

## Monika

### **Bronze head from Nymburk**

In 2015, a bronze head with a melon coiffure was found near Nymburk in...?. The fragment of a bronze, folding tripod was found by an amateur archaeologist with a metal detector, who brought the find to the museum in Pardubice. The discovery raises questions about its origin and age as the context cannot be excavated with the find and there is no material to compare it to. A significant detail, which will help us with the task, is the melon coiffure.

### **Origins of the hairstyle**

One of the first examples of the melon coiffure is displayed on the *stater* from Ortagoria on the Aegean coast of Thrace. The coin shows Artemis wearing the studied hairstyle. The city was first mentioned by Strabo (7 fr. 47). The earliest arrival of the first colonists is uncertain, but an indication of its presence on the historical scene can be dated to after the mid-4<sup>th</sup> century BC (Tsetskhladze, G.R. , 106) when it minted coins with Macedonian influence (Waggoner, 1987, 21). The coiffure was very popular in Thrace, many literary sources describe Thracians as people who wore raised hair (Homer, Archilochus or Hipponax) and could be found on many different artifacts from this region. The hair is divided into segments resembling ribs of a melon running from the forehead to **the nape of the head**. Braided locks are gathered at the nape of the head. The inclusion of the city within the hegemonic state of Macedonia suggests that this typology of Artemis became influential in vast number of areas of the Greek, as well as the Scythian and Thracian, society (Lopes, E., 98).

The evidence to support this fact is a gold plate in the Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg. The ornament shows two Scythian warriors holding their bows with arms outstretched. They wear hair divided into bands forming large masses, gathered in impressive chignons (Lopes, E., 100). In continental Greece, the hairstyle of Artemis became established too, which can be supported by several depictions of the goddess in different sites. The tomb of Persephone at Vergina displays Demeter wearing a melon coiffure in the painted frieze (mid. 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC).

Significant evidence of the popularity of the coiffure is numerous depots of Tanagra statuettes of which female, draped women are commonly wearing the melon coiffure. Tanagras are sufficiently uniform. They range from 0,12 to 0,30 m. in height, are normally made in several moulds and are retouched. The backs are shaped, often fully modeled. The bottoms are open, but when the figures are set on a base, they usually show a vent, commonly rectangular in shape. The repertory is limited and is drawn exclusively from daily life. The most popular subject is draped women (Thompson, D.B., 130). Other motives are male figures, female standing figures, female ritual figures, female heads, comic figures, prophylactic figures, protomes, masks, animals, miscellaneous votives, plaques and miniature votive pottery. Figurines following the old traditions were primarily produced for dedicatory purposes. The variety

of statuettes gives us a perfect tool for datation of the hairstyle, as it contains older as well as the subsequent Tanagra statuettes. The Tanagra statuettes are one of the most famous carriers of the melon hairstyle, which spread the fashion in ociety throughout the Greek territories and to the Apennine peninsula, Egypt and Asia Minor.

## **Typology**

Analyzing different depots has brought to light a typology of the hairstyle which helps to date individual finds. The first phase is represented by a series of deep parallel waves or twists running back from the forehead to a large flat coil of plaits at the back of the head. All of the statuettes are dated to the third quarter of the fourth century B.C. These provide examples of the coiffure which begun in Hellenistic times. There are several variants of the coiffure – the plaits are wound round the head rather than at the back of it (an early stage of the true melon coiffure), the plaits appear wound in a coil around the back of the head (figurine in the Metropolitan museum). The early phases of the variant of coiffure do not seem to have had a very long life, probably not more than twenty or thirty years (Thompson, D.B., 121).

The second phase of the melon coiffure, in which the plaits at the back of the head have lost the nature of a coil and assumed that of buns, is presumably dated in the third century B.C. on the evidence from Corinth. The bun turns into a knot early in the third century and becomes the best known form of the melon coiffure, of which innumerable examples exist from all over the Greek world (Thompson, H., Thompson, D.B., 1987, 221).

