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History, Memory, and Religion in the Czech Lands

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Abstract

The paper deals with the role of religion in the process of defining Czech national identity. Its theoretical background is based on the combination of K. Dobbelaere's concept of secularization with the sociopolitical conflict model as defined by P. S. Gorski. The role of religious ideas, practices and institutions is transformed in the process of societal modernization and functional differentiation. New, non-religious worldviews are developed. In the process of mutual interaction of secular worldviews with religion, religious elements become integral part of discourses within the developing sub-systems of politics, education, economics, etc. It leads to the situation of persisting importance of religious ideas at the societal level, where religious phenomena continue to be discussed. The concepts of the Czech national identity incorporate religious elements under the conditions of religious monopoly in the Empire of Austria-Hungary. The anti-clerical or anti-Catholic concepts of national history appear at the societal level, while people tend to embrace the dominant form of religion connected to the state system at the individual level. Individual religious affiliation reveals increasing complexity with the end of religious monopoly, with the creation of the independent Czechoslovakia in 1918 and under the situation of religious pluralism. At the individual level the Roman Catholic Church continues to dominate religious life of the Czechs, nevertheless the declared church membership gradually decreases. Since religious phenomena have become incorporated into secular worldviews, such as into the concepts of national identity, religion persists at the societal level.

Keywords

Czech Republic; National identity; Roman Catholic Church; Secularization; Sociology of religion

Topic of the Presentation and Research Question

In this paper I would like to further develop my research on the topic of the position of religion in the modern Czech society. I formulated basic principles of my research on this topic in cooperation with Dušan Lužný in our paper "Religion and Politics in the Czech Republic: The Roman Catholic Church and the State".² The main argument of my approach to the topic of religion in the Czech society can be summarized as follows: religion is not disappearing from the Czech society and culture, and it becomes involved in public debates both in historical and contemporary perspectives.³

This time I intend to focus on the issue of the role of religion⁴ in the Czech society from the perspective of the process of defining Czech national identity. The purpose of my presentation consists in answering the following question: what is the role of religion in the process of defining Czech national identity? This is connected to the other issues: what is the role of religion, of Christianity – and particularly of the Roman Catholic Church – in the narratives on the Czech past? What are the historical roots of the supposed decline of religion in the modern Czech society?

Theoretical Background and Method

The topic of this paper cannot be treated without closer look on the topic of secularization. Secularization in its broadest meaning can be defined as the process in which religious thinking, practice and institutions lose their social significance.⁵ I consider the process of secularization rather as the process of diachronic *transformation* of religious thinking, practice and institutions in modern societies. In my opinion, the idea of "decline" of religion reflects the political project of "secularization thesis": this is based on the notion of advancement of reason and science leading to the inevitable "decline" and disappearance of "irrational", "superstitious" and "religious" in the future of the humankind.⁶ Therefore the concept of secularization in social sciences should be based rather on the perspective of transformation of religion together with the process of societal modernization and functional differentiation of the secular domains. As José Casanova puts it:

(...) the core and the central thesis of the theory of secularization is the conceptualization of the process of societal modernization as a process of functional differentiation and emancipation of the secular spheres — primarily the state, the economy, and science — from the religious sphere and the concomitant differentiation and specialization of religion within its own newly found religious sphere.⁷

Within the context of the Czech society and culture we can observe the historical process within which religious

sphere – the roles attributed to religious thinking, practice and institutions – is transformed together with the development of secular domains of the society.

