

KOSMAS



N° 29.1

by the Czechoslovak Society of Arts and Sciences (SVU)

KOSMAS ISSN 1056-005X

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Kosmas: Czechoslovak and Central European Journal

(Formerly *Kosmas: Journal of Czechoslovak and Central European Studies*, Vols. 1-7, 1982-1988, and *Czechoslovak and Central European Journal*, Vols. 8-11, (1989-1993).

Kosmas is a peer reviewed, multidisciplinary journal that focuses on Czech, Slovak and Central European Studies. It is published bi-annually by the Czechoslovak Society of Arts and Sciences (SVU).

You can find further information about *Kosmas* on the web at the newly-revised SVU website, <http://www.svu2000.org/kosmas>.

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From the Editor

Hugh L. Agnew

This volume of *Kosmas* marks the first issue of volume 29. The journal continues to need contributors and readers—I hope that those of you who receive it and enjoy it might consider preparing something for its pages. We are multi-disciplinary, and publish in every scientific or academic discipline (as long as there is some connection in subject-matter or authorship to Czech, Slovak, and Central European studies), as well as welcoming memoirs, research notes, belles-lettres, and the like.

The volume in your hands contains a number of articles ranging across recent Central European history. Jaroslav Rokoský shares with us (with thanks to Professor Daniel Miller for editorial assistance) the results of his painstaking research into the political context of the 1935 Czechoslovak presidential elections, constituting part one of a longer work, the continuation of which will be published in the next issue of *Kosmas*. Renata Ferklová discusses the relationship between two significant literary figures of the twentieth century, Zdeněk Kalista and František Křelina, who went from being neighbors in the same district of Prague to sharing the experience of jail under the communist regime. Thanks to Mary Hrabík Šámal for translating this article. Zdeněk V. David continues his explorations of the influence of leading thinkers of the twentieth century on Czechoslovak politics and culture, this time with an exploration of Jan Patočka's influence on Václav Havel, in a paper that was first presented at the SVU's regional conference at the University of Virginia in 2015. A newcomer to the pages of *Kosmas*, Michael Peiffer, provides an exploration of the themes of mourning and loss in compositions from the two great lions of Czech music in the later nineteenth century, Bedřich Smetana and Antonín Dvořák, a paper that started life as a research assignment in a class taught by another *Kosmas* and SVU conference contributor, Professor Judith Mabary. We hope that he will be able to continue his interest in musicology and Czech and Slovak studies.

SVU member and a vice-president on the Executive Board in this current term, David Chroust, provides an essay on the use of Czech Radio's voluminous online sound files as a way to encourage language learners to continue to perfect their Czech (and other) language skills. This paper began as a presentation to the SVU World Congress in Plzeň in 2014. Finally, Miloslav Rechcigl, Jr., shares some further genealogical sleuthing in returning to an issue he had partially treated earlier, the possible Bohemian/Czech origins of Martinus Hermanzen Hoffman, sometimes referred to as one of the earliest immigrants to the Americas from the Czech lands. Book reviews of works on various themes of Czech and Central European history round out the volume, ranging from Hussite times to the twentieth century, and from scholarly biographies to novels, by Jiřina Šiklová, Tracy Burns, Hana Waisserová, and Ota Pavlíček. The latter reviews a new book by the guest editor of the previous volume of *Kosmas*, devoted to Jan Hus on the

anniversary of his death at Constance, Thomas Fudge, who provides a response to some of Dr. Pavlíček's comments to complete this issue.

ARTICLES

Presidential Succession and the Republican Party in the Czechoslovak First Republic: The Prelude to the Presidential Election of 1935¹

Jaroslav Rokoský

After the founding of Czechoslovakia, on October 28, 1918, the presidency of the state became linked with the personality of Tomáš G. Masaryk (1850-1937), who was, for many, the archetype of a wise and fair ruler. When a scandal erupted in 1923 involving Karel Prášek (1868-1932), his colleagues in the Republican Party of Agriculturalists and Small Farmers (formerly known as the Czech Agrarians), the country's strongest political party, witnessed the extraordinary authority of the President-Liberator and his emphasis on ethical principles. There were reasonable grounds to suspect that Prášek, then chairman of the Senate, was involved in what was known as the Alcohol Affair. Prášek stepped down a few weeks after Masaryk, on New Year's Day 1924, had refused to shake hands with him. In this dispute, Antonín Švehla (1870-1933), the Republican chairman, backed the president.²

The degree of authority Masaryk enjoyed corresponded to the strength he had as president. Despite the limits the constitution placed on him, Masaryk took every opportunity to influence internal and foreign policy. Many politicians sought to further curtail the next president's powers by electing either a nonpolitical figure or someone who had less political clout. That would exclude the candidacy of Masaryk's associate, Edvard Beneš (1884-1948), who long had served as Czechoslovakia's foreign minister. Masaryk, however, was determined to have Beneš succeed him, even if that meant staying in office longer than he had expected and well after his health had begun to deteriorate. In the end, Masaryk's resolve and Beneš's political adroitness managed to secure Beneš's election as president, despite the resistance of a large segment of the Republican party and politicians in other parties, all of whom either had personal misgivings about Beneš, disliked his politics, or felt that they could benefit more from a head of state who was more pliable and more accommodating than Beneš.

¹ This article is based on my chapter "Prezidentská volba 1935: agrárníci versus Beneš," in *Rudolf Beran a jeho doba: Vzestup a pád agrární strany* (Prague: Ústav pro studium totalitních režimů and Vyšehrad, 2011), 175-218. A companion article, titled "Presidential Succession and the Republican Party in the Czechoslovak First Republic: The Election of Edvard Beneš as Czechoslovak President in 1935," will appear in the next issue of *Kosmas*. I wish to thank Daniel E. Miller (University of West Florida, Pensacola) for his assistance in editing this article.

² To a certain extent, these events suited Švehla because he was at odds with Prášek, a founding member of the party and the leader of its conservative wing. Prášek opposed the Republicans' coalition with socialist parties that Švehla had constructed. In December 1924, Prášek left the Republican party, and in the spring of the following year, he lost his mandate as senator. After his new party had failed in the 1925 parliamentary election, Prášek dissolved it and retired from public life. Dušan Uhlíř: "Dva směry v československém agrárním hnutí a rozchod Karla Práška s republikánskou stranou," *Sborník historický* 18 (1971): 113-148.

The Presidential Elections of Tomáš G. Masaryk

On November 14, 1918, immediately after the conclusion of the First World War, when Masaryk still was abroad, the Revolutionary National Assembly acclaimed him as president, and upon returning to Prague, he immediately assumed office.³ He was dissatisfied with the limited presidential powers of the provisional constitution and urged that the legislature strengthen them. Nonetheless, the new constitution of 1920 gave the president very little latitude. Masaryk left the formation of coalitions up to individual parties; however, he personally was engaged in the selection of individual ministers and actively influenced the final composition of governments. With Švehla's support, during the deliberations about the constitution, he also managed to reduce the age limit for presidential candidates to 35 years, so that Masaryk's young associate, Beneš, who was 35 years old when the legislature adopted the constitution, could succeed him as president.

The first Czechoslovak constitution, promulgated in February 1920, set the president's term of office at seven years, following the example of France. A joint meeting of deputies and senators convened solely to elect the president, who had to win a qualified majority of the total number of representatives of both chambers. The presidential election took place at a public session, without discussion, and with a paper ballot. The first round required a majority of three-fifths of the legislators present. If no candidate won, there was a second round. If there still was no victor, the two candidates with the highest number of votes went to a third round. Nobody, except for Masaryk, could stand for election more than twice.⁴

The first parliamentary election of May 1920 took place shortly before the second presidential election at the Rudolfinum, then the seat of Parliament. All the parties that had constructed the state, known as the state-building parties, agreed on Masaryk as their joint candidate; Professor August Naegle (1869-1932), who headed the German Prague University, ran against Masaryk for the German nationalistic parties and won 61 votes. The Communist politicians Alois Muna (1886-1943) and Antonín Janoušek (1877-1941) won just a few votes. Masaryk garnered a great majority—284 votes (there were 60 blank ballots).

In May 1927, Masaryk became the head of state for the third time, albeit under more complicated circumstances. A majority right-wing coalition ruled Czechoslovakia after the 1925 parliamentary election. Left-wing democratic parties had lost the election, which was a setback for the Castle (Hrad), that is, the president, leading politicians that were close to him, certain influential representatives of the economy, and a number of noted intellectuals and members

³ President Masaryk received the news of his election on November 16, 1918, while at the Lawyers Club in New York. The president's train arrived at Prague on December 21. On his way to the Prague Castle, the seat of Czechoslovak and later Czech presidents, Masaryk took his presidential oath in the Chamber of Deputies.

⁴ *Sbírka zákonů a nařízení*, Law 121 of 1920, March 6, 1920; and Jiří Kovtun, *Republika v nebezpečném světě: Éra prezidenta Masaryka 1918-1935* (Prague: Torst, 2005), 145-158.

of various associations. The Social Democrats, who had to cope with a newly strengthened Communist party, lost more than 50 seats. The Czechoslovak National Socialists, the Social Democrats' allies, also suffered an internal crisis that ended in the expulsion of their chairman, Jiří Stříbrný (1880-1955). Hrad supporters and opponents had emerged in the bourgeois parties, and backing for Masaryk was no longer as strong as in the previous years. The anti-Hrad wing in the Czechoslovak People's Party (Czechoslovak Populists) clearly demonstrated its dissatisfaction with Masaryk's position regarding the Church. It did not share Masaryk's affinity for the traditions of the Hussites, the forerunners of the Protestant Reformation, and reproached Masaryk for his quarrel with the Vatican. Its chairman, Msgr. Jan Šrámek (1870-1956), skillfully prevented these issues from dividing his party's endorsement of Masaryk. However, the president's strongest opponents were in the National Democratic party, under the leadership of Karel Kramář (1860-1937), notably those around František Hlaváček (1878-1974). Viktor Dyk (1877-1931), an influential National Democratic senator, even attempted to persuade Kramář to run against Masaryk, but he realistically declined. Likewise, the Hlinka Slovak People's party (Slovak Populists), which strove for political autonomy, was not pleased with Masaryk's candidacy. The German activist parties in the government, the Bund der Landwirte and the Christian Socialist Party, supported Masaryk, as did the German Social Democrats. By contrast, the German Nationalists were unwilling to vote for him. The same was true of the Czechoslovak Communists, the second largest party after the 1925 election.⁵

Masaryk was well aware of the distribution of political power and the various objections to him. "Viewed historically, the opposition against me is the continuation of prewar battles," Masaryk wrote to Švehla, a few days before the presidential election. "I fully understand the dislike of my reform efforts; it is always better for a reformer to be like Jan Hus, rather than a noble politician."⁶

The government coalition considered Švehla's candidacy, and Masaryk did not oppose it. The friendship between the president and the prime minister long had been more than merely a professional relationship. Both of them were devoted to their country, albeit their opinions often differed. The president was well aware that "Švehla has opposite views on the fundamental issues of private property and the further development of society, and he will, on principle, not yield an inch. If

⁵ Antonín Klimek described the background of Masaryk's third presidential election in *Boj o Hrad*, vol. 1: *Hrad a Pětka: Vnitropolitický vývoj Československa 1918-1926 na půdorysu zápasu o prezidentské nástupnictví* (Prague: Panevropa s.r.o. a Institut pro středoevropskou kulturu a politiku, 1996). See also Karel Kučera's samizdat publication "K pozadí prezidentské volby TGM (na okraj vzpomínek Julia Firta)," in *Sborník k 80. narozeninám Zdeňka Kalisty* (Prague: Univerzita Karlova, 1980), 158-192.

⁶ Tomáš G. Masaryk to Antonín Švehla, 15 May 1927, as quoted in Vladimír Dostál, *Antonín Švehla: Profil československého státníka* (Prague: Státní zemědělské nakladatelství, 1990): 188-189. Hus (c. 1369-1415) was a Czech religious reformer who challenged Catholic Church teachings and was burnt as a heretic at the Council of Constance.

he has to give in, he considers this to be just a temporary tactical move.”⁷ Obviously, both men’s positions on certain matters were clear-cut, yet they talked to each other in a calm and open way on the most divisive topics, and they endured their mutual disagreement in a gentlemanly manner. Masaryk had to concede to Švehla and the council of ministers several times. One example was the separation of Church and state, an idea that Masaryk endorsed but Švehla did not consider prudent at the time. By contrast, Masaryk made numerous suggestions that Švehla, a practical politician, enacted.

Since approximately the middle of the 1920s, the president saw Švehla as his successor, with Beneš following Švehla. Masaryk wrote, “as he does not speak languages [and] is not sociable, for appearances, he would have to be on good terms with Beneš, who would cater to appearances and foreign affairs. He is learning a little French. I didn’t request a final decision.”⁸ Some politicians said that Švehla was unknown abroad. Many could not imagine a president who swore, and others pointed out his poor health. Nevertheless, the main problem was that the Republican chairman was not eager to become president. His point of view was clear: the presidency was Masaryk’s alone.