## **Věra**

### **Young people in a Moravian town and village**

As previously mentioned, lists of subjects of the Slavkov Estate, did not keep track of the actual inhabitants in each year, but rather of those who belonged to the town or villages. It is therefore almost impossible to find out the exact number of subjects living in the locality. At the beginning of the period studied, 731 subjects were recorded in Slavkov and 496 in Křenovice. Towards the end of the period, there were 828 and 724 subjects, respectively. However, most of them are not the focal point of this research which concentrates on young people who are in a semi-dependent position, as defined by John R. Gillis. From the demographic point of view, this encompasses a period of approximately 20 years – between the ages of 10 and 29. For the purposes of this article, only the age group 15 to 19 has been chosen, because most young people had left home but were not yet married at that time. In total, there were 5224 entries concerning people of this age. This data might be analysed and compared in various ways according to factors influencing the lives of individuals. The two factors that have been chosen are death of father, and place of origin (i.e. the town or village).

Table no. 1 shows comparison between orphans and non-orphans.<sup>1</sup>

	Family	Servant (estate)	Servant (outside)	Gone	Wanderer	Soldier	Student	Apprenticeship	Wedding	Others	In total
Non-orphaned boys	1152	184	57	30	31	16	91	302	11	32	1906
	60,44%	9,65%	2,99%	1,57%	1,63%	0,84%	4,77%	15,84%	0,58%	1,68%	100,00%
Orphaned boys	229	247	56	1	10	22	8	166	4	50	793
	28,88%	31,15%	7,06%	0,13%	1,26%	2,77%	1,01%	20,93%	0,50%	6,31%	100,00%
Non-orphaned girls	1383	218	22	24	14				23	75	1759
	78,62%	12,39%	1,25%	1,36%	0,80%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	1,31%	4,26%	100,00%
Orphaned girls	356	266	41	6	3				40	54	766
	46,48%	34,73%	5,35%	0,78%	0,39%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	5,22%	7,05%	100,00%

Several conclusions can be drawn from this table. First, the complete family played a crucial part in the care of young people. In more than half of the recorded cases, boys who had not lost their father lived with their parents at this age, and this number is even higher for girls. This might be explained by more work, which was provided by a complete household and farm. As Michael Mitterauer suggested, children were very important for the economy of the household.<sup>2</sup> Once the father died, the family was incomplete and it was extremely difficult for a widow to keep her independent position,<sup>3</sup> which is why older orphans did not often live with their mothers and had to work elsewhere. In contrast, it was more common for non-orphans to leave the estate permanently, because they migrated with the whole family. The same can be said about vagrants – in some cases all members of the family started to wander. Higher education and professional training were available to boys only. Non-orphaned boys were more likely to attend secondary schools and universities. This might be attributable to the cost of education – after the father had died, the income of the family was insufficient and the widow could not afford to pay for school.

<sup>1</sup> Explanation of the life situations in the table – family – the young person stayed with any family members (parents, widowed mother, stepfather, older brother, etc.). Servant (estate) – the young person worked for an employer on the estate, servant (outside) – the young person worked for an employer outside of the estate, gone – the young person left the estate permanently, vagrant – the young person probably does not have permanent accommodation and job and wanders around the estate, soldier – the young man entered the army, student – the young man attended secondary school or university, apprenticeship – the young man was an apprentice or journeyman, wedding – the young person got married, others – a life situation, which does not belong to any previous category.

<sup>2</sup> M. Mitterauer, *Formen ländlicher Familienwirtschaft*, In: J. Ehmer – M. Mitterauer (Hg.), *Familienstruktur und Arbeitsorganisation in ländlichen Gesellschaften*, Wien/Köln/Braz 1986, p. 261.

<sup>3</sup> S. Ogilvie – J. Edwards, *Ženy a „druhé nevolnictví“ v Čechách na počátku novověku* [Women and „Second Serfdom“ in Bohemia at the beginning of the Early Modern Period], „Historická demografie“ 22, 1998, p. 40-41.

