan, 2006), 506.

"The person, who practices heretic disciples, acquires the technique of conjuration, uses *enmi*, curses by spells or causes harm to anybody is subject to beheading, whilst the accomplices are to be exiled."[27]

Prior to the decree, Prince Nagaya was accused of "secretly learning the [illegal] 'Ways of the Left' [...] [he] intends to bring down the state."[28] According to *Zokutōritsu*, *mi* refers to practicing "ways of the left." It therefore seems reasonable that this deed could be categorized as *enmi* or another sort of curse.

As a result of this accusation, the Prince's residence was surrounded and then occupied by the soldiers of Fujiwara no Umakai (694–737). The Prince was interrogated, committing suicide with his family the following day. The record of *Shoku Nihongi* (*The Continued Annals of Japan*) points out, however, that his suicide was not an escape from sin into death. Instead, Prince Nagaya was "commanded to commit suicide."[29]

The initial reports from these sources do not mention other developments which contributed to the Prince's death, such as the Fujiwara clan conspiracy.[30] The *Shoku Nihongi* initially claims that Prince Nagaya was a victim of whistle-blowing. Nine years later, however, the same chronicle explains that it was Ōno Azumabito (?–742) "who submitted false reports about Prince Nagaya."[31] Successive generations and their chroniclers clearly questioned the legitimacy of *enmi* accusations.

This is not to say they did not believe in the supernatural dimension of these events: the Court feared the vengeful spirit of the dead Prince Nagaya. Fujiwara no Umakai and his three brothers died of smallpox in 737, and an earthquake was felt the following day: the sons of the deceased Prince were suddenly appointed to unreasonably high ranks.[32] One of these sons, Prince Asukabe (eighth century) was given both a title and name only two days after the earthquake in 773.[33]

These inflated ranks were likely awarded in order to appease the vengeful spirit of Prince Nagaya, and in the process ease the troubled consciences of the nobles who had him killed. Neither the decree of 729 nor the aforementioned laws reduced the use of figurines for curses. The *Shoku Nihongi* recorded several crimes of *enmi* after the practice had become a criminal offence, reinforced by eighth century artefacts.

4 Cursed Figurines in Ancient Japan

The earliest discovered figurine[34] was excavated from the main well of the Office of the Palace Table called *Daizenshiki* in the Heijō Palace. The male effigy is made of *Japanese cypress*, and the limbs, torso and head are clearly distinguishable. Eyebrows, eyes, facial hair, a nose and mouth have been painted on the face with ink, alongside four characters painted on both sides of the torso. The last two characters are hard to read: it may be the name Sakabe Shūken.[35] It is in all probability a cursed figurine since both the eyes and the chest of the effigy are stabbed through

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[27] Sugano no Mamichi, "Shoku Nihongi," in *Kokushi taikei vol. 2*, ed. Taguchi Ukichi (Tokyo: Keizai zasshisha, 1987), 170.

[28] Ibid., 168.

[29] Ibid., 169.

[30] Nitō Atsushi, *Jotei no seiki: kōi keishō to seisō* (Tōkyō: Kadokawa gakugei, 2006), 37–38.

[31] Sugano, "Shoku Nihongi," 216.

[32] Ibid., 212.

[33] Ibid., 571.

[34] Nara National Research Institute for Cultural Properties, *Mokki shūsei zuroku (Kinki kodaihen)*, PL 49.

[35] Mizuno, "Kugi, hariutsu jusaku," 33; Tatsumi, "Katashiro no shurui," 29.

with angular wooden nails. It is unclear what this effigy represented, it may be a Sutra-copyist listed in the *Shōsōin monjo* (*Shōsōin Documents*). The person who cast the curse is not easy to identify either, although it may have been a *Daizenshiki* official: presumably both the perpetrator and the victim of this curse were familiar with the institution where this figurine was found.[36]

It is important to mention the various possible reasons as to why, based on ancient beliefs, the name has been indicated on the figurine. This will be better demonstrated by how such curses were perceived. Japanese antiquity already had the concept of the "power of words:" *kotodama*, a combination of the words *koto* and *tama*, meaning "word" and "soul" respectively. The magical power of *kotodama* demonstrated that there was no essential difference between a thing and its name, allowing people to harm others by harnessing this "word soul." It can also be clearly seen that written characters, as well as pronounced words, had a supernatural power in Taoism and Buddhism. *Fu* (a written or drawn talisman) and *dhāraṇī* or *mantra* (a sacred utterance) were thus used as part of exorcistic and therapeutic rituals.[37] These were religious acts, however, with sorcerers using the power of words in similar ways for cursing.

Another cursed figurine[38] was found in Heijō Palace in a lake next to a gate called Wakai-nukai-mon,[39] with its chest pierced by an iron nail. Although no name or spell is written on the body, its realistic human shape may represent a specific person. The position of the nails in these two figurines corresponds to the descriptions of *enmi* in the *Yōrō Code*, meaning both wooden effigies were likely used for curses.

5 The Popularity of Using Curses in the Nara Period

The artefacts and the records of *Shoku Nihongi* verify that these *enmi* techniques had become almost fashionable by the eighth century. Princess Inoue (727–775), another imperial descendant then holding the title of Empress, resorted to using "black magic" and cursing her husband Emperor Kōnin (709–782).[40]

The curse used here is described, however, as *fuko*, a different form of witchcraft performed using insects. One year later this event is described as *enmi* instead. Having cursed the Emperor, both the Empress and her son Prince Osabe (761–775) were deprived of their royal privileges, yet they continued to commit sins recorded in the *Shoku Nihongi*. The death of Emperor Kōnin's daughter Princess Naniwa (?–773) in 773 is also attributed to Princess Inoue and Prince Osabe: "First, Princess Inoue was dethroned because of using witchcraft. Afterwards, she repeatedly used curses—this time she cursed Princess Naniwa. On this day, the Emperor ordered that Princess Inoue and Prince Osabe shall be imprisoned in Uchigun, Yamato State."[41]

Ryōan-ji goryō daimyōjin engi (*The legend of Ryōan-ji goryō daimyōjin*) of 1458 addresses this same incident and mentions a cursed figure which was found in a well.[42] Whilst this could reinforce the use of cursed figurines in the eighth century, the *engi* was written more than six

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[36] Mizuno, "Kugi, hariutsu jusaku," 34–36.

[37] Christine Mollier, *Buddhism and Taoism Face to Face: Scripture, Ritual, and Iconographic Exchange in Medieval China* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2008), 20.

[38] Nara National Research Institute for Cultural Properties, *Mokki shūsei zuroku (Kinki kodaihen)*, PL 49.

[39] Mizuno, "Kugi, hariutsu jusaku," 37; Tatsumi, "Katashiro no shurui," 30; Wang, "Chūnichi daiyaku juso," 262.

[40] Sugano, "Shoku Nihongi," 557.

[41] Ibid., 571–572.

[42] Tanigawa Ken'ichi, Ikeda Suenori, and Miyata Noboru, ed., "Jinja engi" in *Nihon shomin seikatsu shiryō shūsei 26* (Tokyo: San'ichi shobō, 1983), 619.

centuries later using existing sources such as the *Shoku Nihongi*, thus it is hard to say how far this can corroborate Inoue's use of figurines in her curses.

The course of the events and the circumstances, i.e., after the incident, Yamabe (737–806)[43] became the crown prince instead of Osabe after the incident in question, supported by the Shikike (a branch of the Fujiwara clan) in the wake of the Fujiwara clan takeover.

According to the *Kugyō bunin* (*Record of Members of the Council of State*), Fujiwara no Momokawa (732–779) was responsible for the coup d'état. He "devised a cunning plan, and finally dethroned Osabe."[44]

The *Shoku Nihongi* also claims that Princess Inoue and Prince Osabe died in prison on that very day;[45] auspicious timing in view of the circumstances. Supposedly, both the princess and the prince were assassinated.

Starting in 776, the capital was struck by natural disasters, and the Imperial Court feared that the spirits of Princess Inoue and Prince Osabe caused these disasters. To appease their spirits, Inoue and Osabe's remains were reburied in a tomb designated "the Imperial tomb" (*mihaka*).[46] A temple called Ryōan-ji[47] was also built to calm their souls.[48] Although the chronicle states otherwise, this anxiety or guilt may indicate that the punishment of Princess Inoue and Prince Osabe was known to be unlawful. Regardless of what actually occurred, the facts show that the nobility, as well as the Emperor, believed in the power of *enmi*, and acted accordingly in case a crime was discovered.

6 The Frequency of Effigies in the Heian Period

The Heian period also witnessed the use of cursed figurines. A pair of wooden figurines[49] was found, for example, in *Ukyō*, a district of the capital *Heian-kyō*, having lain hidden in a well for many centuries. The arms of these figurines are bound, with their posture representing the suffering of the cursed persons. The male effigy has a hat (*eboshi*) as well as painted hair, eyes, nose, ears and a beard. The name *Fujii Fukumaro* is written on the body. He may have been the descendant of immigrants who settled in *Shikigun* of *Kawachi no kuni*: some members of this family lived and worked in *Ukyō* as lower-class officials. The female effigy sports a *zujō ikkei* hair bun painted in ink, while the eyes, nose and mouth are carved and painted. Her eyebrows and nipples are painted, as is the name written on the torso: *Hinokuma Ako*[…]. Once again, the printed name and tied arms indicate a curse, perfectly matching the description of *enmi* in the *Yōrō Code*.[50]

Similarly, a wooden effigy[51] was found with a wooden nail in its chest in Asakumigawa, a district of Matsue city in Shimane Prefecture. The clothes of the figurine resemble that of the

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[43] Later known as Emperor Kanmu.

[44] Sugano, "Shoku Nihongi," 53.

[45] Ibid., 585.

[46] Ibid., 610.

[47] "Temple of the peaceful spirit."

[48] Tanigawa, Ikeda, and Miyata, ed., "Jinja engi" in *Nihon shomin seikatsu shiryō shūsei 26* (Tokyo: San'ichi shobō, 1983), 618.

[49] Minami Takao and Harayama Mitsushi, "Juso no hitokata," *Hakkutsu nyūsu 70*, *Leaflet Kyōto* 201 (2005): 2, accessed March 31, 2017, http://www.kyoto-arc.or.jp/news/leaflet/201.pdf.

[50] Ibid., 1–2.

[51] Miyake Hiroshi and Yanaura Shun'itsu, *Asakumigawa kasen kaishū kōji ni tomonau Tatechō iseki hakkutsu chōsa hōkokusho no. III* (Matsue: Shimane ken dobokubu kasenka, Shimane ken kyōiku iinkai, 1990), 316.

Chinese Confucian *shēnyī*, representing a man who probably held a high position[52] Although it bears no one's name, the figurine has nonetheless been pierced by a nail meaning it was likely used for a curse.

These figurines were cursed through belief in supernatural powers and could be seen as a form of witchcraft, although this does not mean that countermeasures against them should necessarily be considered religious or magical acts. As the *ritsuryō* legislation system prohibited all crimes threatening the established political order, curses could, and commonly were, often countered by legal means.[53] Therefore, the actual reason behind the ritual goes far beyond "exorcism."

7 Conclusion

It is apparent that these written sources and artefacts originate from capitals and their surrounding regions. Having adopted Chinese models, effigies were used first in the Imperial Court before spreading into the capital and then in the wider agglomeration. Those who cast curses were usually officials, noblemen or members of the Imperial Court. Many would have believed in the fatal effects of *enmi* curses, and all would have seen the legal and political opportunities *enmi* and effigies provided.[54]

By the twelfth century, the use of cursed figurines became so popular that prayers against *enmi* were included in imperial ceremonies. *Gōke shidai* (*The Ritual Compendium by the House of Ōe*, compiled in the early twelfth century) contains an *enmi*-related amendment to the prayer of the Emperor on New Year's Day, the *shihōhai*: "In the midst of curse and malediction, please let me get through."[55]

These sacred texts designed to counter malediction were supposedly used since the mid-late sixth century in China, whilst Japanese *Jumikyō* (*The Sutra of Curses and Charms*)[56] are only mentioned from the eighth century onward. According to Japanese records, the sutra, a text of protection, existed in multiple copies across the country. As an apocryphal sutra influenced by Taoism, it is doubtful that the wider populace knew or understood this sutra despite its broad reach: it failed to comply with the contemporary concept of "Buddhism as a state religion."[57] The text defines *enmi*, however, on almost identical terms to those found in the *ritsuryō* (above), followed by a prayer addressed to Buddhas and the gods.[58]

The sutra combines with the written resources and artefacts described above to clearly demonstrate belief in the power of cursed figurines. One may then pose the question as to why the incidents of curses which appeared in the chronicles were not followed by some kind of purification?

There are several possible explanations as to why only legal countermeasures were taken against malediction. Firstly, maintaining public order was of paramount significance for the

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[52] Ibid., 315–317.

[53] Saikawa, "Zokutōritsu enmijō wo megutte," 240.

[54] Lee Shou-ai, "Nihon no Heian jidai ni okeru 'shihōhai' no gishiki ni tsuite," *Journal of Religion and Culture of National Cheng Kung University* 4 (2004): 208.

[55] Satō Atsuko, "'Kenmu nenchū gyōji' zakkō 7," *Journal of Sugiyama Jogakuen University* 32 (2001): 32.

[56] Or *The Sutra of Curses and Demons*.

[57] Masuo Shin'ichirō, "Kodai 'hitogata' jugi to sono shoe kyōten – 'Jumi-kyō' no juyō wo megutte," *Engishiki Kenkyū* 13 (1997): 17–19.

[58] SAT DB, vol. 85, no. 2882.

court. Legal forms of punishment were thus the most salient, and those who cast curses were still mortal humans: order could be ensured via the imprisonment, exile or death of the perpetrator.

The divine ancestry and power of the emperor was also reinforced by taking appropriate legal measures against simultaneously human and supernatural acts of maleficence. The use of cursed effigies was a human choice: by no means could these curses be considered the result of divine anger.

The Japanese at this time believed that natural disasters and epidemics resulted from such divine anger, but described it as *tatari* (a curse or scourge) rather than *enmi*. This term applies to the curses of dead spirits, to every supernatural, maleficent power which people cannot control. Mortal humans were instead forced to rely on the mercy of the vengeful gods. Under such circumstances, it is not surprising that prayers and the appeasement of supernatural powers seemed truly necessary.

The restoration of order stood, however, above everything. Returning unintentionally or carelessly displaced stone or wood to its original position, for example, could appease the supernatural and calm the anger of the gods. Calming the vengeful spirits of those who died, thanks to false accusations of maleficence, in all probability involved different methods.[59] In these cases, spirits with no "homes" were demanding a place to rest. This could be resolved by respectfully burying remains or building a temple to satisfy these dead spirits, or they were otherwise propitiated. As can be seen in the case of Princess Inoue and Prince Osabe, the calamities and disasters caused by their anger would hopefully disappear once these spirits were successfully propitiated. Accordingly, in the *ritsuryō* state, imposing a penalty on those who had intentionally committed *enmi* was effectively a purification. Once the criminal was punished for the sins committed, order was restored. Magic under mortal, human control thus required human, legal countermeasures. These laws were exploited to their fullest extent during the Nara period. Cursed figurines readily became tools in coup d'états, conspiracies and religious/political games. Although the perpetrators' intents could be considered secular, as they deployed no supernatural aids, the aim was ultimately the same: "making effigies […] in order to kill or harm a person." (*Yōrō Code – Myōreiritsu*).[60]

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[59] Yonei Teruyoshi, "Kodai Nihon no 'tatari no shisutemu:' ritsuryō kokka ni okeru 'tatari' no yōrei," *University of Tokyo Religious Studies Yearbook* 10 (1993): 106.
[60] Mizuno, "Kugi, hariutsu jusaku," 43.

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A Non-issue? Agehananda Bharati and "Spirituality"

Abstract | I will provide the reader in the present paper with a brief introduction to the life and work of Swami Agehananda Bharati and assess the views of Hindu spirituality put forth in his work. In particular, I will discuss his experiences of the numinous, found in his autobiography, as well as his other works.

Keywords | Spirituality – Mysticism – Zero Experience

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One of the greatest injustices in modern religious studies, in this author's mind, is the relative obscurity of Swami Agehananda Bharati. When he is mentioned in introductory texts or anthologies, such as Snyder and Hawley, it is generally in the context of religious autobiography. Ironically, his autobiography, *The Ochre Robe*, has been out of print for quite a number of years, although easy enough to find through sellers of used books. In the study of mysticism as a phenomenon, he was a confident and unorthodox voice, and in the systematic study of Tantra remains unsurpassed. He was eccentric, polarizing, erudite, admittedly arrogant, and unbelievably linguistically talented, yet he was eclipsed by many of his contemporaries, Mircea Eliade, Ninian Smart, and Wendy Doniger among them. In terms of popular religious autobiography and conversion stories, he will never be as popular as the naive, starry-eyed Western converts to Indian systems of thought, such as George Harrison (Krishna *bhakti*), Richard Gere (Tibetan Buddhism), David Lynch (Transcendental Meditation), and Julia Roberts (who supposedly converted to Hinduism while filming *Eat, Pray, Love*). This is far from surprising as he offers no platitudes, very few glimpses of inner peace or quasi-mystical euphoria, no encouragement at all to follow in his path (often the opposite), and frequently reveals the "Mysterious East" as nothing more than a fraud created to sell books, films, and courses in "yoga" (he mercilessly ridicules the then-burgeoning Western yoga movement every chance he gets). Also, he is often just plain difficult, even in his most accessible works. He never underestimates his reader, and will not permit his reader to underestimate *him*.

Agehananda Bharati's life history is an interesting tale of complexity and religious fermentation. Born Leopold Fischer in 1923 and raised in Vienna between the World Wars, he from an early age displayed an alienation from his native Catholicism, which brought him some troubles in the parochial school he attended. Instead, he gravitated towards Vienna's sizable Indian expatriate community. He also displayed a prodigious talent for learning languages, which allowed him not only to absorb many of the modern Indian languages spoken in the Viennese Indian community, but also to study and master Sanskrit. By the time of his adolescence, young Fischer was being recruited by the Hindu community to recite the *Gita* in one of the local temples when the usual *pandit* was unable, because his Sanskrit recitation was clearer and more accomplished

than any other native Indian in Vienna. He eventually "converted" to Hinduism, in a ceremony he describes in his autobiography, and took the name Ramachandra.[1]

During the war, when conscripted by the German army, he chose to join the Free India Legion of Subhas Chandra Bose, and for a time was mistaken for an Indian by the German officers. He had hoped to follow the Legion eventually to India, but instead ended up a prisoner of the British for a time. After several years, he did indeed make it to India, and led the life of a *brahmachari* at the Ramakrishna Mission in North India. He soon left, however, after clashing with the Mission's authorities over his public rejection of Ramakrishna's status as *avatar*, a belief that was technically optional but rather strongly encouraged. He wandered to Benares, where, after much searching and many rejections, he obtained *sannyasi* initiation into the Dashanami Advaitin order in 1951, receiving the monastic name Agehananda Bharati. He spent several years after that wandering the length and breadth of India in the tradition of a homeless ascetic, preaching and begging. He also studied and taught at Delhi University, Banaras Hindu University, and Nalanda Institute. His various fields of expertise were Indology, comparative religion, philosophy, cultural anthropology, and linguistics. After his time in India, he taught for short stints at the Buddhist Academy in Bangkok and the Universities of Tokyo and Kyoto, before coming to Washington University as a visiting professor in 1956. He joined the faculty at Syracuse University in 1961, eventually becoming Ford-Maxwell Professor of South Asian Studies. He remained at Syracuse until his death in 1991.[2]

Even a casual look at his unusual life will reveal that Bharati broke as many preconceptions of what it means to be a Hindu as Hinduism breaks preconceptions of what it means to be a religion. While the phenomenon of the Christian Westerner feeling alienated from his religion and background is not uncommon, Bharati's seemingly single-minded devotion to a specific "otherness," a specific alternative identity, namely Hindu, is unusual. If there was an experimental phase in his young life—a flirtation with Buddhism, Theosophy, witchcraft, spiritualism, or any number of other exotic fads popular at the time—which is often the case with a Westerner's conversion to an "Eastern" religion, he does not tell us about it.

He seems to have thrived in the diversity, or, dare it be said, ambiguity of Hinduism. He uses the term "Hinduism" unself-consciously, even though, at least by his later years, the legitimacy of Hinduism as a "world religion"—never mind the very concept of "world religion" in general—was being called into question. Yet he consistently fights any essentialist notions of Hinduism throughout his writings. Whether he was facing Brahmins in India, members of the Hindu diaspora in East Africa, or Western ISKCON devotees, whenever a definitive essence of Hinduism was offered, Bharati was always saying, "Yes, but …" Despite having come to Hinduism via one of the most mainstream routes available at that time—studying Sanskrit with a *pandit* in Vienna, joining the sanitized and popular Ramakrishna Mission, receiving initiation in the traditional and hierarchical Dashanami order, pleading his case for the orthodoxy of his unusual theological ideas before one of the great Shankaracharyas (the four heads of the Dashanami order)—he devoted much of his religious and academic life to the fringe teachings of Tantra, scandalizing his Indian colleagues. He never tired of annoying puritanical Hindus with the his-

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[1] The author would like to emphasize that he is making no judgment of any kind, positive or negative, on Bharati's status as a Hindu. Bharati refers to himself as a Hindu, and the author feels no need to contradict him on this point in the context of this paper. However, his career as chaplain to the Hindu community in Syracuse, not to mention his ordination as a *dashanami sannyasin*, should at least show the reader that more than one "born Hindu" considered him as such.

[2] The information for this brief biographical sketch was taken from Bharati's autobiography, *The Ochre Robe* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1962), as well as his obituary in the *New York Times*, May 16, 1991.

torical evidence of the vibrant eroticism in ancient and medieval Indian religion. He embodied the paradoxes of Indian religion because he felt those paradoxes worth defending.

Swami Bharati always liked to say that a person embarking on an academic discourse should begin by "declaring his axioms," but in this case one finds the *pandit*'s dictum difficult to carry out. As the title of this paper suggests, the whole idea of "spirituality" was not yet a hot-button issue in academia in Bharati's heyday. When, in fact, the term became common coinage is not an issue I have the space or resources to devote to. Nevertheless, out of curiosity, and in tribute to my meager, dilettantish training in corpus linguistics, I began my research by pulling my small selection of religious studies primers[3] from their shelves and consulting the indices. Not surprisingly, the word "spirituality" appeared only in the most recent, *The Routledge Companion to the Study of Religion*, *Second Edition*, which was published in 2010 (first edition in 2005). I feel it appropriate to begin with some words from Richard King's essay, "Mysticism and Spirituality," found in this anthology:

> Today it is not uncommon for people to say that they are spiritual or that they have spiritual beliefs but that they are not religious, meaning of course that they do not affiliate with a particular religious institution or movement but still have some experience of the sacred.[4]

As much as I respect Richard King, I cannot help but feel he has replaced one nebula with another. What is the "sacred" in the "spiritual" personal experiences? The present author has difficulty believing it is the dreadful Sacred of Mircea Eliade, with its hierophanies and sacred spaces. Perhaps even in 2005, King could not foresee just how popular it would become in the new millennium to be "spiritual but not religious." Some would say the appellation has become as trite as the "Christian" and "churchgoing" it sought to eschew.[5] To echo the sentiments of Swami Bharati, the position of "spiritual" has become an *aesthetic* rather than an experiential matter. I suspect it originated simultaneously in a desperate grasping after a counterculture, as well as a rational middle ground between two institutionalized and dogmatic extremes: that of the Judeo-Christian religious establishment and the ideological force of what most journalists have taken to referring to as "New Atheism." In the second decade of the twenty-first century, pundits of the New Atheist movement—the author is thinking in particular of celebrities such as Richard Dawkins, Sam Harris, and the late Christopher Hitchens—have become for many nearly as obnoxious as the old talking heads of the Christian "Moral Majority"—preachers like the late Jerry Falwell, Pat Robertson, and the disgraced Ted Haggard. By calling oneself "spiritual but not religious," one may either refuse to toe the party line of either camp, take a middle position, or opt out of the conflict altogether. I know that I myself, to do a bit of auto-ethnography, have sometimes used the expression, to avoid identifying myself as either religious, which I am vicariously but not by participation, or atheistic, which I am epistemologically but I do not care to be part of the cultural baggage associated with the term.

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[3] Huston Smith, *The World's Religions* (New York: HarperCollins, 1991); Ninian Smart, *The Religious Experience, Fifth Edition* (Upper Saddle River, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1996); and *The Routledge Companion to the Study of Religion, Second Edition* (London: Routledge, 2010).

[4] Richard King, "Mysticism and religion," in *The Routledge Companion to the Study of Religion, Second Edition*, ed. John R. Hinnells (London: Routledge, 2010), 323.

[5] As I have only encountered this appellation in a Christian or Judeo-Christian context, I have juxtaposed it exclusively with adjectives like "Christian" and "churchgoing." To my knowledge, "spiritual but not religious" does not exist in the context of any of the indigenous South Asian religions. I would be very surprised if it existed in the context of any other Asian religion, including Islam. Of course, one becomes more likely to encounter it in the Western diasporas of these religions.

So it would seem that the content of the term "spiritual," as it is popularly used in the appellation "spiritual but not religious," is a dodge rather than a positive assertion. In this sense, Bharati dealt with this sort of dodge on numerous occasions under the term "eclecticism." A prime example is this passage from the preface to *The Light at the Center*:

> At Sam Goody's in New York, I once saw an LP record titled ALOHA AMIGO. I felt physically sick when I saw it. The all-American mental retardation as I see it is pathological eclecticism—and I don't think the new anthropology can leave it at that with a shrug and a note—it has to be chastised. Aloha and Amigo don't go together except in the realm of the phoney. Neither do yoga, Sikihism, kundalini, T'ai Chih', and macrobiotic diet. The silliness of *dal* and curry powder being sold in health-food stores all over America is blatant: Indian food is nutritionally among the poorest in the world; *dal* is a staple for lack of other protein sources; and spices are part of the Indian cuisine because they have to fry away at least part of the germs, hopefully, where there is no refrigeration. The syllogism in the minds of the health-food store owners and their customers "India is spiritual—*dal* and curry are Indian—hence *dal* and curry are spiritual" is just one instance of the aloha-amigo syndrome; any two or more items that are different from the immediately surrounding ecosystem are desirable, hence can be grooved upon jointly. But these *melanges* preclude genuine quest, and this has to be pointed out.[6]

One finds a similar sentiment echoed in the book *Tripping with Allah: Islam, Drugs, and Writing*, written by American Muslim convert Michael Muhammad Knight, whose religious biography bears some notable resemblances to Bharati's. He writes about his attempts to use the hallucinogen *ayahuasca*, a drug traditionally associated with some South American shamans, in an Islamic spiritual context. He contemplates the possibility of the failure of his venture and the subsequent book he might have to write about it, but wonders if it might not be for the best: "It could perhaps shed some light on the false promises of New Age-type movements and these irritating 'I'm spiritual, but not religious' people, and make the point that 'real' religion or spirituality or whatever is ultimately about hard work."[7] While some may disagree with Knight on the necessity of "hard work" for attaining an experience of the sacred[8]—hard work, he seems to imply, that excludes the use of drugs—one cannot discount his feelings toward the modern notion of spirituality. To the deeply religious, like Knight and Bharati, who consciously engage with and revise their positions *vis-à-vis* their traditions, "spiritual but not religious" is onerous because it is devoid of content, and he resents it because it implicitly claims to be a serious position.

Thus we come to Bharati, who was religious in the sense of actively identifying himself with and participating in the religious life of his tradition. I would also contend he was spiritual as well, although I cannot recall any instance in which he used the term as an adjective to describe a person, himself or any other. Before proceeding, however, I think we at last have some axioms we can declare, after our lengthy and rather polemical prelude. I have used the terms "religious" and "deeply religious," as well as the Sanskrit term *moksha-shastra*, which, for the sake of convenience, I will gloss, woefully simplistically, as a "method for spiritual liberation," i.e., a solution to a fundamental, metaphysical and/or existential problem. I identify both the concept of religion, and all living religions, as *moksha-shastra*. I have chosen to call this definition of religion the philosophical definition (as opposed to an ethnographic or anthropological definition, e.g., that

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[6] Agehananda Bharati, *The Light at the Center: Context and Pretext of Modern Mysticism* (Santa Barbara, California: Ross-Erickson, 1976), 11.

[7] Michael Muhammad Knight, *Tripping with Allah: Islam, Drugs, and Writing* (Berkeley: Soft Skull Press, 2013), 181.

[8] The well-known case of Ramana Maharshi alone would falsify this claim, unless one takes for granted the Hindu idea of *karma*. See especially Ramana Maharshi, *Be As You Are: The Teachings of Sri Ramana Maharshi*, ed. David Godman (London: Penguin, 1985), 1–6.

of Melford Spiro) and I believe in its usefulness wholeheartedly. By emphasizing the essentially *therapeutic* nature of religion—religion as a "way out"—it firmly demarcates religion from philosophy (thus making short work of, for example, those annoying voices insisting Buddhism is a "philosophy" rather than a religion—if it is a philosophy, it is a pretty poor one, and does much better as a religion), as well as religion from magic, which even Bharati claimed were identical,[9] while Richard F. Gombrich insisted they were distinct.[10] So, by calling a person "religious," I mean they take their system of beliefs and practices as a way of overcoming whatever fundamental problem they think existence has, be it separation from God, the cycle of rebirth, keeping primal chaos at bay, or what have you. These are often the very people who resent being called religious because they confuse "religion" with "ritualism," but this is nothing more than a polemic against a perfectly noble term that does not deserve it. As for the meaning of "spiritual," and what made Bharati "spiritual," this is what the remainder of the paper will be devoted to.

Another axiom I shall now discuss is that the term "spirituality," if it is to have any meaning at all, ought to be identified with "mysticism." Being axiomatic, I will offer no proof of this declaration, as no proof could ever possibly be provided. I will, however, submit that I am not the first person to declare this identification. As I said above, the only general treatment of religious studies I own which provides "spirituality" as an index entry is *The Routledge Companion to the Study of Religion*.[11] Directly below this entry is written, "*see also* mysticism." The bulk of the pages referred to comprise Richard King's essay, which I have already cited. Interestingly enough, King dispenses with the term "spirituality" on the first page, declaring it synonymous with "mysticism," which he then proceeds to explain. Bharati, who often referred to himself as a "mystic by profession," wrote possibly the greatest book-length treatment of mysticism I have ever read. In it, he defines a "mystic," succinctly, as "[one who says] he is a mystic, meaning thereby that he is trying to achieve the unshakable numerical union with an absolute which he postulates in some theological framework." He goes on to say that the proper method of achieving this union is "generating and utilizing euphoria."[12] Throughout his book, Bharati calls the experience of this union the "zero-experience." He describes his earliest zero-experience as follows:

> One night when I was about twelve it happened for the first time. I was falling asleep, when the world turned into one: one entity, one indivisible certainty. No euphoria, no colours, just a deadeningly sure oneness of which I was at the center—and everything else was just this, and nothing else. For a fraction of a minute perhaps, I saw nothing, felt nothing, but was that oneness, empty of content and feeling.[13]

One is immediately struck by the *dispassion* of his experience. Rather than ecstasy, Bharati's experience brings a pleasant, but cold, certainty.