Heated discussions took place in the political corridors, without the participation of the president, who was vacationing in the Mediterranean. Masaryk could afford the time off because Švehla, the recognized creator of Czechoslovakia’s domestic policy, was arranging his election.⁹ When Masaryk returned after a few weeks, Švehla was waiting for him at Lány, the presidential residence outside of Prague, to inform him that everything was prepared. On May 27, 1927, Masaryk was reelected for a third term. The only rival candidate was a Communist, Václav Šturm (1858-1939), who won 54 votes. Masaryk garnered 274 votes, and 104 ballots were blank. Masaryk realized that he owed a debt of gratitude to Švehla, and their friendship strengthened.¹⁰

Since Czechoslovakia’s inception, Švehla considered Masaryk’s respect and authority at home and abroad as fundamental preconditions for building the state. Hence, he was committed to Masaryk’s reelection. Švehla always set aside his own ambition, as he said, in his typical way, to the writer Karel Čapek (1890-

⁷ Jindřiška Smetanová, ed., *TGM: "Proč se neřekne pravda?": Ze vzpomínek dr. Antonína Šenka* (Prague: Nakladatelství Primus, 1996), 118.

⁸ “Moje prezidentství: Z pozůstalosti Prof. Dr. Borovičky,” in Dostál, *Antonín Švehla*, 190.

⁹ Daniel E. Miller, *Forging Political Compromise: Antonín Švehla and the Czechoslovak Republican Party 1918-1933*, Pitt Series on Russia and Eastern Europe (Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh University Press, 1999), 161-163.

¹⁰ Jaroslav Rokoský, “Tomáš G. Masaryk a Antonín Švehla: Přátelství a spory gentlemanů,” in *Masarykův sborník*, vol. 14: 2006-2008, ed. Jan Gebhart and Jan Kuklík (Prague: Masarykův ústav a Archiv AV ČR, v.v.i. and Ústav T. G. Masaryka, o.p.s., 2009), 71-108.

1938): “What a fuss about prestige! I can sit on a pile of manure if necessary, but the state must come off with flying colors. I am unaware of any other prestige.”¹¹

Masaryk’s fourth and last presidential election occurred seven years later. The ageing Masaryk did not want to stand for another term, but there was no other appropriate candidate. Švehla had died, and the political constellation for Beneš was unfavorable. Since there was a risk of a state crisis, Masaryk acquiesced to his reelection. Only one rival candidate, the Communist chairman Klement Gottwald (1896-1953), ran against him. The election took place on May 24, 1934, in Vladislav Hall of the Prague Castle. The Communists disrupted the ceremony by chanting “rather Lenin than Masaryk!” Upon the announcement of the results, they demonstratively left the hall. Masaryk won the largest number of votes in his career, with 327 deputies and senators voting for him. Gottwald won 38 votes, and only 53 ballots were blank. Two German negativist parties, the German National Socialist Workers’ Party and the German Nationalist Party, both of which authorities had dissolved in October 1933, did not participate in the election.

When the eighty-four-year-old president was taking his oath, he had to be given a cue. Masaryk was blind in one eye, and because of a recent stroke, his sight in the other eye was poor. Even before the election, he hardly had been able to come to the hall. Only the president’s closest aides knew of his broken health, which had deteriorated in the 1930s.¹² Masaryk accepted his election for the benefit of the state, while the political representatives elected him as a symbol of the republic. At a time when dictatorships and authoritarian regimes were emerging, Masaryk, more than anything else, was emblematic of Czechoslovak democracy.

Who Should Be Masaryk’s Successor?

In the middle of the 1930s, power correlations had changed. The Social Democrats had regained their strength, as did the Czechoslovak Populists, under Šrámek’s leadership. The issue of presidential succession dominated political discussions more than ever before, even though Masaryk’s health temporarily improved. After the 1935 parliamentary election, when Czechoslovak democratic parties across the political spectrum were surprised at the victory of the ultranationalist Sudeten German party (SdP) of Konrad Henlein (1898-1945), delaying the question of succession no longer was prudent. Masaryk was too old and frail to supply the dynamic leadership needed to resolve the mounting ethnic tensions in the state.

The Republicans, who were the largest political party in the governing coalition, dealt with the question at a difficult time. When Švehla died in December 1933, the party lost not only a clear presidential candidate and capable statesman, but its position in coalition politics was no longer as dominant as it had

¹¹ Karel Čapek, “Drobtý ze Švehlových hovorů,” in *Hovory s Antonínem Švehlou (a o něm)*, ed. Eva Pleskotová, Foreword by Václav Klaus (Prague: Nakladatelství Votobia, 2001), 19.

¹² Smetanová, *Ze vzpomínek Dr. Antonína Šenka*, 146-226.

been when the “peasant from Hostivař” was at the helm. The Republicans’ standpoint remained unchanged: they continued to oppose the idea of electing a new president while Masaryk was alive. They were confident that Masaryk’s lifetime title to the presidency was something a great majority of the country endorsed.¹³ The party’s leadership was reluctant to admit that Švehla’s death had cleared the way for the election of Beneš. In late August 1935, František Udržal (1866-1938), a supporter of the Hrad in the Republican party and former prime minister, visited Masaryk at Lány. After a long conversation between Udržal and the daughter of the president, Olga G. Masaryk (1891-1978), Udržal said that, given the situation in the Republican party, there was no guarantee of Beneš’s election.¹⁴

The foreign minister primarily relied on the support of Milan Hodža (1878-1944), who led the Slovak wing of the Republican party. On October 31, 1935, a few days before Hodža became prime minister, Masaryk received him at Lány and recommended Beneš as the next president. Everything appeared in order because Beneš and Hodža had made an agreement, at the beginning of the year, that Hodža would support Beneš for president, while Beneš would back Hodža as prime minister.¹⁵ Hodža had a strong position in Slovakia, his party, and the entire state. He had benefitted from Švehla’s knowledge that Prague could not dictate Slovak affairs, and the Republicans had no luminary to replace Hodža in Slovakia. With a bit of exaggeration, Hodža’s followers said: Slovakia—it is Hodža, and those who lay a finger on Hodža also lay a finger on Slovakia. The journalist Ferdinand Peroutka (1895-1978) wrote that Hodža skillfully used that fact: “He is aware that this is his forte, and feels free to put this on the agenda at the crucial moment. Hodža is a political temperament with a strong will to power.”¹⁶

Although Beneš did not wish to be elected against the wishes of the largest Czechoslovak state-building party, he was aware that serious objections to him existed among the Republicans, and he did not believe they would diminish in the coming years. Twelve years earlier, Švehla had turned down Masaryk’s suggestion that Beneš join the Republican party, so Beneš entered the National Socialist party, where he could advance his views. With respect to the public, Beneš could rely on his solid reputation, throughout Europe, as an excellent diplomat. In early September 1935, the League of Nations elected him, without opposition, as the president of the Sixteenth Assembly of the League of Nations. He and Masaryk were the leading representatives of the Hrad. Beneš had the

¹³ Mary Hrabik-Samal: “The Czechoslovak Republican Party of Smallholders and Farmers, 1918-1938” (Ph.D. dissertation, Pennsylvania State University, 1973).

¹⁴ Anna Gašparíková-Horáková, *U Masarykovcov: Spomienky osobnej archivárky T. G. Masaryka* (Prague: Ústav T. G. Masaryka; Bratislava: Historický ústav SAV, and Bratislava: Academic Electronic Press, 1995), 251.

¹⁵ Vladimír Dostál, *Agrární strana: Její rozmach a zánik* (Brno: Atlantis 1998), 187.

¹⁶ Ferdinand Peroutka, “Problém Hodža,” *Přítomnost*, 27 September 1928; and Vladimír Zuberec, “Čechoslovakismus agrárnej strany na Slovensku v rokoch 1919-1938,” *Historický časopis* 27 (1979): 515-532; and Ľubomír Lipták, et al., *Politické strany na Slovensku 1860-1989* (Bratislava: Archa, 1992).

support of Legionaries, the Teachers Federation, the Czechoslovak Sokol, and other influential organizations.¹⁷ Most important, Masaryk recommended Beneš, as his long-term aide and friend, to be his successor. Now, Beneš saw the political constellation, except for the disunited Republican party, as favorable, and he concluded that it was an opportune time to resolve the sensitive issue of presidential succession.

Minister Beneš Starts the Game

On Monday, November 18, 1935, Beneš arrived at Lány for lunch, after which he stayed with the president alone. Beneš noted that he had “explained to Mr. President that, after having agreed with Al. [Alice] Masaryk, J. [Jan] Masaryk, and a physician, I had told myself that the issue of the presidency ought to be tackled,” noting further that “the current situation makes it possible to tackle the issue.” He also told the president that they would continue to work, just like before. Masaryk answered that he was ill and that Beneš could not rely on his assistance, and that if all the preparations were in order, the process could begin immediately.¹⁸

The next day, Masaryk received Jan Malypetr (1873-1947), chairman of the Chamber of Deputies and a Republican supporter of the Hrad, who told the president that Rudolf Beran (1887-1954) had become chairman of the Republican party earlier that day. Malypetr raised the topic of Masaryk’s successor, pointing out that Beneš’s chance of winning the election was far from certain. Malypetr tried to persuade the president that he should not resign, that there could be no immediate resolution to the question of succession, and that attempting to do so would hamper budget discussions.¹⁹ This made the president uneasy, but Beneš maintained that, since the process already had begun and talks with other parties had progressed, the position of a single party should not be of concern. Beneš advised the president not to resign immediately but to stay the course and speak with Hodža, who, on November 5, had become prime minister and who could manage the Republican politicians. On Thursday, November 21, Hodža arrived at Lány for a five-o’clock meeting. Although Hodža, like Masaryk, professed the ideal of small daily cultural and economic deeds to the benefit of the nation (*drobná práce*) and cared about education, the president did not like Hodža.

¹⁷ See Karl Bosl, ed., *Die “Burg”: Einflussreiche politische Kräfte um Masaryk und Beneš. Vorträge der Tagung des Collegium Carolinum in Bad Wiessee am Tegernsee vom 23. bis 26. November 1972*, Bad Wiessee Tagungen des Collegium Carolinum, vols. 5-6 (Munich and Vienna: Oldenbourg Verlag, 1973-1974).

¹⁸ Prague, Archív Ústavu Tomáše Garrigua Masaryka (AÚTGM), Fond Edvarda Beneše (EB) I, karton 45, složka R 124/2 (R 94), Vnitropolitické záležitosti, Volba prezidenta–Benešův záznam; and Gašparíková-Horáková, *U Masarykovcov*, 258. Alice G. Masaryk (1879-1966) and Jan G. Masaryk (1886-1948) were Masaryk’s children. At the time, Jan Masaryk was the ambassador to the United Kingdom, having assumed the post in 1925.

¹⁹ AÚTGM, Fond EB I, karton 45, složka R 124/2 (R 94); and Gašparíková-Horáková, *U Masarykovcov*, 258-259.

Perhaps Hodža had failed to make an impression on Masaryk as reliable, and the president was unclear about how dedicated Hodža was to Czech and Slovak unity. Such a judgment was stern. After all, Beneš's view on Hodža, at the time, was more conciliatory. He even told the president's archivist that Hodža had been closer to him than any other politician "because he had not studied in Vienna—neither had I. Not even his initial activities were in contradiction to me and the path I follow. Rather, they were youthful ideas."²⁰

Six years older than Beneš, Hodža was an unconventional politician, given his way of life, association with several political affairs, and policy making. Hodža's lively Budapest political style caused troubles for him in Prague, and both he and Beneš frequently were at odds.²¹ Hodža loved politics, hated paperwork, and was self-confident. Now he was confronted with the dilemma of requesting Masaryk to remain in office or allowing his resignation for health reasons. He would have liked Masaryk to remain the head of state as long as possible, but after unofficial talks with some leading politicians, he opted for Masaryk's resignation if the president so wished. Masaryk responded that this should have happened long before but failed to specify when. Hodža requested ten days or two weeks to conclude the relevant political discussions, and Masaryk expressed his wish that they take place quickly. When the president's chancellor, Přemysl Šámal (1867-1941), asked whether he preferred anyone as his successor, Masaryk replied that it should be Beneš. Hodža stated that the whole matter would be resolved with dignity, in keeping with Masaryk's spirit and tradition, and that, during the political talks, he would convey Masaryk's desire to have Beneš succeed him. When Masaryk asked what would happen to him, Hodža and Šámal assured him that his life would not change and that he would continue to live at Lány.²²

The Republicans' Standpoint

As expected, Republican leaders' opinion on Beneš's candidacy was divided. During a meeting on November 25, they offered the candidacy to Hodža, who, they reasoned, would have the support of most Slovak parties. However, Hodža declined, reportedly saying that he did not wish to retire.²³ Beneš's candidacy was hardly acceptable for certain Republicans. Josef Vraný (1874-1937), the editor-in-chief of the main Republican newspaper, *Venkov*, and a sort of ideological pillar for his party, argued against Beneš: "the head of state may only be a figure who,

²⁰ Gašparíková-Horáková, *U Masarykovcov*, 261.