Moreover, orphans had to support their families financially. However, this does not apply to apprentices and journeymen, whose training was unhindered by their father's death. On the contrary, orphans learned crafts which their non-orphaned peers did not. This challenges Anne Kussmaul's distinction between servants and apprentices. Anne Kussmaul uses the diary of Ralph Josselin to demonstrate that servants were paid for their work, but apprentices (or their parents) had to pay for their training.<sup>4</sup> Reinhold Reith shows that the reality was much more complex – masters of some professions required their apprentices to pay, others did not and some were even willing to pay wages.<sup>5</sup> It seems that orphaned apprentices on the Slavkov Estate did not become socially disadvantaged and artisans provided conditions for their training. Orphans also often entered the army, which might be considered a solution to the worsened economic situation. As Josef Grulich suggested, enlistment into the army was in some cases a way to improve one's social status.<sup>6</sup>

Table 2: Life situations of young people between the ages 15–19 – comparison between a town and village

	Family	Servant (estate)	Servant (outside)	Gone	Wanderer	Soldier	Student	Apprenticeship	Wedding	Others	In total
Boys from town	684	117	67	28	24	23	94	420	5	42	1 504
	45,48%	7,78%	4,45%	1,86%	1,60%	1,53%	6,25%	27,93%	0,33%	2,79%	100,00%
Boys from village	697	314	46	3	17	15	5	48	10	40	1 195
	58,33%	26,28%	3,85%	0,25%	1,42%	1,26%	0,42%	4,02%	0,84%	3,35%	100,00%
Girls from town	926	134	56	14	13				12	66	1221
	75,84%	10,97%	4,59%	1,15%	1,06%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,98%	5,41%	100,00%
Girls from village	813	350	7	16	4				51	63	1304
	62,35%	26,84%	0,54%	1,23%	0,31%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	3,91%	4,83%	100,00%

The second table represents a comparison between young people living in a town and a village. Townspeople were less likely to send their children to other households as servants, which might be explained by a different economic situation in the town and better employment opportunities. As a result,

<sup>4</sup> Kussmaul, Anne: *Servants in Husbandry in Early Modern England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981, p. 4.

<sup>5</sup> Reinhold, Reith: p 104.

<sup>6</sup> GRULICH, Josef: *Motivace migraci a mobility venkovského obyvatelstva na jihu Čech v 17. až 18. století*. [The motivation of migration and mobility of rural population in the south of Bohemia in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries] In: *Člověk a sociální skupina ve společnosti raného novověku*. Eds.: BŮŽEK, Václav – DIBELKA, Jaroslav. České Budějovice 2007, pp. 255–290.

its inhabitants were not forced to send their offspring to other households as servants. As Michael Maurer points out, poor girls from villages often came to town in search for any work, but the market situation in bigger towns allowed them to increase their expectations.<sup>7</sup> This was the case in most European cities, since a number of historians have found out that female servants outnumbered male servants in urban environments.<sup>8</sup> However, village girls hardly ever left the estate at this age. Josef Grulich also found out that urban population was more likely to cross the borders of the estate.<sup>9</sup> This might have been caused by better contacts of parents from the town who had the opportunity to send their children to more distant employers. Moreover, men travelled for work longer distances than women in general, a point also made by Josef Grulich.<sup>10</sup> Boys, unlike girls, were allowed to start their professional training. Being an apprentice or journeyman at this age was much more common for boys from the town than for boys from the village (28 % of records compared to 4 % of records). The urban environment apparently provided more opportunities for craftsmen, which is why there were also more apprentices from the town. As Josef Ehmer suggests, the early modern period was a time, when a higher number of artisans lived in rural areas than before, but this was usually not the case east of Elbe.<sup>11</sup> Reinhold Reith's research into guilds in Augsburg in the 18<sup>th</sup> century showed that the origin of apprentices depended on the profession – guilds that did not require high payments for the training and needed more workers were more likely to accept boys from the country.<sup>12</sup> It is very probable that the number of young men from Slavkov was sufficient for the needs of local guilds and it was not necessary to recruit men from the country. As far as military recruitment is concerned, there is no significant difference between men from the town and village, a point which was also concluded by Markéta Pražáková Seligová.<sup>13</sup>

## Alica

### **Discussion and conclusion**

This paper presents an analysis of the meaning-making processes in the civic engagement, specifically, of how civic activists understand their working practices. Moreover, it sheds light on the ideological conflict in the Slovak civic sphere concerning non-heterosexual marriages and families performed by liberal LGBTI activists and conservative-Catholic activists, or so called pro-lifers. My analysis suggests that these ideologically different groups draw on the same meaning system when

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<sup>7</sup> Maurer, Michael: Dienstmädchen, Frühsorge, Gotthardt [Hrsg.]: Gesinde im 18. Jahrhundert. Hamburg : Meiner , 1995 p. 171.