Bharati's second zero-experience occurred when Bharati was a young interpreter in the Indian Legion of the *Wehrmacht*, and is recounted in detail in his autobiography. By this time in his life, he had been very active in the Viennese Indian community, becoming fluent in Sanskrit and various modern Indian languages, and had been experimenting with yogic practices through the works of Swami Vivekananda. After being put in a cell for quarrelling with an officer, Bharati writes,

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[9] Bharati, *Light at the Center*, 128.

[10] Richard F. Gombrich, *Buddhist Precept and Practice: Traditional Buddhism in the Rural Highlands of Ceylon* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1991), 12.

[11] This, of course, is not to say that no scholar was working on the term at all prior to the millennium. The author certainly does not claim exhaustive knowledge.

[12] Bharati, *Light at the Center*, 38.

[13] Ibid., 39.

> As I lay there, calm but very exhausted, and yet with a gentle feeling of happiness in my heart, some-thing happened that I had been seeking for years. Quite suddenly I was no longer Rifleman Leopold Ramachandra Fischer […] I was suddenly everything, the All, and I surveyed everything that was. For a moment, or for an hour—I no longer know which—I was that which is proclaimed in the four great axioms of Upanishad wisdom: *Aham bahmasmi*—I am the Absolute; *tattvamasi*—Thou art that; *prajatma brahma*—the conscious self is the Absolute; *sarvam khalvidam brahma*—everything that is is truly the Brahman. Only now had I become a real apostate, because I had fulfilled the original heresy in me—that mystical pantheism against which early Christianity fought so hard, and with final success. I am God—that is the supreme wisdom; I—not the unimportant, physical bodied I, not the wishing I, not the intellectual I—but the all one impersonal I which alone exists. I experienced all this in that blessed moment for which I had not directly striven. And after that it took over ten years of hard monastic asce-ticism before I was and even then only momentarily, able to recover that intuition.[14]

The main difference between the zero-experiences of child Bharati and young man Bharati is the contextualization. By the time of his cell experience, Bharati had begun building the "theologi-cal framework" he refers to in his definition of a mystic. Recounting his cell experience in *The Light at the Center*, he writes, "The certainty of a mystical consummation entailed for me that the *scripture* was right, that it corroborated my experience."[15] This comment is interesting in that, in *The Ochre Robe*, Bharati frames himself as a heretic. When one recalls that in the monotheistic faiths, mysticism is always looked at with suspicion and often branded outright heresy, perhaps it is no surprise that the appellation "spiritual but not religious" proliferates mostly in the Christian West. To the typical Hindu in South Asia, the appellation would likely be puzzling at best, and I cannot help but wonder if it even translates into any South Asian language. I suspect not—at least, not without a lengthy gloss.[16] The paradox between heresy and orthodoxy that Bharati draws in *The Ochre Robe*—heresy because he has clearly gone beyond the Christian instruction of his youth, orthodoxy because his experiences match the Upanishadic dicta—is best resolved in the context of Bharati as god. In *The Light at the Center*, he contrasts his experiences with those of Jesus, saying that, while Jesus needed to look for precedence in the Scriptures, Bharati felt that he himself had authorized the great dicta of the Upanishads, that he had not only learned them but indeed had created them as the one Absolute.[17] This is mysticism indeed: the mysticism that brings a oneness with the numerical Divine, rather than the common monotheistic conceptual-izations of mysticism, which comprise getting as close to the Divine as possible without actually identifying with the Divine. Bharati frequent refers to Judeo-Christian mystics as mystics "by courtesy")—with, for example, the exception of Eckhardt.

In conclusion, it can be definitively stated that Bharati's conceptualization of the "spiritual"—i.e., the zero experience—is something *extra-religious*, and yet *extra-spiritual* as well. It is an experience that can be felt, in varying degrees of frequency and intensity, purely spontaneously or as a result of regular exercises designed to facilitate the experience. However, in order to give the experience the appellation "spiritual" in any meaningful sense, it must remain within the religious context, and indeed Bharati, for all his assurances that the zero experience is not the exclusive parvenu of any religion, does not offer any nonreligious method for inducing it. "Spiri-tuality," strictly speaking, is a nonissue for Bharati because he does not use the term, and because the sense of the term we have chosen for our discussion—the mystical or zero experience—is, according to his thesis, inherently devoid of any content, and, indeed, only the religions provide

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[14] Bharati, *The Ochre Robe*, 58–59.

[15] Bharati, *Light at the Center*, 41.

[16] Of course, the English-speaking Hindu with a Western style education never tires of insisting that Hinduism is not a religion but a "way of life."

[17] Ibid.

it with any meaningful content for those who experience it. So we might infer that the expression "spiritual but not religious," were it in vogue in Bharati's day, would have been deemed by him an absurdity, an example of the "American mental retardation," eclecticism.

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"Down The Rabbit Hole…"
The Translation of Liturgical Text
in the Mirror of the Skopos Theory

Abstract | The Skopos Theory emerged as a new translatological movement back in the 1980s. Although every text may possess an infinite quantity of *skopoi,* the practical use is associated mostly with advertising texts, particularly due to their strong persuasive character. Religious texts, in our case liturgical texts, which do not seem to be related to the Skopos Theory, also have a persuasive character. The so-called *Divine Liturgy of St. John the Golden Mouth (Chrysostom Liturgy)*, a liturgical text of the Eastern Orthodox churches, is therefore an ideal example of a petrified liturgical text passed over for centuries. The main goal of the study is to outline the connection between the Skopos Theory and the translation of the liturgical text. This paper not only presents translations of the *Chrysostom Liturgy* into the Czech language of the twentieth century, but also points out the implicit and explicit influence of the Skopos Theory on the development of this text production.

Keywords | Translation – Liturgy – *Chrysostom Liturgy* – Liturgical Text – the Skopos Theory

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Motto:
Down, down, down. Would the fall never come to an end? "I wonder how many miles I've fallen by this time?" she said aloud. "I must be getting somewhere near the centre of the earth. Let me see: that would be four thousand miles down."[1]

1 Goals of the Paper, Hypotheses and the Methodological Basis

The Skopos Theory emerged as a new translatological movement as early as the 1980s. This involved a looser relationship to the original text than the one prevalent in the older concepts of translation theory, a focus on culture, the personality of the translator and, last but not least, the purpose to which the method is used in the translation being of subordinate importance. There are currently both numerous supporters and opponents of the theory (often also connected with a different approach to translation). Although every text may possess an infinite quantity of *skopoi,* the practical use is primarily associated with advertising texts, particularly due to their strong persuasive character. Religious texts, in our case liturgical texts, which do not seem to be related to the Skopos Theory, also have a persuasive character. It is specifically the liturgical text that is known for its petrification and staticity, and there are certain features of professional

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[1] Cf. Lewis Carroll, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, accessed February 12, 2012, https://www.adobe.com/be_en/active-use/pdf/Alice_in_Wonderland.pdf.

text found here as well. The so-called *Divine Liturgy of St. John the Golden Mouth (Chrysostom Liturgy)*,[2] a liturgical text of the Eastern Orthodox churches[3] is therefore an ideal example of a petrified liturgical text passed on through the centuries. The main goal of the paper is to outline the connection between the Skopos Theory and the translation of the liturgical text. This paper not only presents the translations of the *Chrysostom Liturgy* into the Czech language of the twentieth century, but also points out the implicit and explicit influence of the Skopos Theory on the development of this text production.

There have not existed as yet all that many works dedicated to the translation of liturgical texts, and the work with this topic is similar to Alice's adventure in the earlier mentioned "Rabbit Hole…" This topic also requires an interdisciplinary approach. Translatology (particularly the Skopos Theory and hermeneutics) represents the main methodological scope of this paper. When considering the analysed textual material, aspects of knowledge from both Bohemistic and Paleoslovenian linguistics, and marginally also German linguistics (lexicology, stylistics, study of professional language), are used. The motivation and the characteristics of the translation will be examined in terms of an extratextual scope, with facts employed from the fields of history and theology.

The following three hypotheses are built upon in this paper:[4]

1. During this current period of global culture, a simplification of traditional content has occurred primarily due to the fact that the recipient would be gained, with the translation also contributing to this change. This premise is also valid for the original petrified liturgical text;

2. The above-mentioned simplification of these contents does not necessarily entail their banalisation or profanation, as some researchers see it (e.g., the theolinguist Albrecht Greule), but merely the fulfilling of much older intentions, already outlined by St. Constantine-Cyril;

3. The changes conditioned by this purpose appear on the imaginary time-line increasingly more often at present and the Skopos Theory somehow "beats" the hermeneutics in the current production of the translation of liturgical texts.

Not only are the main theories of translation presented in this paper, which have been worked with in connection with the liturgical text, but on the general level, the liturgical religious terminology from the original to the target language, with respect to its role in the context of the professional language, will be presented.

2 Hermeneutics and the Skopos Theory and Their Use in the Translation of Liturgical Texts

Hermeneutics has been known as early as ancient times, being closely connected with the sacral sphere. Its talk, at that time, was to explain the divine quotations. This awareness is lost at present, although the theory is mostly associated with the interpretation of religious, legal, possibly literary texts in the classical sense of the word. Hermeneutics is not primarily a linguistic or translatological theory, but rather one movement of the philosophy of language. As a philosophical

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[2] The *Chrysostom Liturgy* is the main service in the eastern churches.

[3] In this case, the term eastern churches means both the Orthodox and the Greek Catholic Church. St. John the Golden Mouth (347–407), Archbishop of Constantinople, is viewed as its author. It consists of three parts: the "Liturgy of the Preparation" ("Proskomidia"), the "Liturgy of the Catechumens," and the "Liturgy of the Faithful." The original languages, which this text was translated from, were Old Greek and Church Slavonic.

[4] This study is based on the monograph Eva Hrdinová, *Překlad liturgického textu v zrcadle teorie skoposu* (Bratislava: Iris, 2013), where 12 Czech and German translations of the *Chrysostom Liturgy* were presented and analysed.

movement, it is based on Aristotle. Its main intention is to question the existential meaning of language (speech) for human beings.[5] Certain features of the hermeneutic method can already be found in the celebrated *Open Letter on Translating* "Sendbrief vom Dolmetschen" by Luther, which was further developed in F. D. E. Schleiermacher's research,[6] and in recent times by H. G. Gadamer.[7] It is precisely the hermeneutical procedure in the way we know it. This means in the sense of a preliminary text understanding, looking for a reliable original text and the explanation and correction of the problematic parts. In addition, the gathering of all accessible information concerning the given text seems to be the most suitable, both for the interpretation of a literary or religious text and for its translation; it has also been used in this way a number of times.[8]

The hermeneutical conception in translatology was specifically applied by Fritz Paepcke.[9] He argued that translation does not mean merely shifting a text from one appearance to another one, where certain principles are used by the translator. Translating has to be based on the belief that translation is one of the activities done through experience, and this experience subsequently influences this activity. The question of the processes of understanding from the viewpoint of the translator as an individual is at the centre of interest. Above all, according to Paepcke, the translator should understand the text.[10] The texts need not necessarily be homogeneous, but contain various different elements and functions on the level of the linguistic sign. This heterogeneous character of the text is called multiperspectivity (*Multiperspektivität*) by Paepcke. The text cannot then be understood in the way that we only know the meaning of the individual words. The text has its interchangeable "individuality."

According to the theory of hermeneutics, the translation is carried out as follows: the creative act (it is even spoken of as play), the application of the text related to the reader and culture being of significant importance. From the perspective of the translator, this aspect is (or rather should be) taken responsibly. The original and the target text should create one unit. I will now focus on the three most important fields that hermeneutics deals with, precisely with respect to the translation of religious texts. This means:

1. the relationship to the language (translation and communication),
2. the relationship to the original and
3. the relationship to parallel texts and sources.

Being one of the functional theories, the Skopos Theory reached its peak of relevance during the 1990s in connection with the so-called Pragmatic Turn. The beginnings of the Skopos Theory can be followed from the 1980s on, when Katharina Reiß and Hans J. Vermeer came up with and created the Skopos Theory as a "general theory of translation" (*Allgemeine Translationstheorie*). At the time of its origin, it represented a certain novelty,[11] with respect to its approach to culture, the personality of the translator and the relationship to the original text. According to the Skopos Theory, the most important factor playing its role during translation is the purpose of the text,

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[5] Radegundis Stolze, "Sprachphilosophie (Hermeneutik)," in *Handbuch Translation*, ed. M. Snell-Hornby et al. (Tübingen: Francke, 2006), 115–119; Radegundis Stolze, *Übersetzungstheorien – Eine Einführung* (Tübingen: Narr, 1997).

[6] Peter Szondi, *Einführung in die literarische Hermeneutik* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1975).

[7] Hans Georg Gadamer, *Pravda a metoda I. Nárys filosofické hermeneutiky* (Praha: Triáda, 2009).

[8] Daniel Slivka, "Etymológia a význam termínu hermeneutika," *Hermeneutika*, no. 1 (2011), accessed November 5, 2011, http://www.hermeneutika.cz; Trstenský, František, "Proces porozumenia biblickému textu," *Hermeneutika*, no. 1 (2011), accessed February 12, 2012, http://www.hermeneutika.cz.

[9] Cf. Szondi, *Einführung in die literarische Hermeneutik*, 122.

[10] Stolze, "Sprachphilosophie (Hermeneutik)," 115–119.

[11] The terminology is partly taken over, cf. the term translation used already by Otto Kade.

i.e., the skopos. This purpose is then closely connected with the relationship to the original, but even more to the target culture. It is exactly the purpose, together with the culture,[12] that can cause a certain shift in the point-of-view towards the reception of the original from the translator's perspective. Unlike older theories, the Skopos Theory permits a free translation or even the creation of a completely new text on the basis of the original text. A prerequisite for this change is of course the purpose and cultural determinant of the translation. The "holy original," as Schleiermacher called it, has become a model. Skopos means the purpose, the goal pursued in the translation. "It is the impact to be aroused in the recipient, and this impact may be different from the initiator's viewpoint than from the original recipient's point-of-view."[13] In every translation, a function can be presumed. This function is

> pragmatically determined through the purpose of the intercultural communication, the initiator of which is the contract owner. This is why the translator determines the goal (skopos), within which the perspective function determined by the initiator is also included. A certain tension between the author and the translator may arise, being projected into the (moral) critique of the faithfulness to the intention of the original author.[14]

As a translation method, functional equivalence is usually used. Due to the proclaimed freedom regarding the translator's approach towards the text, the Skopos Theory has been criticised, the critique being related both to the conception of the purpose of the translation and the method itself.[15] It has been emphasised that the Skopos Theory is not applicable e.g., in fiction or in strict documentary legal texts.

The Skopos Theory is currently mostly used in the translation of advertising texts.[16] It could also be thought of in those texts whose intention is not advertising in the pure sense of the word, but which contain a strong "operating" (promotive) component. It is exactly this component that is present in the above-mentioned religious text. When translating a religious text, the cultural component, as well as the emphasis on the target group, are equally important. This has been changing in the liturgical text over the years, which may be conditioned by the adaptive tendency in translation.

Regarding the translation of a religious text, the parallels between hermeneutics and the Skopos Theory are extremely important, specifically the dynamic approach (the hermeneutic circle is not static, which is why the resulting interpretation of the text and its translation is always different from the previous one. Similarly, the concept of the purpose or the translation method in the Skopos Theory is also not static, but constantly changing, depending on the text type and an entire range of textual and extratextual factors,[17] history and culture as important factors

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12 Cf. Dušan Tellinger, *Der kulturelle Hintergrund des Translats – Kultur als Substanz der Kommunikation* (Košice: Typopress, 2012).

13 Zuzana Jettmarová, "Volba strategie a rozhodování na základě teorie skoposu: komplexní kritéria překladatelské analýzy textu," in *9× o překladu. Vybrané příspěvky přednesené na podzimních setkáních roku 1994 (Letná škola prekladu Budmerice, Ruský jazyk ve sféře byznysu Ostrava a Překladatelská konference Havlíčkův Brod)*, ed. Milan Hrdlička (Praha: Jednota tlumočníků a překladatelů, 1995), 25–31.

14 Ibid., 26.

15 Magdalena D. Schneider, "Die Anwendung der Skopostheorie auf Übersetzungen von Werbetexten" (unpublished Master's thesis, Universität Wien, 2010).

16 Jettmarová, "Volba strategie a rozhodování na základě teorie skoposu," 25–31; Schneider, "Die Anwendung der Skopostheorie auf Übersetzungen von Werbetexten."

17 Cf. Jettmarová, "Volba strategie a rozhodování na základě teorie skoposu," 25–31, where the analytical model by Christiane Nord is mentioned: Extratextual factors: sender, intention, recipient, medium, place, time, motive, function. Intratextual factors: content (text semantics), topic (macrotopics/microtopics), recipient's

for the origin and successful carrying out of translation, and the emphasis on the translation as a communicative act.[18] As the last significant point, the relationship between the original and the translation is to be enumerated. Although hermeneutics places an emphasis on the "untouch-ability" of the translation and the necessity of its influence on the translation, the Skopos Theory does not merely mean an extreme diversion from the original.

3 Religious Terminology in Church Slavonic and Its Translation into Czech with Regards to the Professional Character of this Terminology

The liturgical terminology is part of so-called liturgical language which represents a subgroup of religious language.[19] This language can be defined as a sacral language, being different from the profane one due to "the relationship to the religious models of the world."[20] The text of this sacral language consequently has a "mythical, ritual or theological character,"[21] and is distinguished by poetic features. In a certain way they also fulfil social and psychological roles "which can be understood e.g., from the sociological point-of-view, from the point-of-view of the theory of evolution or cognitive psychology."[22] A liturgical text, in other words a text describing the course of a church service, is a ritual text which is characterised by both normative and formative fea-tures, i.e., it determines its recipients, and at the same time also creates, certain ways of acting.[23] Another specific feature of a liturgical text is its fluctuating between the textual types of a profes-sional, fictional or propaganda character. The clear characteristic definition of a liturgical text, or its proximity to certain functional styles, is very important especially for a translator, whom this finding will help to choose the appropriate strategy. Having taken the context between the liturgical and professional language into account, the following points need to be stated:

1. The liturgical language is able to stand as a kind of professional language and the textual type of a liturgical (Mass) form reveals its proximity to several texts of the professional (scientific) style.
2. The character of the vocabulary is close to terminology and there are certain word-forming patterns to be found.
3. A specific issue is represented by the relationship, of the given terminology, to the field of emotionality, i.e., terminology is not strictly conceptual as expected in the professional ones.
    The presence of lexical borrowings (*diákon, diakonnik, blahodať, jerej, Bohorodice, felon, tro-par*), which are to a certain extent Czechified or borrowed, are crucial formal features of the litur-gical terminology for Czech. In case of these borrowings, the presence of certain word-forming models can be noticed, for instance compounds (*Bohorodice, blahodať*) frequently preceded by compounds not only in Church Slavonic and Greek (*theotokos, charis*).[24]

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presupposition, text composition, nonverbal features in the text, style (vocabulary, sentence structure, supra-segmental features).

[18] Nevertheless, here it is inevitably necessary to point out that the pragmatic intention of the text is important for the Skopos Theory, whereas in the case of hermeneutics, it is the dialogue between the reader and the text, which does not necessarily presume persuasion or any other pragmatic influence.

[19] Albrecht Greule, "Liturgische Textsorten und ihr *Sitz im Leben*," *Deutsche Sprache* 31 (2003): 293–306.

[20] Klaus Beyer, *Religiöse Sprache. Thesen zur Einführung* (Münster: LitVerlag, 2004), 7.

[21] Ibid., 8.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Jan Assmann, *Religion und kulturelles Gedächtnis* (München: C. H. Beck, 2000).

[24] The lexical borrowings in the field of Eastern Orthodox liturgical terminology can also be traced to German (*Diakon* "the deacon;" *Troparion* "the troparion;" *Felonion* "the phelonion"). The presence of compounds in German *(Rüsttisch* for *žertvennik* "table of Preparation"), which do not follow the compound structure of the

4 The Translation Production of the Eastern Orthodox Liturgy in the Czech Lands and an Analysis

4.1 The Translation Production of the Eastern Orthodox Liturgy in the Czech Lands

The Czech translation production of the *Chrysostom Liturgy* included the translations which came about both in the Greek Catholic[25] and Orthodox environments. As far as the original of the *Chrysostom Liturgy* is concerned, which served as the source for the translation, Greek as well as Church Slavonic models can be assumed. Some of the translators do mention the information about the original in an explicit way. Implicitly, they can also be identified according to the language similitude of the target text based on interferences.

As concerns the Czech Orthodox translations, it is possible to proceed from the following periodization. The historical and social circumstances indicate that the religious lexis of the Orthodox Church in Czech has been forming since the nineteenth century. Worthy of mention would be, for instance, *Podhradsky's Catechism* or the translation of the *Divine Liturgy of St. John the Golden Mouth* published by Josef Rank in 1885, "The Orthodox Mass of St. John the Golden Mouth" (*Mše pravoslavná svatého Jana Zlatoústého*). This was predominantly a marginal tendency related to a personal fascination of individuals impressed by orthodoxy (e.g., originally an Evangelical priest, Štúr's supporter Podhradský, the author of one of the first Orthodox catechisms in Czech[26]) or it was an endeavour to make the Orthodox Church, emerging in this century in connection with the arrival of Russian merchants and aristocracy, accessible to the Czech revivalist and Slavophile *intelligentsia*. After the establishment of Czechoslovakia, it was the emancipation of the Czech Orthodox Church which took place. The leader of these tendencies, Bishop Matěj (Gorazd) Pavlík, was the creator of the religious Orthodox Church nomenclature and the translator of the essential text, predominantly from Church Slavonic into Czech. Since then, the nomenclature has still been in progress.

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original, is also interesting (they occur for instance in *Gottesgebärerin* for *bogorodica)*. Various numbers of Greek terms borrowing *felonion* and *troparion* in both languages deserves our attention as well. In German, they keep the ending *-ion* which is, apart from *-ios,* one of the typical affixes by which the religious terms of the Eastern Orthodox churches are distinguished. There is a null morpheme, instead of these endings (*felon*, *tropar*…), in Czech. Based on the chosen sample, there is an obvious effort regarding German for a looser way of translating and the use of general Christian terminology such as *der Priester* "the priest;" *die Gnade* "mercy" etc., which is also used in other confessional enviroments. In Czech, in contrast, it is the borrowing that exclusively matters.

25 Having considered the Czech Greek Catholic translations, the oldest one (the so-called Pospíšil translation) is dated back to 1911, while the latest, the so-called Hučko translation, is from 2008. Translating was carried out especially in the environments of Roman Catholic priests connected with so-called Unionism (The Unity Movement) which strived for the unification of Eastern and Western Christianity. Czech Roman Catholic believers, in order to reach a familiarity with the Eastern Orthodox liturgy, were supposed to be the primary text recipients. At that time, the texts of translation used to serve the recipient rather as a prequisite for better orientation while listening to the church Slovanic liturgy. After 1948, in connection with the interdiction of the Greek Catholic Church and the persecution of priests and believers, the official translation production was interrupted. The full renewal of translation production was not reached until 1989. Regarding these social and political circumstances, the translation production is not prolific. The individual translations are published in isolation and often only for private use. As a result, it is difficult to prove a unified development amongst the translations or create a periodization of the Czech Greek Catholic translations. This topic therefore requires further study.

26 Cf. Vladimír Buchta, "Kontakty slovenských národných dejateľov s pravoslávnym duchovenstvom v 19. storočí," in *Jubilejní sborník k 1100. výročí smrti sv. Metoděje, arcibiskupa Velké Moravy*, ed. Pavel Aleš (Praha: Ústřední církevní nakladatelství, 1985), 171–197.

According to the chronological criterion, there are several stages of development which this terminology went through and which entail various translation strategies and results.

1. The Rank stage. This stage is demonstrated by an analysis of a specific translation of "The Orthodox Mass of St. John the Golden Mouth" (*Mše pravoslavná svatého Jana Zlatoústého*) dating back to 1885. The text is distinguished by an ample amount of adoption of Church Slavonisms, especially of Greek origin denoting liturgical life and institutions, e.g., clerical clothing and its parts (*felon* "the phelonion;" *stichar* "the sticharion") or liturgical items (*diskos* "the diskos, the paten") which are confronted with Czech Roman Catholic expressions, the translations of terminology. This amounts to a substitution between the Roman Catholic and Orthodox Church terminology, lexemes are paraphrased by Catholic expressions such as *mše* "holy mass" for Church Slav. *liturgija* "the liturgy;" *obraz Kristův* "the image of Jesus Christ" for Church Slav. *Ikona, Matka boží* "Mother of God" for *bogorodica* (literary "the Theotokos"), etc. This is a pioneering translation designated for a small group of readers,[27] and has no contrastive character.

2. The Gorazd Stage. The translation of the *Chrysostom Liturgy* from 1933, included in the so-called "Gorazd Anthology," is significant for this period. Gorazd, today regarded as the founder of Czech Orthodoxy, did not create the entire translation on his own. He instead assumed patronage and unified the works of other translators, e.g., V. Gruzín.[28] The language sounds more "Czech" than that by Rank, being inspired by the Czech of the *Kralice Bible*, which was close to Gorazd himself. There are obvious lexical borrowings from Church Slavonic in the text, namely both calque and semi-calques of the original Grecisms and the "own Church Slavonisms." The following lexemes might serve as examples: *ikona* "the icon, holy image" from Greek *eikon*; *blahodať* " the uncreated grace," from Greek *euergetes* or *Bohorodice* "Mother of God, Maria" from Greek *theotokos*. It is a contrastive translation, with an obvious effort to define itself in opposition to the Catholic Church. Based on contemporary methods of terms translating, the religious lexemes are translated by the use of substitutions and borrowings, which is entirely in compliance with the present theory of translation of a professional text. As far as the mentioned lexis is concerned, it is extremely difficult at present to determine what period the lexeme comes from. From the examples that failed to take root, let us mention only some of them: *paroch* "pastor;" *parochie* "parish;" from Serbian or Czech *pan duchovní* "priest" and *paní duchovní* "priest's wife."

3. The Post-Gorazd Stage (1945–2008). Up until 1951 (the autocephaly of the Orthodox Church of Czechoslovakia) the Orthodox Church was under the influence of Russian Orthodoxy. These tendencies also emerged from the current political circumstances. The Church was directed by the hierarchs of Russian origin resulting in the introduction of Russisms into the press, i.e., a significant amount of lexical borrowings. Some Church Slavonisms such as *blahočinný* "an archdean" (a priest having under his control more parishes and pastors, the equivalent of a Catholic dean), *mátuška* "priest's wife," etc., popular in the Russian-speaking area, rank among these borrowings. The translations by Gorazd are still valid. Within the scope of this stage, one might single out from this subgroup the so-called "crossroad stage" dating from 1989 to 2008. There was another wave of adapting lexical borrowings in connection with socio-political factors after 1989. Particularly worth mentioning was the opening of Czech Orthodoxy to the world and an effort to define opposite the existing Russification

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[27] It was the Czech Slavophiles who were, in this period, inspired by Orthodoxy and who replenished the ranks of original Russian-speaking believers.

[28] Gorazd, ed., *Lidový sborník modliteb a bohoslužebných zpěvů pravoslavné církve* (Praha: Eparchiální rada pravoslavné církve, 1933), 7, Introduction.

done by the adoption of Grecisms or Romanianisms, cf. for example the introduction of the Grecism *dokimos* "a novice," even though there is a synonym *poslušník* "the novice," or alternatively, rare borrowings from Romanian, e.g., *majka* (literary "mother," a respectful denomination for a nun),[29] *majka starica* (a honourable title of an abbess),[30] as well as ideological ones. From this point on, Russia also represents a strong inspiration, especially the Russian Orthodox Church outside Russia distinguished by a strong emphasis on tradition and a literal maintenance of various religious rules.

4. The stage of "making purpose" (2008–today). This stage is characterised by efforts to modernise the language of Czech orthodoxy. The new translation of the *Chrysostom Liturgy*, the so-called Stránský and Krupica translation was published in 2008. It attempts to introduce more general religious terminology and a textual language purity by limiting the lexical borrowings of older translations. Apart from the usual Orthodox Church lexemes, such as *vladyka* for a "bishop" (gr. *despotes*, literary title for an emperor)*, diákon* "deacon;" *diskos* "diskos, paten;" *ikona* "icon," etc., there is also general Christian terminology such as *klášter* "monastery;" *arcibiskup* "archbishop;" *svátosti* "sacraments;" *evangeliář* "the Gospel Book," etc.

4.2 An Analysis of Chosen Translations

Sub-chapter 4.2 is devoted to a practical analysis of translations. I have chosen, in total, thirteen translations of the *Chrysostom Liturgy* including ten translations into Czech and three into German. The oldest translation dates back to 1885 (the Rank translation), while the latest one (the Baudiš translation) is from 2013. I therefore consider the Church Slavonic text of the *Chrysostom Liturgy*, written by the Russian edition of Church Slavonic and serving as the basis for the translator of the Rank translation, and which Josef Rank included in the parallel edition, as the model original for the orthodox translations. The text represents the oldest modern translation original of the *Chrysostom Liturgy*. It is highly probable that the same original served as a model for Čestmír Kráčmar and Gorazd Pavlík, who proceeded from the Rank translation. The Church Slavonic original is also explicitly mentioned in the bilingual edition (Old Church Slavonic and Czech language) translated by Baudiš. I also take into account the Greek version of the *Chrysostom Liturgy* which served as the model for the Czech translation by Krupica and Stránský (2008).[31]

The analysed translations are divided into five groups according to the stages of translation production. For the analysis, the so-called "Cherubikon" was chosen, an essential and representative part of the given translations, comparing it subsequently with the original. All of the translations (90 pages on average) were analysed completely.[32] The excerpts were selected in order to include the essential liturgical terminology ("the Liturgy of the Preparation"), but also the desemantised vocabulary whose literal translation into Czech would not make sense ("the Cherubikon").

The "Cherubikon" is an hymnical text with a number of style-figures and tropes such as metaphors. Of interest is the metaphor *na kopích neseného* (*dorinosima činmi*, literary "who was held

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[29] This denomination found its way into the Czech orthodox milieu along with the arrival of Romanian nuns in the 1990s.

[30] It relates to the borrowing from Church Slavonic *starec* (an old wise monk gifted by the spiritual and often also healing power).

[31] Marek Krupica and Jiří Stránský, *Božská liturgie našeho svatého otce Jana Zlatoústého. Pracovní verze nového českého překladu. Na základě textů v řečtině, církevní slovanštině, angličtině, ruštině a češtině přeložili a připravili Marek Krupica a Jiří Stránský* (Příbram: Vodnář, 2008).

[32] Cf. Hrdinová, *Překlad liturgického textu v zrcadle teorie skoposu.*

on lances/shields and lances"), being carried on shields and lances; the syntagma is reminiscent of an old Byzantine context, where the Emperor was carried by his soldiers on their shields and lances). Also of interest are the constant epithets (and theological terms) such as *životodárné Trojici (životvorjaščej Trojci* "the Life-Giving Trinity"), or *trojsvatou píseň (trisvjatuju píseň* "the thrice-holy hymn"). In addition, the text includes theological (liturgical) terms such as *cherubíni* "the Cherubim;" *andělé* "the angels" or *Svatá Trojice* "the Holy Trinity" and *trojsvatá píseň* "the thrice-holy hymn." The translator is thereby enabled to learn about the theological reality and the literal translation.