²¹ The relationship between Beneš and Hodža was far from ideal. In 1926, the Hrad, with the support of Švehla, unleashed the Coburg Affair, an attempt to derail Hodža's career, in part because Hodža had coveted Beneš's position as foreign minister. On the involvement of the Hrad in the Coburg Affair, see Miller, *Forging Political Compromise*, 160-161.

²² Zbyněk Zeman, *Edvard Beneš: Politický životopis*, Introduction by Robert Kvaček (Prague: Mladá fronta, a.s., 2000): 117.

²³ Ferdinand Kahánek, *Zákulisí presidentské volby Dr. Beneše*, Politické knihovny, vol. 2 (Prague: Evropské vydavatelstvo, 1939), 23.

in our system of political parties, with its anarchic foundations of certain groups as well as social tiers, can unify, concentrate, and above all, impersonally evaluate political conditions in the state. Dr. Beneš was driven solely by his personal judgment. A very large number of domestic policy disputes, crises, and difficulties were triggered by Beneš acting in this manner in the past.”²⁴ A few days later, Vraný spoke to Ferdinand Kahánek (1896-1940), an author and a member of the editorial staff of *Venkov*, about why Beneš should not be president. Kahánek mentioned that the domestic as well as the foreign situation required an individual who could unify, rather than disunite and instigate. The other reasons he believed Beneš was an unacceptable candidate were his socialism and weak patriotism. Furthermore, his election would diminish the influence of the Republican party.²⁵ The Republicans had more objections to Beneš than Kahánek did not mention, including his lack of experience in domestic politics and his authoritarian bent. They disliked his preference of making deals behind the scenes and found it difficult to reach agreements with him. The Republicans were particularly displeased with Josef Hájek, who worked in the promotional department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Finally, Beneš used secret funds to corrupt leading public figures.²⁶

The Republicans feared that the socialists would use the president’s authority to their advantage, while Beneš, in turn, would have to rely on the strength of the socialist parties because his personal authority would not be as high as Masaryk’s. However, there was no alternative. The Republicans never forgot to mention Švehla, who would have met all the preconditions, and they lamented that the current political scene lacked such a strong figure. The proposal to make a Slovak the head of state was praiseworthy; it certainly would have benefitted the common state. In this case, however, efforts to strengthen the coexistence of Czechs and Slovaks did not motivate the Republicans. They only were thinking pragmatically: better a Slovak than the socialist Beneš.²⁷

Beran, who had the task of sounding out Beneš, told the foreign minister that it was too early and that there were obstacles, but he promised his party’s loyalty to the newly elected president. Beneš noted that “I also told him the same—that, even though I did not submit my candidacy, the candidacy had been submitted, and that I would observe strictly the obligations required of the president.” Beneš did not see the conversation as signaling any of the difficulties that were to occur, but “ex post, I realized, even then, that Beran tactically had borne all the difficulties in mind and that he had not been frank.”²⁸ This was a stern judgment about the new Republican chairman since it implies that Beran skillfully was

²⁴ Dostál, *Agrární strana*, 188-189.

²⁵ Kahánek, *Záklisí presidentské volby Dr. Beneše*, 25-28.

²⁶ Beneš even supported the Slovak Republican Vavro Šrobár (1867-1950), who needed money for a spa in Trenčianské Teplice. Zeman, *Edvard Beneš*, 107.

²⁷ Jan Rychlík, *Češi a Slováci ve 20. století: Česko-slovenské vztahy 1914-1945* (Bratislava: Academic Electronic Press; and Prague: Ústav T. G. Masaryka, 1997), 126-135.

²⁸ Prague, AÚTGM, Fond EB I, karton 45, složka R 124/2 (R 94), Vnitropolitické záležitosti, Volba prezidenta–Benešův záznam.

implementing a coherent plan. That was not the case. On the one hand, Beran was no admirer of Beneš; on the other hand, he was willing to support his candidacy, unless his peers mounted a substantial opposition. What he did not like, however, was that Kamil Krofta (1876-1945) would replace Beneš as foreign minister. Beran considered Krofta as too close to the Hrad, despite his successful career as historian and ambassador to Vienna, Berlin, and the Vatican. For the ministerial post at Černín Palace, the seat of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, he preferred Vojtěch Mastný (1874-1954), the ambassador to Germany, but Mastný declined, claiming he was too old and preferred working abroad.²⁹

On November 28, a heated debate took place at a meeting of the Republican party Presidium that demonstrated how unpleasant the election of a new president was for the Republicans. Again, there were calls for Masaryk's lifetime presidency. The party leaders suggested that Masaryk abandon his intention of resigning and exempt himself from some presidential duties because of illness, in accordance with the constitution. "Should the discharge of the president's official function affect his health, we recommended that the government be authorized, according to the constitution, to deputize someone to act for the president as long as he is ill," Beran noted.³⁰ Some Republicans also reiterated Švehla's standpoint that Masaryk's successor should be politically weak and only serve a ceremonial function. However, the discussion yielded no clear outcome. In the end, the party Presidium, in light of the difficulties, preferred to delay a presidential election. The party also specified the procedure Beran was to follow at the first meeting of government coalition leaders.³¹

Initial Meetings of the Governing Coalition

At a meeting of government coalition leaders, which took place without the presence of German representatives, Rudolf Bechyně (1881-1948), a Social Democrat, Emil Franke (1880-1939), a National Socialist, and notably Šrámek promoted the candidacy of Beneš. The Republicans' efforts to extend Masaryk's presidency, which had the support of the Tradesmen's party (formally the Party of Business and Commerce), fell on deaf ears. Their proposal for having the government appoint someone to execute the functions of the president, according to the constitution, also failed. Both of the socialist parties and the Czechoslovak People's party excluded such a solution.³² As it was evident that the participants could not reach an agreement, they adopted only certain common principles. First, they respected President Masaryk's wish to step down. Second, each party in the coalition was to nominate a candidate, but the coalition was to present only one to

²⁹ Antonín Klimek, *Boj o Hrad, Kdo po Masarykovi?: Vnitropolitický vývoj Československa 1926-193 na půdorysu zápasu o prezidentské nástupnictví* (Prague: Panevropa s.r.o. a Institut pro středoevropskou kulturu a politiku, 1998), 431.

³⁰ Prague, Národní archiv (NA), Fond 44–Agrárníci, složka 27, folio 3-7, Beranův záznam.

³¹ Prague, AÚTGM, Fond EB I, k. 45, sl. R 124/2 (R 94), Vnitropolitické záležitosti, Volba prezidenta–Benešův záznam; and Kahánek, *Zákulisí prezidentské volby Dr. Beneše*, 28.

³² Prague, NA, Fond 44–Agrárníci, složka 27, folio 3-7, Beranův záznam.

the National Assembly. Third, the public announcement of Masaryk's resignation was to take place only when the coalition was certain that the presidential election would occur smoothly. Fourth, the election was not to involve major changes in the government, was not to excite the public, and was not to be contentious. Finally, the parties were to request that the press report about the election soberly and pragmatically.³³

Beran found the position of the Czechoslovak People's party particularly intolerable. In prior talks with that party, he demonstrated his ability to win their cooperation, thus proving his capacity as a statesman. However, after the parliamentary election, the Czechoslovak Populists strove to compensate for the influence of the Republicans by drawing closer to the socialists since both camps were increasingly displeased with the Republicans' air of indispensability in the cabinet.³⁴

The government coalition could not agree on a single candidate. Therefore a discussion began about having a free vote that would allow deputies and senators to decide whom to support, without following the instructions of their respective parties. This proposal came from the socialist parties and was based on the assumption that Beneš could win the votes of some members of the parties that otherwise opposed him. There were 450 electors: the Republicans had 68 votes; the Social Democrats, 58; the Communists, 46; the National Socialists, 42; the People's Party, 33; the National Unificationists (former National Democrats), 26; the Tradesmen, 25; the National Fascists, six; the German Social Democrats, 17; the German Christian Socialists, nine; the German Republicans, five; the Sudeten Germans, 67; Hlinka's Slovak People's party, 33; and the members of the Hungarian bloc, 15.

On 30 November, the opposition National Unification party, which had formed in 1934, when the National Democrats joined with a few smaller parties, demonstratively announced the candidacy of seventy-five-year-old Kramář, but this was a political gesture since his election was as unfeasible then as it had been eight years before. Meanwhile, the government coalition undertook official and backroom negotiations. Hodža phoned Beneš to reassure him that everything would be in order, that the main issue regarding the Republican candidates had been resolved, and that not even Malypetr had come into consideration. "He was speaking in a way to make me assume that the whole matter had been arranged," Beneš wrote, but he bitterly added that "later it came to light that there had been an *arrière pensée* [ulterior motive]; that there were no candidates of the party, i.e. [the Republican party], but this did not rule out the candidacy of someone else." Beneš was surprised and had not anticipated that the Republicans might nominate a candidate outside of their party. Hodža asked Beneš whether Jan Masaryk might

³³ *Národní shromáždění republiky Československé v druhém desetiletí (1928-1938)*, (Prague: Předsednictvo Poslanecké sněmovny a Předsednictvo Senátu, 1938), 49.

³⁴ Jaroslav Rokoský, "Kdo po Švehlovi? Tichý zápas o nástupnictví v agrární straně," in *Svět histori – historikův svět: Sborník profesorů Robertu Kvačkovi* (Liberec: Technická univerzita v Liberci, 2007), 317-336.

arrive to be present at the resignation and so that Beran could meet with him. Beran also wanted to talk to President Masaryk about his resignation.³⁵

Beneš promptly arranged the meeting, and Masaryk received Beran at Lány the same day. This was the first time Beran, as chairman of Czechoslovakia's largest party, had talked to the president. During the conversation, Šámal, Josef Schieszl (1876-1970), a section chief in the president's chancellery, and Adolf Maixner (1877-1957), the president's physician, also were present. First, Beran interpreted the wish of the entire Republican party and of most of the nation that the president should remain in office. Beran wrote afterward that "the president explained to me that it had been hard for him, for a prolonged period of time, to put up with his inability to serve as the president of the republic in a way he would have liked and that he never had wished and did not wish to be a figurehead." Beran saw for himself that Masaryk had insisted on his abdication of his own free will and that nobody was forcing him to step down.³⁶ Later, however, a dispute occurred as to whether the president had recommended Beneš as his successor during that visit.³⁷ Beran wrote: "On this occasion, I deem it necessary to state that, while I had the opportunity of an audience with the president of the republic, the president, on his own initiative, said to me that the views on his successor might differ but that he only wished there was not too much fighting." However, Beneš's notes, which otherwise correspond to Beran's account, indicate something else. "Prior to leaving, B. [Beran] subsequently told Schieszl that he believed that there would be no more difficulties."³⁸ Although Beneš assumed that the Republican party would present no more obstacles to his presidency, they appeared on the very same day.

Senator Vraný against Beneš

In the evening, Vraný openly and energetically opposed Beneš's candidacy at a meeting of the Republican party's Select Presidium. Given his widely known negative attitude toward Beneš, Vraný's standpoint was not very surprising; however, the question was whether he would succeed in persuading a majority of the Republican leadership to follow suit. Vraný's strength was based on his reputation for having developed the agrarian movement as a journalist. It was primarily Vraný who argued, often very sharply, against the views of other political parties. He was a respected and influential figure, but he increasingly failed to observe the resolutions of his party's leadership and promoted his own

³⁵ Prague, AÚTGM, Fond EB I, k. 45, sl. R 124/2 (R 94), Vnitropolitické záležitosti, Volba prezidenta, Benešův záznam z telefonické rozmluvy s Hodžou 2. prosince 1935.

³⁶ Prague, NA, resource 44-Agrárníci, složka 27, folio 3-7, Beranův záznam.

³⁷ See also Klimek, *Boj o Hrad*, vol. 2, 438.

³⁸ Prague, AÚTGM, Fond EB I, k. 45, sl. R 124/2 (R 94), Vnitropolitické záležitosti, Volba prezidenta, R. Beran u prezidenta, Benešův záznam.

views in the press. His speech made an impression, but the party still lacked unity.³⁹

On the morning of December 3, the meeting continued, with Václav Donát (1869-1954), Rudolf Halík (1881-1960), and Josef Zadina (1887-1957) having joined Vraný, who almost was silent. They endorsed the opinion that it was “necessary to nominate a bourgeois candidate because the grouping on the left political wing poses a risk of ending up in a large bloc, which the Communists would join.” Hodža again turned down the request that he run for president; Malypetr did not react when his name was mentioned. Beran was quiet when disputes erupted, but a Hrad informant reported that, during breaks between sessions, Beran had moaned in the corridors “that he was in favor of Beneš and that he was unhappy about all of that.”⁴⁰ As the new chairman, Beran could not resist the strengthening influence of Vraný, who was 13 years Beran’s senior. Yet, Beran and Vraný’s relationship was collegial, rather than paternalistic. Vraný’s arguments and drive eventually influenced Beran and others on the party Presidium. The opinion that gained ground in the discussion was that the Republicans should sound out the other parties to see whether a nomination of a bourgeois candidate against Beneš was possible. They also considered postponing the election until the beginning of the next year, even at the cost of new parliamentary elections, which might help determine which president the population desired. For the Republicans, it was unclear whether, after Masaryk’s resignation, the existing Broad Coalition of bourgeois and socialist parties, which included Germans, should continue. Nevertheless, the ambivalence of the party leadership was evident in their acceptance of the proposal of Udržal and Juraj Slávik (1890-1969), both close to the Hrad, to refrain from presenting the issue of the president’s successor to the public too early, considering the disputes, and to postpone the final decision on the party’s position until the next Presidium meeting, scheduled to take place in three days.⁴¹

The aversion to Beneš was not just an issue for the Republicans. It also occurred, albeit to a different extent, in other political parties, and the Republicans relied on that dislike of Beneš coming to light. In the Czechoslovak People’s party, this primarily applied to the Czech regional organization under Bohumil

³⁹ Editor-in-chief Vraný was fond of the countryside and was skillful at writing in a language that appealed to the rural population. He also was an author of folk novels under various pseudonyms, including Vavřinec Řehoř, Jan Kobr, and Kateřina Romanovská.