From the historical and contemporary perspectives, Christianity can be seen as the dominant form of religion in the Czech lands. Various Christian churches and denominations – above all the Roman Catholic Church and the Roman Catholicism – determine religious life of the Czechs, both from the synchronic and diachronic point of view. In connection to the issue of the process of defining national identity in the Czech lands, the role of Christianity in general and of the Roman Catholic Church in particular have been assessed and evaluated many times by several authors.⁸ Some authors embrace the idea that contemporary shape of religious life in the Czech lands results largely from the processes of defining and re-producing national identity of the Czechs.⁹ I will primarily pay attention to the role of the Roman Catholic Church (hereinafter referred to as “the Church”) in the process of defining Czech national identity and I will examine various ideas connected to the role of Christianity in the debates on national identity of the Czech people. For this purpose I will use the method of historical analysis based on various resources: I will discuss statistical data, literary texts on the topic of religion, political essays and programs and also secondary resources treating the topic of historical development of religion in the Czech lands.

As we shall see, in the case of the Czech lands the development of social and cultural context within which religion can be situated is rather complex. In order to describe and analyze the process in which the roles of religion changes in modern societies, it is vital to find a theoretical background allowing us to embrace the complexity of the process. From this point of view and for the sake of successfully analyzing the role of religion in the Czech society, I have already pointed out¹⁰ the usefulness of the theoretical model of secularization presented by Karel Dobbelaere.¹¹ Since the process of secularization must be seen in its complexity as a multi-dimensional set of phenomena, Karel Dobbelaere introduces the following three types or levels of secularization: societal, organizational, and individual. Societal secularization can be seen as the result of the process of functional differentiation, rationalization and development of social sub-systems connected to modernization.¹² Religion loses its exclusive function of societal legitimization as competing non-religious, secular ideologies or world-views are developed and popularized. New, non-religious institutions in charge of different social sub-systems are established and the Church loses its control over the newly established institutions,¹³ whether it is politics, education, health care and social services, economy or science. To put it plainly: “Religion becomes one sub-system alongside others and loses its overarching claim.”¹⁴ The process of societal secularization brings about the polarization of religion and society, and the polarization is accompanied by demonopolization of religious traditions and leads to a pluralistic situation, in which religions have to be marketed.¹⁵

On the organizational level of secularization religious bodies themselves are driven to rationalize. They adapt to the new pluralistic situation by organizational changes within themselves.¹⁶ Speaking on organizational secularization, Dobbelaere claims that the perspective on this topic should be broadened. Inspired by Berger’s “Sacred Canopy”, Dobbelaere makes us aware that religion may bear the seeds of secularization within itself.¹⁷ Dobbelaere emphasizes¹⁸ Berger’s remark that the roots of societal secularization lies in the very Christian worldview, in the Biblical tradition: from this point of view, Christianity is seen as “its own gravedigger”.¹⁹

On the individual level, the involvement of individuals in churches and denominations declines: “Individual secularization refers to individual behavior and measures the degree of normative integration in religious bodies.”²⁰ The “liminal” events of the individual life cycle such as births or burials cease to be sacralized and the individual tendency to rejection of religious norms and practices increases.²¹

It is vital to emphasize that all three types or levels of secularization must be seen as reciprocal, as mutually interconnected, and, according to Dobbelaere:

By distinguishing organizational secularization and individual secularization from one another and from societal secularization, we are in a better position to study the empirical relationships between societal secularization and organizational secularization; between societal secularization and individual secularization; and between individual secularization and organizational secularization.²²

My enquiry in this paper will be primarily concerned with the first, societal level of secularization from the diachronic perspective, in connection to the concept of the nation and national identity in the Czech lands. Nevertheless I will also briefly touch the subject of individual and organizational levels of secularization.

At this point, it is important to notice that in the process of societal secularization, religion becomes not only one of the multiple sub-systems, but also that the other, newly defined and developing sub-systems seek and define the ways to “negotiate” their relation to the sub-system that can be labeled as “religious”. If perceived this way, it is impossible to examine religious sphere without considering its relations and connections to the other spheres of socio-cultural system. Religious domain must be examined in terms of its relations to the spheres of e.g. politics, economy, education, etc. In my paper, I will deal with the interaction of religion and politics in connection to the topic of Czech national and cultural identity and in connection to the position of religious ideas within the historical process of formulating this identity (or rather identities).