<sup>8</sup> E. Maur, Čeled' a tovaryši, p. 122. R. Sarti provides an overview of the ratio between the sexes in various European cities in her article *Notes on the feminization of domestic service: Bologna as a case study (18th-19th centuries)*, In: *Le Phénomène de la domesticité en Europe, XVIe-XXe siècles*, „Acta Demographica“ XIII, Praha 1997, p. 160–164.

<sup>9</sup> Grulich: Cyklus, p. 220.

<sup>10</sup> Grulich: Cyklus, p. 221.

<sup>11</sup> Ehmer, Josef: Rural Guilds and Urban–Rural Guild Relations in Early Modern Central Europe p. 144.

<sup>12</sup> REITH, Reinhold: *Arbeits- und Lebensweise im städtischen Handwerk : zur Sozialgeschichte Augsburger Handwerksgelesen im 18. Jahrhundert (1700 – 1806)*. Göttingen 1988. p. 105.

<sup>13</sup> Pražakova: p. 320

talking about their work. I have called this meaning system *the moral narrative of helping*. It is the narrative form of understanding built upon the structure of morally charged meanings such as selflessness, others-orientation or activity. In the detailed discussion of the constitutive meanings I show how they make the narrative intelligible and meaningful in the context of civic activism. Furthermore, I discuss the role of this narrative in the ideological conflict itself: civic activists shift the constitutive meanings of the narrative of their opponents and by doing so they seek to discredit them.

It can be argued that we live in the movement world where passionately contested issues of our time are discussed in relation to civic activism everyday (Snow, Soule, Kriesi 2004: 4). This study draws attention to civic activism as everyday work and brings to light the specific people working as civic activists. It helps to understand civic activism also as part of everyday ordinary life, not just in the moments of collective enthusiasm in the demonstrations and protests. Finally, it shows that the cultural-collective meaning systems charged with morality and emotions also play a role in the individual understandings of the own work.

The narrative of helping is just one out of more narratives in play when making sense of the work in civic engagement. For now, I have omitted/disregarded/ignored the discussion of democracy, freedom, human rights, religion, science and their cultural and moral importance in activists' understanding. These form together a complex meaning system of understanding and their role deserves special research attention. Nevertheless, the moral narrative of helping is the focal point of activists' understanding of their work, since it frames the activities with the moral order, evokes emotions and together with the constitutive meanings works as the coherent form of consciousness.

## **Tomáš**

Following three essays offer comparative evolutionary glimpses beyond the realm of human. Luther Martin starts with an elaborative discussion of animal cultural behavior focusing on the bowerbirds' practice of nest decoration. He goes against the general ethos of the volume while explicitly aligning with the stance of methodological and functional cognition-culture separation (193-94). In excursion to prosocial capacity to sacrifice and reciprocity, Henrik Høgh-Olesen draws comparisons between humans, primates and monkeys in an aim to depict a "more balanced version of Dawkins's (1976) [selfish-gene] assumption" (215). In story about the deep roots of human cognition in primate fear of snakes and inseparability of religion-culture origins, Tom Sjöblom focuses on the cumulative gradual process of evolution. He takes religion as "one of manifestations of behavioral modernity" and while stressing the emotional communication as a ground for symbolic behavior, he pinpoints it a "as fundamental trait [for] religious behavior" (232-3).

The “Cognitive theories” part [of...?] open several philosophical essays. While still staying in the explanatory enterprise, Jeppe Sinding Jensen addresses not only the concept of culture but also the notion of meaning. In “almost reifying” (253) understanding religion as program for “prescribed forms for intentionality and practice, [i.e. program of] how to think, speak and act” (ibid.), he fiercely critiques clear boundaries and one-way causality thinking between cognition and culture. In contemplation about Ludwig Wittgenstein’s account of religion and culture, Mark Addis remarks that “[it] is part of a *form of life* which is based on a *world picture*.” (266, emph. TH). In this wittgensteinian terms for knowledge system scaffolding he taps into the problem of differentiating religion and science. Within a playful reading of some theistic topoi of appearance and disappearance and child peekaboo play, Thomas Hoffman explores the Piagetian notion of object permanence and the cognitive semantic notion of image schemas. In conclusion, he connects the chosen topoi to a general cognitive frame and designates “deeply embodied, experiential and developmental patterns attested in child psychology” (281) as a possible human universal for a border between the natural and supernatural. William Waldron relies on the concepts of the interdependent origins of religion, cognition and culture painted with conceptual brushes of Yogācāra Buddhist school. He challenges the conception of an isolated mind as insufficient unit of analysis and calls for a systemic notion of reciprocal causality driven by action in a study of cognition-culture continuum.