⁴⁰ Prague, AÚTGM, Fond BA, Vnitropolitické věci, karton 3, folio 1935/9, Zpráva „-al-“, 3. prosinec 1935, as quoted in Klimek, *Boj o Hrad*, vol. 2, 440. Klimek noted that „-al-” was likely Arne Laurin, the pseudonym for Arnošt Lustig (1889-1945), the editor of *Prager Presse*.

⁴¹ Prague, AÚTGM, Fond BA, Vnitropolitické věci, karton 3, folio 1935/9, Zpráva „-al-“, 3; and Kahánek, *Zákulisí presidentské volby Dr. Beneše*, 31. On the careers and generational divisions of the Republican party, see Daniel E. Miller, “The Social Backgrounds of the Leaders of the Republican Party between the Two World Wars,” in *Politická a stavovská zemědělská hnutí ve 20. století: Sborník příspěvků z mezinárodní konference konané ve dnech 17.-18. 5. 2000*, ed. Blanka Rašticová, Studie Slovákého muzea (Uherské Hradiště: Slováké muzeum, 2001), 135-148.

Stašek (1886-1948), whose influence increased in the 1930s. While Šrámek's Moravian wing unsuccessfully tried to form a single Catholic bloc with the Slovak Populists, the group around Stašek longed for a state with representation based on some sort of estates or curiae. With regard to the presidential election, the party was unanimous: it supported the candidacy of Beneš. He was well known abroad, where he had numerous friends, and this meant a lot for the young state. He was acceptable in terms of domestic policy, was liberal on religious issues, and was careful not to position himself against the party. On the contrary, he always proclaimed cultural tolerance. Last but not least, the Czechoslovak People's party did not have a better candidate of its own.⁴²

Objections to Beneš also emerged in the National Socialist party, where Franke, its vice chairman, strove to dominate the party, but Beneš secured the necessary support to protect his position. Social Democracy, under the leadership of Antonín Hampl (1874-1942), also failed to demonstrate clearly its unconditional support for Beneš. The Republicans relied on Hlinka's Slovak People's party the most, and when it came to light that Karol Sidor (1901-1953), who represented the anti-Beneš wing of the party, was staying in Prague, he and Beran met at the Šramota Restaurant.⁴³ Sidor initially worked in the party's administration and used his journalistic talents as an editor of the party's main newspaper, *Slovák*, and in 1929, he became the editor-in-chief. In the May 1935 parliamentary election, he was elected as a deputy and was on the Foreign Committee of the National Assembly.

On December 4, Msgr. Andrej Hlinka (1864-1938), the chairman of Hlinka's Slovak People's party, came to Prague, and Beran had a two-hour meeting with him at a restaurant in Wilson Station.⁴⁴ Hlinka castigated the socialist candidate, suggesting two Republican candidates for the presidency: Hodža and Josef Černý (1885-1971), Švehla's son-in-law. Then Hlinka met the papal chamberlain, Jan Jiří Rückl (1900-1938) and Hodža. The next day, he talked to Kramář as well as to Beneš, who had used Rückl to arrange the meeting. Beneš explained his political principles to Hlinka: no cultural conflict, continuation of the current policy, with respect to the Church, and no predominance of one party over another. Beneš told Hlinka that he was a candidate of neither the left nor the right and not even of his own party. He wanted the entire Catholic bloc to be unanimous at the election and wished to prevent Germans from deciding it. Afterward, Beneš noted, "I went on to tell him that I was in favor of decentralization, as I had said before, and that I would never do anything against Slovakia; on the contrary, even though I will not be able to enforce my will as president, if the government agrees on anything regarding decentralization, I will not oppose it." According to Beneš, Hlinka expressed his satisfaction because he viewed decentralization and autonomy as

⁴² Prague, AÚTGM, Fond EB I, k. 45, sl. R 124/2 (R 94), Vnitropolitické záležitosti, Volba prezidenta, Lidovci pro volbu dra Beneše prezidentem.

⁴³ Kahánek, *Zákulisí presidentské volby Dr. Beneše*, 31.

⁴⁴ In 1925, the Slovak People's party became Hlinka's Slovak People's party, in honor of Hlinka, who, in 1913, was one of the party's founders and its first chairman.

synonymous. Hlinka said that Beneš was fortunate not to have signed the Pittsburgh Agreement and that Hlinka did not want their relationship to be like the one he had with President Masaryk, who, he felt, had promised something he had not delivered. He hoped that Beneš would be satisfied with their relationship.⁴⁵

The Rival Candidate Bohumil Němec

On December 6, Hodža convened a meeting of political ministers and chairs of the coalition parties. Prior to the meeting, Josef Najman (1882-1937), from the Party of Business and Commerce, spoke with Šrámek and tried to convince him to vote for a common candidate. Later on, Beran also tried to persuade Šrámek, but he failed, just like Najman, even though Beran had suggested to Šrámek that the Czech People's party should nominate its own candidate that the other parties would accept.⁴⁶ At their meeting in the Kolowrat Palace, the Republicans announced that they did not have their own candidate, that Beneš was not suitable, and that the candidate should be nonpartisan. They again suggested that the other parties should nominate such a candidate because the Republicans did not have any. Both Hampl and Šrámek refused, insisting on the candidacy of Beneš. "The comedy goes on," Beneš wrote. "Jenda [Jan Masaryk] arrived, talking to Hodža. [Hodža] and B. [Beran], castigating the party's actions and stating that he would not do such things. He remarked that they did not respect the president's wishes, that their talk about the dictatorship of the left was rubbish, and that the dictatorship of the right long had been on the agenda. [He] requested that the issue be resolved by Tuesday, when he would leave." The next day, Jan Masaryk phoned Beneš to tell him that "the president is concerned about why it is still not finished so that he can be in peace."⁴⁷

In their quest for an apolitical candidate, the anti-Beneš Republicans approached the historian Josef Pekař (1870-1937) and the banker Jaroslav Preiss (1870-1946), both of whom prudently declined the offer.⁴⁸ On December 6, Beran

⁴⁵ Prague, AÚTGM, Fond EB I, k. 45, sl. R 124/2 (R 94), Vnitropolitické záležitosti, Volba prezidenta, Benešův záznam z jednání s A. Hlinkou (the entry has an inaccurate date). Masaryk, as the leading representative of the movement abroad that strove to create an independent Czechoslovak state, and representatives of Czech and Slovak expatriate associations, signed the Pittsburgh Agreement, on May 30, 1918, after a parade in the center of Pittsburgh. The document included a promise that amounted to autonomy for Slovakia.

⁴⁶ Prague, NA, Fond 44–Agriculture, složka 27, folio 3-7, Beranův záznam.

⁴⁷ Prague, AÚTGM, Fond EB I, k. 45, sl. R 124/2 (R 94), Vnitropolitické záležitosti, Volba prezidenta–Benešův záznam.

⁴⁸ Zdeněk Kalista, *Josef Pekař*, 266, as quoted in Josef Hanzal, *Josef Pekař: Život a dílo* (Prague: Univerzita Karlova, Nakladatelství Karolinum, 2002), 157. Pekař immediately rejected the offer, stating that he was not suited to be the head of state because he lacked the political experience, language skills, and sense of formality. "Everything would be pathetic," said Pekař. Those in "the left opposition would have abundant material against the reactionary Pekař, and such a replacement for Masaryk . . . they definitely would exploit, against me in various ways," especially since Masaryk still was living. Regarding

visited Bohumil Němec (1873-1966), a professor of botany at Charles University and chairman of the Czechoslovak National Council.⁴⁹ Němec initially asked about Prime Minister Hodža's position on his candidacy, and Beran replied that it was Hodža's idea. The sixty-two-year-old Němec agreed to run for the presidency, provided that most of the Czech and Slovak electors from the state-building parties voted for him. He also stated that he would not yield to protests and would not give way to Beneš.⁵⁰

How the Republican party decided on Němec as a candidate remains a question. Later, Němec claimed that it was Hodža's proposal, and the reasons for his candidacy were that, as chairman of the National Council, he appeared to be a solid candidate and was internationally renowned as a scientist. Černý attributed the idea to Vraný and Viktor Stoupal (1888-1944), an influential conservative Republican deputy.⁵¹ The fact that the Republicans had chosen a nonpartisan candidate enabled them to point out that, in the interest of the nation, tradition, and the state, they did not see the presidential election as a partisan issue. Unlike the socialists, they pointed out, they did not nominate their own candidate. They frequently mentioned that Beneš was an active vice chairman of the National Socialist party, but they never addressed the international ramifications of the presidential election.

Němec, who had come from the progressive movement of the 1890s and had been active in the Young Czech party, experienced a long political career during the First Republic. After the creation of the state, he was in the Revolutionary National Assembly, and in the 1920s, he was a senator for the National Democratic party, from which he had only recently withdrawn because he had disagreed with its transformation into the National Unification party. The Republicans also pointed out that Němec had met the president on October 28, during the celebration of Czechoslovak independence, and had asked Masaryk not to step down from his presidential post. Masaryk reportedly leaned toward him and said that he was requested to step down and that there was reputedly much ingratitude.⁵²

With Němec, whose name had not yet appeared among serious candidates for the presidency, the Republicans dusted off the old proposition that the president should only be a *fungible magnifico*, a monstrosity shown to the people. This was already the idea of Švehla, who disagreed with maintaining a strong presidency after Masaryk's retirement. Masaryk, in contrast, desired an ambitious president, rather than a figurehead to represent the state. Kahánek, at the request of Beran,

Preiss, see Klimek, *Boj o Hrad*, vol. 2, 444. Preiss's name resurfaced as a presidential candidate in 1938, after Beneš's resignation.

⁴⁹ The Czechoslovak National Council was a nonpartisan civic organization that included all of the Slovak and Czech political parties. It originated, in 1900, as the Czech National Council and was not the same as the National Council that Masaryk had established during the First World War to assist in the creation of Czechoslovakia.

⁵⁰ Kahánek, *Zákulisí presidentské volby Dr. Beneše*, 32.

⁵¹ Dostál, *Agrární strana*, 188.

⁵² Kahánek, *Zákulisí presidentské volby Dr. Beneše*, 19.

phoned Hlinka, in Ružomberok, to inform him of the bourgeois candidate. Hlinka agreed, saying “just no Marxist, no socialist.” Kahánek also phoned Sidor to assure him that Němec was a good Catholic, liked going to Slovakia, and had purchased a plot of land there.⁵³ Kahánek then had his colleagues, who had come with him from *Polední list* to *Venkov*, visit a few bookshops to obtain some biographical data on Němec and one of Němec’s publications, in order to present Němec to the general public, which knew little about him. Vraný wanted to launch a rapid campaign to make the public aware, as soon as possible, that there was a candidate running against Beneš. By contrast, Hodža requested that nothing be published in the newspapers, in an effort to prevent the outbreak of a fierce public campaign against Beneš.⁵⁴ The prime minister probably assumed that he would have the coalition nominate two candidates—Beneš and Němec—and the electors, in line with the socialist parties’ wishes, would be allowed to vote freely, thus resulting in the election of Beneš.⁵⁵

In the initial discussions preceding the 1935 presidential elections, there was no certainty that Beneš would follow Masaryk as the head of state, despite his close association with the President-Liberator. Masaryk was too ill to play an active role in determining his successor, so he did not intervene to support Beneš, against whom had coalesced a number of politicians in parties at the center and right of the political spectrum. Sidor and Hlinka, among the Slovak Populists, and Stašek, of the Czechoslovak Populists, opposed Beneš, as did many politicians in other parties. The foreign minister’s strongest detractors, however, were the conservative Republicans: Vraný, Kahánek, Donát, Halík, and Zadina. In the Republican party, Hodža, Udržal, Malypetr, and Juraj Slávik (1890-1969), a Slovak Republican and former cabinet member, supported Beneš, and the party chairman, Beran, appeared to be neutral. Šrámek, from the Czechoslovak People’s party, backed Beneš, as did the Social Democrats and the National Socialists, despite the efforts of Franke to weaken Beneš. Before Masaryk officially resigned, the politicians and their parties struggled to build an alliance to promote or defeat Beneš, and the posturing was to continue until the eve of the election.