Talal Asad observes that modern nationalism quite naturally draws on pre-existing languages and practices, of course including those we can label as “religious”.²³ This perspective allows us to explain why religious ideas and concepts become discussed within secular nationalism and, perhaps, why nationalist ideologies often include elements and motives originated in religious systems. It is obvious that various socio-cultural domains, institutions, competing world-views (both religious and secular), and their proponents, interact with each other. They influence each other reciprocally. Obviously the process is rather complex and it would be inappropriate to simply assume that nationalism should be seen as religion, or that it has been shaped by religion.²⁴

Miroslav Hroch claims that historical phenomena such as various symbols, values, stereotypes or historical narratives pre-existing the formation of modern nations become integrated into the process of nation formation at the end of 18th and in the 19th century.²⁵ Hroch observes that the very existence of such symbols, values, stereotypes or narratives has been independent from the wishes or plans of the actors involved in the process of nation formation. Even though the so-called nationalists often apply such phenomena in their concepts of nation-building ideologies or political programs, they re-interpret them and treat them in innovative contexts, different from the contexts in which such phenomena historically originated. From this point of view, it is not surprising that various phenomena originated in religious discourse are discussed in connection to the process of nation building in the Czech lands.

For the purpose of our research, it is vital to examine the historical process of mutual influences and relations between religious and political sphere in the Czech lands. In order to pursue such an analysis, the fusion of sociological and historical perspectives is inevitable. Broadly speaking, historians often ignore sociologists and *vice-versa*, but there are theoretical concepts or models combining both approaches. For the purpose of my enquiry, the concept of the *sociopolitical conflict model* (SPCM) can be applied. The SPCM has been coined by Philip S. Gorski²⁶ and based on the approach of David Martin²⁷ and Hugh McLeod.²⁸ Gorski²⁹ sees the SPCM as an interpretative framework elaborated by a loose-knit group of scholars rather than as a theoretical model in the proper sense of the word. The SPCM applies many terms similar to religious economies model, such as “competition” or “pluralism”, but their understanding of the terms is broader. It is understood rather as “competition of worldviews” and churches and denominations compete not only among themselves, but also with secular, non-religious worldviews.³⁰ For the purpose of the analysis of relationship between religion and political spheres, the SPCM seems to be promising, since it focuses on the competition coming from non-religious movements rather than from the other churches.³¹ Gorski summarizes the main argument of the SPCM as follows:

In situations of religious monopoly, church and state will tend to become closely identified with one another, and social protest and partisan opposition will tend to evolve in an anticlerical or anti-Christian direction; a high level of religious disengagement is the result. In situations of religious pluralism, by contrast, in which some churches and church leaders are institutionally and politically independent of the state and the ruling elite, opposition to the existing regime did not automatically translate into opposition to the religion per se, and could even be expressed in religious terms; here, the degree of religious disengagement is likely to be lower.³²

In connection with the topic of this presentation, one of the assets of the sociopolitical conflict model can be seen as particularly promising: it is its emphasis on the relationship and influence of the complex social sub-systems of religions and politics. David Martin writes on the isomorphism of politics and religion,³³ and the SPCM allows us to follow the historical context of this isomorphism.

It is not possible for me to discuss now the scholarship on the topic of religion and national identity in the Czech society in details.³⁴ Let me mention at least two most recent publications treating this issue.

In her recently published monograph on contemporary Czech society and religion, Dana Hamplová treats the topic of “Czech ‘atheism’ and its specifics”.³⁵ According to Hamplová, the Czechs are particularly indifferent towards organized, institutionalized religions and this unconcern is seen mainly as a result of Czech nationalism and its interpretation of medieval Hussite reformation movement.³⁶ Indeed, the question of interpreting the past and the role of the Hussite movement constitute a key element in the debates on Czech national identity. Nevertheless the assertion on the secular character of the Czech society is oversimplified, even misguided. Religion not only preserves an important place in the public sphere of the Czech society,³⁷ but also, from diachronic point of view, constituted a pivotal element in the debates on the Czech national identity.