- Original (both versions, Greek and Old Church Slavonic):[33]
  Οἱ τὰ Χερουβεὶμ μυστικῶς εἰκονίζοντες, καὶ τῇ ζωοποιῷ Τριάδι τὸν τρισάγιον ὕμνον προσάδοντες, πᾶσαν τὴν βιωτικὴν ἀποθώμεθα μέριμναν, ὡς τὸν Βασιλέα τῶν ὅλων ὑποδεξόμενοι, ταῖς ἀγγελικαῖς ἀοράτως δορυφορούμενον τάξεσιν.
  Iže cheruvimy tajno obrazujušče I životvorjaščej Trojci trisvjatuju pěsnь pripěvajušče, vsjakoje nynije žitejskoje otložim popečenije (pečalь), jako da Carja vsich podimem, anhelskymi nevidimo dorinosima činmi.

1. Rank Stage: Rank translation (1885) and Kráčmar (1927) translation.[34]
- Rank:[35]
  Cherubímy tajemně představujíce a *oživující Trojici trojsvatou píseň* pějíce vše nyní *světské* odložme *péče.*
  Abychom krále všech pozdvihli *andělskými řády* neviditelně se slávou provázeného (*na kopích neseného).*[36]
- Kráčmar:[37]
  Cherubíny tajemně představujíce a *oživující Trojici trojsvatou píseň* pějíce, všecky nyní *světské* odložme *péče.*
  Abychom přijali Krále všech, *andělskými řády* neviditelně se slávou provázeného.[38]

2. Gorazd Stage: Gorazd translation (from 1934).
- Gorazd:[39]
  Cherubíny tajemně představujíce I *životodárné Trojici trojsvatou píseň* pějíce, všichni nyní *světské* odložme *péče.*
  Abychom přijali krále všech, *andělskými řády* neviditelně se slávou provázeného.[40]

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[33] English translation: "We who mystically represent the Cherubim, and who sing to the Life-Giving Trinity the thrice-holy hymn, let us now lay aside all earthly cares that we may receive the King of all, escorted invisibly by the angelic orders. Alleluia." Cf. website accessed January 4, 2017, http://lyricstranslate.com/en/cherubic--hymn-херувимская-песнь-cherubic-hymn.html

[34] Josef Rank, ed., *Mše pravoslavná svatého Jana Zlatoústého* (Praha: Josef Rank, 1885); Čestmír Kráčmar, ed., *Božská liturgie sv. Jana Zlatoústého a sv. Basila Velikého* (Praha: Čestmír Kráčmar, 1927).

[35] Rank, *Mše pravoslavná svatého Jana Zlatoústého.*

[36] The literary translation: "The Cherubim secretly representing and for the Life-giving Trinity the thrice-holy hymn singing, now lay we aside all earthly care. That we may elevate the King of All, escorted invisibly with honour (hold on lances)." The same translation also by Kráčmar and Gorazd, the only one difference is the variety of the words: vše, všecky, všichni… (Rank, *Mše pravoslavná svatého Jana Zlatoústého,* 53.)

[37] Kráčmar, *Božská liturgie sv. Jana Zlatústého a sv. Basila Velikého.*

[38] Ibid., 41–42.

[39] Gorazd, ed., *Lidový sborník modliteb a bohoslužebných zpěvů pravoslavné církve* (Praha: Eparchiální rada pravoslavné církve, 1933).

[40] Ibid., 226–227.

3. The Stage of "making purpose:" Krupica and Stránský translation (2008)[41] compared with the Baudiš translation (2013):

- Krupica:

  Nyní, když *Cherubíny* tajemně představujeme a *životodárné Trojici trojsvatou píseň* zpíváme, odložme všechny *světské starosti*.

  Abychom přijali Krále veškerenstva, *andělskými třídami* neviditelně provázeného.[42]

- Baudiš:

  Cf. Gorazd translation.

The tradition of the Rank syntax and lexis (terms use) can be seen in detail in other translations (Kráčmar, Gorazd, Baudiš), with the "Hermeneutic" influence of the old text-tradition apparent. In the case of the Krupica and Stránský translation, the major influence of the Skopos Theory is clear. Krupica and Stránský changed not only the syntax (to make it readable for modern Czech people), but also adapted the lexis to the Greek original, for example *starosti* for μέριμνα βιωτική (cf. the Old Church Slavonic word *pečalь* and the Czech word *péče)*, which is an homonymous term in the Czech language, because adapted it is used in medicine as a term meaning "medical care").

In the case of *dorynosima činmi*, Rank is the only one who used the documentary translation (*na kopích neseného*), while in other translations instrumental translation (*se slávou provázeného*) is used. The terminological meaning of the word *lance* is also missing in all the other Czech translations. Another Greek military term (taxis, class…) was translated by Rank, Kráčmar, Gorazd and Baudiš with the polyseme word *řád* (cf. Old Church Slavonic word, *čin*), by Krupica and Stránský with the precise term of the documentary (word-for-word) translation *třída* "class."

I personally view the translation by Krupica and Stránský as the only one inspired by both the Greek and Old Church Slavonic originals, and as theologically correct and understandable by its recipients.

5 Conclusions

The following conclusions can be drawn from the above analysis:

From the nineteenth century up to now, the Czech Orthodox translations represent a coherent line of development. There is a clear influence of the oldest translation as well as the influence of Church Slavonic models, even though the latest translation by Krupica and Stránský explicitly proclaims the use of the Greek original. The influence of Greek can also be traced in the translations by Krupica and Stránský. As far as the relation to the choice of the model is concerned, it is clear that from the Church Slavonic translations we move to Greek as the choice of the original or the parallel text. In this sense, the translation production refers to the principles of Slovak translations as stated by Švagrovský and Škoviera.[43] Regarding the used methods, the attitudes

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[41] Krupica and Stránský, *Božská liturgie našeho svatého otce Jana Zlatoústého*; Jan Baudiš, ed. *Božská liturgie svatého Jana Zlatoústého* (Jihlava: Jan Baudiš, 2013).

[42] Krupica and Stránský, *Božská liturgie našeho svatého otce Jana Zlatoústého*; Baudiš, *Božská liturgie svatého Jana Zlatoústého*, 55. The literary translation is similar to the above-mentioned one; with the difference underlined: "We who mystically represent the Cherubim *just now*, and who sing to the Life-Giving Trinity the thrice-holy hymn, let us now lay aside all earthly cares that we may receive the King of all, escorted *with honour* invisibly by the angelic orders. Alleluia."

[43] Štefan Švagrovský, "Z histórie slovenských prekladov byzantských liturgických textov, " *Slavica Slovaca*, no. 1 (1999): 42–51; Andrej Škoviera, "Liturgia cyrilometodskej misie na Veľkej Morave," in *Duchovné, intelek-tuálne a politické pozadie cyrilometodskej misie před jej príchodom na Veľkú Moravu. Monografie príspevkov*

of the translators differ. Two types of examples can be found which represent some general line of development, namely: the pioneering translations (by Rank) with a word-for-word documentary translation and explanations (*na kopích neseného*), and the established[44] translations (by Kráčmar, Gorazd, Stránský and Krupica and Baudiš). The most recent translation by Baudiš is very archaic and returns to the usage of the Rank translation.

With respect to the given hypotheses it is important to state that:

The presumption of the validity of the first hypothesis has been confirmed, as has the validity of the second hypothesis on the basis of the analysis of the texts as a whole,[45] as well as partly on the extract of text quoted here in the presented study.

Unfortunately, the third hypothesis did not prove to be valid. This has been demonstrated by frequent lapses. They are mostly theologically important, but not recognizable to the theologically uneducated recipient (e.g., the use of western Roman Catholic terms such as *Zdrávas* "Ave Maria") in the most modern and comprehensible Czech translation by Krupica and Stránský. Krupica and Stránský's translation represents, however, a consciously contrastive translation in the Czech Orthodox translatological tradition.

I hope that the present research has served to enrich the existing theoretical research of the Skopos Theory through the aspect of applicability of this theory to the materials of the liturgical text. It also contributed to elucidation of possible analogies between the Skopos Theory and hermeneutics. I view this field of study as a complex one requiring detailed research in the future. The heuristic intention of this study, presenting so far a little discussed phenomenon in the Czech linguistic and translatological context, is significant as well, namely the liturgical terminology of the Eastern Orthodox churches as a product of translation and the seemingly non-equivalent lexis.

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z medzinárodného vedeckého sympózia Nitra, 2. júl 2007, eds. Jozef Michalov, Peter Ivanič, Martin Hetényi, and Zvonko Taneski (Nitra: Univerzita Konštantína FIlozofa, 2007), 104–129.

[44] In my monograph (Hrdinová, *Překlad liturgického textu v zrcadle teorie skoposu*), I distinguish between two terms: "pioneering translation" for new translations, and then I introduced the term "established" translation for the type of liturgy meant for believers familiar with the Orthodox reality.

[45] Cf. Hrdinová, *Překlad liturgického textu v zrcadle teorie skoposu.*

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Discussing Ethnicity within Migrant Entrepreneurship Research

Abstract | This paper focuses generally on the role the concept of ethnicity has in migrant research, and in particular on research on migrant entrepreneurship. In this context, ethnicity is not understood as a description of group-specific properties derived from inherited traits and common descent, but as a product of social relations and discursive practices. The paper critically reviews the cultural research approach towards migrant entrepreneurship. Ethnicity does not express certain properties, but instead describes power relations which are constantly created and maintained in the public discourse. The danger lies in the threat of the "culturalisation" of migrants' economic activities, rather than viewing them in their social, political and economic embeddedness. There is a need for a critical perspective that would allow for a critical analysis of dominant migration studies and politics, and create possibilities for developing emancipatory alternatives to this status quo. As a critical review of the so-called "ethnic" economies demonstrates, the dominant perspective on migration is often shaped by national-economic logic, surveillance policies and culturalizing integration-polemics. Moreover, critical migration research attempts to overcome existing power dynamics and critically reflect on the world of knowledge that reproduces and constitutes the "other." From this perspective, migrants are not the other, but typical subjects of modern conditions and circumstances.

Keywords | Ethnicity – Migration – Migrant Entrepreneurship – Research – Critical Approach – Culturalisation

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1 Introduction

This paper questions the concept of ethnicity in the context of migrant research, in general, and research on migrant entrepreneurship, in particular. It argues that critical reflection on the relationship between ethnicity and migrant entrepreneurship cannot be isolated from a broader discussion of the interplay between ethnicity and migration research in general.

As some experts have outlined,[1] classical research on migration, and hence on migrant entrepreneurship, is shaped by a national ethnocentric perspective, which reflects the phenomenon of migration merely from an immigration perspective. In this line of argument, all newcomers are assessed and rated with reference to the host society. Ethnicity in this context is understood as a powerful device used to draw a demarcation line between the insiders and the outsiders of a given society. The paper argues, following Sayad,[2] that the migration experience not only

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[1] Andreas Wimmer and Nina Glick Schiller, "Methodological Nationalism, the Social Sciences, and the Study of Migration: An Essay in Historical Epistemology," *International Migration Review*, 37 (2003): 576–610*;* Stephen Castles, "Globalization, Ethnic Identity and the Integration Crisis," *Ethnicities* 11 (2011): 23–26.

[2] Abdelmalek Sayad, *La doppia assenza. Dalle illusioni dell'emigrato alle sofferenze dell'immigrato* (Milan: Cortina Raffaello, 2002).

includes the immigration process but also the emigration process. Critical research on migration and on migrant entrepreneurship has to therefore question the limits of a national ethnocentric perspective and should instead understand migrants and their economic activities as embedded in transnational contexts.

When taking a closer look at the micro-level, ethnicity in research on migrant entrepreneurship is not treated as a politically and socially constructed demarcation line, but rather as a means of describing the properties of certain social groups and the resources mobilized for the economic activities of those groups. Adopting a solely cultural approach to migrant entrepreneurship, however, risks interpreting ethnicity and ethnic resources as the sole determinants of the success or non-success of migrant entrepreneurship. Against this background, this paper seeks to overcome an ethnocentric perspective on migration, in general, and on migrant entrepreneurship, in particular. More precisely, this paper is interested in the question of what the methodological requirements are in order to overcome culturalization and nationalization with respect to migrant entrepreneurship.

2 Ethnicity Defined within National Boundaries

Ethnicity, in the literature of this field, is understood as a system of powerful narrative devices, which arise from social interactions and are maintained in public discourses. Following this line of argument, such discourses shape, influence and structure people's thoughts, ideas, beliefs, values and identities. Linked to migration, discourses discuss the "we" and the "other" by providing access to knowledge, which determines whether people belong to a specific group. Who is a migrant and what role they have in society is defined very clearly within migration discourses and within existing boundaries, national or otherwise. These discourses are powerful, because they are produced and constantly reproduced by politics, media, economy and civil society.[3] Following this line of argument, definitions are not neutral; naming someone or something by its foreign origin is in itself a powerful choice, as Pécoud[4] outlines. In establishing ethnicity as narrative device that produces meaning within a society and is adopted by the inhabitants of that society with respect to how they view or deal with it,[5] Wimmer and Glick Schiller[6] refer to "methodological nationalism." The core idea of this assumption is that social sciences have tended to conceptualize social phenomena around the boundaries of the nation-state. The concept of ethnicity is therefore seen as a product of politicization processes: "Yet it was a central part of the nation-state project to define all those populations not thought to represent the 'national culture' as racially and culturally different, producing an alterity that contributed to efforts to build unity and identity."[7] In fact, within this homogeneous idea of a nation, ethnic groups are described as culturally different. Migration research has thus been rooted in this nationalistic logic and has predominantly reproduced, rather than overcome, this dichotomist understanding of society. In fact, the dominant approaches in migration research have seen the host society, or

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[3] Paul Mecheril, Oscar Thomas-Olalde, Claus Melter, Susanne Arens, and Elisabeth Romaner, "Migrations- forschung als Kritik? Erkundung eines epistemischen Anliegens in 57 Schritten," in *Migrationsforschung als Kritik? Konturen einer Forschungsperspektive,* ed. Paul Mecheril, Oskar Thomas-Olalde, Claus Melter, Susanne Arens, and Elisabeth Romaner (Wiesbaden: Springer Verlag, 2013), 12.

[4] Antoine Pécoud, *"Entrepreneurship and Identity among German Turks in Berlin,"*, accessed March 25, 2017, http://intergraph-journal.net/enhanced/vol2_1/pecoud/pecoudframes.htm, 61.

[5] Collin Hay, "Good in a crisis: the ontological institutionalism of social constructivism," *New Political Economy* 21 (2016): 520–535.

[6] Wimmer and Glick Schiller, "Methodological Nationalism," 576–610.

[7] Wimmer and Glick Schiller, "Methodological Nationalism," 576–610.

more precisely, the host nation, as the cardinal element around which migration is understood and interpreted. Based on this assumption, there is a clear distinction between those who are part of the nation-state and those who come from the outside; in other words, who "appear as antinomies to an orderly working of state and society […] Immigrants are perceived as foreigners to the community of shared loyalty towards the state and shared rights guaranteed by the state."[8]

As shown by Glick Schiller and Wimmer,[9] this characterizes truly different incorporation theories and approaches to immigration. Following this line of argument, not only assimilation theories, but also multiculturalism, racialization and ethnicization theories are characterized by the relevant related entities of nation-state and society. In this framework, classical migration research looks to the phenomenon of migration entirely from an immigration perspective, excluding the emigration experience.[10] Following Beck,[11] classical migration research is rooted in the logic of the first age of modernity, where "economic and social ways of acting, working and living" take place within the boundaries of the nation-state. Furthermore, at times of rapid (and often incomprehensible) changes on a global level, migrants have become the visible symbol of globalization.[12] As Aysa-Lastra and Cachon[13] point out, a basic feature of most immigrant groups is their subordinated position in the social structure and the fact that their placement in this position tends to socially construct them as "subjects with objective vulnerability,"[14] who are more easily subjected to acts of discrimination and stigmatizing processes.[15]

3 Adopting a Multifaceted Research Focus

As Sayad makes clear in his exceptional work *La Double Absence*, the migration experience does not only consist of an immigration experience, but also an emigration experience. In his understanding, immigration and emigration both constitute the immigration process. With this total perspective on migration, he breaks with the dominant migration research approaches of the 1960s and 1970s. In the course of global transformation processes, discourses on migration began to change in the late twentieth century, as did research methodologies. Scholars have reached the conclusion that migration has to be understood from a total perspective, which includes not only the immigration experience but also the emigration experience: "Migration has never been a one-way process of assimilation into a melting pot or a multicultural salad bowl but one in which migrants, to varying degrees, are simultaneously embedded in the multiple sites and layers of the transnational social fields in which they live."[16] The transnational approach can be seen as an important step in increasing the scholarly understanding of migrant entrepreneurs from a more holistic perspective. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, people work, love, marry,

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[8] Nina Glick Schiller and Andreas Wimmer, "Methodological Nationalism and Beyond: Nation-State Building, Migration and the Social Sciences," Global Networks 2 (2002): 301–334, 309.

[9] Glick Schiller and Wimmer, "Methodological Nationalism and Beyond," 310.

[10] Sayad, "La doppia assenza."

[11] Ulrich Beck, "Living in the World Risk Society," *Economy and Society* 35 (2006): 329–345.

[12] Castles, "Globalization, Ethnic Identity and the Integration Crisis," 23–26.

[13] Maria Aysa-Lastra and Lorenzo Cachon, "Immigrant Vulnerability and Resilience," *International Perspectives of Migration* 11 (2016): 9.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Alejandro Portes, *The Economic Sociology of Immigration. Essays on Networks, Ethnicity, and Entrepreneurship* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1995).

[16] Peggy Levitt and Nadya Jaworsky, "Transnational Migration Studies: Past Developments and Future Trends," *Annual Review of Sociology* 33 (2007): 129–156, 130.

grow up and receive education within an international context. Hence, the "paradigm of societies organized within the framework of the nation-state inevitably loses contact with reality."[17]

Transnational migration scholars argue that migrants become a part of the host society but do not give up their personal history, their networks and their ties. They create new transnational social spaces,[18] and thus specific forms of consciousness,[19] which lie at a tangent to both the country of origin and the host country. This theoretical shift of perspective has had consequences for the methodological approach towards the phenomena of migration in general. In fact, scholars have begun to argue for a multifaceted research approach that is sensitive to the pluri-local social spaces in which migrants are acting.[20] From a transnational perspective, migrant entrepreneurship is not only analysed and interpreted within the given national boundaries of the receiving country, but also takes into consideration the transnational activities in which migrant entrepreneurs are engaged. Hence, research on migrant entrepreneurship is not particularly interested in the impact that migrant entrepreneurs' activities have in the receiving country, but rather in the question of how migrants in their economic activities connect the receiving country and the country of origin, for example, via the mobilization of cross-country social networks.[21] Being embedded in a transnational way of life, as most migrant entrepreneurs are, they produce multiple social positions "that can range from being embedded in a single-space, shifting between countries, and overlapping in a transnational social space."[22]

4 Ethnicity within Migrant Entrepreneurship Research

When taking a closer look at migrant entrepreneurship literature, it is evident that the concept of ethnicity is primarily interpreted as a concept in order to express certain properties of belongings to a social group and its consequences for their economic activities. From this perspective, the properties themselves (i.e., a common language as well as social, cultural or national experiences) are not the central research focus of migrant entrepreneurship research, but rather the resources, which can be mobilized due to the affiliation to a certain group. In fact, one of the most characteristic elements of a transitional perspective on migrant entrepreneurship is the organization of a migrant's economic activities within informal networks.[23] Moreover, as it has been demonstrated by various experts,[24] migrant entrepreneurs do not only act within a rational economic framework, but also embed their economic action in informal contexts. In other words,

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[17] Ulrich Beck, "Living in the World Risk Society," 329–345, 88.

[18] Ludger Pries, *Internationale Migration* (Bielefeld: transcript. Verlag, 2001).

[19] Glick Schiller and Wimmer, "Methodological Nationalism and Beyond," 310.

[20] Ludger Pries, *Die Transnationalisierung der sozialen Welt. Sozialräume jenseits von Nationalgesellschaften*, (Frankfurt am Main: suhrkamp Verlag, 2008).

[21] Alejandro Portes, Luis E. Guarnizo, and William Haller, "Transnational Entrepreneurs: an Alternative Form of Immigrant Economic Adaptation," *American Sociologica Review* 67 (2002): 278–298.

[22] Magdalena Nowicka, "Erfolgsnarrationen polnischer Migrantinnen und Migranten in Großbritannien oder: Wie Scheitern unsichtbar wird" in *Scheitern—Ein Desiderat der Moderne?*, ed. John René and Antonia Langhof (Wiesbaden: Springer VS, 2014), 143–165.

[23] Levitt and Jaworsky, "Transnational Migration Studies;" Alejandro Portes and Julia Sensenbrenner, "Embeddedness and Immigration: Notes on the Social Determinants of Economic Action," *American Journal of Sociology* 98 (1993): 1320–1350.

[24] Elda Bonacich, "A Theory of Middleman Minorities," *American Sociological Review* 38 (1973): 583–594; Marc Granovetter, "Economic Action and Social Structure: The Problem of Embeddedness," *American Journal of Sociology* 91 (1986): 481–510; Alejandro Portes and Julia Sensenbrenner, "Embeddedness and Immigration: Notes on the Social Determinants of Economic Action," *American Journal of Sociology* 98 (1993): 1320–1350; Pécoud, "*Entrepreneurship and Identity among German Turks in Berlin*."

"actors do not behave or decide as atoms outside a social context, nor do they adhere slavishly to a script written for them by the particular intersection of social categories that they happen to occupy. Their attempts at purposive action are instead embedded in concrete, on-going systems of social relations."[25] From this perspective, informal networks can be seen as crucial in order to contribute to the resilience of individuals, as they build a sense of belonging, identity and social support, both emotional and practical. As the results confirm, informal networks are perceived as crucial for opening a business, and therefore represent an important structure for new opportunities. For an individual actor, such informal networks can be considered structures of opportunity for innovation, whereas individuals and social groups use and adapt networks to their advantage.[26] These informal resources, in the context of migrant entrepreneurship, are often termed ethnic resources. Following this line of reasoning, Light and Rosenstein[27] argue that ethnic affiliation is a fertile breeding ground for the development of so-called ethnic-specific resources, which can facilitate the economic activities of migrants. In line with this argument, ethnic resources include "culture, structural and relational embeddedness and multiplex social networks that connect the entire group." From this perspective, ethnic resources serve as important social capital. In fact, as Giorgas[28] argues, "an ethnic community's An ethnic community's social capital encompasses resources available to an individual through their membership in that community or group. It involves the shared feelings of social belonging that enable groups to set up institutions and other networks that members can access. Social capital in these communities exists in the social relations among parents, between parents and their children and their relationship with the institutions of the community." A similar argument can also be found in the earlier work of Bonacich,[29] the author of the well-established middleman minority theory. In this work, Bonacich offers an explanation for the development and persistence of middleman minorities, minority groups with an intermediary position between the majority group and other segregated minority groups. Bonacich also highlights the importance of ethnic- or group-specific resources and emphasizes the importance of specific cultural properties that would be responsible for the success of migrant economies. Following diverse scholars, ethnic-specific group formation and the resource efficiency derived from it can be seen as positive and valuable strategies in overcoming social isolation and economic difficulties. As argued by Coleman, social capital is utilized more effectively in groups with a stronger collective sense of identity and belonging. This becomes important particularly in a situation of migration, where isolation, marginalization experiences and economic difficulties are highly relevant.

Portes[30] emphasizes, on the one hand, how social and ethnic networks can be interpreted as new opportunity structures, while, on the other hand, there are elements within informal networks which provoke not only new possibilities but also new constraints. Portes explains this other side of the coin within the concepts of "bounded solidarity" and "enforceable trust." Thus, concerning the latter, the will of individual members is subordinated to collective expectations.

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[25] Granovetter, "Economic Action and Social Structure: The Problem of Embeddedness," 487.

[26] Ma C. S. Bantilan and Ravula Padmaja "Empowerment Through Social Capital Build-up: Gender Dimensions in Technology Uptake," *Journal of Experimental Agriculture* 44 (2008): 61–80.

[27] Ivan Light and Carolyn Rosenstein, *Race, Ethnicity, and Entrepreneurhsip in Urban America* (New York, NY: Aldine de Gruyter, 1995), 171.

[28] Dimitria Giorgas, "Social Capital within Ethnic Communities," accessed March 24, 2016, http://citeseerx.ist. psu.edu/viewdoc/summary?doi=10.1.1.201.3581.

[29] Bonacich, "A Theory of Middleman Minorities."

[30] Portes, *The Economic Sociology of Immigration*.

Furthermore, Blaschke and Ersöz[31] define migrant entrepreneurs "as products of an 'economy of poverty,' which can only be sustained through a high degree of self-exploitation and the self-exploitation of family members: 'They live frugally, often dwelling behind or on top of their shops and they work long hours, involving the whole family in the enterprise if possible.'"[32] The authors refer to Schmiz,[33] who defines self-exploitation "as a condition in migrant self-employment that is highly precarious. It involves long working days, a weekly load of more than 60 hours, marginal working shifts, a lack of free time and breaks during work as well as the unpaid support of family members." Self-exploitation in this sense can be interpreted as a direct consequence of precarious working conditions (low earnings, indebtedness, financial insecurity) and increases the risk of personal exhaustion and poor health.[34]

5 The Problem of Culturalisation

From a critical perspective, reducing research on migrant entrepreneurship to cultural belonging and the importance of so-called ethnic resources runs the risk of culturalizing migrants' economic activities, rather than viewing them in their social, political and economic embeddedness. Timm[35] makes it clear in her criticism of such approaches that culture and ethnicity often serve as "residual categories" in the social sciences, a procedure that Kabuscha[36] (cited in Timm) describes as the "disappearance of the social in societal discourses." As Pütz[37] correctly points out, a "problematic" tendency of ethnicization is observable in the above-mentioned approaches. This is problematic because in the context of migration, social behaviours are too quickly and uncritically interpreted as ethnic behaviours. All cultural heterogeneity within the group is consequently denied. Migrant entrepreneurship is limited to cultural factors and creates a picture of cultural economic activities parallel to western capitalist practices.[38] Furthermore, cultural approaches often run the risk of providing a distorted picture of dichotomies, which divide the economies of modern societies into ethnic and non-ethnic, cultural and non-cultural, nationally-associated and nationally-independent economies (postcolonial studies by Said,[39] Todorov,[40] Hall[41]). As Timm[42] highlights: "Ethnic are always the others [meaning] those who since centuries used to be what the occidental-capitalist society in itself is not able to identify

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[31] Joachim Blaschke and Ahmet Ersöz, "The Turkish Economy in West Berlin," *International Small Business Journal* 4 (1986): 38–47.

[32] Edna Bonacich and John Modell, *The Economic Basis of Ethnic Solidarity: Small Business in the Japanese American Community* (Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1980).

[33] Antonie Schmiz, "Migrant Self-employment Between Precariousness and Self-exploitation," *Ephemera. Theory & Politics in Organization* 13 (2013): 54–73, 60.

[34] Ursula Apitzsch and Maria Kontos, "Self-employment, Gender and Migration," *International Review of Sociology* 13 (2003): 84.

[35] Elisabeth Timm, "Kritik der ethnischen Ökonomie," *Prokla: Zeitschrift für kritische Sozialwissenschaft* 30 (2000): 363–376.

[36] Wolfgang Kaschuba, "Kulturalismus. Vom Verschwinden des Sozialen im gesellschaftlichen Diskurs," *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* 91(1995): 27–46.

[37] Robert Pütz, "Kultur und unternehmerisches Handeln-Perspektiven der 'Transkulturalität als Praxis,'" *Petermanns Geographische Mitteilungen* 147 (2003): 76–83, 264.

[38] Timm, "Kritik der ethnischen Ökonomie," 364.

[39] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (London etc.: Penguin Books, 2003).

[40] Tzvetan Todorov, *On Human Diversity: Nationalism, Racism, and Exoticism in French Thought* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1994).

[41] Stuard Hall, *Politiche del quotidiano: Culture, identità e senso comune* (Milano: Il Saggiatore, 2006).

[42] Timm, "Kritik der ethnischen Ökonomie," 364.

[or] analyze." By using ethnic groups as "typical" research subjects, research projects often run the risk of searching specifically for the ethnic other, as though to say, "Among the Turks something is different—find out what it is" (see Pütz[43]). Ethnicity in this understanding is a natural state that cannot overcome rigid cultures and national and religious boundaries. Accordingly, an "ethnic economy" is simultaneously an expression of our desire for the exotic and an expression of our fears. Schmidt[44] therefore argues for a "case by case mobilization of ethnic resources," meaning that so-called ethnic resources are only gaining importance in particular contexts. Ethnic belonging and the resulting ethnic resources are not something that one possesses, but something that arises, changes and develops as a result of a constant confrontation of the self and of alien localization processes. Furthermore, Schmidt[45] relativizes a cultural approach according to structural factors: "A strong ethnic influence of entrepreneurship may […] always occur—but religious and ethnic foundations are neither necessary nor sufficient conditions to explain independent economic actions."

6 Reconciliation of Agency and Structure

Following on what has been said thus far, this paper argues for a reconciliation of agency and structure. The phenomenon of migrant entrepreneurship cannot therefore be read in a solely cultural oor in a structural-economic critical framework. In this vein, Alderich and Waldinger[46] develop an interactive model that takes into consideration, not only the social embeddedness of migrant entrepreneurs, but also the "structure and distribution of opportunities" within the host society. The focus lies here on the interplay of possibilities, group characteristics and the resulting personal strategies of migrants. Following this approach, Kloosterman and Rath[47] develop the concept of mixed embeddedness. Doing so, they argue for an understanding of embeddedness that encompasses not only embeddedness in personal life-worlds but also embeddedness within a structural framework. They argue that an analytical framework for migrant entrepreneurship cannot descend from a consideration of both the personal level of the life-world and the structural level of spaces that hinder or enhance the entrepreneurial experience. Life-world is here defined as the self-evident reality, or, in other words, as the background environment of competencies, practices and attitudes representable in terms of one's cognitive horizon.[48] In contrast, on a structural and institutionalized level, there are three main actors that hinder or enhance the economic performance of migrant entrepreneurs: the market, the state and civil society. Drawing on the notion of a system as formulated by Habermas, Cohen and Arato,[49] see the market, state and civil society as three independent but interacting spheres: "we understand 'civil society' as a sphere of social interaction between economy and state, composed above all of the intimate spheres (especially the family), the sphere of associations (especially voluntary associations), social movements, and forms of public communication." Against this background, the hybridity of migrant economies, which are at the border between the life-world and system,

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[43] Pütz, "Kultur und unternehmerisches Handeln-Perspektiven der 'Transkulturalität als Praxis,'" 263.

[44] Dorothea Schmidt, "Unternehmertum und Ethnizität: ein Seltsames Paar," *Prokla, Zeitschrift für kritische Sozialwissenschaft* 30 (2000): 335–362, 358.

[45] Ibid., 358.

[46] Howard E. Aldrich and Roger Waldinger, "Ethnicity and Entrepreneurship," in *Moderne amerikanische Soziologie*, ed. Dieter Boegenhold (Stuttgart: Utb Für Wissenschaft, 2000, 247).