⁵³ Prague, AÚTGM, Fond EB I, k. 45, sl. R 124/2 (R 94), Vnitropolitické záležitosti, Volba prezidenta, Záznam Rostislava Korčáka o vystoupení Slovenského deníku při volbě prezidenta republiky v roce 1935. Sidor did not mention the telephone conversation in his memoirs, but the editor Rostislav Korčák (1894-1984) was present when Kahánek called Sidor, in an effort to persuade Hlinka’s Slovak People’s party to support Němec’s candidacy.

⁵⁴ Kahánek, *Zákulisí presidentské volby Dr. Beneše*, 33-34.

⁵⁵ Zeman, *Edvard Beneš*, 122.

Writers behind Bars: The Prison Fate of Spořilov Friends and Neighbors, Zdeněk Kalista and František Křelina

Renata Ferklová¹

For forty years, through times good and bad, the historian and poet Zdeněk Kalista (1900-1982), and the writer and pedagogue František Křelina (1903-1976) faithfully stood by each other. Their friendship was relatively recent; unlike the one that they both enjoyed with Josef Knap (1900-1973), it did not date back to their student days. Kalista and Křelina first met at the Spa Sedmihorky near Turnov during the All Saints' Day holidays in 1937 or 1938. Kalista recalled:

I remember our meeting as if it were yesterday... Surprisingly, Křelina looked as I had pictured him after I had read some of his verses...that I had gotten my hands on: he was solid and substantial like the words that resonated in his literary work. One could almost say that he wrote with his whole body, its entire weight and thoroughness. There was nothing in his appearance that diminished him.²

By the time they met, Křelina and Kalista already were established authors. Zdeněk Kalista first made his mark after World War I as a member of the literary avant-garde. His work, over time, took on a more conservative bent. He became a docent in the Faculty of Philosophy of Charles University. As a historian, he devoted himself primarily to the Baroque era, the epoch of Charles IV and the Italian Renaissance. Kalista also published translations, historical works and literary criticism along with editing literary journals. František Křelina, a teacher by profession, was a poet, publicist, literary critic, and an author of books for youth and historical novels. A leading member of the inter-war ruralists, Křelina sought to portray life in the countryside in the light of traditional peasant (*selské*) and Christian values.

The friendship between Zdeněk Kalista and František Křelina

The relationship of the two friends became close when Křelina moved to Prague. In 1938, he was forced to leave Český Dub, where he had taught for a number of years, when the region and town were annexed to Nazi Germany under the terms of the Munich Agreement. František Křelina received a teaching post in the Prague neighborhood of Spořilov, where his family purchased a small house. In the 1930s Spořilov, a planned urban community near the Krč woods along the Chodov road, was an enclave of family dwellings with small gardens at the edge of Prague. There Křelina found himself in an amicable "writers' colony," where not only his friends Zdeněk Kalista and Josef Knap also owned houses, but also A. C. Nor, Sonja Špálová, Jan Čarek, Zbyněk Havlíček and Adolf Branald.³

¹ Translated by Mary Hrabík Šámal.

² Zdeněk Kalista, *Svědectví o Františku Křelinovi* (Prague: Česká expedice, 1987), pp. 4-5, (Typewritten samizdat).

³ Cf. Adolf Branald, *Převleky mého města* (Prague: Akademia, 2002).

During the trials of the early 1950's, the secret police would manufacture conspiratorial and "highly treasonable" meetings out of the friendly get-togethers at the Křelinas. These meetings thus became one of the main charges in the trial that would sweep up these friends and several others. After Křelina's conviction, the authorities confiscated his house in spite of the fact that half of it belonged to his wife Anna, and moved the family to a dark and dank apartment on Černa Street, which they had to share with strangers. After his return from prison, Křelina often dated his letters and manuscripts: "Černa Street, the house of Eliška Krásnohorská."⁴ This was typical for Křelina, who throughout his life would find something positive, uplifting and kind-hearted even in untoward circumstances and situations.

František Křelina was a most careful reader of Kalista's historical works, most of which he first saw in manuscript form and reviewed positively.⁵ Not coincidentally, historical themes, first seen in "V družině Přemysla krále"⁶ began appearing in Křelina's work after he met Kalista. His historian friend's publication of the letters of Czech missionaries, especially those of Jesuit priest Jindřich Václav Richter from the shores of the Marañon River in Peru,⁷ obviously influenced Křelina's *Amaru, syn hadi*. This is evident in the subtitle of the still preserved original manuscript sent to the Novina publishing house. It reads:

or, a novel of how in the jungle highlands along the Marañon River among the conquistadores and Indians, the Moravian Jindřich Václav Richter, S.J., perished as his favorite student Mamalúk Jindřich, the devil's instrument, procured for him a martyr's death in the year of Our Lord 1696.⁸

⁴ Eliška Krásnohorská (1817–1926) is the *nom de plume* of Alžběta Pechová, who wrote both poetry and prose. Besides works for children and adolescent girls, Krásnohorská also published literary criticism and librettos. For example, she is the author of the librettos for Bedřich Smetana's "Hubička," "Tajemství," "Čertova stěna" and "Viola." Krásnohorská also translated Byron, Pushkin and Mickiewicz into Czech. Active in the women's movement, Krásnohorská wrote for and edited *Ženské listy*. She was foremost among the founders of Minerva, the first female secondary school in Austria-Hungary. What attracted Křelina to her, besides her respect for her work, was her interest in education and her friendship with the writer Karolina Světa, about whom he had written.

⁵ For example, in 1941–1942, Křelina published reviews of Kalista's *České baroko*, *Cesty ve znamení kříže*, *Korespondence Zuzany Černínové z Harasova*, *Selské čili sousedské hry českého baroka* in the journals *Venkov*, *Elk* and *Rád*. Most of the reviews, in manuscript form, are in deposited in Literární archiv Památníku národního písemnictví, (Literary Archive of the Museum of Czech Literature, hereafter LA PNP), fond František Křelina: Rukopisy vlastní, články. Cf. also the bibliography in Mojmir Trávníček, *O Františku Křelinovi* (Havlíčkův Brod: Nakladatelství Hejkal), 1993.

⁶ This work was first published in *Venkov*, December 10, 1939, 1, 4 and December 31, 1939, 7.

⁷ Kalista, *Cesty ve znamení kříže. Dopisy a zprávy českých misionářů 17.-18. věku ze zámořských krajů*. (Prague: Evropský literární klub, 1941), (Prague: Katolický literární klub, 1947) and (Prague: Vyšehrad, 1947).

⁸ LA PNP, fond František Křelina: Rukopisy vlastní, próza. The book was published as *Amaru, syn hadi* without the long subtitle.

Křelina also undeniably drew upon Kalista's professional expertise in writing his most famous work, *Dcera královská, blahoslavená Anežka Česká*. He thanks Kalista for his advice in the acknowledgements at the end of the book.⁹ Because the Spořilov Church was consecrated to her, both friends were close to Blessed Agnes.

Křelina's and Kalista's cooperation continued after they returned from prison. When in 1976 Kalista was recuperating from a broken arm in Marienbad, Křelina wrote to him complaining:

I started working on something new, I miss you very much. It's supposed to be historical. If you were home---or at least Na Františku—I would simply go to see you and have my university course in one afternoon. So now I can do nothing else but study... I really need my friend Zdeněk to be here. At least, I have some of his books. Which ones? That carbon copy of the study of Boccaccio's *Lives*. Maybe I'll start working on that tomorrow; it has a lot to do with my work which is my joy and medicine...¹⁰

In the following letter, Křelina repeated his lament:

I miss you very much in Prague. I need Professor Zdeněk Kalista's lectures. In Vilanov's chronicle it is written—and I know this only from the literature—that Anne of Bavaria nearly poisoned Charles IV. I am very interested how the professor has dealt with this. It will certainly be an entire study, and I need it very much. This is only a fraction of the many things in which I miss you. Many a person has his personal physician, but to have a personal historian, I am the only person in Bohemia to have such a luxury.¹¹

After Kalista lost his sight in 1975 and could only write by typing from memory, Křelina encouraged him to continue working. He also became his regular and irreplaceable helper in the correction and proof-reading of texts.¹²

⁹ Křelina, *Dcera královská, blahoslavená Anežka Česká* (Prague: Novina, 1940), 291. During the Protectorate when the Nazis had closed all Czech institutions of higher learning, Křelina dared to thank in writing “a docent of the Czech Charles University.” Křelina certainly was familiar with Kalista's “Blahoslavená Anežka Přemyslovna,” in *Královny, kněžny a velké ženy české, sborník*, Karel Stloukal, ed. (Prague: J. R. Vilímek, 1940) and “Legenda o blahoslavené Anežce České v českém baroku” *Děšť růží*, Vol. VII (1935), No. 2, 51-54; No. 3, 83-86; No. 4, 113-116.

¹⁰ Křelina letter to Kalista, February 1, 1965. LA PNP, fond Zdeněk Kalista: Korespondence přijatá, osoby.

¹¹ Křelina to Kalista, February 24, 1965, *ibid*.

¹² The most famous of the texts of this period is *Tvář baroka. Poznámky, které zabloudily na okraj života, skicár problémů a odpovědí*. It was smuggled abroad and published in Munich in 1982 and in London, 1982 and 1989. After the fall of Communism, several Czech publishing houses also brought it out: Státní pedagogické nakladatelství in 1992; Garamond, 2005; Vyšehrad, 2014.

The political situation in Czechoslovakia after the 1948 Communist *coup d'état*

February 25, 1948, celebrated for years as “the victorious February,” marks the date on which the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia seized power. From then on, the Communists ruled without any meaningful participation of the other parties in the National Front.¹³ The Communist Party usurped power; a monopoly of which it appropriated to itself to an absolute degree. Within a few months, the Communists forgot their promise that there would be an individual and peaceful path to socialism for all East European countries and began to follow uncompromisingly the Stalinist policy of dictatorship of the proletariat and class struggle. They systematically sought to liquidate their political and ideological opponents according to the maxim: “he who is not with us is against us.” Using terror, the Communists began to institute drastic, fundamental changes in all aspects of society. Their aim was to totally uproot what had existed in politics, economy, society, culture, and the legal system.

Communist justice, according to the requirements of class struggle, produced a number of trials on trumped-up charges. The most famous of those was the trial of Milada Horáková (1901-1950), a politician, leader of the women’s movement, and a Member of Parliament for the National Socialist Party. In a show trial—the first one in which Soviet advisers directly figured—she was tried along with 12 men. Four of the accused were sentenced to death, Horáková among them. Her execution, carried out in spite of international protests, made her the first and only woman formally executed during the Gottwald-Stalin terror era. Thirty-six trials involving approximately 700 people, mostly adherents of the National Socialist Party, followed. Next were proceedings against the Catholic Church, the main ideological opponent of the Communists, soldiers, especially those who had served abroad during World War II, and other suspect groups.

Later the Communists turned against those who opposed the collectivization of agriculture, one of the main ways in which socialism was to be realized. The Communist authorities, needing to blame someone for the lack of success of this policy, staged trials with alleged agents of the Green International¹⁴ and “kulaks” (originally referred to as “rich villagers.”) The former consisted of members or sympathizers of the Republican (Agrarian) and Populist parties, as well other civil

¹³ After World War II, only the parties of the National Front were permitted. These were the Communist, Social Democratic, National Socialist, Populist, and Slovak Democratic Parties.

¹⁴ The Green International was originally established in 1926 in Prague at the behest of Antonín Švehla, the leader of the Czechoslovak Republican Party of Smallholders and Peasants, commonly referred to as Agrarian Party. It was to serve as an international clearing house and source of aid for agrarian parties which in those years were among the strongest political forces in East Central and Southeastern Europe. In the inter-war period, seventeen political parties were members. After the Communist takeover, Eastern European agrarian politicians re-established the organization in exile. Its first headquarters were in Paris, and were later moved to Washington, D.C.

parties; the latter were farmers, with large or smaller holdings who refused to enter into the collective or state farms, as well as other agriculturalists who were chosen as exemplary cases to frighten others. They were persecuted and often tried and convicted. Kalista and Křelina would find themselves swept up in the attempt to stage a trial of supposed saboteurs linked to the Green International.¹⁵

Arrest of a group allegedly connected to the Green International

In 1951, the StB (Státní bezpečnost [state security] i.e., the secret police) gradually arrested fourteen Catholic and conservative intellectuals that the powers-that-be wanted to charge with being connected to the Green International. More specifically, the authorities wanted them jailed for high treason, attempting to overthrow the people's democratic government, espionage, and similar crimes. It did not matter that some of those charged in this alleged conspiracy did not even know each other.

According to court records, Zdeněk Kalista was arrested on August 16, 1951 at 2:30 pm, and František Křelina, the last to be detained, was placed in custody on September 24, 1951 at 8:30 am. His arrest was preceded by that of Václav Prokůpek (1902-1974) on May 17, Bedřich Fučík (1900-1984) and Ladislav Kuncíř (1890-1974) on May 24, and Jan Zahradníček (1905-1960) and Josef Knap on August 23. Prokůpek was immediately taken from Brno to Prague to be interrogated, and Zahradníček was questioned in Znojmo.