Another analysis of secularism in the Czech society has been published by Petr Pabian.³⁸ In his article on the roots and forms of Czech secularism, Petr Pabian claims that Czech secularism does not result from the process of constructing Czech national identity.³⁹ In his “alternative story of the Czech secularity”,⁴⁰ Pabian puts emphasize on the necessity to examine the inner conflicts within the diverse segments of the Czech society and he also draws upon the work of David Martin.⁴¹ According to my opinion, the role of the debates on religion in the process of defining Czech national identity influenced the position of religion within Czech society. Even though I do not agree with Pabian at this point, his analysis brings another important assets, e.g. in its stress on the necessity to distinguish the diversity of ideas and practices within Czech Catholicism itself. Pabian makes us aware of the existence of competing opinions on the role of religion in the debates on Czech national identity.⁴² Unlike Pabian I am convinced that the debates on religion in the process of defining Czech national identity influenced heavily the actual form of Czech secularism. Nevertheless it must be said that the role of “nationalization” of Czech society during the 19th and 20th century cannot be considered the one and only reason of the contemporary form of Czech secularism.

After summarizing the options of theoretical approach to the topic, let’s turn our attention to the historical process of secularization in the Czech lands.

Secularization in the Czech Lands from the Historical Perspective

At the individual level of secularization, we can observe the decline in declared religious affiliation to the Church. According to the national censuses, the dominant religious affiliation in the Czech Republic today is Roman Catholicism. In the most recent census of 2011, the total number of 1,082,463 respondents declared their membership in the Church, that is almost 74 % of all organized believers and 10,4 % of the total population.⁴³ As the statistical data reveal, in the modern history of the Czech lands the number of the Church members gradually decreases. The 19th century censuses show the overwhelming dominance of the Roman Catholic believers: the available data from the

period between 1869 and 1910 reveal that approximately 95% of the inhabitants of the Czech lands ascribed to the Church.⁴⁴ This situation can be clearly perceived in connection to the existence of religious monopoly in the Empire of Austria-Hungary. The data on individual religious affiliation show a radical change with the origin of the new independent Czechoslovak state, connected to the end of monopoly and to the establishment of the pluralistic situation. The membership of the Church dropped significantly to approximately 82% of the total population in 1921 and to approximately 78% in 1930.⁴⁵

Of course, relatively high level of secularity at the individual level has probably multiple reasons,⁴⁶ without any doubt it must be seen in connection with the process of establishing Czech national identity and with the struggles on the Czech national and cultural self-determination. From this perspective, the role of Christianity in general and of the Roman Catholic Church in particular in the process of establishing the modern Czech nation and national state is worth mentioning. Broadly speaking, the role of the Roman-Catholic Church in the process of establishing the Czech nation is evaluated to be rather negative from the point of view of the Czech nation builders of the 19th and of the beginning of the 20th century. This fact has significant historical reasons. The rigid state politics of the first half of the 19th century sought for the control over all spheres of the society, including religion. The state prohibited the church administrative from direct contact with the Roman Curia and the priests were considered “state officials in churches”; from the point of view of the state, the Church formed a special administrative unit controlling the spiritual life of the imperial subjects.⁴⁷ The Austrian-Hungarian emperor Franz Josef I aimed to the “unity” or “alliance of throne and altar”,⁴⁸ pursuing the politics of his predecessors.