[47] Robert Kloosterman and Jahn Rath, *Immigrant Entrepreneurs: Venturing Abroad in the Age of Globalization* (Oxford, NY: Berg, 2003).

[48] Jürgen Habermas, *Theorie des kommunikativen Handelns* (Berlin: Suhrkamp, 2011).

[49] John L. Cohen and Andrew Arato, *Civil Society and Political Theory* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1992), ix.

and their ability to unveil transitions and new spaces and possibilities, must be recognized. Migrant entrepreneurs are therefore "able to adapt their behaviour to different [contexts] […] They are in a between position that allows them to know how to deal with both […] They belong to a minority group and rely on it while simultaneously establishing connections to people outside the group."[50]

7 Embeddedness in Social Transformation Processes

The analytical framework of mixed embeddedness asks for a broader understanding of migration and migrants' economic activities within actual social transformation processes. As per Castles,[51] the concept of social transformation "can be defined as a fundamental shift in the way society is organized that goes beyond the continual processes of incremental social change that are always at work." In his understanding, he closely links the concept of social transformation with a transformation of social relationships, which is related to "major shifts in dominant economic, political and strategic relationships." Thus, social action and ecological effects, as well as global processes and local repercussions, are so tightly linked that the borderlines between society and nature and global and local, which formerly were felt to be clearly demarcated, increasingly blur.[52] In fact, as Jahn[53] highlights, actual transformation processes run "along different spatial, temporal and social scales—from local to global, from current events to long term consequences, from action in everyday contexts to the policies of worldwide regimes and multinational organizations." Furthermore, as Castles[54] points out, the processes of social transformation that arise from globalization are the crucial context for understanding twenty-first century migration. On the one hand, social transformation drives migration and changes its directions and forms. On the other hand, migration is an intrinsic part of social transformation and is itself a major force re-shaping communities and societies. Following this line of argument, globalization is not, and has never been, a solely economic and abstract process, but a process that is very much rooted in concrete social, cultural and political contexts. What is needed is therefore a more holistic perspective on migrant entrepreneurship, which will not only understand it within national economic units, but will also see it as an integral and essential part of societal transformation processes, which affect and shape societies not only on a national and global level but also on a local level. Migrant entrepreneurship has to be seen as an expression of global transformation processes on a local level. Migrants change the sight and smells in cities and provoke street-level-changes, as Portes[55] argues. According to this way of thinking, migrant entrepreneurs are developing new dynamics, new organizational devices and new living and working arrangements. They open up new negotiation spaces and thus the possibility of change in social relations and living arrangements. Migrant entrepreneurship in this perspective can be seen as a locale, which is specified by the rules and resources involved in social action and

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[50] Pécoud, "*Entrepreneurship and Identity among German Turks in Berlin*," 2.

[51] Stephen Castles, "Globalization, Ethnic Identity and the Integration Crisis," *Ethnicities* 11: (2011) 23–26, 24.

[52] Thomas Jahn, "Transdisziplinarität in der Forschungspraxis," in *Transdisziplinäre Forschung. Integrative Forschungsprozesse verstehen und bewerten*, ed. Matthias Bergmann and Engelbert Schramm (Frankfurt/New York: Campus Verlag, 2008).

[53] Ibid.

[54] Castles, "Globalization, Ethnic Identity and the Integration Crisis."

[55] Portes, *The Economic Sociology of Immigration*.

interaction within it.[56] Locales, following Giddens, are thus both arenas of interaction and containers of social power. They therefore represent negotiation spaces where the individual agency connects with the social structure.

8 Migrants as Change-makers

In order to develop additional opportunities and positive freedom of choice for migrant entrepreneurs, there is a great need to rethink migrants' role in society. An increased awareness of the positive roles that migrants can play could contribute to a more sensible public discourse on the phenomenon of migration. Policies, which are rooted in real life-world contexts, will strengthen economic action and participation in civil society, creating an intermediate space between the private sphere of life-worlds and the state. The potential of migrant entrepreneurship to generate jobs, for example, is often overlooked. Job creation can be instrumental in reducing unemployment and providing opportunities for more vulnerable groups, helping them get out of the poverty trap. From this perspective, migrant entrepreneurs can be seen as social innovators. When it is used in this context, the concept of social innovation is defined as a process for combining, securing, supporting and implementing novel solutions to societal needs and problems by placing people at the centre of the solution. Social innovation, in this context, always describes a process rather than a product. Migrant entrepreneurs can be seen as social innovative change agents. Social innovations are developed in response to perceived social and group-specific challenges, and advance on the basis of relationships and interactions between individuals. People do not wait for the market and state to intervene, but they concentrate on the lifeworlds and bring new dynamics to the economic sector. Following Schumpeter,[57] social innovation is a type of creative destruction. It is therefore always taking place in the crises of transition and reorganization. As MacCallum et al. underline: "Social innovation is innovation in social relations, as well as in meeting human needs." Schumpeter defines those who realize new processes in politics, economics and society as entrepreneurs. Through participation in local economies, migrants develop new economic cycles and places of labour on the geographic level, which are focused on the needs of the community.

9 Conclusion

This paper has focused on the role that the concept of ethnicity has in migrant research, in general, and in research on migrant entrepreneurship, in particular. In this context, ethnicity is not understood as a description of group-specific properties derived from inherited traits and common descent, but as a product of social relations and discursive practices. As the analysis show, ethnicity, in the form of devices used to generate a social narrative, constantly reproduces social, cultural and political demarcation lines by defining the "we" and the "other" in societies. In particular, cultural approaches to migrant entrepreneurship reproduce distorted dichotomies, which can easily divide economies and societies into ethnic and non-ethnic, cultural and non-cultural, and national and non-national.

This paper thus focused on the methodological reflections and requirements needed to overcome an ethnocentric perspective. Following this line of argument, migrant entrepreneurs are

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[56] Anthony Giddens, *The Constitution of Society* (Cambridge: polity press Oxford, 1984), 301.

[57] Joseph Schumpeter, *Die Theorie der wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung. Eine Untersuchung über Unternehmergewinn, Kapital, Kredit, Zins und den Konjunkturzyklus (*Berlin, Duncker and Humblot,1952/1926).

not merely seen as the culturally different "others" within national borders, but as typical subjects of modern conditions and circumstances as they confirm the ambivalence of modernity (based on the processes of individualization, rationalization and differentiation). From this perspective, a migrant entrepreneur reflects the individual in a "risk society," as described by Beck (2002), who is obliged to become an individual and to rely primarily on himself. By becoming self-employed, migrants develop personal responses to structural challenges, such as unemployment, discrimination and marginalization.

This paper therefore discusses three fundamental requirements to broadening the scholarly view of migrant entrepreneurship and embedding it in a more societal perspective. As has been shown, the phenomenon of migration is an intrinsic part of social transformation and is itself a major force re-shaping communities and societies. Migrant entrepreneurship can thus be considered a street-level expression of global transformation processes, which change the sight and smells in cities. This implies that general theories of a highly abstract nature are unlikely to be helpful. Research on migrant entrepreneurship needs to be historically and culturally situated. This assumption is based on a new scientific-societal relationship, in which both actors meet and act at eye level. The sciences create society, which again influences science; as such, they stand in a dialectical relationship to one another. Compared to the background of complex societal transformation processes, such anti-hierarchical scientific behaviour is not only desirable, but extremely necessary. Following this line of argument, critical migration research has not been intended as research *of* people or *for* people, but as research *with* people. Parallel with migration research, this *with* is replaced with *for*. This requires a reconciliation of these macro processes with processes on a meso and micro level. Following Kloosterman and Rath,[58] this paper has argued for a mixed understanding of the concept of embeddedness, which encompasses not only embeddedness in personal life-worlds but also embeddedness within a structural framework. From a critical migration perspective, the paper argues that there is a need to see migrant entrepreneurs not as victims of changing realities, but as subjects who actively develop coping strategies in order to give sense to their everyday lives. According to this perspective, migrant entrepreneurs are thus able to mobilize resources and respond creatively from criticized, marginalized social positions.

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[58] Kloosterman and Rath, *Immigrant. Entrepreneurs. Venturing Abroad in the Age of Globalization.*

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Czech Collective Memory in Chicago (Spatial Materialization – Gyms, Churches, Cemeteries, and Schools)[1]

Abstract | The aim of the study is to introduce the past and the current situation of collective memory of the Czech community in Chicago. In order to exist (be preserved and be transferred), collective memory needs active actors (individuals as well as institutions) and carriers (the materialized locations of memory). The present study elucidates the changes appearing in this sphere and indicates to what degree Czech collective memory in Chicago is disappearing due to the process of assimilation. It also discusses current attempts at preserving Czech collective identity and memory.

Keywords | Memory – Czechs – Chicago – Identity – Migration – Institution – Assimilation

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1 Introduction—Czechs in Chicago

The beginnings of Czech immigration to the USA are connected with dramatic events in Europe which led Protestants to leave their country of origin and set out on a journey to a new land promising novel opportunities in accordance with their faith and aspirations. As Thomas Čapek noted in his book from 1920 *The Czechs (Bohemians) in America: A Study of Their National, Cultural, Political, Social, Economic and Religious Life*:

> the Čechs [sic, i.e., Czechs] sent to America not adventurers, but *bona-fide* settlers almost synchronously with the Dutch and earlier than the Swedes. Driven from their native land in the first half of the seventeenth century, Čech [sic] Protestant exiles are known to have settled in New Amsterdam, the present New York, and among the English in Virginia. The real Čech [sic] immigration, however, dates from 1848, the year of revolutionary changes in Austrian Empire[…][2]

Apart from the curious usage of the Czech spelling of the word "Czech," the excerpt is interesting in pointing out two directions of Czech immigration to the USA. Starting on the east coast, the first wave headed further inland, especially to southern parts of the USA, this being connected with agricultural settlements, while the other wave tended to go to industrial cities. At the onset of more massive immigration (circa 1880), Czech immigrants predominantly settled in rural areas of, for example, Nebraska, Wisconsin, or Texas. It is estimated that some 80% of

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[2] Thomas Čapek, *The Czechs (Bohemians) in America: A Study of Their National, Cultural, Political, Social, Economic and Religious Life* (Boston–New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1920), viii.

the rural population of the first generation worked on farms which they owned.[3] Clearly, these settlers were not actually poor as they must have had enough means to pay for the journey to the USA and then inland, as well as the means to purchase their farmland. A consequent wave of immigration followed and headed mostly for cities,[4] where the rapidly developing industry needed, and could absorb, a to some degree qualified, labour force. The new wave therefore consisted primarily of qualified workers who ended up in textile industry in Chicago, metallurgical factories in Cleveland, etc.[5] The urban settlement is naturally connected with the growth of commerce. With the early settlement of American cities, a numerous and significant group of Czech merchants consequently came into existence. From the beginning of Czech immigration, several distinct differences have structured Czech settlements, not only in terms of space but also in terms of life style, values, political preferences and religious affiliation, which, after all, reflects the general situation of the American public.

The most significant wave of Czech immigration to the USA occurred between the years 1848 and 1914, when some 350,000 Czechs settled in the USA.[6] According to the 1870 census, 36,035 inhabitants declared a Czech origin (the number rising to 156,891 in 1900), the majority of them (6,277)[7] living in Chicago. Although Chicago was established relatively late, (despite certain records of settlers in the area as early as 1673, the city as such was founded in 1837), it developed very rapidly (in 1840, four years after its founding, it had 4,479 inhabitants, ten years later in 1850 already 30,000 inhabitants, in 1880, 503,185, in 1890, 1,099,850, in 1900, 1,689,575 and in 1910, as many as 2,185,283 inhabitants).[8] Thus within the first sixty years of its existence, the city population grew from several thousand to more than two million. The rail-road, which not only enabled the supply of raw materials and carting of goods but also the incoming new labour force, mainly recruited from immigrants, was one of the key factors in the massive development. Chicago quickly became a place with the highest number of Czech newcomers.[9] The first ones reached Chicago between the years 1852 and 1853 and settled at the then northern city limits by the lake, "not far from the old cemetery which was situated in the southern parts of what is now Lincoln Park. Newcomers [...] were housed partly in the building on today's crossroad of Dearborn and North Avenue but mainly decided on free lots close to North Avenue

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[3] Jaroslav Vaculík, *České menšiny ve světě a v Evropě* (Praha: Nakladatelství Libri, 2009), 271.

[4] Leoš Šatava, *Migrační procesy a vystěhovalectví 19. století do USA* (Praha: Univerzita Karlova, 1989), 81.

[5] Vaculík, *České menšiny ve světě a v Evropě*, 271.

[6] Ibid., 269.

[7] Ibid., 273–274.

[8] *Adresář a almanach českého obyvatelstva v Chicagu* (Chicago: Spolek pro postavení Česko-Americké nemocnice, 1915), 11–12.

[9] Obviously, Czechs were not the only ones to head for Chicago. "Drawn by opportunities for employment, both native-born and immigrant laborers flowed into Chicago. Between 1870 and 1990, the city's population doubled every ten years, hitting over two million at the turn of the century and reaching nearly three million in 1920. More striking were the dramatic changes in the ethnic and racial character of the city's inhabitants. A handful of New Englanders and Midwesterners had established the town in 1833. By 1870, German, Irish, and Scandinavian immigrants outnumbered native-born residents. In the decades following the fire, Eastern European Jews, Italians, and Poles wrangled for living space in already densely packed neighborhoods, seeking housing within walking distance from jobs. In the late 1890s, African-Americans began to migrate from the South to the Midwest's industrial center, forming small but growing neighborhoods on the south and west sides. By the early twentieth century, Chicago was patchwork of ethnic and racial groups." Margaret Garb, *City of American Dreams. A History of Home Ownership and Housing Reform in Chicago, 1871–1919* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), 8–9. Needless to say, over the course of the twentieth century, or more specifically in the second half of the twentieth and the early twenty-first centuries, the ethnic composition of immigrants to Chicago has changed profoundly, with immigration from Mexico rising lately.

between Clarkson and Dearborn Streets."[10] There they lived until about 1855 when the land owner forced them out.[11] The next area which Czechs moved to was near "today's stock exchange and the La Salle train station, around Van Buren and Jackson Streets." It did not take long for them to move westward beyond the river to Beach Street area now taken over by the rail-road. Prior to the year 1860, Czechs moved further west of Beach Street to Canal, Polk, De Koven, Bunker and 12th West Streets. Known as "Prague," this area of Czech settlement became more stable (remnants are still visible in the early twentieth century) and "Czech immigrants there began to organize as a community and became publicly more visible."[12] Centered on Canal Street, the neighbourhood spread after 1860 "from Ewing and Polk southward as far as the river and into the transverse streets west almost to Halsted St."[13] The first Czech church was built there, St. Wenceslaus Church, which unfortunately burnt down during the Great Chicago Fire in 1871.[14]

The various relocations of the Czech colony were forced by external circumstances, such as the building of the rail-road. as well as by internal needs resulting from the rise of the Czech community. Although only estimates are available, one can state that in 1855 (the first settlement) there were some 500 Czechs, in 1860s around 1,500 and in 1870, when the Prague community already existed, Czechs numbered 10,000.[15] Based on the 1870 census, 6,277 Czechs lived in Chicago making it thus the city with the largest Czech community in the USA at a time when 36,035 persons claimed Czech origin in the entire country.[16]

A new Czech community began to emerge in 1870 when extremely cheap land allowed the more affluent Czechs to build their own houses in the newly drained areas. Thus in that year, the first houses were erected around today's 18th Street, one of them serving as an inn named "At Pilsen."[17] It eventually turned into an important neighbourhood still called Pilsen. Further migration of Czechs was directed in the 1890s towards the South Lawndale area, later acquiring the name of Czech California. In the 1930s, Czechs moved into suburbs, especially to Cicero, Berwyn and Riverside.[18] Images 1 and 2 illustrate the density of Czech inhabitants in various parts of Chicago in the years 1920 and 1930, with the Czech community clearly concentrated south of the city centre spreading westward. Picture 3 illustrates that the belt of Czech (or Czechoslovakian) settlement spread along 22nd Street to the west. The street was later renamed Cermak Road in honour of the Chicago mayor of Czech origin Anton Čermák (in office from 1931 to 1933). Czech migration continued further into the suburbs and currently the traditional Czech neighbourhoods of Pilsen and Cicero are settled by immigrants from Mexico.

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[10] *Adresář a almanach českého obyvatelstva v Chicagu*, 30.

[11] Čapek, *The Czechs (Bohemians) in America*, 44.

[12] *Adresář a almanach českého obyvatelstva v Chicagu*, 30.

[13] Ibid., 33.

[14] Alicia Cozine, "Czechs and Bohemians," Encyclopedia of Chicago, accessed April 8, 2017, http://www.ency-clopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/153.html.

[15] See, *Adresář a almanach českého obyvatelstva v Chicagu,* 33.

[16] Based on the census, the numbers of Czechs in other large cities were: Chicago 6,277; St. Louis 2,652; New York 1,487; Milwaukee 1,435; Detroit 537; Allegheny 342; Pittsburgh 49. See Tomáš Čapek, *Padesát Let Českého Tisku v Americe* (New York: The Language Press, 1911), 2.

[17] *Adresář a almanach českého obyvatelstva v Chicagu*, 37.

[18] Cozine, "Czechs and Bohemians."
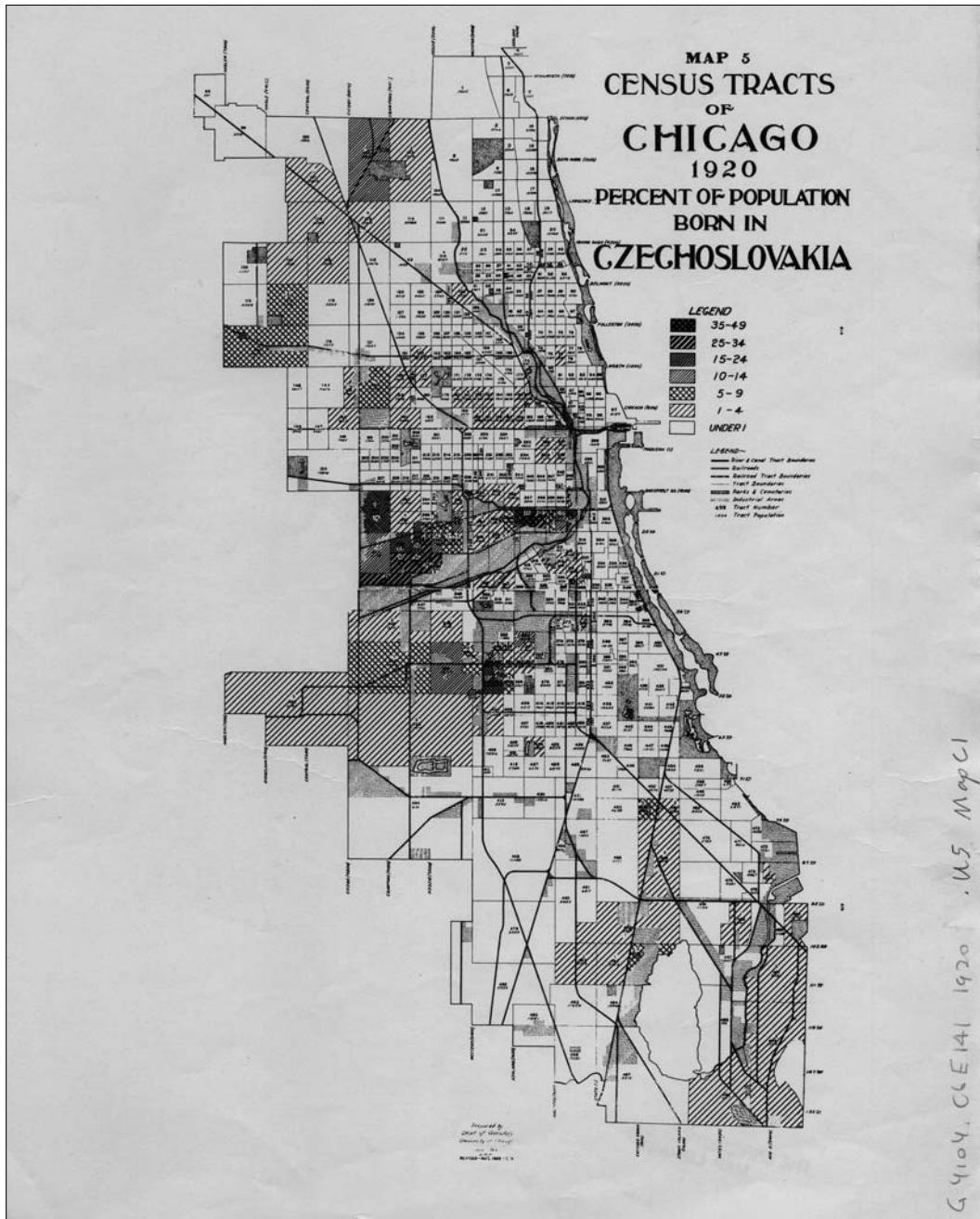
Census of 1920 – population born in Czechoslovakia[19]

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[19] "Social Science Research Committee Maps," The University of Chicago Library, accessed April 8, 2017, https://www.lib.uchicago.edu/e/collections/maps/ssrc/G4104-C6E141-1920-U5-thumb.jpg.
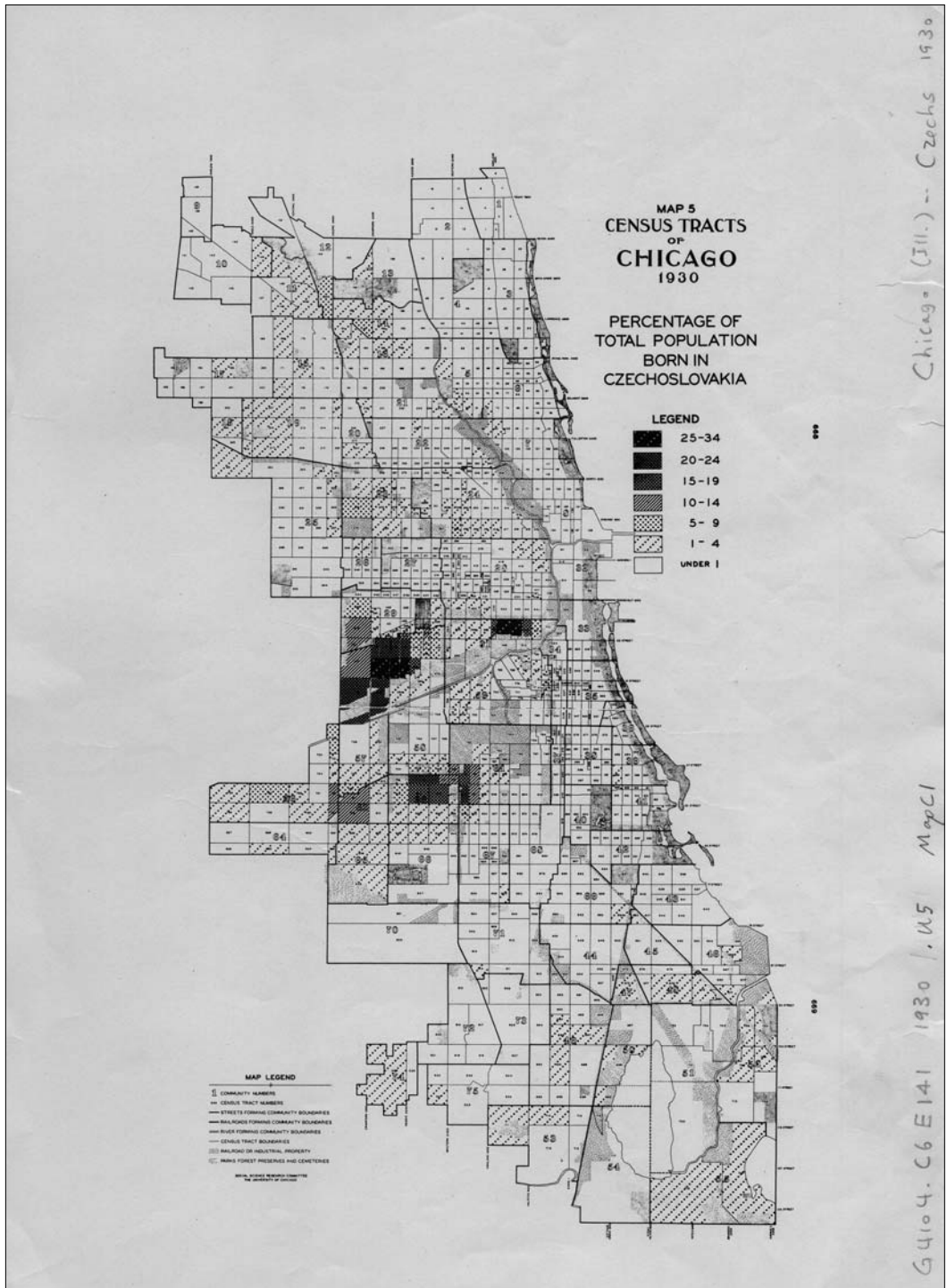
Census of 1930 – population born in Czechoslovakia[20]

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[20] "Social Science Research Committee Maps," The University of Chicago Library, accessed April 8, 2017, https://www.lib.uchicago.edu/e/collections/maps/ssrc/G4104-C6E141-1930-U5-thumb.jpg.
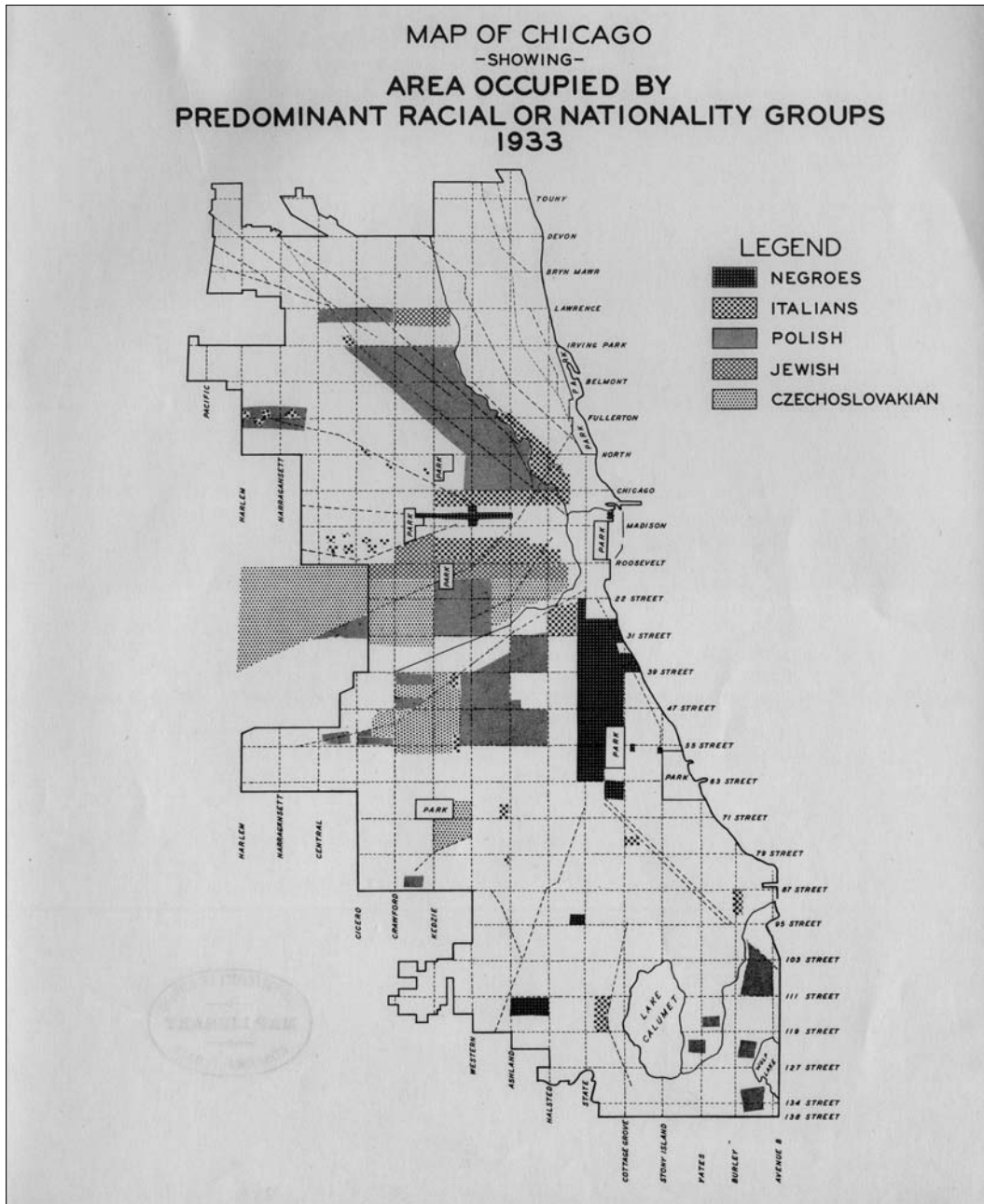
Areas inhabited by predominant racial or nationality groups in 1933[21]

It is very difficult, if not impossible, to provide exact numbers for the number of Czechs in Chicago. There are at least two reasons for the difficulty. Hasty assimilation accompanied by an unwillingness to claim Czech origin in censuses is one reason. J. Vojan, author of a chapter on the history of "Czech Chicago" in the Directory and Almanac of Czech Inhabitants of Chicago,

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[21] "Social Scientists Maps Chicago," The University of Chicago Library, accessed April 8, 2017, htttps://www.lib. uchicago.edu/e/collections/maps/chisoc/G4104-C6-1933-U5-n-thumb.jpg.

already complains about it manifesting a discrepancy between the "community census" of 1910 counting 110,736 Czechs and the "Chicago school census" of 1914 counting 102,749 Czechs. Vojan states that although "superficial interpretation would take it as proof of the decline of the Czech population in Chicago," the actual reason is different, namely that "the school census seduced many second generation Czechs into renouncing the Czech origin of their parents and thus melting into the category of Americans."[22] Vojan's comment is relevant for the entire study of Czech migration to Chicago (or elsewhere in the USA). Who then should be considered "a Czech" or a member of the Czech community in the research? There is no clear answer to the question. There is obviously a difference between the first generation, i.e., the Czech-speaking newcomers (often with poor command of English) and their offspring, the second generation, already speaking English (with either good or a poor command of Czech), and the third genera-tion, i.e., the grandchildren of immigrants who usually only speak English even if they sometimes refer to themselves as Czech-Americans. Official American statistics, at the beginning of the twentieth century, only recorded the first and the second generations, as the third generation was considered assimilated enough to be labelled simply American (with no hyphen).

The second reason for the difficulty in determining the exact numbers of Czechs in the USA is the growing disproportion between the size of the Czech community and the entire popula-tion of Chicago. The wave of Czech immigration gradually decreased (unlike the growth in the number of Chicago inhabitants) which, together with a frequent unwillingness to claim Czech nationality in the second and following generations of immigrants, resulted in the disappearance of Czechs from official statistics.