A change of tone from broad philosophical views to specific empirical and neuropsychological horizons comes with Uffe Schjoedt’s resource model of religious cognition. His account concentrates on resource investment and motivation as important situational factors in the “complexity of supernatural representation” (307) in an explicit polemical discussion with typological models of high arousal/low frequency rituals (Lawson-McCauley, Whitehouse).

The next three chapters address tool-making and material culture. Peter Jackson deals with prehistoric archeology and raises concerns about academic preconceptions of religion. In promotion of the bottom-up approaches, he critiques belief in supernatural attribution based just on artefact properties and calls to shift attention to the broader categories of social action. Another explicit polemic with standard CSR model depicts Mads Jessen in an archeological essay about extra-somatics of conceptual thought. Within the Mjölfnir case-study, he shows that “the construction of (minimally) counterintuitive concepts [...] largely depends on their physical context” (334-35). Final excursion of the material and tool cognition coming from Pierre Liénard and Jesper Sørensen concentrates on the context of cultural ritual with counterintuitive tools. In discussion of cognitive attractivity and ritual use of artefacts with richer inferential potential, they propose two types of possible breaches/transfers of ontological expectation, in tool design and in manipulation (non-functional action).

The last three chapters from Gretchen Koch, William McCorkle Jr. and Peter Westh return to the belief cognition. In exploring the notion of the soul connected with responsibility for actions, Koch questions the simple concept of empathy as adaptive capacity to understand the mental states of others. She stresses the usually overlooked active potential to inhibit it and further claims, that we may have “be

designed to empathize (project) inaccurately under certain circumstances, in order to pursue overriding interests.” (365) McCorkle brings to the pool of cognitive theories his account of the ritualized treatment of dead bodies. In analysis of cognitive processes triggered by dead bodies, he explores the responsible mental systems as HADD, ToM, animacy, contagion/disgust and person-file. However, to the standard evolutionary mechanisms, he adds personality traits (especially Big Five psychotims and toughmindness) as individual contexts which modify the resulting reaction. The last chapter from Peter Westh revisits the account anthropomorfisation of gods concepts in Justin Barret and Frank C. Keil narrative comprehension experiments. He proposes alternative explanations to Barret-Keil influential work about theological correctness, in which he attributes the found effects to the narrative form of experiment instead of general anthropomorfic bias. While Westh agrees with the notion in general, he stresses that there are “various cultural forms [,which] may act as cognitive and interactional frames favouring specific conceptual structures over others.”(410)

Although the book does not offer to its reader a consistent main narrative as its sister publication *Mental Culture: Towards a cognitive science of religion*, which shares the cognition-culture integrative aim, it is still of exceptional value to anyone who is searching for an accessible introduction to the naturalistic thinking about the origins of culture and religion within the frame of cognition. In the diversity of studies, it is not hard to find personal inspirative favorites, while the complexity of the main topic invites for comparative hypertextual reading of the chapters as a network embedding the present CSR discussion.

## **Ina**

The “refugee crisis” and recent terrorist attacks in Europe are connected with rise of anti-muslim and anti-immigration movements around Europe. Its manifestations in online (Awan 2014) and offline hate as well as anti-Muslim hate crimes are becoming more frequent (Awan 2012). In this paper, we focus on cases of cyber hate in Germany and the Czech Republic which are connected with protests against refugees and immigrants. These issues are recently of great interest in both countries and are shaping public discussion, however in many cases the discussions include also hateful commenting, including some cases that can already be classified as hate crimes.