The situation of *de-facto* religious monopoly led to the development of anti-clerical or anti-catholic sentiments among an important part of Czech intellectuals and political leaders of the 19th century. The traditional concept of close cooperation between the Church and the ruler manifested in close cooperation between the ruling House of Habsburg and the Roman Catholic Church. It came to be seen as a barrier for the development of the Czech national identity and for the cultural, social and political emancipation of the Czech people. It was apparently the opinion of a significant part of the Czech society who perceived the Roman Catholic Church as “anti-Czech” and, on the contrary, praised the tradition of medieval Czech reformation movement (the Hussite movement) as of the pillars of Czech national identity.⁴⁹

Even in the second half of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century, it is important to keep in mind the differences between Bohemia and Moravia. In Bohemia the measure of formal Catholicism and disrespect toward the Roman Catholic Church was considerably higher and stronger than in the Moravian part of the Czech lands. Moravia still retains its Catholic character, at least to a certain extent.⁵⁰ This difference obviously represents an interesting topic for further research.

It must be said that the nativists of the 18th century did not consider the role of the Catholic Church to be negative,⁵¹ many of them being Catholic clerics and scholars themselves, and this attitude does not particularly change in the first decades of the 19th century. Later, in the course of the development of the Czech nationalist movement in the 19th century, the Roman Catholic Church came to be perceived as a safeguard of the conservative, repressive powers preventing the national development of the Czech people. In the understanding of the proponents of the Czech national identity, the conservative powers restricted the development of the Czech national self-awareness. The Czech religious reformation and the Hussite movement of the 15th century come to be stressed by many Czech thinkers as the most significant period of Czech national history. It is possible to mention e.g. František Palacký (1798–1876), the so called “Father of the Nation” who can be seen as the founding father of the Czech national myth or Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk (1850–1937), known as the “President Liberator”, the first president of the independent Czechoslovakia. Both thinkers perceived the Hussite reformation as the most glorious period of Czech national history.⁵² Even though there were alternative views of the concept of Czech history that did not evaluate the role of the Roman Catholic Church negatively,⁵³ the anti-Catholic opinion prevailed.

The anti-Catholic concept of Czech history can be summarized as follows: after the glorious period of the Hussite movement and the Czech reformation, the nation declined with the establishment of the Habsburg monarchy and particularly with the debacle of the Bohemian Revolt against Habsburg rule in 1618–1620. The subsequent Baroque period together with the governmentally supported dominance of the Roman Catholic Church is evaluated as the “the Dark Age” of Czech national history.

There is a quite clear historical image of the Roman Catholic Church in the collective memory⁵⁴ of the Czech people: the Czech nation is oppressed and exploited by the outdated, “corrupted and rotten” Habsburg monarchy. As Karel Kramář (1860–1937), the first Czechoslovak prime minister, put it: “The monarchy of Habsburg has collapsed like an edifice which was rotten inside and there was nothing to keep it standing”.⁵⁵ In this imagery, the Czech nation is oppressed by Austrians or “Germans” who are non-native to the Czech lands.⁵⁶ And, last but not least, the Czech nation is oppressed by the Roman Catholic Church, its clerics and prelates who are, in this imagery, connected to the other oppressive forces by providing them with legitimization and cooperating with them.⁵⁷

As Karel Havlíček Borovský (1821–1856), a popular Czech journalist, poet and politician, put it in his satiric poem “The Baptism of Saint Vladimír”:

For us any Lord God will do,
As long as we have one
To keep the farmers
In due respect.

With them all discipline
Will soon turn to mist and fume

Once they have no one
To pray for their Tsar.⁵⁸

“The Czech national myth” was created in accordance with these ideas and thus conceived in the development of the Czech nativist movement at the end of 18th and especially during the 19th century.

It became widespread with the creation of independent Czechoslovakia in 1918. The slogan “Away from Rome” was propagated by the important proponents of the Czech political elite and this slogan merged with the antagonism towards Habsburg dynasty.