The decrease in immigration from Eastern and Southern Europe was also caused by the 1924 Immigration Act, which established the annual quota of immigrants from any country at 2% of the already existing number of people from that country living in the USA as of the 1890 cen-sus. The Act consequently allowed for only 3,073 Czechs coming to the entire USA.[23] A certain source states that in 1920 there were over one million Czechoslovakians of the first and second generations, and in 1930 the number reached 1,832,000.[24] Further waves of immigration from the Czech Lands was a consequence of domestic political events in 1948, 1968, and then in 1989 with the fall of the Communist regime. These were not, however, waves of mass immigration but immigration in tens of thousands of people. Seventy years later in 2000, the United States Census Bureau indicates that, there are 1,262,527 Czechs and 441,403 Czechoslovakians in the entire USA;[25] with 123,000 of them living in the state of Illinois (Chicago is the capital of Illinois).[26] The situation is somewhat complicated by the presence of Czechs without a valid residence permit, i.e., so-called illegal aliens, who are, naturally, not featured in the official statistics. The general decline in immigration is well documented by the fact that the United Census Bureau registered only 1,073 people in Chicago in 2000 who declared the Czech Republic or Slovakia as their place of birth.[27]

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[22] *Adresář a almanach českého obyvatelstva v Chicagu*, 39.

[23] *Vaculík, České menšiny ve světě a v Evropě*, 281.

[24] Ibid., 283–284.

[25] "American Fact Finder," United States Census Bureau, accessed April 8, 2017, https://factfinder.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?src=bkmk.

[26] "Češi v USA," Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic, accessed April 8, 2017, http://www.mzv.cz/chicago/cz/kultura_co_nas_ceka/krajane/cesi_v_usa/index.html.

[27] "Place of birth for the foreign-born population in the United States," United States Census Bureau, accessed April 8, 2017, https://factfinder.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?pid=ACS_15_5YR_B05006&prodType=table.

Despite the methodological difficulties in defining the category "member of the Czech community" and with determining the quantity of the Czech community in Chicago, it is apparent that the development of the Czech community at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries was reflected in a richness of community life, in the founding of various communal institutions as well as in political and world-view conflicts within the Czech community. For the purposes of our article, it is important to note that a very significant number of Chicago Czechs tried to preserve national traditions and specifics, and established their own organizations and institutions which were supposed to help attend to the everyday needs of the community on the one hand, and preserve Czech identity, the Czech cultural heritage as well as Czech collective memory, on the other.

2 The Concept of Collective Memory

Collective memory as a concept enabling the analysis of a particular part of human behaviour (here we follow Max Weber and understand collective memory as a form of creating, transferring and preserving of "meanings, i.e., interpretations which give "sense" or "meaning" to specific acts, behaviour), part of which (albeit not necessarily explicitly expressed) is the formation of specific "carriers" of those meanings which allow for transferring them (in other words externalization, making of habits/habitualization, and institutionalization—here we follow the concept of Peter Berger and Thomas Luckman). The transfer is possible only thanks to sedimentation, that is materialization and storage of the meanings and/or carriers. Two moments are important in this respect: a) externalization (i.e., the attempt to express certain meanings or contents and its actual expression) and b) sedimentation (i.e., the choice of a material form serving as a carrier of the content/meaning).

The concept of collective memory has a rather long tradition in the social sciences and the humanities. Its explicit formulation is most often credited to Maurice Halbwachs who followed Emile Durkheim, and after whom a strong French tradition of the study of collective memory developed (Jacques le Goff, Pierre Nora, Tzvetan Todorov, Paul Ricoeur, Françoise Meyer, Marie-Claire Lavabre, etc.). Parallel to the French tradition, a German one evolved, dominated by Jan Assmann and Aleida Assmann. The study of memory exists at present as a highly developed, internally differentiated, field of social studies employed in almost all branches of social sciences including history, sociology, cultural anthropology, as well as specialized fields such as Holocaust studies or trauma studies. Our approach is based primarily on the concepts of Jan and Adeila Assmanns,[28] which we attempt to connect with some of our already published applications.[29]

Collective memory can be viewed as a way of forming and preserving collective identity, operating in two basic modes as cultural memory and as communicative memory. Communicative memory includes the narratives of some three generations about events of the recent past, an awareness of which is passed on in interpersonal communication among particular actors. Cultural memory is formed by sedimented (objectivized and materialized) elements existing

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[28] Jan Assman, "Collective Memory and Cultural Identity," *New German Critique* 65 (1995): 125–133; Jan Assmann, *Religion and Cultural Memory* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006), 222; Jan Assmann, "Globalization, Universalism, and the Erosion of Cultural Memory," in *Memory in a Global Age. Discourses, Practices and Trajectories*, eds. Adeila Assmann and Sebastian Conrad (New York: Palgrave Macmillian Memory Studies, 2010), 121–137; Jan Assmann, "Communicative and Cultural Memory," in *Cultural Memories: The Geographical Point of View*, eds. Peter Meusburger, Michael Heffernan, and Edgar Wunder (Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands, 2011), 15–28.

[29] Especially Dušan Lužný, "Localization and Visual Foundation of Religious Memory—the Case of Staré Sedliště and Sudice," *Pantheon* 11, no. 1 (2016): 3–31.

independently of the actors. These elements gain various impersonal forms such as buildings (pyramids, cathedrals, and other edifices), statues, specialized institutions (most typically museums), etc. A step in-between cultural and communicative memory is represented by various institutions, organizations and formalized structures communicating the past, but not necessarily established with the explicit task of preserving collective memory even if they can serve as carriers of it. Newspapers and cultural associations are a typical example.

The article purposefully leaves aside the communicative memory of Czech migrants in Chicago,[30] and focuses instead on localized and materialized elements of Czech collective (cultural) memory including spatial elements (especially buildings and urbanistic structures) and on institutionalized aspects of the life of the Czech community in Chicago which can function as carriers or "places of memory" (such as associations, businesses, newspapers). All these elements have been (or were) parts and results of a certain organized behaviour which attained the form of organizational structures. We will therefore identify elements of collective memory using organizational structures.

3 Organizational Structures of Czech National Identity and Memory—the Past and the Present

The national organizational structures of Czech immigrants in Chicago covered various spheres of life and can be divided as follows:
a) educational, cultural and gymnastic associations and sports clubs,
b) churches,
c) cemeteries,
d) schools,
e) press,
f) business enterprises and mutual benefit (and loan) associations.

The following article (respectively the first part of an extensive study, the second part of which will be published in the upcoming issue of the Czech and Slovak Journal of Humanities) focuses on the first four areas as they are important for the study of cultural memory, partly because their activity (although primarily cultural, spiritual or educational) requires material background in the form of buildings. It is precisely the buildings what has a chance to become part of collective memory even after the original content ceases to exist. Buildings represent a segment of cultural memory which resists the process of forgetting due to their spatial materialization. Although it does not mean that all buildings connected with sports, religion, education, or burials are forgetting-proof, we shall see that many, in various forms, have survived in the Czech collective memory in Chicago.

A) Educational, Cultural and Gymnastic Associations and Sports Clubs

If we leave out the military unit *Slovanská Setnina* "Slavic Platoon" founded in 1860 to fight in the Civil War, the first Czech association called *Slovanská Lípa* "Slavic Linden" was established on November 20, 1861 and erected its own (wooden) building on Clinton Street near Van Buren Street in 1864. "It was the first separate association building in Czech America."[31] The first thea-

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[30] Our research does not avoid this sphere altogether, but includes interviews with Czech immigrants; the current study is not focused, however, on the communicative memory.
[31] *Adresář a almanach českého obyvatelstva v Chicagu*, 36.

tre performance took place on February 22, 1863, and two Slavic congresses assembled there in 1865 and 1866.[32]

Additional clubs and associations included, for example, *Jednota českých dam (J. Č. D.)* "Czech Ladies Union" with some two thousand members, Českoslovanská bratrská podporující jednota (Č. S. B. P. J.) "Czechoslovak Brotherly Support Union," Česko-slovanská jednota (Č. S. J.) "Czech-Slavonic Union," *Jednota Táboritů (J. T.)* "Union of the Taborites," *Jednota Česko-amerických lesníků a lesnic (Č. A. L. a L.)* "Czech-American Foresters and Forestresses Union," *Sesterská podporující jednota (S. P. J.)* "Sisterly Support Union," *Sdružení česko-amerických dam (Č. A. D.)* "Czech-American Ladies Association."[33] *Sesterská podporující jednota* had its centre there and organized some 67 unions with 8,590 female members. Similarly, *Sdružení amerických žen* "American Women Association" coordinated the activities of 32 unions with a membership of 2,500. *Jednota českých vlastenek* "Czech Lady-Patriots Association" with 2,174 members also had its headquarters in Chicago.[34] All of this serves to illustrate the importance of Chicago for the communal life of Czechs in the USA and documents the scope and dynamism of Czech associations, clubs and unions in Chicago, the numbers of which are estimated at 500.[35]

Sports life was unambiguously dominated by the *Sokol* organization. It was a true mass organization which built many community centres in order to function. These included the Pilsen Sokol Hall (corner of Ashland Avenue and 18th St.), Sokol Slovanská Lípa Hall (515 De Koven St.),[36] Sokol Tábor Hall (1300 S 41 Ave.), Sokol Chicago Hall (2335 S Kedzie Ave.), Sokol Havlíček Tyrš Hall (Lawndale Ave. Near W 26 St.), Czech National Sokol Pokrok Hall (47 St. and Winchester Ave.), Tělovýchovná Jednota Sokol Fuegner (10756 Greenbay Ave.).[37] Historical photographs reveal that the centres were massive, several storey-high buildings.[38] Sokol Slávský in Cicero along Cermak Road ranks among those which are visually significant even at present (even if not serving their original purpose and no longer connected with Czech community life). The size of the *Sokol* organization can be documented by the fact that before World War I, one of them, the Fügner-Tyrš lounge, consisted of 18 male and 8 female units with 2,017 members.[39]

Apart from the fitness organization *Sokol*, a very popular (European) football club *Sparta* existed in Chicago. Founded in 1917, it gradually grew in significance and had its stadium on 21st South Kostner Street, demolished after 1953.[40] The interviews we conducted during our research revealed that witnesses still live who played for the Chicago Sparta club.

In Chicago, numerous cultural association existed as well, particularly choirs, seven of which (namely *Lýra*, *Volnost*, *Dělnický Pěvecký sbor*, *Máj*, *Dalibor*, *Karel Marx* and *Karel Bendl*) merged in December 1906 into the Ústřední Pěvecká Jednota "Central Choir Association."[41]

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[32] Ibid., 37.

[33] Ibid., 63.

[34] Vaculík, *České menšiny ve světě a v Evropě*, 278.

[35] Ibid.

[36] Čapek notes a different address: "The Sokol Slovanská Lípa erected a frame hall on Taylor Street in 1869." Čapek, *The Czechs (Bohemians) in America*, 57.

[37] *Adresář a almanach českého obyvatelstva v Chicagu*, 64.

[38] See Čapek, *The Czechs (Bohemians) in America*, 56–57.

[39] Vaculík, *České menšiny ve světě a v Evropě*, 278.

[40] "Chicago Sparta," Wikipedia. The Free Encyclopedia, accessed July 11, 2017, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chicago_Sparta.

[41] *Adresář a almanach českého obyvatelstva v Chicagu*, 64.

There are currently several organizations in Chicago with varying degrees of activity. These include: *Sdružení přátel Českého národního hřbitova* "Bohemian National Cemetery Association,"[42] *Czech & Slovak American Genealogy Society of Illinois,*[43] *Americký Sokol,*[44] *CSA Fraternal Life,*[45] Ústředna moravských spolků,[46] *Moravská kulturní společnost* "Moravian Cultural Society,"[47] *Muzeum Československého dědictví* "Czechoslovak Heritage Museum,"[48] *Czechoslovak American Congress, Divadlo Bohemia.*[49]

Significantly for the study of current forms of Czech collective memory in Chicago preservation, the educational, cultural and sports clubs at their peaks erected buildings which served as spatially localized elements of Czech collective memory strengthening the notion of collective identity. Many of the buildings still exist but are mostly used for different purposes. It is evident that, to the non-Czech population, the history of these buildings is irrelevant and they are indifferent to it. They still operate to a degree, however, as places of memory because at least a small portion of the Czech community knows them or even tries to use them. The Czech *BeerFest* event can be mentioned as an example as its organizers placed it into the Sokol Tabor Hall (1602 Clarence Ave in the traditionally Czech neighbourhood Berwyn) on 29 April 2017.

B) Churches

Religion has traditionally played a major role in the preservation of collective identity and collective memory. Drawing on E. Durkheim and H. Halbwachs, Hervey-Legere even considers the formation and preservation of the "chains of memory,"[50] i.e., the incorporation of individual actors and their lives into a continuous chain connecting the past with the present, as the most important function of religion. The sphere of religious life of Czech immigrants in Chicago (as well as in the entire USA) nevertheless serves to illustrate very well the ambiguous role of religion which, on the one hand, can contribute to the preservation of collective memory and identity (ethnic, national) and lead to certain enclosures into ethnic ghettos and, on the other hand, can contribute to quick assimilation and the loss of collective memory and identity. Once the newcomers (or their offspring) begin to attend American religious communities, the road to full inclusion into American society (in other words to Americanization) speeds up. In Chicago, this ambiguity is apparent among Czech immigrants, as there are two groups of believers. There are those who attempt (to varying degrees) to preserve their connections to Czech parishes (using Czech as both the language of liturgy and daily communication) and those whose religious life is fully connected to American churches where Czech is not used in either way. In Chicago, another differentiating religious conflict has been apparent since the beginnings of Czech immigration, this being the conflict between believers and freethinkers,[51] a fact which can be understood as

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[42] "Bohemian National Cemetery Association," Bohemian National Cemetery Chicago, accessed April 8, 2017, http://bohemiannationalcemeterychicago.org/.

[43] "Czech and Slovak American Genealogy Society of Illinois," accessed April 8, 2017, http://www.CSAGSI.org.

[44] "American Sokol," accessed April 8, 2017, http://www.american-sokol.org.

[45] "CSA Fraternal Life," accessed April 8, 2017, http://www.csafraternallife.org.

[46] "United Moravian Societies," accessed April 8, 2017, http://unitedmoraviansocieties.org.

[47] "Moravian Cultural Society," accessed April 8, 2017, http://moravianculturalsociety.org.

[48] "Czechoslovak Heritage Museum," accessed April 8, 2017, http://czechoslovakmuseum.com.

[49] "Divadlo Bohemia," accessed April 8, 2017, http://www.divadlobohemiachicago.com.

[50] Danièle Hervieu-Léger, *Religion as a Chain of Memory* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2000).

[51] See e.g., *Adresář a almanach českého obyvatelstva v Chicagu*, 48; Krasimira Marholeva, "Chicagští katoličtí a svobodomyslní Češi v druhé polovině XIX. století," *Studia Historica Brunensia* 61, no. 2 (2014): 71–88 or Ivan Dubovický, "Czech-Americans: An Ethnic Dilemma," *Nebraska History* 74 (1993): 197–201.

a transmission of culture war occurring in Czech society in the nineteenth century. Carried on mostly by workers and working class anticlerical activists, the cultural conflict resulted in significant secularization of Czech society.[52] As a quickly developing industrial centre, Chicago primarily attracted immigrants from various Czech industrial towns (such as Pilsen). They were mostly qualified workers who, in the new environment, quickly became non-believers. In this way, Chicago can serve as a case study for the processes of secularization suitable for comparison with the situation in the Czech Lands.[53]

During the history of the Czech settlement of Chicago, 14 Catholic churches and parishes were established.[54] Apart from them, local Protestant churches existed as well. The Czech-American Thomas Čapek states that with respect to the proportion of Catholics and Protestants in the Czech Lands, the number of Czech Protestants in the USA was disproportionally higher,[55] with only 12 Protestant congregations existing at the beginning of the twentieth century in Chicago.[56] The history of Czech Protestantism in Chicago is, however, not well researched. With respect to its character and to the prevailing Protestant environment of the USA, Protestant congregations were a means of quick Americanization of Czech immigrants rather than places of preservation of Czech national memory. This assumption is supported by the findings of the field research during which not one single important spatially localized element connected with Czech Protestantism in Chicago was noted.

The first Czech immigrants in Chicago naturally had no church or any place of worship. They also used the church spaces of other immigrant communities, especially Germans.[57] Church, however, is not only a space addressing the purely individual religious and spiritual needs but also a space for confirming of group identity and preserving collective memory.[58] Thus very soon a practical need for Czech churches, i.e., churches where Czech was used as both the language of liturgy and of communication, became pressing.

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[52] See e.g., Jiří Horák, *Dechristianizace českých zemí. Sekularizace jako záměr* (Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého, 2015).

[53] Rudolf Bubeníček, the author of *Dějiny Čechů v Chicagu*, one of the most important sources on the life of Czechs in Chicago up until the 1930s, describes the religious situation of the time as follows: "Almost all Czech immigrants in Chicago in the 1850s and 1860s were Roman Catholics. A handful of Czech Jews and an occasional Protestant formed a scant minority while there were hardly any non-believers. This is not to say, however, that all Czech Catholics were particularly ardent in their faith. On the contrary, one can assume for several reasons that they were religiously lukewarm if not completely indifferent. The lack of religious zeal was brought over, mainly by men, already from their mother country." Rudolf Bubeníček, *Dějiny Čechů v Chicagu* (Chicago: Rudolf Bubeníček, 1939), 79.

[54] Their history is depicted in articles published by Karel Chrobák between the years 2004–2005 in the magazine *Hlasy národa*. Based on them, Dušan Hladík (currently the only Czech Catholic priest, more precisely a missionary) published a book entitled České a slovenské kostely v oblasti Chicaga – Dušan Hladík, *České a slovenské kostely v oblasti Chicaga* (Chicago: Dušan Hladík, 2016). For the religious history of Czechs in Chicago, see also Jan Habenicht, *Dějiny Čechův Amerických* (St. Louis: Hlas, 1910), 617–670; Bubeníček, *Dějiny Čechů v Chicagu*; see also Joseph Slabey Roucek, "The Passing of American Czechoslovaks," *American Journal of Sociology* 39, no. 5 (1934): 619–623.

[55] Čapek, *The Czechs (Bohemians) in America*, 248.

[56] Ibid., 252.

[57] Bubeníček, *Dějiny Čechů v Chicagu*, 80.

[58] German and German-Irish churches were initially attended by the most religious immigrants, followed by visitors and curious ones and when, in several random instances, a practical side of the church attendance was revealed, meaning that newcomers met there and made acquaintances, this practical aspect of a church as an important and respectable connecting link among individuals was acutely felt alongside a long-lasting spiritual need for their own church." Ibid.

The first Czech Catholic church in Chicago was the St. Wenceslas frame chapel built in 1864 at the corner of De Koven and Despaines. Soon after, in 1869, a school was established there utilizing the building originally of the Baptist church near the St. Wenceslas chapel. A parish house was also added. All the buildings were wooden.[59] The church underwent several re-constructions, for example, in 1887 it was walled, as well as changes in inhabitants (after the Great Fire a number of the original settlers moved out and left the parish). The church was demolished in 1955 during the construction of the highway system in Chicago, with the Eisenhower Expressway now running there.[60]

The second Czech church (originally a wooden structure, reconstructed later with masonry) was erected on the corner of 25th St. and Portland Ave (later renamed as Princeton), in reaction to the needs of the rapidly growing and overpopulated neighbourhood of St. Wenceslas. The new church was dedicated to St. John Nepomucene and quickly became a centre of the new fast growing Czech neighbourhood.[61] The city development impacted the neighbourhood when the newly built rail-road. track along the Canal Street divided the parish into two parts. As a result, a new church building was erected in 1914, St. John Nepomucene Church on the corner of 30th St. and Lowe. The parish existed until 1990 when the *SPRED* organization (*Special Religious Education Division*) caring for spiritual education of handicapped people was housed there. The Czech origin of the place is now commemorated by an inscription above the entrance and by stain glass windows with images of Czech national saints.[62]

The city suffered the Great Chicago Fire in 1871 (after some 40 years of rapid development) destroying a large portion of the city. One of the consequences of the ruinous fire was a new fire regulation forbidding construction of wooden houses in certain areas of the city and rapid building and expansion of new city parts. The third Czech church was therefore built with bricks in a new area where wooden homes were still allowed. While the first immigrants settled on the west bank of the Chicago River near downtown where they established the first full-fledged Czech neighbourhood in Chicagoland which they themselves called *Praha* "Prague,"[63] the new neighbourhood, still existing in the area demarcated by the rail-road. tracks along 16th St. on the north, by Halsted St. on the west, by the river on the south and by Western Avenue on the west, was named Pilsen (because there was the Pilsen Inn and several families from the city of Pilsen or its vicinity settled there).[64] Chicago Pilsen was "the largest centre of Czechs in America."[65] At first, a Catholic school was established there in 1875, a church was erected on Allport and 19th St in 1833. It grew gradually (later including a parish and an abbey), thus a contemporary historian was able to state that "the St. Procopius Parish in Chicago is rated the strongest and supposedly the richest in the country."[66] The development lasted approximately up until the 1950s when Czechs began to move out of the neighbourhood and their place was taken by immigrants from Mexico.[67]

The determination and growth of Czech Catholics in the Chicago area is well illustrated by the establishment of Benedictine abbey in the town on Lisle (some 40 miles from Chicago). The St. Procopius parish in Pilsen soon proved spatially inadequate and Czech Benedictines wished

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[59] Ibid., 83.

[60] Hladík, *České a slovenské kostely v oblasti Chicaga*, no pagination.

[61] Bubeníček, *Dějiny Čechů v Chicagu*, 85.

[62] Hladík, *České a slovenské kostely v oblasti Chicaga*, no pagination.

[63] Marynne Sternstein, *Czechs in Chicagoland* (Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 2008), 11.

[64] Bubeníček, *Dějiny Čechů v Chicagu*, 215.

[65] Ibid., 425.

[66] Čapek, *The Czechs (Bohemians) in America*, 247.

[67] See Hladík, *České a slovenské kostely v oblasti Chicaga*, no pagination.

to expand the school complex. The construction of the dormitory and monastery began in 1900 and the entire complex with a new abbey was completed in 1916. The abbey in Lisle represented a key centre for Chicago Catholics for a long period of time. And not only for them, from the abbey, but Czech missionaries set out to China in 1936 to establish a Chinese Benedictine mission, and from there Czech Benedictines went to Broumov in Czechoslovakia in 1946 to replace German Benedictines forcefully expelled after WWII. It was there that the statue of the Virgin Mary in Exile was unveiled in 1955 and sent to Prague in 1993 where it was placed near Strahov monastery. Gradually, however, the Czech character of the Lisle abbey disappeared. A number of the buildings were demolished or restructured and new ones erected and currently, the Benet Academy and the Benedictine University are housed there. Catholics from a Czech mission in Brookfield currently carry out their pilgrimage there.[68]

The second church building in Pilsen, along with the fourth parish in Chicago, St. Vitus Church, are additional evidence of the growth of the Czech neighbourhood Pilsen and the St. Procopius parish. Situated on the other end of Pilsen at the corner of Paulina St. and Van Horn, the wooden church was first opened in 1888. The church was rebuilt with bricks in 1897. The church is currently closed and the building is painted with various Aztec symbols and Mexican images.[69]

The increase in Czech immigration can be illustrated by the fact that by the end of the nineteenth century, four more church buildings in Chicago and one in the outskirts were added to the already existing four churches and the abbey. These churches were:

– Our Lady of Good Counsel Church (on Western Avenue near the crossroads of Milwaukee St., Ashland St. and Divison) built in 1889 and disbanded in 1989. The building currently serves abandoned children under the the Catholic Charities of the Archdiocese of Chicago,[70] and nothing any longer recalls the Czech history of the building;

– St. Lyudmila Church built in 1891 in the area of so-called Czech California (on 24th St. and Albany) was demolished in 2002 (the parish has turned prevailingly Mexican as of the 1970s); the Czech roots are commemorated by a stone with an inscription in Czech saying that it was founded in AD 1900 for the honour and the glory of God and the memory of St. Lyudmila; the inscription is accompanied by a picture of the Virgin Mary of Guadalupe;[71]

– Saints Cyril and Methodius Church in the Town of Lake (Hermitage and 50th St.) was built in 1891. The parish ceased to be Czech in the 1980s and the building was sold to the Seventh-day Adventist Church in 1990;[72]

– Virgin Mary of Lourdes Church (Keller and 15th St.) erected as a wooden structure in 1892 and rebuilt with brick in 1932. The parish was officially listed as "Czech" for the last time in 1963;[73]

– St. John Nepomucene Church in Fox River Grove (some 50 miles north-west of Chicago) was constructed (of wood) in 1871 and has been in operations since, although currently it is no longer a centre of the Czech community, but is surrounded by a cemetery with numerous Czech graves.

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[68] Ibid.

[69] Ibid.

[70] Bubeníček, *Dějiny Čechů v Chicagu*, 430; Hladík, *České a slovenské kostely v oblasti Chicaga*, no pagination.

[71] Hladík, *České a slovenské kostely v oblasti Chicaga*, no pagination.

[72] Bubeníček, *Dějiny Čechů v Chicagu*, 432; Hladík, *České a slovenské kostely v oblasti Chicaga*, no pagination.

[73] Bubeníček, *Dějiny Čechů v Chicagu*, 432; Hladík, *České a slovenské kostely v oblasti Chicaga*, no pagination.

With the turn of the century, the flooding of Czech immigrants continued, resulting in the building of another church, St. Agnes of Bohemia Church, in 1904 (27th St. and Central Park St.), renewed in 1926. The neighbourhood has changed ethnically with immigration from Mexico prevailing in the 1970s. Many local Czechs turned to "American" churches, however, soon after WWII. Some two blocks away from the church, Velehrad building was opened, in the 1970s. Today, both the church and Velehrad are Hispanic, resp. Mexican.[74]

A similar fate was shared by another Czech parish founded in the rapidly growing Berwyn neighbourhood, a significant centre of Czech settlement. The Saint Mary of Celle Church in Berwyn was founded in 1909 and newly rebuilt on Wesley Ave. in 1931. The Czech character of the settlement has gradually faded away and it is predominantly inhabited by Mexican immigrants since the 1990s.[75]

A Catholic parish was established in Cicero at the Virgin Mary of Svata Hora Church in 1919. The still standing church building on the corner of 61st St. and 24th Avenue was built in 1928. The history of the parish is interesting for at least two aspects. The first one is the process of disappearance of the Czech character of the locality, approximately in the 1970s due to immigration of Italians, Poles, and Germans (in the case of the Saint Mary of Celle Parish in Berwyn, the new immigrants were Germans, French, Irish, and Italians), with the parish turning ethnically more diverse and the services being held in English. As of the turn of the millennium, Mexican immigration has predominated and the service is consequently being held in Spanish (and English). The second interesting aspect is the fact that in the 1980s, when the originally Czech character of the Pilsen neighbourhood faded, the services in Czech were moved from the St. Procopius Parish to the Virgin Mary of Svata Hora Parish in Cicero were they lasted until 2008, only to be transferred to the Czech mission in Brookfield in 2009.[76]

Alongside the establishment of new industrial areas west of Chicago, new areas suitable for immigrant settlement developed as well. This was the case of the two already mentioned neighbourhoods, Berwyn and Cicero, where Czech immigrants settled along 22nd Street (later renamed in honour of the Chicago Mayer of Czech origin as Cermak Avenue) Czech newcomers settled and established their own infrastructure (banks, companies, etc.). Together with Pilsen, Berwyn and Cicero were areas where Czech was exclusively used for everyday communication for many years. The number of Czech inhabitants of Berwyn was estimated at 40 to 48 thousand in the 1920s. A need for a new church naturally arose. St. Odilo Church was consequently erected in 1928. The building was turned into the Odilo School in 1963 when a new St. Odilo Church was built in the vicinity of the original church on Clarence St.[77] The services are currently held there in English and Spanish only.

A convent was constructed for nuns teaching at the parish school in 1930, close to the Virgin Mary of Svata Hora Church. After 1988, when the Velehrad building on Lawndale Ave. was sold, the Velehrad centre was placed there as a base for Czech masses, Czech Sunday School, the editorial office of the *Hlas národa* "Voice of the Nation" newspaper, the office of the *National Alliance of Czech Catholics*, a library, etc. Czech Velehrad operated in the building until 2009 when *Czech Mission* (eventually becoming the owner of the building) moved to its own church in Brookfield. Currently, the building with the Velehrad inscription above its entrance belongs

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[74] Hladík, *České a slovenské kostely v oblasti Chicaga*, no pagination.

[75] Ibid.

[76] Ibid.

[77] Ibid.

to the Christian society *Victory Outreach International*[78] and none of its inhabitants know about the Czech history of the edifice.[79]

The only church in the Chicago area providing services in Czech is the Czech Patrons Church operating under the *Czech Catholic Mission of Sts. Cyril and Methodius* situated in Brookfield on Rochester Avenue. Built in 1905, it was originally a Methodist Church bought by the *Czech Catholic Mission* in 2009. Czech collective memory is preserved, for example, by paintings in the church space: St. Procopius, St. Norbert, St. Adalbert of Prague, St. Wenceslas, Sts. Cyril and Methodius, St. Zdislava of Lemberk, St. Agnes of Bohemia, St. Hedwig and St. John Nepomucene. The paintings were made by a local Czech immigrant.

C) Cemeteries

Cemeteries are an important institution functioning as a link between the past and the present in every culture and community. It is a place where the past is remembered and commemorated, which is a key for collective and individual memory. Cemeteries are true chains of memory. They relate a great deal about the present and thus can also be significant indicators of the process of forgetting.[80]

Czech immigrants initially buried their dead alongside other ethnic groups. With the growth in the number of Czech immigrants, the need for their own cemetery grew as well. Economic difficulties nevertheless led to the co-founding of a cemetery together with Polish immigrants. The Czech-Polish Catholic cemetery of St. Vojtěch [Adalbert] was therefore founded in 1872 in Niles north-west of Chicago.[81]

A new cemetery was established in 1877 and was in all probability the most significant Czech institution in Chicago, gaining renown as an important cultural heritage. The founding and history of the cemetery clearly illustrates another relevant (and so far not mentioned) feature of Czech immigration in Chicago, this being the split between believers (Catholics mostly) and free thinkers. The impulse for the establishment of the new cemetery was the refusal of a priest from St. Wenceslas Parish to bury a woman who supposedly did not confess before her death. František B. Zdrůbek, a representative of *Svobodna obec* "the Congregation of Bohemian Free-thinkers of Chicago" and editor of one of the first Czech newspapers *Svornost* "Concord" was the main activist standing up against the priest's decision and promoting the establishment of a national cemetery, where anyone could be buried regardless of their faith.[82] Bohemian National Cemetery is situated seven miles from the centre of Chicago in Jefferson (corner of Pulaski Road and Foster Ave), with many places near there that contribute to the Czech collective memory: the family tomb of the Chicago Mayer Antonín Čermák (born 1873 in Kladno—died in 1933 in Miami), statues by Albin Polasek, a memorial to Alice Masaryk (daughter of the President T. G. Masaryk) in the columbarium of Masaryk Memorial Mausoleum (built in 1959, two wings named after Edward Beneš and Milan Štefánik added later; Alice Masaryk died in 1966 and her remains were transferred in 1994 to the family tomb in the Czech Republic),[83] a monument com-

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[78] Ibid.