The brutal investigation and preparation for the trial lasted nearly an entire year. Václav Prokůpek, one of the accused, later described the prisoners' treatment:

I was arrested May 17, 1951. Immediately after that, a very thorough house search took place. Searching throughout the day and night, the five StB agents found not a single document that would attest to my anti-state activities. That same night, in handcuffs and with non-transparent glasses over my eyes, I was driven to Prague. Immediately after my arrival in the early morning hours of May 18, 1951, I was taken to be questioned. The interrogator to whom I was led removed my handcuffs and allowed me to take off my glasses. I stood before a man who did not even allow a few minutes to collect myself before ordering me: "Tell me about your anti-state activities." When I replied that I was not aware of having done anything illegal, he became angry. He stamped on my toes and hit me in the face until it started bleeding.

¹⁵ The following are a few examples of the studies and memoirs devoted to this topic: Karel Kaplan, *Proměny české společnosti 1948–1960*. Part I: *Dělnictvo* and Part II: *Venkov* (Prague: Ústav pro soudobé dějiny AV ČR, 2007 and 2012); Karel Kaplan and Pavel Paleček, *Komunistický režim a politické procesy v Československu* (Brno: Barrister & Principal, 2001); Zora Dvořáková, *Navzdory nenávisti a mstě. Z politických procesů 1952 až 1953* (Třebíč: Tempo, 2002); Ota Ulč, *Komunistická justice a třídní boj* (Prague: Stilus Press, 2016); Karel Jech, *Soumrak selského stavu 1945–1960* (Prague: Ústav pro soudobé dějiny AV ČR, 2001); and his *Kolektivizace a vyhánění sedláků z půdy* (Prague, Vyšehrad, 2008); Jaroslav Rokoský and Libor Svoboda, (eds.) *Kolektivizace v Československu* (Prague: ÚSTR, 2013).

Before I knew what was happening, my hands were in the handcuffs and the dark glasses were on my eyes again. After many insults, new blows to the head, stomach and ribs, I was knocked to the ground. The interrogator then began to kick me, stamp on my hands, shake me, pull my hair and stand on my legs; his screaming, vulgar name calling and new torture created an atmosphere of fear, anxiety and terror ... threats of beating me to death, arresting my wife, insisting that she already had been arrested—and the threat that my entire family would be destroyed ... [they] refused to give me food and forbade me to sleep at night.¹⁶

Some, such as Křelina, found ways of coping with the absurdity of the situation. His friend Zdeněk Kalista remembered:

Křelina reconciled himself with relative ease to being thrust into a well that impenetrably separated him from all that up to then had been his life. What greatly aided him was his attempt to find in his surroundings his “novel” and the characters that would enliven his imagination with new colors and personages...his fellow prisoners...presented themselves to him as unusual opportunities for creativity. This observation so engrossed František that the tense periods between the incomprehensible and tortuous sessions with the interrogators were more bearable for him than for me and perhaps others.... But the blows and threats that he had to endure during the interrogations did do their work.¹⁷

A meeting in the courtyard of the Pankrac Prison, where they all had been transported, illustrated well the devastating physical effects of the interrogations. Kalista described it thus:

Through a crack between the nontransparent glasses and my eye sockets, I finally glimpsed František.... I nearly did not recognize him. He was as emaciated as martyrs in pictures. From the 77 kilos he had weighed previously...he was now a mere 57. He was so gaunt that his big eyes looked like those of figures in early Christian paintings or mosaics.¹⁸

Zdeněk Kalista, without being aware of it, did not look any better. When Kalista, along with Josef Knap, was being led to their designated cell block, his friend was not sure who he was. Since the prisoners were not allowed to speak to each other, Knap took advantage of the situation when the guard had momentarily stepped into an office. He whispered: “Zdeněk, is that you? Are you ill?”¹⁹ In his memoir, Kalista depicted the unusual scene when he did not recognize himself in an ambulance’s mirror. The passage, undoubtedly a literary stylization, certainly also is a realistic depiction of an immediate split-second reaction.

¹⁶ LA PNP, fond Prokůpek Václav: Doklady vlastní: Soudní doklady z let 1947–1969.

¹⁷ Kalista, *Svědectví o Františku Křelinovi*, p. 37.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

¹⁹ Kalista, *Po proudu života*. Part VIII, chap. 2, 11. LA PNP, fond Zdeněk Kalista: Rukopisy vlastní, próza. In the Atlantis publication, p. 64.

At that moment, I looked at the wall in front of me. A large unframed mirror hung there. It did not seem to me to be a mirror, but some sort of painting. From it, a figure of an old man with white hair and beard, sunken cheeks and a swelling around the eyes looked at me. This figure so intrigued me that I completely forgot the two doctors, the guard standing in the corner and the whole room in which I found myself. The figure in my painting moved. I could not believe my eyes. The figure moved again—exactly as I had moved. I was dumbfounded as I ever had been in my life. That is, you, my dear boy—it is a reflection of you, a mirror of your lot!²⁰

This scene finally allowed Kalista to understand what previously had been a mystery to him: the astonishment of his cellmates when they discovered how old he was. At his arrest, he had been fifty-one years old; now he looked like an old man.

Trial and conviction

On July 3 and 4, 1952, the Communist authorities tried the group of Catholic intellectuals from Bohemia and Moravia, whom they called “clerofascists.” The proceedings took place in the building that had been the regional parliament; now it served as the seat of the regional national committee. JUDr. Vladimír Podčepický presided over the trial. JUDrs. Miloš Mühlstein and Jaroslav Demczal, professional judges, and Bedřich Blažek and Bohumil Kadlec, judges from the people, assisted him. The notorious JUDr. Karel Čížek was the procurator. Initially, the group was called Kostohryz *et alii*. After the StB, who by brutal means elicited false confessions and wrote all the script for these trials, decided to make Josef Kostohryz and Václav Renč part of another trial, Václav Prokůpek then was designated as the organizer of this alleged “highly treasonous conspiracy.” Accordingly, the case went forth as Prokůpek *et alii*.²¹ It was also referred to as the trial of the agents of the Green International.

The judges convicted of high treason these Catholic intellectuals: authors, publicists, editors, philosophers, economists, lawyers. Communists found these fifteen men, who had firmly held beliefs and much intellectual ability, so inconvenient and threatening that they sentenced them to a total of two hundred and sixty years. Among these defendants were also the then 49 year old Křelina and 52 year old Kalista. The former was sentenced to 12 years imprisonment and the latter to 15.

²⁰ Ibid., 31-31. In the Atlantis publication, p.75.

²¹ Josef Kostohryz and Václav Renč were moved into a group of people unknown to them, Kepka *et alii*. Later, the authorities renamed this group, “agrolido,” a contraction of the *Agrární strana* and *Lidová strana*, the two political parties considered to be behind this “conspiracy” and “high treason.” This trial took place in Prague on April 23 to 26, 1952. The sentences were draconian. Josef Kepka was sentenced to death; Kostohryz to life imprisonment and Renč to 25 years. Other trials with defendants accused of the same “crime” followed. The sentences were equally draconian. Cf. Petr Anev, “Procesy s údajnými přísluhovači Zelené internacionály,” *Paměť a dějiny*, 2012, no. 4, 23-34.

The indictment and decision in Prokůpek *et alii* trial made it clear that these men were sentenced for their writings and intellectual activities, which the Communists considered very dangerous to their nascent regime. Václav Prokůpek, whom the authorities had maliciously placed at the head of this “illegal group,” was accused, among other things, of being

a propagator of the so-called ruralism which was nothing more than a cloak under whose cover the countryside would be made fascist.... When the events of February 1948 put an end to his rampage in the field of culture, he became so crazed with anger against the working class, which he had despised from his very youth, that he turned to anti-state activities.²²

In its decision, the Court also noted that:

He was a proponent of the so-called ruralism, which led the farmers with small and medium-sized farms to depend on the village rich because it inculcated in them the belief that the countryside was one family. In so doing, it dulled the desire, especially that of the village poor, to effect revolutionary changes in the countryside and to join with the city proletariat.

The charges against Josef Knap stated that “he became a petit bourgeois writer inclined toward the former Agrarians.” The Court convicted him also because “his publicist activities were on behalf of former Agrarians and his novels portray petit bourgeois Agrarian views. He was the editor of revues, which started out advocating the so-called regionalism and then went over to ruralism, whose meaning was already discussed...”

The indictment faulted František Křelina for being “an author of the petit bourgeois type with an orientation toward the former Agrarian Party.” The Court sentenced him because “his novels led people away from recognizing the real cause of poverty in the capitalist system and thus benefitted the former Agrarian Party and the Vatican on whose behalf his publicist activities were undertaken.” Besides all that, Křelina was also “the enemy of scientific socialism.”

The indictment charged that Zdeněk Kalista

was a deserter from the working class. He sold his membership in the Communist youth movement in 1922 and 1923 and his friendship with the proletarian poet Jiří Wolker for the social position of being a bourgeois historian and a docent in the Faculty of Philosophy. Josef Pekař, the grandfather of all that is reactionary in Czech culture, warded this to him.

²² This citation and those that follow are taken from the decision of the National Court in Prague, which followed after the July 2-4, 1952 proceeding in Brno. LA PNP, fond Václav Prokůpek: Doklady vlastní: Soudní doklady z let 1947–1969. František Křelina’s daughter, Hana Pražáková, cites the entire decision of the National Court in her *Naděje tu žijem* (Havlíčkův Brod: Nakladatelství Hejkal), 2001.

The decision said very little about high treason, the alleged reason for this trial. Barely mentioning membership in an illegal group, the Court described in colorful language the “treason” of Zdeněk Kalista, a student of “the counter-revolutionary ideologue Josef Pekař:”

The accused belongs to the poisoners of wells, who in the service of the Vatican and all political and economic reactionaries elevated the epoch of Czech history in which the Czech nation and culture were in a monumental decline. By doing this, he led the Czech people away from the wonderful traditions of its own history. The accused Kalista is more interested in the development of the baroque cavalier than in sweat and tears of the common Czech people in that era. The accused Zdeněk Kalista did not see that the beauty of baroque churches, palaces and the life of the cavalier were built upon most horrible repression of our working people, who were left in material, cultural and spiritual misery; moreover, they also were deceived and stupified by the cult of dubious saints, such as John of Nepomuk.²³

The concluding passage of the decision detailed the reasons for the length of the sentences. It also attested to the exemplary and fear-inducing character of the trial:

In deciding the length of the punishment, fact that most of the defendants had a university education, were very intelligent and were former writers was taken into account. This makes their sins against the interests of their own nation so much more deserving of punishment and incarceration. Many of the defendants belong to people who for years upon years, more or less openly as well as covertly, have fought against progress, against the working class and against socialism.

Their conviction did not only deprive the fourteen defendants of their personal freedom, but also it condemned their works. In the case of Křelina, it criminalized a literary movement, ruralism, and in that of Kalista, scholarly inquiry into a historical epoch. In brief, the decision denied freedom of artistic creation and scientific inquiry.

Hospitalization in Prison

After being sentenced, the writers remained in Brno's Na Cejlu prison. The tortures of the pre-trial detention, the hunger and cold along with psychological exhaustion and minimal health care (during the interrogations in Bartolomějska Street medical care was completely denied) resulted in a “dangerous decline of the entire bodily organism” and eventually landed Kalista in the hospital wing of the

²³ This is an allusion to Zdeněk Kalista's *Mládí Humprechta Jana Černína z Chudenic: Zrození barokního kavalíra* (Prague: ČSAV), 1932. Kalista was awarded the title of docent from Charles University on the basis of this work.

prison. Later Křelina was also admitted. (Zahradníček was also there, but in a different hospital cell.)²⁴

The arrival of his friend, Kalista remembered, seemed unbelievable—“nearly a miracle.” Kalista related the remarkable way in which František helped his fellow prisoner-patients. He alleviated their physical suffering by bringing food and medicine to the bed-ridden, helping to exercise damaged limbs, supporting those who had trouble walking, washing those who could not move, emptying urinals and scrubbing the floor. The example of Křelina’s self-sacrificing and ingenious activities also aided the patients psychologically. With one prisoner, he played chess so that “he could help him overcome depression by allowing him victories;” he formed a group that prayed together and talked Kalista into conducting a course on Czech history—all this to turn the attention of the prisoners away from their cruel fate. “Such activity and strength could not but pour strength even into my exhausted organism and into the other bodies which lay on the beds that lined the walls of the cell,” wrote Kalista. “Everybody truly valued him because his spirit so powerfully counteracted the weight of the depressing reality.”²⁵ Since Křelina himself was ill and exhausted, the strength of his character and his kindness were even more remarkable. True enough, hospitalization was suggested by a physician who was a fellow *mukl*,²⁶ but the official prison physician made the ultimate decision.