It is important to emphasize that the social and historical context of the last decades before the end of the Empire and before the end of the religious monopoly was far more complex. As for the putative Catholic loyalty to the Habsburg monarchy, the real situation at the end of the World War I seems to be more complex than often depicted. According to Pavel Marek⁵⁹ it is vital to reflect the diversity of opinions among representatives and members of the Roman Catholic Church in the Czech lands. The high ranking members of the Roman Catholic clergy, bishops, etc. were mostly loyal to Habsburgs. Political representatives of Catholicism and common members of the Church often agreed and sympathized with Czech political parties. According to Marek, the thesis of “pro-Habsburg” position of the Roman Catholic Church in the Czech lands is oversimplified.⁶⁰

Nevertheless the anti-Catholic sentiments become more popular. As Ján Mišovič puts it in his account of the history of religion in the Czech lands: “The motto of the period was: ‘Away from Vienna, away from Rome’.”⁶¹

It is important to emphasize that even though the politics of an important part of the Czech political elite has been, generally speaking, anticlerical, or rather anti-Catholic, it cannot be simply labelled as anti-Christian. Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk, the first president of the independent Czechoslovakia, declared this in his well-known statement: “Jesus, not Caesar, I repeat, that is the purpose of our history and democracy.”⁶²

The stereotypes were repeated and further developed by the Communists after they took power in 1948.⁶³ They used and dispensed these ideas supplemented with the Marxist-Leninist promotion of atheism. The Roman Catholic Church was persecuted because of its “reactionary” and “anti-popular” character.⁶⁴

Conclusion

As the example of the Czech socio-cultural environment reveals, the role of religion in the modern Czech history is formed together with the process of defining Czech national and cultural identity. It follows the basic premises of the sociopolitical conflict model as defined by Gorski. The application of the SPCM leads us to describe and analyze the process of secularization in its historical context, together with the analysis of mutual influences between the spheres of religion and politics. In situation of religious monopoly when the official state politics *de facto* incorporated the Roman Catholic Church into its power structures, the social protest connected to the development of the Czech national movement leads to the anticlerical or anti-Catholic sentiments. On the societal level competing worldviews are developed and they “negotiate” their relationship to the Christian, i.e. Catholic worldview. Therefore some religious ideas are incorporated to the newly established concept of Czech national history, e.g. the importance of the Hussite reformation movement.⁶⁵ Nevertheless, as the statistical data reveal, individual affiliation to the Roman Catholicism prevails. With the radical change of the political environment accompanying the end of the Empire of Austria-Hungary and with the end of religious monopoly, the secularization at the individual level becomes apparent. Development of religious pluralism leads to the decline of individual affiliation to the Church we observe up to the present time. This tendency has been further enforced by the Communist regime with its oppression of religion in general. Nevertheless religious themes prevail at the societal level: as it has become integral part of the narratives on the Czech national history, it continues to be discussed on the political level even today. The distinction of the levels of secularization by Karel Dobbelaere allows us to examine and analyze the differences in the process of secularization on the respective levels. It allows us to conceptualize the endurance of religious phenomena at the societal level where religion continues to be discussed, and, at the same time, the decline of religious affiliation at the individual level. The sociopolitical conflict model as defined by Gorski makes us aware of the necessity to examine the process of secularization in its overall historical context and to analyze the mutual relationship and influences of religious and political domains.

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² Jakub Havlíček and Dušan Lužný, “Religion and Politics in the Czech Republic: The Roman Catholic Church and the State,” *International Journal of Social Science Studies* 1, no. 2 (2013): 190-204. doi: 10.11114/ijss.v1i2.145.

³ Cf. Ibid.

⁴ For the purpose of my paper, I apply the classical sociological definition of religion by Émile Durkheim. Religion is defined as: “(...) a unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things, that is to say, things set apart and surrounded by prohibitions – beliefs and practices that unite its adherents in a single moral community called a church.”. See Émile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2004), 46.

⁵ Cf. Bryan R. Wilson, *Religion in Secular Society: A Sociological Comment* (London, UK: C. A. Watts, 1966), xiv.

⁶ Cf. Havlíček and Lužný, , “Religion and Politics in the Czech Republic,” 192.