[79] Confirmed during field research in 2015.

[80] See Lužný, "Localization and Visual Foundation of Religious Memory."

[81] Bubeníček, *Dějiny Čechů v Chicagu*, 313.

[82] Ibid., 317–333.

[83] "Ecce Homo – Alice Masaryková," Český rozhlas Brno, accessed July 31, 2017, http://www.rozhlas.cz/brno/avizoprog/_zprava/ecce-homo-alice-masarykova--115231.

memorating 143 Czechs who died in the Eastland disaster (the SS Eastland, a passenger steamer, sank on 24 July 1915 while docked), and other memorials and places of Czech collective memory.

D) Schools

There were 19 Czech schools in Chicago, attended by some 1,340 students, at the beginning of the twentieth century.[84] The schools were: Jan Amos Komenský School (Augusta and Noble St.), Karel Havlíček School (with classes taking place in two buildings, one on Elmwood Avenue and 15th St. and in General Custer School on 15th St. and Oak Park Avenue), Jan Neruda School (2659 S. Karlov Avenue), Svatopluk Čech School (1814 S. Throop St.), František Palacký School (1525 S. Kedvale Avenue), Vojta Náprstek School (2546 S. Homan Avenue), Mikoláš Aleš School (29th and 52nd Pl.—Hawthorne), F. B. Zdrůbek School (4622 24 N. Crawford Avenue), Karel Jonáš School (Wabansia and Ballou St.), Ladimír Klácel School[85] (Leavitt and 19th St.), Matice Školska in Chicago School (1842 Yeaton St.), Besídka a Dětská opatrovna (1924 Loomis), School in Berwyn (Hiawatha and 26th St.), School in Sokol Chicago (2345 S. Kedzie Avenue), School in the Town of Lake (4758 Honoe), School in Morton Park (with classes organized in two places—54th and 23rd Avenue, and in Sherlock School on 53rd and 54th St.), school on 18th St. in the C. S. P. S. (Czech-Slovak Protective Society) building[86] (1126 W. 18th St.), Čtvrta warda school (2959 S. 30th St. and Emerald Avenue), and the Rovnost School in Hanson Park.[87] The same source also lists Komenský School (Throop and 20th St.) and Jirka School (17th St. and Laflin).[88]

It should be noted that at the beginning of the Czech immigration to Chicago, schools were mostly parochial, linked to a parish community and labelled as *osada* "colony or neighbourhood." Apart from these, a relatively strong network of secular schools labelled as freethinking existed. "Around the War, secular schools in Chicago were attended by some 630 students, the numbers of which, however, gradually decreased."[89]

There are currently two Czech "schools," in Chicago, i.e., places where the Czech language is taught and also where other classes are held in Czech. In both cases, they are Saturday and Sunday schools, meaning free-time activity schools where children go (at the impulse of their parents) usually on Saturdays: a) a school at the Czech Catholic Mission and Sts. Cyril and Methodius Church in Brookfiled (9415 Rochester Ave., corner of Deyo Ave.) and b) TGM Czech School in Cicero (5701 W 22nd Pl.) continuing in the tradition of the free thinking schools.

Schools are important in at least two ways for the study of memory: at the times of their active operation, they are a living means of preservation of collective (ethnic or national) identity and memory. In addition, their edifices (if preserved) become places and materialized embodiments of recollecting the past and therefore instruments of collective memory (albeit non-active).

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[84] Čapek, *The Czechs (Bohemians) in America*, 243.

[85] The school was also called Česko-Americká Škola Ladimír Klácel. Bubeníček, *Dějiny Čechů v Chicagu*, 416.

[86] Another source names the school as Česko-Anglická Svobodná Škola "Czech-English Free School" and was the oldest and most important centre of Chicago's Pilsen freethinkers. Bubeníček, *Dějiny Čechů v Chicagu*, 415.

[87] *Adresář a almanach českého obyvatelstva v Chicagu*, 67.

[88] Ibid., 65.

[89] Vaculík, *České menšiny ve světě a v Evropě*, 288.

4 Conclusion – partial

Gyms, clubs, community centers, churches, cemeteries and schools form a part of cultural memory which is spatially materialized and sedimented. Czechs built a large number of such structures in Chicago because, as they gradually moved in space (especially from the center westward along the channel), they established entire neighborhoods (towns) in which they naturally erected not only homes but infrastructure as well, including public buildings.

On the other hand, moving frequently also meant leaving the already built structures behind. The function of many buildings thus changed, and even if the function remained the same its connection to the life of Czech immigrant community got lost. Some buildings have not been preserved, and those who have survived are only silent reminders of the former presence of Czechs. As such they illustrate two levels of cultural memory – the preservation of memory and the process of forgetting.

Our research combined several methods of data collection. Apart from interviews, studying of documents and participatory observations, the potential of visual anthropology has been utilized. Religious memory and its preservation (formation and reproduction), including religious forgetting, has many forms. In social sciences study of cultural memory, attention is usually focused on analysis of documents (in archives) and analysis of narrations (testimonies of live actors gained through the means of interviews). We have already suggested[90] that sociological and anthropological analysis of religious memory should include analysis of the visual, analysis of space and analysis of material forms of religious memory as well. Because religious memory is always embodied, we must identify various forms of such "embodiment" and include them into our research strategies. On the other hand, our research has confirmed that isolated elements of religious memory disconnected from live narratives very soon lose their link to communicative memory and are headed into oblivion. Further examples of this process will be analyzed in the second part of the study.

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[90]   Lužný, "Localization and Visual Foundation of Religious Memory."

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Ancestor Veneration in Benedictine Monasticism

Abstract | Ancestor veneration in some form was prevalent even among many of the very earliest human societies. Remembered as "real people" by those among the living with closer genealogical ties, their personalities are often selectively "constructed" postmortem by relatives of greater generational distance. Some of the cherished memories of ancestors are comforting and even flattering, while others are humorous and outrageous and others may be downright demeaning and even punitive. Whatever the regard in which they are held, the living rarely have a neutral opinion about those who have gone before them. Revered as moral models and even founders of important bloodlines among their successors, they may just as readily take on the characteristics of malevolent "ghosts," demanding offerings and obeisance from their descendants, threatening misfortune and illness should their living relatives dare to forget or disregard them.

Such is a typical summary anthropologists might provide about attitudes toward ancestors, generalizations gleaned from many and varied cross-cultural ethnographic accounts, and even from the reconstructed data of archaeological excavation. But ancestors populate monasteries as well, even though the ties that bind the dead to the living in these settings are not (usually) those of blood relationship. In fact, every monastic community of men and women has ways—formal and informal—of recalling their predecessors to mind. Thus stretching the anthropological notion of ancestor veneration a bit allows us to explore "collective memory"—the various methods monastics use to recall earlier community members, and make them tangible and dynamic in their midst once again.

This paper will explore ancestor veneration in Benedictine monasticism in eight different sections: (1) the introduction; (2) a review of ancestor veneration in the anthropology of religion; (3) an overview of Benedictine monastic ancestor veneration; (4) liturgical and ritual memorials; (5) commemorative shrines—photographs and relics in the form of material artifacts closely associated with the deceased; (6) storytelling and reminiscing; (7) shrines at the common table; and (8) the memorial and organizational properties of monastic cemeteries.

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1 Introduction

Ancestor veneration (or ancestor worship) is an important research domain in sociocultural anthropology in general, and in the anthropology of religion in particular. Some anthropologists argue that it marks the starting point for considering all other religious aspects in human societies. Other researchers avoid giving it such fundamental, universal pride of place while yet attending to it with the analytical significance it deserves. While the general assumption is that the term *ancestors* denotes only those individuals from whom one claims transgenerational

descent from a line of biological progenitors, a broader social definition of predecessors leads to other considerations.[1] It is in this spirit of inquiry that this overview of ancestor veneration in Benedictine monasticism proceeds. Since Benedictine monasteries are populated—unlike families—by single-sex recruitment rather than by sexual congress and the resultant births of new members, ancestors take on a somewhat different connotation. This framework will unfold in the course of this paper as the various section headings (see the abstract) are explored.

The author's point of view shifts at particular points in this paper. While a scholarly style prevails throughout, when the author (as anthropological researcher) comments on monastic practices in his monastery,[2] where he has served as a professed, nonordained Benedictine monk for over forty years, he will shift to the first-person singular and plural to describe experience-near, autoethnographic data firsthand.

2 A Review of Ancestor Veneration in the Anthropology of Religion

As a research domain, ancestor veneration has undergone wide scrutiny in the anthropology of religion. Geographically, East and Southeast Asia, Africa, Madagascar, and Central and South America have been significant, although not exclusive, research foci. While the intention here is not to provide a comprehensive summary of anthropological ancestor studies, several important themes emerge.

The human ability to conceptualize incorporeal beings is universal and probably hardwired. "While the specific properties of spirits may reflect predominantly cultural beliefs, there are a number of aspects of spirits that constitute neurognostic structures, universal properties of how humans experience the spirit world."[3] This hearkens back to Sir Edward Tylor, considered one of the founders of anthropology, and his assertion (although not original with him; see *Primitive Culture*, 1871) that the earliest manifestation of religion was a belief in spirit beings (animism).[4] While the search for religious origins is no longer a consuming quest for most anthropologists, spirits still play an important part in professional ruminations. De Waal Malefijt describes a sub-set of such entities as "ancestor souls (or ancestor spirits): supernatural beings of human origin, related to members of a group, and considered actual and active members of that group."[5]

Is ancestor veneration a cultural universal? Assertions about the universality of ancestor veneration may have been overstated: "We argue such claims of communication between the

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[1] In the classic literature of cultural anthropology, for example, the terms *genitor* and *genitrix* (indicating biological parentage) was distinguished from *pater* and *mater* (in the social definition of parentage, as in offspring of polyandrous and polygynous marriages, for example).

[2] Abbey of Saint John the Baptist, Collegeville, Minnesota, USA. Saint John's Abbey is a men's monastery of the Catholic Benedictine religious order located in central Minnesota in the United States of America. Founded in 1856 by monks from Saint Vincent Archabbey in Pennsylvania to serve the spiritual needs of German immigrant settlers, it flourished by developing and staffing a university (Saint John's University), a college preparatory school (Saint John's Preparatory School), a publishing establishment (Liturgical Press), and a library housing a treasure of monastic manuscripts and other early church documents (the Hill Museum & Manuscript Library), all of which continue to thrive today. It also served and continues to serve local residents with parish pastors, hospital and other health care chaplains, and missionaries, both nationally and internationally. More about the history and other aspects of Saint John's Abbey is available on its website: http://www.saintjohnsabbey.org/index.php.

[3] Michael Winkelman, *Shamanism: A Biopsychosocial Paradigm of Consciousness and Healing*, second edition (Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger, 2010), 205.

[4] Graham Harvey, "From Primitives to Persons," in *Animism: Respecting the Living World*, ed. Graham Harvey (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 1–29.

[5] Annemarie de Waal Malefijt, *Religion and Culture: An Introduction to Anthropology of Religion* (New York: Macmillan, 1968), 161.

dead and their descendants are universal and may be the key to understanding the universality of religion."[6] There is no consensus among anthropologists regarding this claim. One of the issues in contention is definition. The author's preference is for ancestor *veneration* rather than ancestor *worship* even though this latter attribution is encountered more commonly in the ethnographic literature. Worship implies a deified status or at least a trajectory toward such an exalted supernatural niche. Some ancestors are to be duly honored, but they do not thereby inevitably undergo apotheosis, becoming gods or other quasi-deified beings.[7] "An overly narrow definition of the term, worship, is often used to claim that certain societies lack ancestor worship. […] [A]nthropologists have pointed out that worship may not be the most accurate term to describe even those societies unquestionably assumed to have ancestor worship."[8]

The veneration of ancestors has often been correlated with unilineal kinship ideology, and it may be construed as an extension from mortal to incorporeal members of such corporate bodies.[9] Ethnographic research reports have repeatedly emphasized ancestors as lionized lineage founders or heroes, but in other cases, ancestors were considered as anything but beneficent spirit extensions of their line of relatives. Sometimes they were considered malevolent, wreaking havoc or making demands of the living. As such, they had to be placated to avoid their purported interference in or bad will toward living relatives. Noteworthy are postmortem contrasts in attitude, mood, and status among the ancestors. Now dead, they seem to take on a distinctly different regard for the living. Consider this comment from a research report on Korean ancestor veneration:

> Many informants are reluctant to accept the idea that ancestors are hostile. Some denied that ancestors would ever harm their own descendants, but know specific instances when they had. Others granted the theoretical possibility of the dead afflicting their offspring or other close kin but were hesitant to accept that explanation in specific cases.[10]

In addition to China and the rest of Southeast Asia, research on the continent of Africa has also yielded important understandings of ancestor veneration, as recounted in Meyer Fortes and Germain Dieterlen's classic book, *African Systems of Thought*:

> Comparatively viewed, African ancestor worship has a remarkably uniform structural framework. The congregation of worshippers invariably comprises either an exclusive common descent group, or such a group augmented by collateral cognates, who may be of restricted or specific filiative provenance or may come from an unrestricted range; or else the worshippers in a given situation may comprise only a domestic group, be it an elementary family to a family of an extended type.[11]

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[6] Lyle B. Steadman, Craig T. Palmer, and Christopher F. Tilley, "The Universality of Ancestor Worship," *Ethnology* 35, no. 1 (Winter 1996): 63.

[7] According to the Christian dispensation, *dulia* is adulation showered upon noteworthy mortals or saintly spirits, whereas *latria* is adoration directed exclusively to the Godhead.

[8] Steadman, Palmer, and Tilley, "The Universality of Ancestor Worship," 64.

[9] Maurice Freedman, *Lineage Organization in Southeastern China – London School of Economics Monographs on Social Anthropology no. 18* (UK: The Athlone Press University of London, 1970); Dean Sheils, "Toward a Unified Theory of Ancestor Worship: A Cross-Cultural Study," *Social Forces* 54, no. 2 (December 1975): 427–40; Steadman, Palmer, and Tilley, "The Universality of Ancestor Worship," 63–76.

[10] Roger L. Janelli and Dawnhee Yim Janelli, *Ancestor Worship and Korean Society* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1982), 154–55.

[11] Meyer Fortes, "Some Reflections on Ancestor Worship in Africa," accessed February 24, 2017, http://www.era.anthropology.ac.uk/Era_Resources/Era/Ancestors/fortes2.html, n.p.

While acknowledging ancestors as extensions of kin, these researchers place greater emphasis on the legal or proprietary interests and concerns of the living in relation to the dead: "There is much more to ancestor worship than its utility as a means of mapping out and providing a charter for a genealogically ordered social structure."[12]

In some societies, there seems to have been a conflation of ancestor veneration and another classic research category in the anthropology of religion: totemism. The totemic transition comes from the makeover of individuals following death from the status of human beings to an identity affiliation with plant or animal species in the native environment. These ethnographic accounts describe the postmortem transformation of human ancestors into members of animal or plant species, which then, in Durkheimian fashion, assume the identity of the ancestor as the symbolic stand-in for his or her corporate group.

As much as it may initially shock Western sensibilities, cannibalism may actually be construed as a component of ancestor veneration in some societies. In *endocannibalism*, ancestors may be revered by the postmortem consumption of some portion of their flesh or vital internal organs like the heart or the brain (depending on the particular symbolic associations of where the "essence" of the person resides). Reverence comes about in the form of ingesting or otherwise "taking on" the ancestors' virtuous or noteworthy qualities, or by the desire of progeny to more completely identify themselves with idealized ancestors. Sometimes this latter aspect is enhanced by a specific belief in an ancestral pool of rebirth or reincarnation (in some cases, through intermediate animal forms), where the descendant assumes the ancestor's character and is even assigned his or her name.[13]

3 An Overview of Benedictine Monastic Ancestor Veneration

A starting point for launching into the topic of monastic ancestor veneration is to consider what one historian terms "monastic archaeology:"

> Monastic archaeology offers fertile ground for embodied perspectives. Monasticism was lived through bodily practices that included celibacy, dietary abstinence, meditation, manual labor, and the erasure of personal identity that is usually expressed through clothing, hair, and material culture. Monastic identity was shaped through asceticism and disciplinary routines, including the control of daily timetables for speech, work, prayer, meals, sleep, and periodic routines of fasting, bathing, and bloodletting.[14]

In transitioning to the present, we shift to a perspective where "ancestors are links to the past, and as such can confer legitimacy upon individuals in social groups."[15]

In their helpful survey of what they term the "archaeology" of ancestors, Erica Hill and Jon B. Hageman list empirical generalizations of their collated research findings.[16] These concentrated

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[12] Ibid. The book containing this online chapter: Meyer Fortes and Germaine Dieterlen, eds., *African Systems of Thought; Studies Presented and Discussed at the Third International Seminar in Salisbury, December, 1960* (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), 122–42.

[13] Gananath Obeyesekere, *Imagining Karma: Ethical Transformation in Amerindian, Buddhist, and Greek Rebirth, Comparative Studies in Religion and Society 14* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).

[14] Roberta Gilchrist, "Monastic and Church Archaeology," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 43 (2014): 243.

[15] Jon B. Hageman, "Where the Ancestors Live: Shrines and Their Meaning among the Classic Maya," in *The Archaeology of Ancestors: Death, Memory, and Veneration*, ed. Erica Hill and Jon B. Hageman (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2016), 220.

[16] Jon B. Hagemen and Erica Hill, "Leveraging the Dead: The Ethnography of Ancestors," in *The Archaeology of Ancestors: Death, Memory, and Veneration*, ed. Erica Hill and Jon B. Hageman (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2016), 3–41.

statements hearken back to the past, to the ancestors and their hold on the authenticity of the tradition. Thus, they should be considered as *conservative* forces within the specific group. This gives us pause to review the agency undergirding *tradition*. According to Catherine Cornille, religious tradition is

> an entire storehouse of religious teachings and practices that have been tried and transmitted, purified and enriched through the ages. For believers, the tradition is both the link to the founding events and teachings of the religion and the custodian of what is of ultimate importance. It contains the stories and the thought of generation upon generation of people who have tried to understand, explain, and experience the truth of the traditional teachings. And it contains the history of struggle to maintain and indeed improve the purity of those teachings, and to transmit them in new forms, intelligible in different cultures and epochs."[17]

Extracting several of these empirical generalizations from Hill's and Hageman's list (30–31), we can apply them here specifically to monastic ancestor veneration.

"Ancestors reinforce status and authority within the social group, usually that of senior members."[18] Monastic "seniors" are the next cohort in line to enter the ancestral realm. Their authority is thereby legitimized by their close temporal alignment with "venerated" monastic ancestors.[19] This accords with the principle of *ordo* or rank in the Rule of Benedict (Chapter 63), and the deference shown to senior members (Chapter 71).[20] It becomes manifest in such monastic practices as liturgical processions according to *statio*, which mark the positional point of entry (date and time of day) of the individual monastic into the community.[21]

"Ancestors are conceptually tied to the landscape and reference fundamental dichotomies, such as wild/domestic or nature/culture."[22] Many of the stories recounting the lives of monastic ancestors point to the "early days" in which mortal monastics intervened in or altered the physical premises of the monastery's environs.[23] Most monasteries engaged in agriculture and/or animal husbandry, clearing landed areas for this purpose, as well as for the construction of the buildings collectively housing the monastery itself (along with its various operations and enterprises). Thus it becomes easier to see how monastic ancestors "conquered" nature in the interest of creating domestic edifices worthy of both human habitation and godly adoration.

"Ancestors are directly implicated in issues of descent, inheritance, property, and access to resources."[24] The earliest European cenobitic, or communal, monasteries were essentially rural landed estates, emphasizing the monasteries' proprietary status. This reinforced the view of monastics as stakeholders. Although private ownership was forbidden by the monastic Rule of Benedict (Chapter 33), common property and resources were passed transgenerationally among

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[17] Catherine Cornille, *The im-Possibility of Interreligious Dialogue* (New York: Crossroad, 2008), 66.

[18] Hagemen and Hill, "Leveraging the Dead," 30.

[19] One of the walls in a meeting room just outside the (Saint John's) monastery enclosure prominently showcases the framed portraits of all the abbots since the abbey's first election in 1866. The photographs of this ancestral leadership lineage of abbots are strategically positioned to oversee the proceedings of important discussions. An almost identical senior portrait assemblage marks a university hall not far away.

[20] Although there are many renditions of the monastic Rule of Benedict, one of the most beautiful hardcover reproductions is a translation by Leonard Doyle, *The Rule of Saint Benedict* (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 2001).

[21] See my article, Aaron Raverty, OSB, "Social Structure in the Rule of Benedict," *The American Benedictine Review* 49, no. 4 (December 1998): 387–406.

[22] Hagemen and Hill, "Leveraging the Dead," 31.

[23] See Mick Aston, *Monasteries in the Landscape* (Stroud, UK: Tempus, 2000).

[24] Hagemen and Hill, "Leveraging the Dead," 31.

the monasteries' residents. Ancestors marked the orientation from which collective monastic ownership and oversight derived their legitimacy.[25]

"Ancestors are repositories and reference points for the origins, genealogies, and memories of kin groups."[26] The Benedictine vow of stability of place and heart (see below) roots monastics in loyalty to a specific locale. Monastic ancestors—their personalities and accomplishments—thus become the "anchors" of the community and its defining characteristics, marking it off and bracketing its uniqueness. The reminiscences of the living concerning the dead periodically recount the monastic "pillars" of the past, now definitely larger than life, bestowing on the monastery and its present inhabitants an inviolable identity and a trajectory for moving into the future.

4 Liturgical and Ritual Memorials

Benedictine monasticism is steeped in liturgy, which includes monastic vesture: the habit.[27] As the public collective ritual of the church, liturgy and associated ritual memorials for the dead play an important role in the monastic respect shown toward ancestors.

> From the 1960s onward, anthropologists stressed the socially restorative functions of funeral rites and the significance of the symbolism of death-related behavior as a cultural expression of the value system. Another important motif is the recognition and analysis of the ambivalence of the living toward the dead, involving the theme of transition and the concept of liminality.[28]

One of the most common and concrete ways of remembering our deceased monastic members is by a written obituary. Of course, the Benedictines have always been a literate culture, having written and copied manuscripts aplenty during much of their early history. (And, in so doing, helped Europe preserve many of its ancient classics in the emergence from the Dark Ages.) These obituaries consist of photographs and texts usually printed on small pamphlets that are distributed to each monastic community member and to friends and family members shortly after the death. They may also appear in the local (or more distant) newspapers for several days surrounding the death, and subsequently online and later in monastery-sponsored magazines and other similar publication outlets. Here at Saint John's Abbey, we enlarge each of these obituary pamphlets (or *memorial cards*, as we call them) and place it on display under glass in an area in our basement monastery corridor. This is a heavy-traffic area where most monks will be able to view them as they pass. In addition to the enlarged memorial cards, other of the deceased's memorabilia—including such items as smaller photos taken at various life stages or on celebratory occasions, academic diplomas or professional certificates, or special award plaques, for example—are likewise displayed. These reflect the occupational assignments and special accomplishments of the monk as well as his general social status among the brethren.

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[25] Cf. Fortes and Dieterlen, eds., *African Systems of Thought.*

[26] Hagemen and Hill, "Leveraging the Dead," 31.

[27] "[C]lothing infuses the human body with meaning and determines its behavior, often beyond personal preference. […] Moreover, clothing may not only change our skin and transform our physiology, it may actually define it by controlling our body movements." Anna-Karina Hermkens, "Clothing as Embodied Experience or Belief," in *Religion and Material Culture: The Matter of Belief*, ed. David Morgan (London and New York: Routledge 2010), 232.

[28] Phyllis Palgi and Henry Abramovitch, "Death: A Cross-Cultural Perspective," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 13 (1984): 386.

Once the prior (second in command in the monastery after the abbot) and others have removed the deceased's personal objects from his room, storage bin, or atelier, these items are assembled on the surface of a large bookcase in another corridor area of the abbey, one of the areas that we call the "free store." It is the general consensual understanding that anything placed atop this bookcase is "up for grabs"—in other words, free for the taking. Some of these items are utilitarian, but others may be construed as memorabilia that the living may wish to take with them in order to hold the deceased confrere in memory. This practice points to the quasi-economic circulation of goods within the circumscribed setting of the monastic enclosure.

We also remember our deceased confreres in the traditional monastic practice of the Liturgy of the Hours, the specified times of communal gathering and prayer (part of the *horarium*) that mark the monastic temporal divisions of the day and night.[29] At the end of Morning Prayer, we recall the confrere by name for a period of one month following his death. At the same time, we publicly announce from the necrology listed in our *Ordo* (the official registry of monks) the names of all our confreres who have already died on a particular date, accompanied by the year on which they died. (This custom serves as an *aide-mémoire* for the living members to situate their deceased confreres chronologically.)

In terms of liturgical practice, praying for the dead has a venerable history, even long before Christians and monastics appeared on the scene. As recounted in the Second Book of Maccabees, chapter twelve, soldiers of Judas Maccabeus slain in battle were subsequently discovered sporting hidden amulets of foreign gods. This was in direct violation of, and a sin against, the First Commandment of the Decalogue, a jealous command of the God of Israel that forbade worship of alien gods. But according to the biblical account, the surviving soldiers "prayed that the sinful deed might be fully blotted out,"[30] their common prayer making "atonement for the dead that they might be absolved of their sin."[31]

As a more general practice that includes monastics, the Catholic liturgical celebration of the Mass also remembers the dead during the Eucharistic prayers, which contain a special invocation for the dead. Other funeral liturgies hold the dead in prayerful memory: the reception of the body; the "wake" or vigil service (which often includes additional prayers, like the rosary recitation); supplementary liturgical rites outside the Mass; and the graveside services marking the committal in the deceased's final resting place in the monastic cemetery.

Mass intentions may be offered for the dead. In the prayers of the faithful read at Mass, the final intercession may be reserved for the deceased. As was the custom in the mid-twentieth century, parents and their children would periodically travel to the cemetery to offer prayers for their dead relatives and friends at their gravesites. It is in such prayer that the doctrine of the communion of saints spans the gap between the living and the faithful departed.

Devotionally, burial of the dead is included among the church's listing of the corporal works of mercy. The faithful from different Catholic traditions mark a special day to pray for the dead: All Souls' Day (November 2) and, in the Mexican tradition, *Dia de los Muertos* or "Day of the Dead" (also November 2), as well as the entire month of November.

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[29] Eight of these are listed in the Rule of Benedict: Vigils, Lauds, Prime, Terce, Sext, None, Vespers, and Compline. However, most Benedictine monasteries of men and women modify these nowadays to adjust them to fit their apostolic work, an adjustment that Saint Benedict himself foresaw and accommodated.

[30] (2 Mac 12:42)

[31] (2 Mac 12:46)

Aiden McCall Burial January 1992, photo: author's archive

5 Commemorative Shrines—Photographs and Relics in the Form of Material Artifacts Closely Associated with the Deceased

As a most general description, *shrines* are communicative material cultural intrusions into the local biotic environment ("culture" insertions into "nature") or into some alternative context. They are composed of carefully prescribed substances and objects; shrines are constructed and overseen by human agents who interact with them in a patterned way. These patterns may be linguistic (prayers, invocations, incantations), auditory (vocal or instrumental music like chanting or percussion), reciprocal (exchange), or ritual/liturgical (embodied movement/choreography).

Shrines are storehouses for human memory. Shrines generally possess some transcendent reference and manifest, according to the logic provided by their human agents, a constellation of items of significance.[32] Objects placed in shrines are symbolic repositories of human attitudes and hierarchical social position. Such shrine objects may also embody pictorial representations (e.g., photographs) or narrative summaries of human biographies, and it is in this quality that they are especially noteworthy for our consideration of ancestor veneration.

Shrines—and the substances and objects that afford them a material reality—communicate at least four qualities. They are 1. affect-laden (convey values), 2. normative, 3. political (involve social hierarchies), and 4. representational (metonymic). In addition, the possession of these qualities may provide a material focus for still larger social networks. Hence the importance of shrines in ancestor veneration.

Shrines are also important in that they summarize a "community of perception," a societal lens through which material objects are viewed and interpreted. Despite the fact that shrines may be anchors of the past and thus conservative aspects of human material creation, it is notable that humans do not shy away from "spontaneous" shrine creation, as well. An important example of this occurs when people feel the obligation to create makeshift shrines (e.g., on roadsides, front-yard fences, "bathtub virgins") near a spot where a person has tragically died in an automobile

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[32] See David Morgan, ed., *Religion and Material Culture: The Matter of Belief* (New York: Routledge, 2010).

accident or to recognize or otherwise honor a supernatural agent (like the Blessed Virgin Mary in the Catholic Christian tradition) who has answered a prayer request.[33]

Although cross-cultural shrine varieties are too multifarious to summarize here, we note some of the better known from East Asia. In traditional Chinese and Korean society, there were both domestic ancestor shrines in individual households as well as larger lineage shrines situated outside the home. Tablets designating the ancestors in these traditional shrines played an important role in acknowledging and commemorating Chinese and Korean familial and lineage ancestors.[34]

Honoring our deceased Benedictine monastic brothers and sisters may take physical form as a small shrine altar replete with objects that recall these confreres to memory. Such an altar and its associated "trinkets" may be set up in a special niche in the monastic dwelling for a specified period of time after the date of death. At Saint John's Abbey, we have a small wooden stand in a corner space in our main monastery corridor where we place a votive candle along with a snap-binder booklet filled with plastic-encased photographs (some archival, some more recent) and a short, one-page biography of each deceased monk.

Each year on the anniversary of the monk's death, we light the candle and open the booklet to display the monk-ancestor's biographical summary for all monks to read. Thus do we commemorate, honor, and enshrine our monastic predecessors/ancestors.

Necrology Shrine, photo: author's archive

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[33] See, for example, Mirjam Klaassens, Peter D. Groote, and Frank M. Vanclay, "Expressions of Private Mourning in Public Space: The Evolving Structure of Spontaneous and Permanent Roadside Memorials in The Netherlands," *Death Studies* 37, no. 2 (February 2013): 145–171.

[34] Insoo Cho, "Materializing Ancestor Spirits: Name Tablets, Portraits, and Tombs in Korea," in *Religion and Material Culture: The Matter of Belief*, ed. David Morgan (London and New York: Routledge, 2010), 214–28; Freedman, *Lineage Organization in Southeastern China*; Janelli and Janelli, *Ancestor Worship and Korean Society*.

6 Storytelling and Reminiscing

One of the more informal means of calling monastic ancestors back into the presence of the living is *storytelling*. This is a common practice whenever and wherever monastics congregate to exchange local gossip or other information. One member of a women's Catholic religious community on the East Coast of the United States spoke of how, upon the death of a sister, the other sisters all gather on one occasion to tell stories about her from their own perspectives. Here, these ancestral figures can "come to life," depending on what triggers their memories and brings their name to the lips of their descendants. The "characters" are especially likely to emerge from the background, a well-disposed designation for those monastic individuals who are remembered for being particularly eccentric in some aspect of vesture or behavior. And monasteries are never without them.