František Křelina’s prison writings

The Křelina papers in the Literary Archive of the Museum of Czech Literature do not have many documents or testimonials about his writings during his ten-year imprisonment. The little that is known—typical for the modest Křelina—comes, for the most part, from his later testimony about the manuscripts of Jan Zahradníček.²⁷ The first group of Křelina’s prison oeuvre consists of two works which originated during his imprisonment. There is a long poem, which was composed gradually from 1953 to 1960. Křelina entitled it: “Epic Composition from Prison.” However, he referred to its existence only on July 31, 1968, that is eight years after his release. Reminiscing about his arrival in the Pankrac prison’s print shop, Křelina wrote:

²⁴ Kalista, *Po proudu života*. Part VIII, chap. 5, 22, 24-25 *et seq.*, LA PNP, fond Zdeněk Kalista: Rukopisy vlastní, próza. In the Atlantis publication, p. 149, 150-151 *et seq.*

²⁵ Kalista, *Svědectví o Františku Křelinovi*, 43-44.

²⁶ “*Mukl*” is the abbreviation of “*muž určený k likvidaci*,” or “person designated for liquidation.” Both the Nazis and Communists used this term for persons who were presumed never to be released and would die in prison. Later, the term was broadened to include all political prisoners.

²⁷ For the exile press, 68 Publishers, established in Toronto by the emigré couple Josef Škvorecký and Zdena Salivarová, “the most successful book on the list of 139 titles [was] *The House of Fear*, a book of poetry, written by Jan Zahradníček...” Michael T. Kaufman, “Books Barred by Prague Find a Second Life in Toronto” *New York Times*. June 5, 1983.

[I]mmense quantities of paper, paper everywhere, entire stacks of it, by the machines, in the stock room up to the ceiling, in the cutting room, everywhere...before this paper was an incredible rarity. Jan Zahradníček in solitary confinement composed poems in his head. Now he recalled them and recited them to us during our lunch breaks, and then he wrote them down. Even Josef Knap returned to writing poetry; something he had abandoned after publishing one collection in his youth. I also parted with lyrical poetry and was instead obsessed with epics, prose, novels and stories. In two years, I had come across so many novels, so many episodes, so many fates, so many tragedies. During that summer, I started to write an epic poem whose text I began to learn by heart—in the same manner as Zahradníček did—so that I could keep it in my memory and the guards could not find during the rubbing down [searches], destroy it and put me in solitary confinement for its content. In this way, a long epic poem with several cantos, a prologue, intermezzos and an epilogue originated. The writing lasted entire years, from 1953 to 1957, in fact until 1960. At the end, there was a desperate struggle so that I would not forget everything. Slavek started to learn the text by heart with me. In spite of all that, only ruins are left. I hid those at home and was careful not speak about them. This year is the first time that I am mentioning this.²⁸

Křelina always identified this poem as “epic poem composed in prison,” and stated that it was:

a fragment of an epic written in the Pankrac prison from mid-1953 to mid-1955 and hidden in the same way as the poems of Jan Zahradníček. Although the worth of this fragment cannot be compared with Zahradníček’s work, the author attached it to Zahradníček’s manuscripts with the full awareness that later he would have to finish and even re-create parts of his composition. Its title has been preserved as a superscription over one of Zahradníček’s poem. I called attention to this in my report.²⁹

In the list of Zahradníček’s poems, “Mirožerci” did appear. The note next to that title read: “deals with a manuscript which was added.” This superscript seems to be very unusual, but it does make sense when one looks at the context. The title is a contraction of the Czech words, “*požirají mír a pokoj*,” (devours peace and calm).

The poem very emotionally describes the persecution of a family of farmers in southern Moravia and their public trial in Mikulov’s town square. Significantly, František Křelina, who could have chosen any of the many incidents that he had witnessed in prison, selected as his theme not only events that dealt with a village, farmers and the tragic fate of an entire farming family, but also his protagonists’ courage and proud refusal to be subservient. The author portrayed the various types of punishments, including hanging, to which farmers were subjected. They were one of the most persecuted groups—often imprisoned and sometimes even subjected to the most absolute of punishments, forced to move from their farms, compelled to join collective or state farms against their will. Most of them were

²⁸ Křelina, “Epická skladba z vězení,” LA PNP, fond František Křelina: Rukopisy vlastní, poezie. All versions of the epic poem are found in this file.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

sentenced for economic rather than political crimes. The usual pretext for arrests was that they had not delivered the impossibly high quotas the authorities had assigned. The Literary Archive holds several versions of this poem, the longest being some 60 pages. One of the versions, obviously the prison original, bears the inscription: "To be sealed until the time of its publication;" its cover is bound with twine and sealed with red wax. It remains unopened.

The second work that originated in prison found in the Křelina papers is a text whose precise time and place of composition is unknown. Entitled "Povídka" and subtitled "In the form of a diary according to the book *Goethe in Dachau*—Theodor Kaecher..." this four page manuscript consists of typewritten entries from November 1 to 4, 1953. Since the original was certainly written in pencil, this must be a typed copy:

I decided that I would write every day since I finally did have a pencil (before it is taken away from me in a rubbing down)...I am reading a monograph about Balzac... How I understand his passion for work. I too worked with the same frenzy that he exhibited...it is now three years that I have not put pen to paper. Oh, what to cruel punishment, especially for me, who needed this to live and have blood pulse through my veins.³⁰

How these diary entries were smuggled out of prison so they could be typed is not known.

Reminiscences written after Křelina's release from jail make up the second category of his writings held in the Literary Archive. The longer work entitled "Všichni stejně" with the subtitle "Český básník Jan" depicted Křelina's, Knap's and Zahradníček's time in the prison's print shop. The author described their arrival and the work there, his fellow prisoners, the mutual contacts and conversations among the friends, Zahradníček's poetry, Křelina's comments on it, the closing of the print shop and the ensuing fate of the various participants. Only briefly, did Křelina comment on the possibility of writing:

We were in this cell from July 1953 to Christmas. We had pencils, stubs, small ones, miniscule ones, as much paper as we wanted. We could write pretending that we were writing to our families, which we were permitted to do once a month, and we wrote perhaps the entire Sunday...At that time, I grabbed a piece of paper from my pocket, fished out a pencil (the smaller, the better because it could be carried into the cell) and I wrote...scattered notes on the run, my reader's impressions, my gratitude which I did not know how to express adequately to him in conversations...³¹

Another item of the "Všichni stejně" ilk, "Svědecký zápis" dated December 1968, December 1, to be exact, told how the manuscripts "from the collection that

³⁰ Křelina, "Povídka - ve formě deníkových záznamů podle knihy Goethe v Dachau," LA PNP, fond František Křelina: Rukopisy vlastní, próza. The notes that Křelina make deal with the poems of Jan Zahradníček.

³¹ Křelina "Všichni stejně: Český básník Jan." LA PNP, fond František Křelina, Rukopisy vlastní, próza.

Zahradníček thought that he would call ‘*Zaláře dokořán*’ were saved.” This report, which also contained direct quotations from the memoir of Václav Sisel, the prison guard serving in the print shop, related how he concealed the manuscripts, smuggled them out and where he finally hid them. A list of Zahradníček’s manuscripts was attached. Josef Knap and František Křelina signed the report as witnesses.

Křelina’s memories from prison life also took the form of works of fiction, such as the two versions of a short story written 1964. Each had its own title, but they were based on recollections of the same prison event, but they differed in details. Both were written in the first person. The shorter version, obviously the final one, related the story directly. In the longer version, certainly the original one, the narrator on a train is reading a book of the correspondence of Julius Fučík.³² He started a conversation with a fellow passenger who told him the following story. The man was in the same cell as Ruda, a thief and brawler, who had been in prison many times and knew his way around. The guards often gave Ruda the task of filling the prisoners’ mattresses with straw and making the beds, which he could do with military precision. Ruda and the man were sent to clean and tidy up the cell that Julius Fučík once had occupied. It was now on the itinerary of various excursions. Křelina here described the atmosphere of the cell, a place where over time so much human suffering had taken place. He even recalled Karel Hynek Mácha,³³ his poetry about prisons and his experiences there. Ruda also let his companion tell him about Fučík’s book. Ruda then related this story to the guard who came with his prisoner helpers to distribute dinner. While the guard, amazed at all that Ruda knew, listened so intently that he was distracted, the helpers filled the prisoners’ bowls with three ladles’ full instead of the usual one. Ruda’s face shone with great happiness as his mouth contorted into a wide grin. In his eastern Bohemian dialect, he exclaimed: “A fuckin’ bowl of soup filled to the brim. A gift from Julda Fulda!”³⁴ Neither version of this story is a rough draft; both are finished products.

A third category in Křelina’s papers is non-literary prison documents. No such documents exist in the Kalista holdings. There is correspondence with Křelina’s family. The number of these letters nearly doubled after 1956 attesting to the slight liberalization of the prison regime. Among the other items, are receipts of sent packages, which could be mailed only with special permission, petitions to attend his mother’s funeral, his daughters’ weddings and a petition for a pardon, all denied, as well as postal money orders by which Křelina attempted to send money from his very meager earnings to his family.³⁵

³² Julius Fučík (1903-1943) was a journalist executed for his anti-Nazi resistance. After his death, he became a popular hero in Communist Czechoslovakia.

³³ Karel Hynek Mácha (1810-1836) is the best-known Czech Romantic poet.

³⁴ Křelina, “Dar od Julia Fučíka” and “Hrnc polévky od Julia Fučíka.” LA PNP, fond František Křelina: Rukopisy vlastní, próza. “Julda Fulda” is the current slang name for Julius Fučík.

³⁵ LA PNP, fond František Křelina: Doklady vlastní, osobní, Vězení – Korespondence vlastní, přijatá i odeslaná, osoby: Křelinová Anna, Hana a Libuše.

Zdeněk Kalista's Prison Writings

Throughout his physical and mental suffering and spiritual deprivation, Zdeněk Kalista sought the succor of self-realization in writing poetry. He composed his poems in his head in pre-trial detention and the prisons of Bartolomějska Street, Pankrac and Brno's Na Cejlu. He wrote them down on toilet paper using a straw from his pallet as a pen and cocoa from a Christmas package as ink.³⁶

His biggest problem was how to conceal this testimony that he had produced so secretly and at such great risk. He had hidden it in a bag of salt, a toothpaste tube, and a crack underneath the wooden floor. Once in Pankrac, as he was being moved to another section of the prison, he managed to smuggle it in a roll of paper hidden underneath the toes of his right foot, and the search that particular time had been especially thorough. In the end, he did not manage to preserve these poems. He was irrationally and painfully happy that he managed to destroy them before a big "št'ara," a very thorough search of the prisoners and all the nooks and crannies of the cells, which resulted in the confiscation of the unauthorized materials and severe punishment, including solitary confinement.³⁷ Afterwards, Kalista kept trying to piece back together the shards of his poems in his memory, often in vain.³⁸

It is hard to believe that Kalista had managed to remember only fragments of his poems when in the same prison his memory on other matters had proven itself to be so remarkable. There he had written his memoir, his literary/historical portraits of his friend poets and even revised "Loupežníci a městečko," a play he had authored in the 1920s. Later, when he had nearly completely lost his sight, he showed a nearly phenomenal memory in his historical essays. Certainly, nervous tension and physical exhaustion contributed to his inability to remember his poetry, but his way of writing poetry played a greater role. The persistent search for the most precise word and most appropriate form for his thoughts meant nearly endless revisions, corrections and changes. This deliberation confused memory: it was hard to remember the last version. This type of writing necessitates pen and paper.

After being in prison five years, Kalista finally had a lucky break, which ended his risky and secretive writing. The luck came in the form of the requirement that guards attend classes on Marxism-Leninism as part of their continuing education. This occurred in 1953 when the Spořilov friends were transferred to the Pankrac prison: Křelina was assigned to work in the print shop

³⁶ Kalista, *Vzpomínání na Jana Zahradníčka*. (Prague: Česká expedice, 1987), 44 (Typewritten samizdat).

³⁷ Solitary confinement meant being held in an isolation cell, sleeping on a bare floor without a blanket, receiving food only every second day, walking for long periods and being allowed to sit only when permitted.

³⁸ Kalista, *Po proudu života*. Part VIII, chap. 3, 18, 22-23, 25-27, 29-30, 42. LA PNP, fond Zdeněk Kalista: Rukopisy vlastní, próza. In the Atlantis publication, pp. 93, 96-98, 100, 106.

and Kalista, in the library. Soon after Kalista started to work, the library received a new director, who became a key figure in Kalista's literary prison life:

The new director, who was finally named for the library after several weeks of temporary leadership, quickly saw my enthusiasm for the work and the great satisfaction I derived from it. He, František Pivoňka, was young, then only 32, short and stocky. He had abandoned his previous profession of baker to become a prison guard. He was, of course, a member of the Communist Party, but not a fanatic.... It was possible to talk to him sensibly about many things. Even if he supposedly had a different view, the one that the Party required, he would listen to objections and was willing to think about them. Without injury to either his body or soul, he wanted to get along with his superiors, who were nearly always ardent Party members, and his inferiors, who could one day (were things to change) become his superiors.... How he became the director of the library, I do not know, nor will I ever understand. He had no qualification whatsoever for this job. He was endowed with a native intelligence—the other guards used to say that he was as clever as a fox—which counseled him to tread carefully even here. He was happy to find in me, a person fully qualified for library work and having both library experience and knowledge of literature.³⁹

Work in the library brought Kalista pleasure, if one can say that about anything in prison, where everything positive had its negative side. Kalista saw his work there as a service to his fellow prisoners, who very much wanted something even a little bit interesting to read. Up to now, prisoners had been given only political literature of the Marxist-Leninist ilk or socialist realist literature, usually translations of Soviet authors. Because Kalista had proven himself such an able organizer and creator of the various reports on which the prison bureaucracy was based and continued to thrive, he was transferred as a helper to the prison hospital—much to Pivoňka's displeasure. About a half year later, Pivoňka, after a mutual agreement, managed to get him back. (The situation in the hospital due to the personnel changes had become dangerous.) Kalista was back in the library at the beginning of April 1955.