⁷ José Casanova, *Public Religions in the Modern World* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1994), 19.

⁸ See note no. 34.

⁹ E.g. Zdeněk R. Nešpor, “Ústřední vývojové trendy současné české religiozity” in *Jaká víra? Současná česká religiozita/spiritualita v pohledu kvalitativní sociologie náboženství*, ed. Zdeněk R. Nešpor, 21-37 (Praha, Czech Republic: Sociologický ústav AVČR).

¹⁰ Cf. Havlíček and Lužný, , “Religion and Politics in the Czech Republic”.

¹¹ Karl Dobbelaere, *Secularization: An Analysis on Three Levels* (Brussels, Belgium: Peter Lang, 2002).

¹² Ibid., 24.

¹³ Ibid., 29.

¹⁴ Ibid., 24.

¹⁵ Ibid., 35. Dobbelaere refers here to Peter Berger, *Sacred Canopy: Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion* (Garden City, NY: Anchor Books, 1967), 138: The pluralistic situation leads to the situation in which “the religious tradition, which previously could be authoritatively imposed, now has to be *marketed*. It must be ‘sold’ to a clientele that is no longer constrained to ‘buy’.”

¹⁶ Dobbelaere, *Secularization*, 35.

¹⁷ Ibid., 35-38.

¹⁸ Ibid., 37.

¹⁹ Cf. Berger, *Sacred Canopy*, 129.

²⁰ Dobbelaere, *Secularization*, 25.

²¹ Ibid., 23, 38-39, 137.

²² Ibid., 25.

²³ Talal Asad, “Religion, Nation-State, Secularism,” in *Nation and Religion: Perspectives on Europe and Asia*, ed. Peter van der Veer and Hartmut Lehmann, 178–196 (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999).

²⁴ Cf. Ibid., 187.

²⁵ Miroslav Hroch, *Národy nejsou dílem náhody. Příčiny a předpoklady utváření moderních evropských národů* (Praha, Czech Republic: SLON, 2009).

²⁶ Philip S. Gorski, “Historicizing the Secularization Debate. An Agenda for Research”, in *Handbook of the Sociology of Religion*, ed. Michele Dillon, 110-122 (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

²⁷ David Martin, *General Theory of Secularization* (Oxford, UK: Blackwell, 1978).

²⁸ Hugh McLeod, *European Religion in the Age of the Great Cities, 1830–1930* (London, UK: Routledge, 1995). Idem, *Religion and Society in England, 1850–1914* (New York, NY: St. Martin’s Press, 1996).

²⁹ Gorski, “Historicizing the Secularization Debate”, 116.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Cf. *ibid.*

³² Ibid.

³³ David Martin, *On Secularization. Towards a Revised General Theory* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2005), 47.

³⁴ Historical context of the role of religion in the Czech society has been discussed e.g. by Zdeněk R. Nešpor (*Příliš slábi ve víře: Česká neřeligiózita v evropském kontextu* [Praha, Czech Republic: Kalich, 2010]), Petr Fiala (*Laboratoř sekularizace. Náboženství a politika v ne-náboženské společnosti: český případ* [Praha, Czech Republic: Centrum pro studium demokracie a kultury, 2007]), David Václavík (*Náboženství a moderní česká společnost* [Praha, Czech Republic: Grada, 2010]).

³⁵ Dana Hamplová, *Náboženství v české společnosti na prahu 3. tisíciletí*, (Praha, Czech Republic: Karolinum, 2013), 23-36.

³⁶ Ibid. 23.

³⁷ Cf. Havlíček and Lužný, “Religion and Politics in the Czech Republic”.

³⁸ Petr Pabian, “Alternativní příběh české sekularity,” *Sociální studia* 10, no. 3 (2013), 85-105.

³⁹ Idem., 88-89.

⁴⁰ Idem.

⁴¹ Idem.

⁴² Idem, 90-92.