> [C]ollective memory may be enhanced by a focus on embodied performance and ways that social actors' quotidian somatic practices link to the past through the habitus. […] [C]ollective memories are also operative in ritual singing, dancing, drinking, and trancing […] in ancestral rites in private family spaces […] as well as in cooking, eating, and physical practices associated with bygone days […] that occur in the unmarked fabric of everyday life.[35]

The accuracy with which such a character is remembered seems to be a direct function of the intervening time since he or she has been dead. Since memory is selective, and all may not remember the person with equal accuracy, an elaborated mosaic is likely to emerge in which the personality of the ancestor may be "constructed" along the lines of sentimentality or fondness.[36]

> [C]ollective memories are (a) receptive to individuals' positions in society even as they are not idiosyncratic; (b) mediated representations rather than absolute truths; (c) made and remade in complex and unequal social orders; and (d) related to questions of power insofar as efficacious collective memories are linked to authoritative truth claims about historical facts.[37]

7 Shrines at the Common Table

In the Benedictine monastic tradition, sitting down and sharing a meal together in a designated place (the *refectory*) is of utmost importance.[38] Sharing food at a common table echoes the sacramental exchange at the altar, the sacred table from which distribution of the consecrated species of Jesus Christ's body and blood for consumption by the faithful constitutes membership in the church and images the communion of saints on earth. Hence, monastic confreres are "remembered" after their mortal passing by a shrine temporarily set up in the monastic refectory to honor them as ancestors who still "abide" with the living but in a different way. These shrines—collections of objects and substances displayed in a patterned arrangement that has meaning for viewers and communicates something about the identity and personality of the deceased—are a way of signaling presence and association with a particular community or corporate group.

We arrange a special place setting for the deceased monk at a table in our refectory very soon after the public death announcement. Often the location of this place setting is close to or at

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[35] Brigittine M. French, "The Semiotics of Collective Memories," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 41 (2012): 348.

[36] One such tale relates a brother monk with long "wild" hair and beard who oversaw the garden at Saint John's. The story goes that he enjoyed hiding in the bushes and jumping out unexpectedly to surprise and alarm unwary passersby.

[37] Ibid., 340.

[38] See Eric Hollas, OSB, "Dining as Liturgy," *Abbey Banner* 17, no. 1 (Spring 2017): 17.

the very spot where he frequently sat for meals. Here a dinner plate is placed upside down and is flanked by a regular setting of silverware and two large-stemmed candles in metal holders. A matchbox is placed beneath the overturned plate so that the meal server will light the candles at lunch and dinner. The candles are extinguished after the meals, but the other items remain in place. The symbolism is not too recondite. The preservation of a place at table saves the monk a special spot in our midst, the "light" of his memory marked by the burning candles. The inversion of the plate indicates in a clearly visible way that the monk has not been forgotten and that he is still present among us, albeit in a different mode.[39] This place setting and its accompanying ritual continue for one month after the death of the monk before it is permanently removed.

Place Setting, photo: author's archive

8 The Memorial and Organizational Properties of Monastic Cemeteries

We may be accustomed to thinking that the bodies of ancestors have always and everywhere found a final resting place in specially designated and sacred areas called *cemeteries*. However, this is not borne out by the archaeological or ethnographic evidence.

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[39] The symbolism of the inverted plate is not lost on the living monastic members. It reminds us that our confrere is paradoxically "with us," and yet "no longer with us" in the sense that the plate is not receptive to the food that would be placed there to nourish the living.

To date, "the oldest evidence of a modern intentional burial is dated to 74 kyr [thousands of years] ago at Border Cave (South Africa). The burial is of a 4-to-6-month-old infant and a perforated shell in a pit. It is assumed the shell was a personal adornment."[40] Regions indisputably set aside and organized for the burial of the dead have not yet been uncovered among archaic *Homo sapiens* or other prehistoric hominins.[41]

Early historic Chinese society lacked organized cemeteries. Researchers have noted that "the dead of the prosperous and influential did not lie compactly ordered in cemeteries. […] Changes in fortune from generation to generation and the constant search for geomantically induced prosperity encouraged people to disperse their dead."[42]

Moving from prehistory and East Asia into historical Europe gives us a different picture: "[S]tudies of burial practice in medieval monastic churches and cemeteries have explored how topographies of death and memory transformed medieval ideas of sacred and ritual space."[43] In a review of seventh-century Celtic monastery landscapes, Aston notes that even at this early date "there would have been a burial ground with memorials to the dead and a number of monumental crosses."[44]

The monastic cemetery is a *memory site*.[45] "[S]ites of collective memory are frequently constituted spatially. Monuments, memorials, rural landscapes, and cities are frequently imagined as bounded and inscribed with meaning from the past that resonates into the present."[46] Even the name inscribed on grave markers or mausoleums can ignite in the minds of the living a whole constellation of features or characteristics associated with the deceased.[47]

The cemetery is a sign of monastic stability.[48] Benedictine monastics include a pledge of stability in the vow formula at their profession. The vow of stability has two aspects: *stabilitas loci*, or "stability of place," anchoring the monastic in a specific geographical setting in which the monastery becomes their "home;" and *stabilitas cordis*, which establishes their loyalty, their "heart," to a particular monastery.

Boundaries of some sort almost always mark the peripheries of cemeteries. Such boundaries designate an essential severance of the living (outside) and the dead (inside). Ghosts may inhabit the liminal space "betwixt and between" where the rigid boundaries have collapsed. Still, such precincts do not always demarcate such exacting divisions, especially in more open countryside. As one comparative cemetery researcher has pointed out:

> I found that the rural folk do not distinguish so sharply between life and death as do we from the cities and universities. Death is, for them, intertwined so tightly with life as to be inseparable. They converse

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[40] Patricia Rice, "Paleoanthropology, Part 2," *General Anthropology* (2016): 12.

[41] A fossil hominin discovery in South Africa may present an exception. See P. H. G. M. Dirks et al., "Deliberate Body Disposal by Hominins in the Dinaledi Chamber, Cradle of Humankind, South Africa?," *Journal of Human Evolution* 96 (July 2016): 145–48.

[42] Freedman, *Lineage Organization in Southeastern China*, 78.

[43] Gilchrist, "Monastic and Church Archaeology," 244.

[44] Aston, *Monasteries in the Landscape*, 60.

[45] Brigittine M. French, "The Semiotics of Collective Memories," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 41 (2012): 337–53.

[46] Ibid., 341. See also, Anna Wessman, *Death, Destruction and Commemoration: Tracing Ritual Activities in Finnish Late Iron Age Cemeteries (AD 550–1150)*, ISKOS 18 (Tammisaaren Kirjapaino Oy, Tammisaari: The Finnish Antiquarian Society, Helsinki, 2010).

[47] "[T]he tomb is the dead person's resting place and, at the same time, a center of social activities where many people gather and conduct memorial services periodically." Cho, "Materializing Ancestor Spirits," 225.

[48] Peter Gathje, "In Death as in Life: Reflections of Saint John's Abbey Cemetery," *Bearings Magazine*, Collegeville Institute (Autumn 2015): n.p.

with the dead and leave favorite foods for the departed to consume. Life, death, and afterlife merge in the folk culture of the burial ground. The living have every right to be there.[49]

Right Reverend John Klassen, OSB, abbot of Saint John's Abbey (2000–present), corroborates the notion of the monastic cemetery as a landscape reflecting stability and has described the cemetery as "the glue that holds the generations together:"

> As a Benedictine […] it *does* matter where you bury me. I want to be up on the hill with those guys—who made bricks here, who milked cows, fixed pipes, who taught, preached, baptized, married, buried, and lived in this community, coming together on good days and bad to praise the Lord. I want to be with Jerome, Timothy, Godfrey, Jim, Daniel, Paul, Linus, Dietrich, and countless others who made music together as a community of faith in Jesus Christ.[50]

Grave goods reflect religion (transcendental associations and connections), legal status (heritage, proprietary considerations), and social structure (for the monks of Saint John's Abbey, this is social leveling; no grave goods—excepting a rosary entwined in folded hands—are included), and all are dressed in the same monastic vesture: either habit or cuculla.[51]

In view of the lack of any other prominent material markers of identity (due, in part, to the strict adherence to poverty), the monastic habit was an important symbol even in death.

> Often, cosmologies are studied by focusing on myths and rituals, but they are also embodied in and mediated through things like cloth. In particular, it is shown that cloth not only signifies or communicates cosmologies, but actually embodies belief as something that a person does or performs as the body that cloth bestows. Belief is not simply a set of ideas, but the performance of body practices. Clothing materializes values, ideas, relationships, and identities that are internalized and mediated both within and on the surface of the body.[52]

The cemetery associated with Saint John's Abbey came to be situated in its present location facing east atop the hill overlooking Lake Sagatagan in 1876. Prior to this date, there is archival evidence that the earliest monks settling here were laid to rest not far from the site of the former abbey church (now an administrative center—the Great Hall), much as early European monastics and pioneer parishioners were buried in a graveyard adjacent to the church itself. At one time, ordained monk-priests and brothers (the nonordained monks) were interred in different locations within the cemetery, pointing to the almost caste-like social status differentiation that marked the abbey's membership ideology in those earlier days. This is no longer the case. Monks are now buried side by side in burial plots adjacent to one another, reflecting nothing more than their relative date of decease.

Among some peoples, bodies of deceased relatives were buried beneath the house floor or in some other designated area within the domestic dwelling: "During the Archaic period in South America, burying the dead within the domestic space was a common practice."[53] One of the motivations for this may have been the desire to keep ancestors in close proximity to their

[49] Terry G. Jordan, *Texas Graveyards: A Cultural Legacy* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1982), 6.

[50] John Klassen, OSB, "Burial Matters" [Reflection], *Give Us This Day* (July, vol. 5, issue 7), ed. Mary Stommes (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2015), 123.

[51] Cucullas are choir robes worn by monastics during liturgical celebrations.

[52] Hermkens, "Clothing as Embodied Experience or Belief," 232. *Relics* attached to holy cards in the form of snippets of cloth from the choir robe/habit of Abbot Columba Marmion, OSB (one of which the author possesses), contain the metonymic essence of this Benedictine saint, spiritual author, retreat director, and venerated ancestor.

[53] André Strauss et al., "Early Holocene Ritual Complexity in South America: The Archaeological Record of Lapa do Santo (East-Central Brazil)," *Antiquity* 90, no. 354 (2016): 1466.

immediate living family members. Among other ethnographic groups, however, this option would have been intolerable (e.g., the Native American Navajo and Apache) due to their fear of and revulsion toward ghosts.

Sometimes, as in the case of secondary burials, the bones of more distant dead were actually removed from their original sites of deposition to make room for the remains of the more recently deceased. Their new resting places were often ossuaries or charnel houses.

Christian—and by extension, monastic—cemeteries are created and sustained by belief in the communion of saints. The communion of saints stands as a repository of Christian ancestors and thus figures prominently in monastic ancestor veneration. Of course, such a state of affairs rests upon the distinction between resuscitation and resurrection of the body in Christian ideology.[54] "If there is life after death, we can't know what it is like, but strong neuroscientific evidence suggests that it could not involve the kind of conscious experience and meaning-making that is so distinctive of humans—unless, of course, this life after death involved the resuscitation of our human brains, bodies, and physical and social environments."[55]

Reciprocity continues to play a role between the living and the dead[56] as evidenced in Chinese ancestor veneration: "Chinese displayed strong interest in their newly dead kinsmen. Intimacy was not immediately broken by death. The dead continued to concern themselves in the affairs of the living, and the living took thought for the welfare of the dead."[57] Nor was this reciprocity absent in the Christian communion of saints: "Our ancestors in the faith, all of whom had their hearts set on Christ, form a great cloud of witnesses that widens our assembly. Now forever with God, their lives and prayer are of benefit for us who are still on the journey."[58]

This image of the *communio sanctorum*, the communion of saints, is a powerful creedal symbol in the Catholic Christian tradition (the Apostles' Creed) that connects the living and baptized, who make up the church as Christ's body, with those who have died and who are now living the fullness of the heavenly vision in the divine presence.[59] It is an especially apt image for monastic ancestors, "a compact throng of faithful people whose journey [monastics] are now called upon to share and continue. Remembrance of their lives already lived, by the intrinsic power of memory itself, galvanizes the courage of those presently running the course. It is a matter of being inspired by the whole lot of them in their wonderful witness to the living God."[60]

Sometimes the living leave articles on the gravesite or attach them to the grave marker in the cemetery as memorials (to stimulate/elicit memories). Special standouts are "cameo" photo

[54] See Caroline Walker Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity: 200–1336* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995).

[55] Mark Johnson, "Introduction: Meaning Is More Than Words and Deeper Than Concepts," in *The Meaning of the Body: Aesthetics of Human Understanding*, ed. Mark Johnson (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2007), 12. Compare this with my article, "The Monastic Ideal and the Glorified/Spiritual Resurrection Body: An Exercise in Speculative Theology." See note 62.

[56] "Not only do those who have died live again; they live together, as they did here, and so the whole community is guaranteed survival in death, as are the individuals who make it up. Much more than this, however: ancestor worship puts before the people the importance of their community life; interesting them in their ancestors, it makes them feel that their ancestors are interested in them […]" William Howells, *The Heathens: Primitive Man and His Religions* (Salem, WI: Sheffield Publishing Company, 1986), 166.

[57] Freedman, *Lineage Organization in Southeastern China*, 85.

[58] Elizabeth Johnson, *Friends of God and Prophets: A Feminist Theological Reading of the Communion of Saints* (New York: Continuum, 1998), 134.

[59] Protestant Christian traditions are less likely to think of their deceased as "venerated." Such a manifestation of reverence potentially detracts from the central place accorded Jesus Christ who, in their eyes (and shorn of mediation), is alone to be adored and magnified as Lord and Savior.

[60] Johnson, *Friends of God and Prophets*, 68.

depictions embedded on the grave marker. Occasionally such objects are left on or near monastic graves in the Saint John's Abbey Cemetery. One religious sister from Australia reported that the monastic cemetery holds something of mystery and enigma. Those reposing in cemeteries share an intimate space together. Mortuary arenas were created in the first place as repositories for the bodies of our precious dead. How does one answer the question: Are they [the deceased] really there [in the cemetery]? The answer seems to be yes and no. In light of their physical remains, yes, their DNA resides there, along with the remnants and configuration of their corporal beings. These have come to be revered as *relics* in the Christian tradition.[61] Saint John's Abbey Church contains a *reliquary* nook in which physical remains (mostly bone fragments) of renowned and worldwide saintly ancestors are showcased in a special niche.

Reliquary, photo: author's archive

Nevertheless, the essence of their personalities, what made them the unique persons that they were, is no longer associated with their physical remains. The Christian doctrine of the resurrection of the body, however, assures the living that the deceased will someday enjoy the fullness of the unity of their physical and spiritual being once again in the end times, and even more in the guise of their "spiritual," glorified bodies.[62]

How are religious spaces like cemeteries sites of agreements and disputes? What are the challenges and possibilities these spaces offer for religion? One way to answer these questions is to say that they may offer an entrée for the initiation of interreligious dialogue, territory

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[61] Charles Freeman, *Holy Bones, Holy Dust: How Relics Shaped the History of Medieval Europe* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2011).

[62] See my article, "The Monastic Ideal and the Glorified/Spiritual Resurrection Body: An Exercise in Speculative Theology," *Obsculta* 5 (2012): 39–47, an imaginative exploration of the possible attributes of the glorified, spiritual, postresurrection human body in the Christian tradition (see 1 Cor 15:35–50), integrating Scripture, gender studies, monastic spirituality, and patristic theological sources.

where such discussion may be welcomed and pursued, and where new understandings of the "other"—including ancestors—may profitably be aired amid diverse parties. Cemeteries may act as "methodological pivots" from which to launch into a conversation of the ways in which ancestors are sources of both veneration and interaction with the living in diverse religious and spiritual traditions. Offering a grounding for interchange among representatives of different religious traditions, cemeteries hold out the potential for forging new understandings of religious space, contributing to our understanding of religious homogeneity and plurality.

7 Conclusion

Ancestor veneration, as pursued by sociocultural anthropologists, is a relatively unexplored topic in Benedictine monasticism. This article helps to fill that *lacuna*, situating it within a broader context of studies of ancestors in other cultures, places, and times. It describes—with particular reference to Saint John's Abbey in Collegeville, Minnesota—liturgical and ritual practices, memorial shrines and those at the common table, the "construction" of ancestral personalities through storytelling and reminiscing, and the role of the monastic cemetery in memorializing deceased monastics and demarcating the sacred area of their final resting place as they enter into the postmortem communion of saints. For those intent upon pursuing interreligious dialogue, cemeteries may provide a useful starting point from which to discuss issues of similarity and difference on a wide range of topics.

This commentary outlines some overarching considerations for exploring ancestor veneration within the Benedictine monastic tradition. It provides a framework for appreciating ancestor veneration among Benedictines in a more general and abstract way, but it does not go far enough. The next step is to develop a more sophisticated research instrument to collect empirical data. As an anthropological inquiry, this would involve, in part, traveling to different Benedictine monasteries of men and women in various geographical settings, engaging in participant observation to document and compare their attitudes toward and practices regarding ancestors in their communities. Additionally, it would include collating the results of questionnaires to provide statistical support for such research initiatives as well as interviewing resident monastics. Now that this article has erected a scaffolding, the empirical research beckons. The hope is that this will materialize in a promising forthcoming investigation.

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Concerning the Arabs in Europe and their Diaspora in Poland

Abstract | The aim of the paper is to present the genesis of Arab migrations to Europe, considering the differences between Western and Eastern Europe and the characteristics of the Arab Diaspora in Poland in the context of my own fieldwork. A hundred representatives of the Arab community in Poland, and (for comparison) a hundred Poles, were examined based on the triangulation method. The waves of Arab migration to Poland differ i.e., based on date of arrival (those who arrived most recently can be considered the "New" Diaspora, whereas those who came before 1989 and remained in Poland consist of the "Old" Diaspora).

Keywords | Arabs – Arab Diaspora – Eastern Europe – Poland – Western Europe

1 Introduction

The Arab Diaspora in Poland is an example of an immigrant community, perceived by Poles as physically and culturally alien, primarily because of their differences in relation to Polish society. Their appearance also usually reveals their alien origin (phenotypic difference), making them also ethnically visible.[1] This community is additionally socially invisible, despite the fact that the Arab subject matter surfaces quite often in the public discourse, usually negatively, in the context of problematic foreign events of Muslim or Arab origin. The negative perception of the Arab community is transplanted into the Polish soil and the members of the Diaspora in Poland are regarded on the basis of stereotypes and events stemming from outside Poland.

The Arab Diaspora in Poland is different from the diasporas in other European countries. One of the reasons is that Poland has had different experiences with the Arab world than the Western world. The aim of this article is to demonstrate the origins of Arab migrations to Europe, taking into account the differences between Western Europe and Eastern Europe, as well as the characteristics of the Arab community in Poland, in the context of the author's field research.

This article is based on results obtained during fieldwork conducted from May 2013 to March 2014.[2] A hundred representatives of the Arab community in Poland and (for comparison) a hundred Poles were examined in twelve Polish cities, in which branches of Polish–Arab organizations are located and where the most numerous Arab communities exist. The study was based on the triangulation method,[3] meaning the parallel usage of several research techniques (i.e., individual in-depth interviews, expert interviews and questionnaires).

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[1] Tariq Modood, *Multikulturalizm* (Poznań: WNiI, 2014), 18.

[2] The project was funded by the National Science Centre conferred on the basis of decision no. DEC-2011/03/N/HS6/04744.

[3] Chava Frankfort-Nachmias and David Nachmias, *Metody badawcze w naukach społecznych* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Zysk I S-ka, 2001), 222–223.

Representatives of the Arab community were recruited according to their date of arrival in Poland. The Arabs who arrived most recently can be viewed as the "new" Diaspora, whereas those who came before 1989 and remained in Poland make up the "old" Diaspora. Three groups surfaced from amongst the Polish respondents: favourable Poles, unfavourable and undecided Poles, that is those who replied "hard to say" to the question "are you favourably disposed to the Arab community in Poland?." They are not against any particular individuals of Arab descent, but are against large groups.[4]

2 A History of Polish–Arab Contacts

In order to understand the differences between the circumstances surrounding Arab migrations to Poland (Central and Eastern Europe) and to the countries of Western Europe, the history of the relations between the two European regions and the Arab world has to be examined. Polish–Arab contact had been sporadic from the very beginning of Poland, with the Arab culture permeating Poland largely indirectly, through the West. Medieval Europe, which went to Crusades, was mired in obscurantism. European knights, upon arrival in the Arab–Muslim Empire, encountered both high culture and a sophisticated level of knowledge. In Europe, they began to translate the works of Arab scholars, which then had a huge impact on the development of European science;[5] an interest in Arab science and culture in Europe consequently grew.[6] Works of scholars such as, the astronomer al-Farghani, the philosopher and physicist al-Kindi, the mathematician al-Chuwarizmi, the chemist al-Razi or the astrologer Albumasar and others, were translated into European languages and in this way indirectly found their way into Poland.[7] Their scientific value is demonstrated by the fact that when Nicolaus Copernicus, the most renowned Polish astronomer, pointed to the Sun as the central point of the solar system in his world-famous magnum opus *De revolutionibus orbium coelestium* and claimed that all the planets orbit the Sun, he did so by quoting Al-Battani, an Arab scholar.[8]

The European expeditions to the Arab world began after the first, singular journeys of Arab or Arab-speaking travelers to Europe, such as Ibrahim ibn Yaqub in the tenth century or Muhammad al-Idrisi in the twelfth century to Poland.[9] The contact between Europeans and "primitive"[10] people during the first trips overseas resulted in an image of a world with an fixed order of cultures, where white Europeans occupied the highest place, above the people of Asia and Africa. This belief was propagated by the greatest contemporary minds, i.e., David Hume, Immanuel Kant, Voltaire or John Locke, and also served as the basis for Charles Darwin's theory of evolution.[11]

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[4] See Mustafa Switat, *Społeczność arabska w Polsce. Stara i nowa diaspora* (Warszawa: Dialog, 2017).

[5] Jacek Głuski, *Stosunki polsko-arabskie po II wojnie światowej* (Warszawa: PISM, 1973), 6.

[6] See Katarzyna Pachniak, *Nauka I kultura muzułmańska I jej wpływ na średniowieczną Europę* (Warszawa: Trio, 2010).

[7] Głuski, *Stosunki polsko-arabskie po II wojnie światowej*; Jerzy Piotrowski, *Stosunki Polski z krajami arabskimi* (Warszawa: PISM, 1989), 5.

[8] Tadeusz Lewicki, *Polska I kraje sąsiednie w świetle "Księgi Rogera"* (Kraków: Polska Akademia Nauk. Komitet Orientalistyczny, PWN, 1945), 27.

[9] Tadeusz Kowalski, *Relacja Ibrahima Ibn Jaquba z podróży do krajów słowiańskich w przekazie Al.-Bekriego* (Kraków: PAU, 1946).

[10] In spite of this fact, the Medieval Arab world was of ahigh culture and a high level of knowledge.

[11] Paul Scheffer, *Druga ojczyzna. Imigranci w społeczeństwie otwartym* (Wołowiec: Wydawnictwo Czarne, 2010), 326–333.

Western Europeans were faster and were the first in the exploration of the Arab world. There were not many expeditions of Polish travelers from the Middle Ages to the nineteenth century. They mainly involved pilgrimages, the obtaining of Arab horses, political emigration or were motivated by romanticism and orientalism.[12] The range of nineteenth century travel continued to grow narrower, until it comprised a coastal strip of land with Beirut, Damascus, Baalbek, Nazareth, Bethlehem, Jerusalem, as well as rare trips to Palmyra or Mount Sinai, frequented by tourists from all over the world. This terrain, uncharted and unspoilt at the times of orientalists such as Wacław Rzewuski or Józef Sękowski, became a regular excursion destination for Europeans in the second half of the nineteenth century, with trips being organized by Cook's company. A number of the expeditions at the beginning of the nineteenth century were driven by scientific, exploratory or research ambitions. Over time, pious pilgrims or hiking and hunting enthusiasts, whose impressions were of purely a touristic nature, gradually replaced scholars, discoverers and explorers from unknown lands. Vast areas of the Arabian Peninsula were beyond the reach of Polish travelers. In these times, however, the Arabian land was increasingly considered a research area for prominent European scientists: geographers, archeologists, Arabists and ethnographers.[13] The expeditions led by great discoverers of the Arabian Peninsula in the second half of the nineteenth century were sponsored by wealthy learned societies from capitalist countries, powerful patrons or sometimes even by the states and their authorities. Polish explorers did not have significant support and therefore journeys to the Arab countries at that time are a blank spot in the history of Polish expeditions. After Rzewuski, there was no one from Poland to follow in his footsteps, explore the deserts further or engage in extensive fieldwork.[14]

The first mass cultural Polish–Arab contact took place during the Second World War. Thousands of Poles found themselves on Arab soil, fighting fascism "for our freedom and yours." The Polish Independent Carpathian Rifle Brigade, formed in 1940 in Syria, bravely defended the Libyan fortress of Tobruk up until the end of 1941. 115 thousand Polish soldiers came to the Middle East that same year, forming the Polish Armed Forces in the East under the command of Władysław Anders. As a result, several thousands graves of Poles who died in battle are located in several Arab countries.[15]

Previous events, particularly colonialism, proved to be of key importance to the current migration experience. As Jane Hathaway claims, the end of the eighteenth century was a breakthrough in the history of Ottoman and Middle Eastern history, as it marked the beginning of aggressive European interventions in the region (military, political and economic). The French began to occupy Algeria in 1830 (they had invaded Egypt in 1798–M.S.) and Tunisia in 1881. British troops first occupied Egypt in 1882. Playing catch-up with France and Great Britain in the game for African colonies, Italy decided to occupy Libya in 1912, similarly to Germany.[16] Poland did not have any colonies, although after the Second World War there were certain demands to award Poland with colonies in the fight for a "fair distribution of resources," due to the need to import to Poland such missing goods as wool, cotton, copper, coffee, rubber or jute.[17]

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[12] Jan Stanisław Bystroń, *Polacy w Ziemi Świętej, Syrji I Egipcie 1147–1914* (Kraków: Księgarnia Geograficzna Orbis, 1929); Jan Reychman, *Podróżnicy polscy na Bliskim Wschodzie w XIX w.* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Wiedza Powszechna, 1972).

[13] Reychman, *Podróżnicy polscy na Bliskim Wschodzie w XIX w.*, 144.

[14] Ibid., 145.

[15] Piotrowski, *Stosunki Polski z krajami arabskimi*, 9; Głuski, *Stosunki polsko-arabskie po II wojnie światowej*, 23.

[16] Jane Hathaway and Karl K. Barbir, *Arabowie pod panowaniem Osmanów 1516–1800* (Warszawa: Dialog, 2012), 241.

[17] See Kazimierz Gadomski, *O własny dostęp do surowców kolonialnych* (Warszawa: nakładem Rady Handlu Zagranicznego R.P., 1939).

Despite the barriers created by the colonial powers, Poland traded with most Arab countries in the interwar period, primarily with Lebanon, Syria, Algeria, Iraq, Morocco and Tunisia. Because of the aforementioned reasons (obstacles created by the colonial authorities that wanted to maintain their trade monopoly with subordinate countries), trading could not be expanded. In addition, after years of subjugation, Poland was economically poorly developed and unable to offer the highly processed industrial products the Arab countries needed. Semi-manufactured products, raw materials and food dominated the exchange of goods. Exceptions included the selling of a large number of locomotives to Morocco in 1932.[18] Despite the existence of Polish agencies in Cairo, Alexandria, Baghdad, Beirut, Tunisia, Oran, Casablanca and Algiers, and the efforts of the traders, Poland was very low on the list of trading partners in the Arab world.[19]

The post-war years in Poland (the Polish People's Republic's period) are the boom years for Polish–Arab cooperation (especially the 1970s and 1980s) and the first years of independence for Poland as well as for most Arab countries. It was a time of burgeoning diplomatic visits, establishing new Polish resident missions in Arab countries and Arab agencies in Poland, signing bilateral cooperation agreements that led to Polish engineers, scientists and laborers working in Arab countries (e.g., Polish companies participated in infrastructural projects, building harbors, roads, telecommunication lines and railways, as well as in the construction industry),[20] while citizens from certain Arab countries came to Poland to study. Traveling to Arab countries was easier at that time thanks to the air transport agreements regarding regular or civilian air services (for example, Poland signed one with Egypt in 1956, with Iraq in 1961, and with Lebanon in 1966).[21]

After 1989, the cooperation with Arab countries became more diversified and individualized (dependent on the internal situation in individual countries; the most dynamic was the cooperation between Poland and Qatar, Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia, Morocco and Tunisia),[22] and the presence of Poles in the Arab world and citizens of the Arab states in Poland became more common. Polish–Arab diplomatic visits still occurred and, ever since the political transformation of Poland, Arab countries had also become tourist destinations for regular Poles; there were also business relations between Polish and Arab companies.[23] Poles visited most of the Arab countries, not only those near Turkey, but also the Arab states in Africa and Asia, including the Arabian Peninsula.

3 Arab Migration to Western Europe

The postwar years marked the beginning of Arab migrations to European countries, leading to the multiculturalism of modern (Western) Europe. The War, on the one hand, weakened the demographic potential of Europe. It, on the other hand, launched the process of decolonization of the so-called Third World. In the 1950s, when the European economies rising from the devastation of war were looking for cheap labor, they mainly turned to the former colonies and protectorates. Pursuant to the signed bilateral interstate agreements, Gastarbeiters (*guest workers* in German) began arriving in Europe to work in such sectors as industry, construction and

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[18] Głuski, *Stosunki polsko-arabskie po II wojnie światowej*, 20–21; Piotrowski, *Stosunki Polski z krajami arabskimi,* 8.

[19] Głuski, *Stosunki polsko-arabskie po II wojnie* światowej, 22.

[20] See Andrzej Kapiszewski and Wojciech Bożek, "Polacy I Polonia w krajach arabskich w połowie XX wieku," *Przegląd Polonijny*, no. 27 (2001).

[21] *Stosunki dyplomatyczne Polski 1944–1979r. Informator* (Warszawa: MSZ, 1982), 128–129.

[22] See the information on the website of The Ministry of External Affairs (www.msz.gov.pl).

[23] See Kapiszewski and Bożek, "Polacy I Polonia w krajach arabskich w połowie XX wieku."

mining[24] (1945–1973). The assumption was that employees were to be hired *ad hoc*, and were not to settle in the host country, because at any time, in the absence of needs and when their contracts expire, they were to be sent back home. However, the practice was different and some stayed in the host countries. After the period of migration of single males, the period of connecting families and settling (binational marriages with native inhabitants) began, and the first generations of immigrants were born. In the meantime, some immigrants became naturalized.[25]

Immigrants from Muslim countries, including Arab countries, were not welcomed with open arms. To describe this, Konrad Pędziwiatr uses the American terminology, "wanted, but not welcomed." This ambiguity in the attitudes of native societies towards immigrants was accurately expressed in 1965 by the Swiss writer Max Frisch, "we wanted workers, but we got people instead."[26] The most unwelcome were the children of immigrants, seen as contributing to the rise in unemployment and increases in the budget deficit due to funds allocated for social welfare, which intensified the xenophobic political discourse as the host economies had already lost their development impetus.[27] Therefore, after the period of prosperity, the influx of immigration began to be limited, and migration policies in particular countries became the subject of lively debate and various restrictions,[28] which continues to this day.