This article makes a contribution to the debate about the identification and measurement of cyber hate in social media based on an explorative case study of anti-Muslim movements in Czech Republic - represented by the Initiative against Islam (former Block against Islam) and Germany - represented by Pegida. Though these two countries are in significantly different situations concerning the refugees, movements which are opposed to immigration emerged in both countries, which use social media as platforms to plan their actions, discuss and link to each other. Based on the intergroup contact theory that will shortly be introduced, the movements are expected to differ, as citizens of both selected countries do not have equal opportunities to reduce their prejudices. While in Germany the citizens have frequent interaction with foreigners due to the great numbers of refugees that have arrived in the country and the



historically higher number of Muslims who have settled there/who live there, by contrast, there **is** a significantly lower number of immigrants in the Czech Republic. To verify our assumption that the extent of prejudices towards migrants differs in both countries, we will take a closer look at the expression of hate speech (in our case cyber hate) that is voiced on the pages of the movements as well as to trigger events and targets of hateful comments.

As mentioned, we base our research on the intergroup contact theory. The most influential hypothesis within this theory was developed in 1954 by Allport, who specified the critical situational conditions for intergroup contact to reduce prejudice (Allport 1954, cited in Pettigrew, 1998). More specifically, Allport claimed that the positive effects of intergroup contact are based on four conditions which are: equal group status within the situation, common goals, intergroup cooperation and the support of authorities, law or custom (ibid.). In a large-scale study, Pettigrew (2006) was taking a look at over 500 earlier conducted studies, which in parts had come to conflicting conclusions. Pettigrew**ws** research confirmed that contact between groups helps to reduce prejudice; this was neither the result of a publication bias, nor of participant selection (Pettigrew 2006).

Some researches (King & Sutton 2013; Awan & Zempi 2016; Burnap & Williams 2015) focus on the problem of hate speech/cyber hate in the perspective of “trigger events”. King & Sutton (2013, p. 888) pointed out that the dynamics of cyber hate are related to recent events and that cyber hate is often the result of events which incite to retribution of one group to another. In our study, we try to identify these events through the connection between hate comments on Facebook and their framing which we will identify via the context in which the statement was made. In this context, the research questions for our analysis are:

- *What percentage of hateful comments can be found on both pages?*
- *Who is the target of hateful comments?*
- *Which “trigger events” lead to hateful comments on the websites of the movement?*

Based on the intergroup contact theory and research of King and Sutton (2013) we expect opposition towards foreigners to be lower in Germany than in the Czech Republic, as the Germans are more likely to get in touch with foreigners and therefore have more opportunities to dismantle prejudice. This might also influence the character of cyber hate and the targets of hateful comments, as well as their trigger events - in Germany we expect concentrated cyber hate around concrete events in contrast to the Czech Republic, where we expect a higher level of abstraction in the case of targeting, but also with regard to trigger events.

## **Ester**

The comparative method is well known among specialists from many branches of science, including historians. Paul Veyne said that historians can research every problem from the point of view of Comparative History.<sup>14</sup> It is important for the demonstration of some phenomena, which are visible only thanks to the comparison. This article is an illustration of using the comparative method in Church History by a specific example. The author has chosen three non-Catholic churches for the research: The Evangelical Church of Czech Brethren, The Czechoslovak (Hussite) Church and The Brethren Church. These Churches were chosen because of their similar initial position in the Czechoslovak Republic, as they all presented themselves as the best and only heirs to the Bohemian Reformation, which is obvious from their names. Despite the different theology or number of members, this historical emphasis is the main point of the comparison.

The goal of the research is to compare (a) the attitudes of these Churches to the “historical Christianity” and (b) the application of knowledge of the Reformation History in their present. For this goal the author must set specific criteria for comparison – one of them is determination of the studied area. In this case, it is quite simple, only the parts of Czechoslovakia with active parishes of compared Churches will be used. On a real map, this equates to Bohemia and Moravia. Another criterion is the determination of the studied period which is more complicated than the previous criterion. The first part of this determination is quite clear – the year 1918. It is a historic landmark for the whole of Europe, but it has particular significance for the Czech nation, because of the end of Austro-Hungarian Empire and forming of the Czechoslovak Republic. This landmark led the author to the synchronic type of comparing in the period 1918 – 1928. The year 1928 is set because it was the 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Czechoslovakia and the conditions in society and in Churches were quite settled. Of course, the year which affected Churches (and whole society) more radically, such as 1938, would be better for comparison. However, a period of twenty years would be too long for comparison. It is important to know that more compared objects mean fewer criteria for comparison.<sup>15</sup> Furthermore, it would not be possible to compare and interpret so many sources appropriately in the given time/word constraints.