⁴³ Czech Statistical Office – Český statistický úřad, *Sčítání lidu, domů a bytů. Náboženská víra (Census of population and housing – Religious belief)*, 2011, <http://vdb.czso.cz/sldbvo/#!stranka=podle-tematu&tu=30719&th=&v=&vo=null&vsouzemi=null&void=> (accessed February 20, 2014).

⁴⁴ Vladimír Srb, *1000 let obyvatelstva českých zemí* (Praha, Czech Republic: Karolinum, 2004), 160.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 161.

⁴⁶ Cf. Pabian, “Alternativní příběh české sekularity.”

⁴⁷ Jitka Lněničková, *Čechy v době předbřeznové, 1792-1848* (Praha, Czech Republic: Libri, 1999), 250-254.

⁴⁸ Hubert Jedin, *History of the Church Volume IX. The Church in the Industrial Age* (London, UK: Burns and Oates, 1981), 55.

⁴⁹ Cf. Zdeněk R. Nešpor, *Ne/náboženské naděje intelektuálů. Vývoj české sociologie náboženství v mezinárodním a interdisciplinárním kontextu* (Praha, Czech Republic: Scriptorium, 2008), 46-48.

⁵⁰ Cf. Fiala, *Laboratoř sekularizace*.

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- ⁵¹ Cf. František Kutnar, *Obrozenské vlastenectví a nacionalismus. Příspěvek k národnímu a společenskému obsahu češství doby obrozenské* (Praha, Czech Republic: Karolinum, 2003), 84-86.
- ⁵² Cf. Nešpor, *Ne/náboženské naděje intelektuálů*, 62-63.
- ⁵³ See Miloš Havelka, *Spor o smysl českých dějin. 1895 – 1938* (Praha, Czech Republic: Torst).
- ⁵⁴ Collective memory (see Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory* [Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1992]) is connected with the membership in a specific social group which provides ideas and concepts that are to be remembered, and – often even more importantly – to be forgotten. The collective memory is, of course, constituted under specific historical circumstances.
- ⁵⁵ Karel Kramář, *Pět přednášek o zahraniční politice* (Praha, Czech Republic: Pražská akciová tiskárna, 1922), 70.
- ⁵⁶ Cf. Jan Křen and Eva Broklová, eds., *Obraz Němců, Rakouska a Německa v české společnosti 19. a 20. století* (Praha, Czech Republic: Karolinum, 1998).
- ⁵⁷ Dana Hamplová and Zdeněk R. Nešpor, “Invisible Religion in a ‘Non-believing’ Country: The Case of the Czech Republic”, *Social Compass* 56, no.4 (2009), 1-17.
- ⁵⁸ Karel Havlíček Borovský, *Stokrát plivni do moře* (Praha, Czech Republic: Československý spisovatel, 1990), 175. Translation: Courtesy of Pavel Drábek
- ⁵⁹ Pavel Marek, *České schisma. Příspěvek k dějinám reformního hnutí katolického duchovenstva v letech 1917–1924* (Rosice, Czech Republic: Gloria, 2000).
- ⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 12-16.
- ⁶¹ Ján Mišovič, *Víra v dějinách země koruny české* (Praha, Czech Republic: SLON, 2001), 75.
- ⁶² Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk, *Světová revoluce. Za války a ve válce, 1914–1918. Vzpomíná a uvažuje T. G. Masaryk* (Praha, Czech Republic: Orbis a Čin, 1933) 608.
- ⁶³ Cf. Hamplová and Nešpor, “Invisible Religion”.
- ⁶⁴ Karel Kaplan, *Stát a církev v Československu, 1948–1953* (Brno, Czech Republic: Doplněk, 1993). Cf. Mišovič, *Víra v dějinách*, 90-101.
- ⁶⁵ The limited extent of this paper does not allow me to treat the topic of the Catholic concept of Czech national history, e.g. the traditions connected to St. Wenceslas or Saints Methodius and Cyril.