The Arab migration to Western Europe (the following countries were analyzed: France, Spain, Italy, the Netherlands, Great Britain, Germany, Belgium, Sweden, Denmark, Portugal, Austria, Switzerland and Ireland) is rooted in the historical relations with the Arab world, with the farthest dating back to the Middle Ages (Spain, Italy, Portugal). Paradoxically, in these countries, the Arab migration has a shorter history than in other countries of the region.[29] Also, as Barbara Pasamonik notes, the massive influx of immigrants is a relatively new phenomenon there, while the United Kingdom, Germany and France have several decades of experience with migration.[30] Over time, migration has become more diverse, i.e., economic migration, scientific migration (to study) or forced migration (refugees), and immigrants began to settle and bring their families. The strong and growing economies of these countries attract individuals (not just Arabs, but also other immigrants) that seek a dignified life. Some Arabs are naturalized and their children, born in Western Europe, become the next generations of Europeans of Arab origin.

An important factor in making a decision about migrating to Europe from Arab countries is also the ease of communication with the host society. Since most Arabs learn English and/or French (e.g., Maghrebis, the Lebanese), they can enter the local labor market and easily cope with the everyday life from the moment they arrive in the new country. This is, in contrast, one of the biggest problems immigrants face when they come to the countries of Central and Eastern Europe (not knowing the host society). In addition, there are relatively numerous members of (from several thousand to millions) Arab communities in the countries of Western Europe, so the newcomers find living in the new country much easier; the members of the Arab Diaspora who arrived earlier can help them acclimatize. A large community means better organization, as well as the cooperation of local communities and the development of trade with the countries of

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[24] Barbara Pasamonik, *Rola płci w integracji europejskich muzułmanów* (Kraków: Zakład Wydawniczy Nomos, 2013), 21.

[25] See Konrad Pędziwiatr, *Od islamu imigrantów do islamu obywateli: muzułmanie w krajach Europy Zachodniej* (Kraków: Nomos, 2007).

[26] Max Frisch, S*chweiz als Heimat? Versuche über 50 Jahre – La Suisse comme Patrie? Éssais sur cinquante années* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1990), 219.

[27] Pędziwiatr, *Od islamu imigrantów do islamu obywateli*, 25.

[28] Ibid.

[29] Mustafa Switat, *Społeczność arabska w Polsce. Stara i nowa diaspora* (Warszawa: Dialog, 2017), 32–47.

[30] Pasamonik, *Rola płci w integracji europejskich muzułmanów*, 22.

origin, allowing for the passage of goods unavailable in Europe. Also, the opportunity to cultivate their traditions, culture and language is not of little significance, and it is easier when there is a larger group of people from the same culture.[31]

4 Arab "Migration" to Poland and Eastern Europe

Arab migration to the countries of Central and Eastern Europe also has consistent origins. The first large groups of Arabs began to arrive after the Second World War, in accordance with intergovernmental agreements. Poland, and other countries, responded to the UN call to provide educational assistance to developing countries, so-called Third World countries, including the Middle East and the North African states, by commencing staff training under the terms of full scholarships granted by the Polish government.[32]

Arab citizens studied not only in the Polish People's Republic, but also in other countries of the Eastern Bloc. When comparing the number of foreign students in the other countries with Poland, the smallest numbers of students were actually in Poland. Romania had about 3.5 thousand students from Syria alone in 1982, while Poland had a similar number of students from all the Arab countries combined[33] (e.g., according to Jerzy Piotrowski, the estimated total number of students and PhD students from Arab countries in the 1987/88 academic year was over 2.5 thousand[34]). As Przemysław Gasztold-Seń points out, in comparison with other socialist countries, the student financial aid for members of Arab communist parties was also limited. The Polish People's Republic welcomed only five scholarship students from the Iraqi Communist Party in 1984, while Bulgaria awarded 45 scholarships, Czechoslovakia and Hungary 35.[35]

Having analyzed the history of Arab migration to Central and Eastern Europe (the following countries were examined: Ukraine, Romania, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria), a very homogeneous image of the Arab communities in these countries appears (even the number of Arabs is similar). The Arabs came to the countries of the Eastern Bloc on the basis of intergovernmental agreements between the host authorities and the authorities in certain Arab countries, those ones considered anti-imperialist allies. A number of students left the host countries after (or even during) their studies, while others remained with the majority marrying female citizens of the European countries in which they resided. The fact that the Arabs completed their higher education demonstrates that they formed a certain intellectual elite, with engineers, doctors and businessmen amongst them. They were well-educated and integrated, familiar with the local languages, working among the native population, with a higher social status.[36] As has been mentioned by those researching these communities in this part of Europe, for example by Gyorgy Lederer, "Arabs are mainly students or intellectuals."[37]

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[31] Mustafa Switat, *Społeczność arabskaw Polsce. Stara i nowa diaspora* (Warszawa: Dialog, 2017), 48–49.

[32] Michał Chilczuk, "50 lat kształcenia studentów zagranicznych w Polsce,, *Kontakt*, no. 7 (2001), accessed February 8, 2017, http://www.copernicus.org.pl/kontakt/chilczuk.htm; Przemysław Gasztold-Seń, "Arabscy studenci w Warszawie po 1956 r.," in *Cudzoziemcy w Warszawie 1945–1989: studia I materiały*, ed. Patryk Pleskot (Warszawa: IPN, 2012), 41.

[33] Ibid., 43.

[34] Piotrowski, *Stosunki Polski z krajami arabskimi*, 56.

[35] Gasztold-Seń, "Arabscy studenci w Warszawie po 1956 r.," 44.

[36] Mustafa Switat, *Społeczność arabska w Polsce. Stara i nowa diaspora* (Warszawa: Dialog, 2017), 50–58.

[37] György Lederer, "Muzułmanie na Węgrzech współcześnie," in *Muzułmanie w Europie*, ed. Anna Parzymies (Warszawa: Dialog, 2005), 320.

This especially applies to the old Diaspora, meaning the Arabs who studied during the communist time.[38] The division into the old and the new Diaspora can therefore apply not only to the Arab community in Poland, but also to other countries of Central and Eastern Europe. Moreover, it can apply not only to the Arabs, but also to the citizens of other countries who came to Poland during the previous political system, e.g., the Vietnamese.[39] In the case of the Vietnamese community, and in the case of the Arab community, there is a clear division within the community, determined by the length of stay.[40] The Vietnamese who came to study and stayed emphasize the fact that they are a completely separate, exclusive and Polonized group, in contrast to the Vietnamese who came to Poland to trade or to set up restaurants.[41]

Educating Arab students at Polish universities and student internships, graduate studies and postgraduate studies was the most important part of the scientific and technical cooperation between the Polish People's Republic and Arab countries, as the Arab states suffered due to serious shortages of qualified staff. Polish specialists were sent to Arab countries for the very same reason.[42] Some of these students married Polish women after graduation and remained in the country, creating the "old" Arab Diaspora in Poland. They were mainly doctors, engineers, entrepreneurs, a kind of intellectual elite, well educated and integrated. They knew Polish, worked among the native population and had a higher social status.[43] Przemysław Gasztold-Seń also draws attention to the large number of Polish–Arab marriages in that period. Many of them were short-lived, but many survived the test of time and, sometimes, even long separation. A number of these families moved to the Middle East and North Africa, as evidenced by the fact that the Polish Diaspora in Arab countries is still largely comprised of women.[44]

The communist authorities treated the education of foreigners as a charitable activity stemming from ideological and political motives, namely supporting "the progressive forces" in order to shape a new intelligentsia and eradicate the shortage of highly qualified personnel.[45] Yet, as Michał Chilczuk points out, the communist authorities profited from the foreign students. The revenue from the foreign exchange allocated for the students amounted to $4 million.[46] Even now, although there are significantly fewer students from Arab countries now than during the previous regime, their stay in Poland to study for several years is a source of income for higher education institutions that are beginning to suffer from the demographic low.[47] Students not only serve as a source of income for the education sector, but their stay in the given city also supports the local services market.

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[38] This applies to all members of the Diaspora who studied in the Polish language in Poland and stayed here.

[39] Mustafa Switat, *Społeczność arabska w Polsce. Stara i nowa diaspora* (Warszawa: Dialog, 2017), 58.

[40] Aspazja Gadowska, Adam Spyra, Szymon Strzelichowski, Katarzyna Trzaska, Anna Urban-Toczek, Tomasz Witkowski, and Agnieszka Ziębacz, "Charakterystyka społeczności imigranckich z Ukrainy, Armenii, Wietnamu I krajów MENA, zamieszkujących województwo małopolskie oraz badane społeczności w świetle analizy dokumentów," in *Imigranci w Małopolsce. Między integracją, asymilacją, separacją, marginalizacją*, ed. Edyta Pindel (Kraków: Akademia Ignatianum, 2014), 92.

[41] Aleksandra Winiarska, "Rodzina wielokulturowa, czyli małżeństwa polsko-wietnamskie w Polsce," in *Blaski I cienie imigracji. Problemy cudzoziemców w Polsce*, ed. Edyta Nowicka (Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2011), 82.

[42] Głuski, *Stosunki polsko–arabskie po II wojnie światowej*, 85–93.

[43] Mustafa Switat, *Społeczność arabska w Polsce. Stara i nowa diaspora* (Warszawa: Dailog, 2017), 684–685.

[44] Gasztold-Seń, "Arabscy studenci w Warszawie po 1956 r.," 65–66.

[45] Ewa Winnicka, "Przystanek Jelonki," *Polityka*, no. 48 (2000): 94.

[46] Chilczuk, "50 lat kształcenia studentów zagranicznych w Polsce."

[47] *Polityka migracyjna Polski – stan obecny I postulowane działania* (Warszawa: Zespół do Spraw Migracji MSW, 2012), 132.

Although the Arab Diaspora in Poland differs from that in Western countries in terms of size (instead of thousands or millions in the Western countries, only about 12–15 thousand people) and structure (Arab male students, businessmen and tourists mainly travel to Poland; the majority of Arabs who live in Poland are married to Polish women; there is no Arab economic migration; there are few Arab refugees in Poland), the way it is perceived is disproportional with the reality of the facts. According to a survey, members of the Arab Diaspora in Poland are enterprising, with the largest group of Arab respondents having their own business (i.e., trading, construction, training, catering) and employing Poles, therefore creating jobs. In addition, a number of representatives of the Arab community in Poland work as professionals: teachers, lecturers, researchers, doctors or engineers (they do not benefit from social welfare as is the case in Western Europe). Businessmen, students and tourists also leave their money in Poland. The members of the Arab Diaspora in Poland have at least higher education degrees (80% of the respondents), none of the respondents had a lower level of education than secondary. To a large extent, their presence in Poland should be considered in terms of profit (benefiting the scientific, cultural or financial capital of Poland), instead of only potential losses. In contrast, the worldwide spread of Arabophobic or Islamophobic rhetoric, along with news regarding attacks on foreigners in Poland may reduce the number of foreign students, tourists or investors (not only from Arab countries), which may result in measurable economic losses.[48]

It is difficult to say which statement is closer to the truth: countries are rich because they have foreigners or they have foreigners because they are rich. It cannot be denied, however, that there is an economic link between the number of foreigners and the level of the country's economy. Foreigners do not only mean problems, but benefits as well (as can be seen in Western countries).[49] They seem to realize this, for example, in Olsztyn. When Saudi students returned home, the residents of Olsztyn tried to increase the number of Arab students as soon as possible. Their absence was considered a loss for them as the Saudis were some of the more wealthy clients of taxi companies, real estate agencies, restaurants, shops with household appliances, etc.[50]

Although the circumstances surrounding the Arab or Muslim migrations to Poland or "Polish Islam" are very different from those in the West,[51] the Arab–Muslim public rhetoric in Poland is, in a sense, a transference of the same narrative apparent in Western countries.[52] Instead of using their own, positive, Polish experience and placing Islam (which has been peacefully present in Poland for over six centuries) and Arabs in a local and objective perspective, they are usually judged on the basis of events in the West. Although the Arab community in Poland does not cause problems like the communities in Western countries, i.e., no ghettos have been created, they are invisible in the media, it is still viewed unfavorably, not on the basis of the individual behavior of its members, but on the basis of certain general imagery regarding Arabs.[53]

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[48] See Mustafa Switat, *Społeczność arabska w Polsce. Stara i nowa diaspora* (Warszawa: Dialog, 2017).

[49] Mustafa Switat, *Społecznośc arabska w Polsce. Stara i nowa diaspora* (Warszawa: Dialog, 2017), 583.

[50] Grzegorz Szydłowski, "Saudyjscy studenci opuścili Olsztyn. Następni przyjadą?," *Gazeta Wyborcza*, accessed March 26, 2017, http://olsztyn.gazeta.pl/olsztyn/1,35189,13048052,Saudyjscy_studenci_opuscili_Olsztyn__Nastepni_przyjada_.html.

[51] See i.a., Agata Kosowicz and Agata Marek, *Muzułmanie I uchodźcy w polskim społeczeństwie* (Warszawa: Stowarzyszenie Vox Humana, 2008).

[52] See i.a., Agata Marek, "Obraz Arabów I islamu w polskim społeczeństwie – elementy składowe stereotypu," in *Islam: Między stereotypami a rzeczywistością*, eds. Piotr Kłodkowski and Agata Marek (Warszawa: Stowarzyszenie Vox Humana, 2006).

[53] See Mustafa Switat, *Społeczność arabska w Polsce. Stara i nowa diaspora* (Warszawa: Dialog, 2017).

5 Arab Diaspora in Poland in Field Research

The Polish respondents mentioned various sources of information concerning the Arab community and culture that have influenced their views: television, the Internet, newspapers, books, personal contacts and work. When it comes to those favourably disposed towards the Arab community, personal contacts are the basis of their opinions, while the Internet is of secondary importance. The opposite is true as far as the unfavourably disposed are concerned, with the Internet being of primary importance. Opinions are thus formed either on the basis of general information, or through the prism of personal experience. Since most Polish respondents do not directly know the Arab community residing in their country, it can be argued that their views of the community have been formed on the basis of indirect or general information regarding the Arab community. No research has ever been conducted into the Arab Diaspora in Poland previously and its members are individuals scattered throughout the country. Those who have blended into the Polish community are mostly part of Polish families, workplaces or businesses (especially members of the old Diaspora).

The majority of the examined Poles who exhibited an anti-Arab or anti-Muslim attitude have never personally met a person of Arab descent and do not meet them in private. They have never visited Arab countries (more than half of the respondents), incorrectly define Arab countries (apart from the correct ones, about 30 other countries were mentioned), do not know Arab culture, meet members of the Arab community in passing (on a street, in a store, in a restaurant) and do not know any Polish—Arab marriages (more than one third of respondents). Despite all of this, they still speak of this community extensively, accepting ideas based on false information (mainly the media) for the applicable facts.[54]

This lack of knowledge confirms Perry R. Hinton's view that stereotypes endure because of limited knowledge.[55] More frequent travels by Poles to Arab countries have not contributed, however, to an increase in knowledge about this world, as it remains negligible. In most cases, these are short excursion trips (only to resort towns), which contributes little to the increase of knowledge about the country and its inhabitants. When asked to name Arab countries during the research, Polish respondents—apart from a couple of correct answers—also mentioned Afghanistan, Turkey, Pakistan, Iran, and Tajikistan, that is Muslim countries, not Arab countries. They seem to think that Arabs inhabit the aforementioned countries. When answering the question, for instance, "Have you ever been to an Arab country?," one person replied, "yes, I've been [three times – M. S.] to Turkey" (UP7). This means that many of the Polish respondents incorrectly believe that every Arab is a Muslim and that every Muslim is an Arab. Consequently, the image of Arabs is based on images of many different nationalities. The reality, of course, is that not every Arab is a Muslim and not every Muslim is an Arab. As a result, Arab non-Muslims also suffer from Islamophobia (Arabs can also be Christians and Druzes).[56]

In Poland, Muslims are not only Arabs, but also citizens of Asian or European countries, as well as Poles (Tatars and converts). According to various statistics, there are thirty to forty thousand Muslims in Poland, meaning that they constitute about 0.1% of the Polish population. Islamophobia[57] or Arabophobia and the negative attitude towards immigrants can therefore be called "migrational hypochondria" in Poland, this being an unfounded, exaggerated fear that has no basis in the actual social situation and that probably comes from observing Western

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[54] See Mustafa Switat, *Społeczność arabska w Polsce. Stara i nowa diaspora* (Warszawa: Dialog, 2017).

[55] See. Perry R. Hinton, *Stereotypes, Cognition and Culture* (USA, Canada: Psychology Press, 2013).

[56] Mustafa Switat, *Społeczność arabska w Polsce. Stara i nowa diaspora* (Warszawa: Dialog, 2017), 387–388.

[57] Cf. Katarzyna Górak-Sosnowska, *Deconstructing Islamophobia in Poland: Story of an Internet Group.*

countries with a large number of immigrants and Muslims (including the migrant crisis).[58] Although small in numbers, this phenotypically dissimilar part of the Polish population encounters attitudes of extreme animosity or obsessive hostility towards the so-called "others" or "different."[59] The Arab respondents draw attention to other cases of negative social mechanisms related to their perceived "otherness" and "differentness". Apart from racism, these include: social distance, prejudice, discrimination, stigma, marginalization, exclusion, xenophobia, intolerance and stereotyping.

Fear of Islam has existed since the crusades in the Middle Ages, and has escalated over recent years because of the fear of terrorism, hence the recent hostility towards Islam and Muslims, namely Islamophobia.[60] What is now occurring in the Arab world does not have any precedent in the history of Islam. These movements are not pure products of Muslim history, but are the products of our age, its deviations, tensions, practices and doubts.[61] There is a sad tendency, by those who observe these events in Muslim countries, to blame Islam for everything, while in reality many other factors are involved. As Amin Maalouf argues, you can read ten large volumes about the history of Islam from its foundations and still fail to understand what is happening in Algeria today. It is enough, however, to read thirty pages about colonization and decolonization, and everything becomes clear.[62] Maalouf also claims that too much importance is attached to the influence of religion on the nations and their history, and too little to the influence of nations on religion. The influence is mutual, as society modifies religion and religion shapes society. A certain mental habit makes it impossible to notice more than one aspect of this dialectic, which leads to a bizarre distortion of perspective. In this context, placing responsibility for all the dramas that plague Muslim societies on Islam is unjust and it also makes that events in the world are not understandable.[63]

6 The Image of Arabs among Poles and its Consequences

The history of creating an image of Arabs in the consciousness of Poles is very interesting as it is a relatively brief one. The "Arab problem" did not exist and did not arouse the interest of sociologists until the late 1960s. Jerzy Szacki, for example, studied the attitude of Poles towards other races and nations in 1966, but did not even attempt to verify their attitude towards Arabs.[64] In a 1988 study, an Arab was an "unknown alien" for the majority of Poles, an "alien" with whom there was very little or no contact, and about whom their knowledge was limited.[65] There was a certain knowledge that such a group existed, but it did not function in the consciousness of Polish society. Jan Nawrocki presumed that the image of Arabs became less amorphous only in the late 1960s, in connection with the events in the Middle East and the accompanying propaganda. The researchers concluded that the respondents felt a deep aversion, and probably

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[58] Mustafa Switat, "Arab Community in Poland – Facts and Myths. Research Report," *The Yearbook of Polish European Studies*, no. 19 (2016).

[59] Mirosław Sobecki, "Rasizm I antysemityzm a tożsamość kulturowa," in *Patriotyzm I nacjonalizm. Ku jakiej tożsamości kulturowej*, ed. Jerzy Nikitorowicz (Kraków: Oficyna Wydawnicza Impuls 2013), 66.

[60] Stephen Castles and Mark J. Miller, *Migracje we współczesnym świecie* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 2011), 322.

[61] Amin Maalouf, *Zabójcze tożsamości* (Warszawa: PIW, 2002), 76.

[62] Ibid., 77.

[63] Ibid., 79.

[64] Jerzy Szacki, *Polacy o sobie I innych narodach* (Warszawa: OBOPiSP, 1969).

[65] Ewa Nowicka, "Swojskość I obcość jako kategorie socjologicznej analizy," in *Swoi I obcy*, ed. Ewa Nowicka (Warszawa: IS UW, 1990), 30.

fear, towards this group. An Arab was perceived by Poles as a stranger, angry and dangerous.[66] Different research regarding Poles' attitude to other nations also presented Arabs as the most disliked nationality in Poland.[67]

Arabs are perceived as strangers, although some of them have Polish nationality and identify with Poland. More than half of those with Polish citizenship claim they feel Polish, despite their Arab descent. In relation to the Arab Diaspora in Poland, a perception of being an alien group can be observed, according to the theory of Florian Znaniecki, aversion to a foreign group (fortified antagonism) and symptoms of active aggression (provocative antagonism).[68] Despite diversity of attitudes amongst Poles in terms of accepting the Arab community in Poland (favorable, un-favorable and the undecided), respondents from all groups noticed a very important problem the members of the Arab Diaspora in Poland face, this being the reluctance displayed by Polish society expressed by unfriendly treatment and negative attitudes (including direct attacks) in everyday life.[69] In contrast, there are social initiatives against violence towards foreigners, includ-ing, campaigns promoting the familiarity of "aliens" propagated in the social media, bearing the hashtag *#bijąNaszych* "they beat ours:" our friends, our neighbors and our common guests.[70]

The study found that the Arab Diaspora usually has a generalized, imaginary and collective image among Poles.[71] Such an unconscious focus on someone's origin hinders integration, at least according to Tamotsu Shibutani and Kian M. Kwan, whose approach was based on Her-bert Mead's interactionism. These two scholars found that the way a person is treated in a given society does not depend on who that person is, but on how that person is perceived. Individuals are subject to categorization and have certain traits and behaviours ascribed to them. As a result of this process, social distance arises, not in the sense of physical distance between groups, but rather a subjective state of nearness felt by the individuals. Based on this concept, reducing the distance leads to structural assimilation.[72]

Just as members of the Arab Diaspora argue that kindness and other positive attitudes on the part of the host society helped them integrate, Poles also expect positive behavior from mi-grant populations (respecting the Polish law and Polish culture, adapting to social norms and merging into the society peacefully) in the context of integration. Therefore, mutual positive interactions and the attitudes of both surveyed communities facilitate the process of integration. On the one hand, such positive attitudes enhance the integration of the immigrant population, while, on the other hand, they facilitate the acceptance of the integrated immigrant population by the host society.

The alternative is a spiral of antagonism between the host society and the immigrants: an unfavorable attitude (including discrimination, prejudice) of the host community can indirectly increase the level of frustration among immigrants and, as a result, increase their negative be-

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[66] Jan Nawrocki, "Obraz Arabów," in *Swoi I obcy*, ed. Ewa Nowicka (Warszawa: IS UW, 1990), 118–124.

[67] Research, for example, of OBOP: Aleksandra Jasińska-Kania, "Postawy Polaków wobec różnych narodów: sympatie I niechęci," *Kultura I Społeczeństwo*, no. 4 (1988); Aleksandra Jasińska-Kania, "Zmiany postaw Polaków wobec różnych narodów I państw," in *Bliscy I dalecy*, ed. Grażyna Gęsicka (Warszawa: IS UW, 1992); *Stosunek Polaków do innych narodów. Komunikat z badań* (Warszawa: CBOS, 2002–2012).

[68] Florian Znaniecki, *Studia nad antagonizmem do obcych* (Poznań: Rolnicza Drukarnia I Księg. Nakł., 1931), 208.

[69] Mustafa Switat, *Społeczność arabska w Polsce. Stara i nowa diaspora* (Warszawa: Dialog, 2017), 401–402.

[70] Joanna Klimowicz, "Biją naszych! Dzień Solidarności z Uchodźcami. Pokażmy, że nie jesteśmy obojętni," *Gazeta Wyborcza*, accessed March 25, 2017, http://bialystok.wyborcza.pl/bialystok/1,35241,20827057,bija-na-szych-dzien-solidarnosci-z-uchodzcami-pokazmy-ze-nie.html.

[71] See: Mustafa Switat, *Społeczność arabska w Polsce. Stata i nowa diaspora* (Warszawa: Dialog, 2017).

[72] Cf. Timotsu Shibutani and Kian M. Kwan, *Ethnic Stratification* (New York: Macmillan, 1965).

havior (e.g., an increase in crime). Negative behavior by immigrants can cause an increase in favorability and other negative attitudes of the local population towards immigrants.[73]

The aforementioned view corresponds with Amin Maalouf's thesis according to which the more immigrants feel that their original culture's tradition is respected in their new country, the less they feel hated, intimidated and discriminated against because of their different identity and the more they are open to the new country's cultural opportunities, the less they cling to their separateness.[74] This theory is confirmed by the German Marshall Fund survey on trends in immigration: 36% of respondents in six EU countries (especially in Italy and France) believe that discrimination of immigrants is more of an obstacle to their integration than the lack of willingness to integrate on the part of immigrants themselves.[75] Han Entzinger and Renske Biezeveld are also of the opinion that specifically the anti-immigrant attitude of the local population is the main obstacle to integration.[76]

Favorable relations with immigrants can provide tangible benefits, since they motivate integration and prevent immigration pathologies which spoil the image of the entire community. As interviewees reported regarding generalized behavior towards the Arab Diaspora members (collective identity) often appears the effect of the homogeneity of foreign group, than the members of this group are observed as similar (one to another) and internal diversity of this group is unnoticeable,[77] additionally this group is generally pejoratively perceived. According to Zygmunt Bauman, an "alien" is "devoid of individuality and uniqueness."[78] In effect, collective responsibility is applied to them and the entire community is blamed for the acts of individuals from this community. For this reason, members of the Arab Diaspora call for greater objectivity and the abandonment of the use of the collective identity towards them, since people are different[79] and, according to, i.e., Paul Scheffer, people should be judged on their (individual) merits.[80]

This also applies to the mutual evaluation of members of the Arab Diaspora in Poland, as they are very critical of one other. Some representatives of the old Diaspora have reservations concerning certain members of the latest representatives of the new Diaspora. These include reservations about their marriages with Polish women and coming to Poland without any knowledge of the country, its history, customs and language. When deciding on such a marriage, often held abroad, they do not know the realities of Poland and have a misleading image of the country, which may be the source of problems in the future. The negative image of an Arab would therefore destroy the positive image of the representatives of the old Diaspora who had gained great local respect in Poland.[81]

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[73] Mustafa Switat, *Społeczność arabska w Polsce. Stara i nowa diaspora* (Warszawa: Dialog, 2017), 556.

[74] Maalouf, *Zabójcze tożsamości*, 51.

[75] Cf. *Transatlantic Trends: Immigration, German Marshall Fund of the United States* (Brussels: German Marshall Fund of the United States, 2009), 21, accessed March 15, 2017 http://trends.gmfus.org/files/archived/immigration/doc/TTI_2009_Key.pdf.

[76] Han Entzinger and Renske Biezeveld, "Zasady integracji imigrantów," in *Integracja kulturowa imigrantów. Wyzwania I dylematy*, ed. Janusz Balicki (Warszawa: Instytut Politologii UKSW, Fundacja Konrada Adenauera, 2007), 54.

[77] Eliott Aronson, *Człowiek – istota społeczna* (Warszawa: PWN, 2001), 138–139.

[78] Zygmunt Bauman, *Globalizacja. I co z tego dla ludzi wynika* (Warszawa: PIW, 2000), 126.

[79] Mustafa Switat, *Społeczność arabska w Polsce. Stara i nowa diaspora* (Warszawa: Dialog, 2017), 681.

[80] Scheffer, *Druga ojczyzna*, 427.

[81] Mustafa Switat, *Społeczność arabska w Polsce. Stara i nowa diaspora* (Warszawa: Dialog, 2017), 414.

7 Conclusion

In conclusion, Arab immigration to Central and Eastern Europe is completely different and disproportionate to Arab immigration to Western Europe. It is relatively young immigration with a different historical background (Poland did not participate in the colonization of the Arab world), rationale and history of migration, history of relations with Arab countries, experience with immigrants, or size and structure of the Arab Diaspora. In Poland and other countries of Central and Eastern Europe, a well-educated, well-integrated stratum dominates within this community, that has even assimilated into Polish society.

The Arab Diaspora in Poland is perceived in a negative light as a result of, amongst other things, reports on difficulties with this community in the West and negative world events involving individual Arabs. Problems with integrating immigrants, especially those from non-European countries, rank among the most important political topics in Europe. They are perceived as a threat to national identity, culture, values, lifestyle and the standards of the host society.[82] When researching this community in Poland, no such threats were apparent. Instead, the surveyed Arabs had acquired many elements of Polish culture, lifestyle and norms. The respondents claimed that they learned a great deal from the Poles, for instance, orderliness, debating, punctuality, diligence and hard work, language, honesty and tolerance.

Most Polish studies on multiculturalism and immigrant integration usually report on theories and concepts originating abroad, in countries with completely different socio-economic characteristics, particularly in terms of diametrically different migration traditions,[83] not taking into account Polish problems and conditions. A superficial review of the publication titles on multiculturalism on the Polish market leaves one with the impression that there are grave problems with immigrants and their integration in Poland. After a careful analysis of their content, however, it becomes apparent that most of these publications do not refer or apply to Poland. The issue of immigrant integration in Poland is either hypothetical, not verified by research, or fragmentary (for example, referring to one selected minority or some of the immigrants that fit a certain criterion, such as a region or status). Immigrant researchers in Lesser Poland, for example, argue that at present there is a lack of major problems with the integration of foreigners (including Arabs) in Poland.[84]

When researching the Arab Diaspora in Poland, it became apparent that a knowledge of the Polish language (mostly thanks to studying in Polish, which proves to be the most effective method of acquiring a language), not the date of arrival, was hugely instrumental in the superior integration and position of the members of the old Diaspora. All of such respondents were, at least well integrated (if not assimilated), had a wealth of knowledge about Poland, felt they had a Polish identity (most of them have Polish citizenship), are patriots loyal to Poland (treat Poland as their home and country), and are very similar to the Poles when it comes to many statements. There are also similar Arabs, of course, in the new Diaspora.

Their integration was spontaneous, as it occurred because they were in Polish marriages, families, companies, had numerous interactions with Polish society, all of which enabled their

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[82] Gary P. Freeman, *Incorporating Immigrants in Liberal Democracies* (Princeton University: The Centre for Migration and Development, 2003).

[83] *Ekspertyza podsumowująca doświadczenia teoretyczne I empiryczne nad społecznym I ekonomicznym wymiarem integracji. Moduł III. Integracja cudzoziemców w Polsce* (Warszawa: OBM WNE UW, 2007).

[84] Aspazja Gadowska, Adam Spyra, Szymon Strzelichowski, Katarzyna Trzaska, Anna Urban-Toczek, Tomasz Witkowski, Anna Ziębacz, "Cudzoziemcy w województwie małopolskim – wybrane statystyki. Prawo migracyjne. Polityka migracyjna Polski," in *Imigranci w Małopolsce. Między integracją, asymilacją, separacją, marginalizacją*, ed. Edyta Pindel (Kraków: Akademia Ignatianum, 2014), 46.

acquisition of the Polish language. They fully merged with the Polish environment and adapted to the Polish surroundings. Thanks for that, members of the old Diaspora could know both communities (Arabs and Poles) and they were able to observe that there is no big differences between Arabic and Polish cultures and Arabs and Poles opinions are often identical. This is the real picture of this community.

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