With specifying the comparison goal comes hand in hand setting the criteria for the main part of comparison. In the first goal, it is the intention of the author to compare the attitude of “historical Christianity” in the above-mentioned Churches to three points: (1) to the first (apostolic) Church, (2) to the World Reformation, (3) to the Bohemian Reformation. These parts establish the criteria for “historical” comparing, although for the author the most important, is the third point of comparison.

To gain an understanding of why the attitude to the Bohemian Reformation is so important, it is necessary to know something about Czech History and the specific situation in Czechoslovakia after the end of World War I. There was a noticeably revolutionary religious situation in the Czechoslovak Republic at this time. The biggest Church was then the Roman Catholic Church, but for almost one million people, it was not very trustworthy because of the relation to the Austro-Hungarian Empire and to the House of

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<sup>14</sup> P. Veyne, *Jak se píšou dějiny*, Červený Kostelec 2010, p. 16.

<sup>15</sup> *Úvod do studia dějepisu*, vol. I, ed. T. Dvořák ..., p. 68.

Habsburg. Out of this million, more than 500 000 people joined the newly established Czechoslovak Church and 80 000 moved to the Evangelical Church of Czech Brethren. The rest of the people remained without religious affiliation.<sup>16</sup> Besides that, the national pride related to the Czech history was very strong, especially in relation to the Bohemian Reformation.

In the 19th century, the legacy of the Bohemian Reformation became an important part in the forming of the Czech nationality. Many historians were using this part of history for accenting Czech national consciousness face to face the German nationality. Around the turn of the century, some protestant Churches also began to promote Czech nationalism related to the Bohemian Reformation too, mostly because of the young generation of priests. New ideas about uniting Evangelic Churches based on the Bohemian Reformation confessions **go hand in hand** with this.<sup>17</sup> The foundation of the Evangelical Church of Czech Brethren (ECCB) was the result of these ideas. It had been formed through unification of the Protestant Churches of the Lutheran and Reformed confessions in Bohemia and Moravia in December 1918. New possibilities and easing of tension at the end of World War I have opened the way for the renewal of efforts to connect the Churches. Only Czech speaking Protestants were members of ECCB; German speaking Protestants formed their own German Protestant Church in 1919. In 1918, the ECCB had about 160 000 members and other 80 000 had come during next years from the Roman Catholic Church.<sup>18</sup> With the unification, the Calvinistic theology prevailed over Lutheran theology because of superiority of Reformed churches. Besides that, there was a strong theological following of the Czech reformed tradition too.<sup>19</sup>

The origins of the Czechoslovak Church, another important Church in Czechoslovakia, were much different. It had been created by Catholic priests discontented with conditions in the Roman Catholic Church. They were part of a longer process of efforts to reform the Catholic Church. The basics of this movement formed the foundation of the Union of the Catholic Czechoslovak Clergy in 1902. Beside other things, their requirements included the use of the vernacular in the liturgy or voluntary clerical celibacy. Catholic modernism and its efforts were suppressed by Pope Pius X. in 1907.<sup>20</sup> After World War I these efforts to reform the Catholic Church in Czechoslovakia were restored, but again the papal curia refused them. Due to this, the radical movement officially established the new Church on January 8, 1920. In the first weeks of its existence, over 40 priests and 200 000 adherents who were former members of Roman Catholic Church became the members.<sup>21</sup> After one year, the Czechoslovak Church already had 525 332 members.<sup>22</sup> The theology followed reformed efforts of the Czech Catholicism in the 19th century, Catholic

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<sup>16</sup> P. Marek, *Církevní krize na počátku první Československé republiky (1918-1924)*, Brno 2005, p. 14.

<sup>17</sup> Z.R. Nešpor, *Evangelické církve ...*, p. 146-147.

<sup>18</sup> P. Marek, *Církevní krize ...*, p. 9-10.

<sup>19</sup> P. Filipi, *Českobratrská církev evangelická*, [in:] *Český ekumenismus: theologické kořeny a současná tvář církví*, ed. A. Molnár, M. Kaňák, P. Filipi, Praha 1976, p. 177-178.

<sup>20</sup> F. Kovář, *Deset let Československé církve 1920-1930. Přednáška proslovená na jubilejní synodě duchovenstva čsl. církve v Praze, dne 8. ledna 1930*, Praha 1930, p. 16.

<sup>21</sup> P. Filipi, *Křesťanstvo: historie, statistika, charakteristika křesťanských církví*, Ed. 4, Brno 2012, p. 178.

<sup>22</sup> P. Marek, *Církevní krize ...*, p. 14.

modernism and Hussite tradition as well as Czech Brethren tradition.<sup>23</sup> Thus Czechoslovak theology was a kind of mixture of Catholic and Protestant ideas and so wide to hold different ideas from theological to national. In fact, the Czechoslovak Church was much more national movement than the Christian Church.

The last of three researched Churches, the Brethren Church (Jednota československá), was formed already in 1880 as Free Reformed Church by breaking away from the Protestant Church of the Reformed Confession and thanks to the influence of missionaries from the USA. "Free" in its name meant independent on the state and it really was; in first decades of its existence it was even persecuted. In 1918, it was still a small Protestant Church with only about 6 000 members in 34 churches.<sup>24</sup> The following year, it changed its name to the Brethren Church to declare connection to the Bohemian Reformation.<sup>25</sup> Of course, this Church was making efforts to get more members from the group of people leaving Roman Catholic Church.

It is evident that all three Churches had similar efforts and desires; they all used references to the Bohemian Reformation and proclaimed themselves as its only heir. All these facts are the foundations of comparing, because (as was already said) it is important to find simple characteristics common to compared objects.

The second goal, to understand the attitude to the present, **goes hand in hand** with celebrating the Czech history and Reformation. Since this became a part of Czech nationality, Churches had started to compete for their real heir of Reformation. It was not only a matter of prestige, Churches were also trying to win new members from people leaving the Roman Catholic Church. Through this they were trying to show their loyalty and patriotism. The next reason was the effort to improve their position in the new state. The author would like to look at the position of these Churches in the Czechoslovak state and society – what their role was, how they were accepted (e.g. in press) and how their position changed. There is also an interest in relations between Church leaders and the government, because some members of the Church were also members of the Parliament or had some influence. An unusual kind of contacts with the government is the relationship with the first Czechoslovak president T.G. Masaryk. This fact is even more important, because Masaryk was a member of the Evangelical Church of Czech Brethren and his family had a very good relationship with one priest from the Brethren Church.<sup>26</sup> T.G. Masaryk's ideas are closely connected with him, especially the idea of "Czechoslovakism", which is an assumption that the Czechs and the Slovaks are one Czechoslovak nation. Moreover, the author would like to know the opinions of the Churches on this idea, if or how they used it and what their connection to the Churches in the Slovak part of Czechoslovakia was.

The next interest is ambitions of the Churches: their goals, efforts to gain a better position in society, more members etc. and how these ambitions were changing or disappearing through the time.

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<sup>23</sup> P. Filipi, *Křesťanstvo ...*, p. 177-178.

<sup>24</sup> P. Marek, *Církevní krize ...*, p. 8.

<sup>25</sup> M. Košťál, *Životní příběh Aloise Adlofa*, [in:] Alois Adlof: 150 let. Život, služba, odkaz, ed. J. Štěpán et al., Praha 2012, p. 57-58.

<sup>26</sup> F. Urbánek, J. Štěpán, *Kazatel František Urbánek: k 50. výročí úmrtí*, Praha 1999, p. 28-29, 87-93.

Last but not least, the author would like to compare relations of the observed Churches and the Roman Catholic Church as well as relations to the other protestant Churches in Czechoslovakia.

This article has mentioned only one of many possibilities to compare method in the Church History. Only the main points of the research, in which the author wants to compare three non-Catholic Churches in a specific time and area, were outlined. This research can bring new knowledge about relationships between Churches, their position in the first Czechoslovak Republic and primarily about their usage of the Czech nationalism for their own purposes. In conclusion, is good to remind that almost everything that researchers want can be compared, though it is necessary to set appropriate criteria. Without this step, only parallel stories will be told without comparing them.