To advance in his career, František Pivoňka attended courses in Marxism-Leninism. Pivoňka had to submit various reports and other written work for his classes. Being as clever as a fox, Pivoňka arranged that Kalista would write the assignments for him. Of course, Pivoňka swore Kalista to absolute secrecy. After work hours, Kalista under the pretext of catching up with work stayed locked up in the library and thus also gained the time and space to pursue safely his own writing. The Pivoňka-Kalista compositions were a smashing success. Pivoňka's esteem rose not only in the eyes of his fellow guards, but also in those of the higher-ups in the prison administration. Copies of the Pivoňka-Kalista compositions circulated hand to hand. The authorities were so impressed that they put Pivoňka in charge of the lower-level party education courses. After a while, an emboldened Kalista asked for a counter favor, to be allowed to pursue his own

³⁹ *Ibid.*, chap. 7, 36-37. In the Atlantis publication, pp. 212-213.

literary work. Pivoňka, after some hesitation, did manage to obtain official permission at the end of 1955 or the beginning of 1956.⁴⁰

This solved also Kalista's fundamental problem of where to hide his manuscripts and how to get them out of the prison. Extraordinary in this, as well as in many other regards, is the poem "Sonáta při měsíci." Its inception dates to June 1952 in the Na Cejlu prison when Kalista received the devastating news of his mother's death, but the composition did not receive its actual poetic form until April 1956. He then experienced intense feelings sadness and isolation when his friend, the poet Jan Zahradníček, who had worked in the prison library with him and shared his cell, was transferred to the Mírov prison.⁴¹ Looking though the cell's bar at the moon as it freely traversed the sky elicited a conversation in which questions had no answers. The moon became a symbol of freedom and gradually served as a friend in the monologue, a guide through the magical night landscape, a witness to a return to the past and a messenger to loved ones at home, but it was also a silent judge and, above all, the embodiment of unintelligible and inexorable fate.

The words of other prisoners testify about the profound effects of Kalista's poetry on the prison society. The poet and literary historian Zdeněk Rotrekl, another one of the unjustly imprisoned, pointed out, "The poetic work 'Sonáta při měsíci' dedicated to his dead mother made its rounds through the prison in many copies and memories. It was conceived in the Na Cejlu prison and saw the light of day in Pankrac."⁴²

Similarly, in Kalista's correspondence with fellow Leopoldov prisoner in the sixties and seventies, Andělín Šulík, there is an isolated remark about the prison intellectual milieu. The card reads: "Some of your verses often resound in my ears. Frequently, I think about the cram course in Czech history and other precious moments that we shared. There was enough to suffice for long time of fructification."⁴³

Kalista had taken risks to preserve his works in written form, but he took even greater ones to smuggle them out. Again the entrepreneurial guard Pivoňka helped him—this time unwittingly. Pivoňka became an agent of the Naše vojsko and other publishers and started to sell books in the library. At first, he restricted himself to the guards, but later prisoners could also make purchases to be sent home as Christmas presents and eventually to take to their cells for themselves. Referring to "Sonáta při měsíci" Kalista wrote:

I managed to smuggle out this long composition in a shipment of book bought from Mr. Pivoňka that we were expediting from the library as the prisoners' Christmas

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, chap. 9, 47-51. In the Atlantis publication, pp. 292-294.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, chap. 9, 93-94. In the Atlantis publication, p. 317.

⁴² Zdeněk Rotrekl, *Skrytá tvář české literatury*. (Brno: Blok, 1993), 68.

⁴³ Card from Andělín Šulík to Kalista, Feb. 9, 1963. LA PNP, fond Zdeněk Kalista: Korespondence přijatá, osoby.

presents. The poem arrived safely. My wife lent it to several friends, and the composition in the copious copies that the friends had procured made the rounds.⁴⁴

In Kalista's case, unlike that of Křelina, not only does precise information about his prison writing exist, but also the manuscripts themselves have been preserved because their creation had been officially sanctioned. Two weeks before his conditional release from prison on March 16, 1960, before the amnesty of May of that year, Kalista wrote asking for his manuscripts, which were deposited in Slovakia's Leopoldov Prison. His letter was addressed to the headquarters of the correction system, a part of the Ministry of Interior.⁴⁵ He sent the same petition to the Minister of Interior, Rudolf Barak. Two weeks later a packet containing the manuscripts arrived.⁴⁶

The attachment to the letter is important, for it catalogues the fourteen manuscripts. The translations, obviously the first to be created, were at the top of the list: a selection from the lyrical poetry of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe and one Theodor Storm, as well as two short stories by Storm ("Pavlik Loutkař" and "Aquis submersus"). These works were ideologically the most acceptable and the safest for the officials in charge of re-education of prisoners, who had to decide on the release of these manuscripts. In fact, after Kalista's return from prison only his translation of the poetry of Storm was included in an officially published book.⁴⁷

The next on the list were original literary works. First listed here were plays, an atypical genre for Zdeněk Kalista: "Loupežníci a městečko," "Jan z Wörthu," and "Láska a smrt čili Hra o omylu." Why did this author with an undisputed tendency toward lyricism and one in whose works plots never played a major role choose this genre for his prison writings? Perhaps, the choice of the internal tragedy of a dramatic personal fate subjected to the apparent uniformity and emptiness of daily prison life. Maybe the dialogues in the plays were a compensation for the desperate lack of contact with other people. The life and color of the world that Kalista could create in his imagination might have, at least for a while, made up for the unrelenting and anonymous colorlessness of the jail environment. All of a sudden, but only for a while, an event springing from his own creative fantasy became his literary domain—like an event from one of antiquity's tragedies. Later, Kalista never returned to this literary genre.

The list also included "Pan Razím vstupuje na nebesa" a prose work describing Kalista's father-in-law, the merchant Razím. Its description of the old Prague neighborhood under Vyšehrad had as its subtext a meditation on time and the struggle with it, something very painfully immediate for a prisoner. Literature

⁴⁴ Kalista, *Po proudu života*. Part IX, chap. 1, 19. In the Atlantis publication, p. 426.

⁴⁵ "Doklady po propuštění z vězení, které se týkají žádosti o prominutí zbytkových trestů a vydání literárních rukopisů, zadržených v NTP Leopoldov, z let 1960–1964," LA PNP, fond Zdeněk Kalista: Doklady vlastní.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ Theodor Storm, *Včelí jezero*, translated by Kamila Jiroudková, Zdeněk Kalista, Jaroslav Pokorný and Anna Siebenscheinová, (Prague: Státní nakladatelství krásné literatury a umění, 1966).

of remembrance followed. Kalista recalled his contemporaries, Vítězslav Nezval and Konstantin Biebl, as well as friends from an older generation, S. K. Neumann and Karel Toman. He used these portraits later in his *Tváře ve stínu*⁴⁸ and in his four part memoir, whose short title is *Po proudu*.⁴⁹

Two collections of lyrical poetry rounded out the list. *Věžeň kamení* presented a world of sorrow and desolation as if a stone had fallen into an abyss of despair and lies at the bottom in a solitude “where God and the world are silent.” It was the poetry of a merciless Fate. *Hymny a prosby* collected poems of lyrical religious contemplation as the mind anxiously attaching itself to the only possible ray of light in the darkness of this world’s tribulations. Even in this desolation, hope certainly existed. While difficult to comprehend, it provided, nevertheless, the consoling counsel of God’s providence.

All of the works on the list were preserved in their original form or in their later re-written ones. The list is particularly important in cases where the author upon his return from prison either simply rewrote the work (and did not keep the original version—as was the case with some parts of the memoir) or changed the text greatly (and did not keep the original—as his recollections of his literary friends). In both of these instances, the preserved version’s time and place of composition could never be ascertained without this list.

A brief description of each title on the list was phrased to suit the preconceived notions of the officials and convince them of the harmlessness of these often hard-to-read manuscripts. For example, the note about Goethe’s poems stated that this is “a translation with an introduction dealing with Marx’s relation to Goethe.” About Storm’s poetry, it was written that “this deals with a German poet who was an active participant in the revolution of 1848.” These little selective truths and half-truths are amusing by today’s standards, but they are important witnesses of atmosphere of society at the time. Moreover, the description of the manuscripts is significant because they are often the only source for dating the manuscript even approximately.

Not found on the list are two preserved works that definitely originated during the author’s prison years. The first, *O cikánech a bosorkách*, an unfinished novel, was written in the Pankrac prison hospital during the last months of 1958 and was based on the colorful tale of a Slovak gypsy from Šoporná Virág. Also missing is *Listy synu Alšovi o umění*, a book of essays. Československý spisovatel printed the book and was to publish it for Kalista’s 70th birthday. The book, however, never made it into the hands of the readers. Kalista in November 1970 wrote to his friend Josef Pohanka: “Mr. Skála, Ivan, and Mr. Pilar, Jiří, from Československý spisovatel consigned every last page of *Listy synu Alšovi o umění* to the pulping mill.”⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Kalista, *Tváře ve stínu. Medailóny* (České Budějovice: Růže, 1969).

⁴⁹ Kalista, *Po proudu života 1*, (Brno Atlantis, 1997); *Po proudu života 2*. (Brno: Atlantis, 1996).

⁵⁰ Kalista to Josef Pohaneck, LA PNP, fond Zdeněk Kalista: Korespondence odeslaná, osoby. For documents dealing with the decision not to publish Kalista’s book see: LA PNP, fond Československý spisovatel: Lektorské řízení, nevydané, E-K, matriční list.

There remains only to conclude that for František Křelina and Zdeněk Kalista, two Spořilov writers and friends, (and not only for them) creative activity and the need to express their thoughts, experiences or poetic understanding of moods and reality were an innate habit of their soul, an undeniable necessity of their very being. For this, they were willing to take great risks. The Communists' despotic arbitrariness cast them for nine years into inhumane prison conditions, which undermined their health, caused great loss and sorrow to their families and deprived future generations of the potential fruits of their labor. Such crimes repeatedly must be brought to mind, so that they never will be forgotten.⁵¹

⁵¹Cf. Renata Ferklová, "Osud nebo Prozřetelnost? Literární tvorba Zdeňka Kalisty ve vězení 50. Let," *Literární archiv* 32-33. PNP, Praha 2000-2001, 221-257;"Ruralismus na pranýři, aneb Jak bude žít národ, jemuž se půda stala výrobním prostředkem?" *Z Českého ráje a Podkrkonoší. Supplementum 10. Ruralismus, jeho kořeny a dědictví*. (Semily, 2005), 89-104; "Zdeněk Kalista. Vězeň kamení. Poezie 50. Let," *Souvislosti*, Vol. 16 (2005) no. 1, 131-145.

The Influence of Patočka's Philosophy on Václav Havel's Political Thought

Zdeněk V. David

In examining the intellectual relationships between Jan Patočka (1907-1977) and Václav Havel (1936-2011) it appears that Havel regarded Patočka as almost his philosophical guru. The aspects of Patočka's philosophy which he especially valued were the former's metaphysical, epistemological, and ethical concepts. In addition, Havel was deeply affected by Patočka's orientation of politics toward morality, especially the principle of universality of human rights, and the concept of a parallel polis. At the same time, Patočka mediated to Havel philosophical, especially ontological influences from Edmund Husserl and Martin Heidegger.

Early Contacts

Havel recalled that Jan Patočka was an occasional visitor in his parents' home during his own childhood.¹ He also recalled having read Patočka's philosophical masterpiece, *Přirozený svět jako filosofický problém* (The Natural World as a Philosophical Problem) already as a teenager.² In his recollections, Havel pointed out that he discovered the existence of the book in the gloomy 1950s when he was about fifteen years old. The book was in the University Library, but kept in the collection of proscribed literature. To his great delight he was able to secure from the collection's guardian, a certain Mr. Jirkovský, the volume on loan. He continues:

I read the *Natural World as a Philosophical Problem* and the book—with one or two others—tremendously influenced me during my entire life. I realized (reading this book) that I am surrounded by a natural world, which has its nearness, and its distance, its above, and its below, which has kind of examinable boundaries, which has its secrets, and that this world is something else than what science has to offer.³

¹ Michael Žantovský, *Havel*. Prague: Argo, 2014, 63.

² Martin C. Putna, *Václav Havel: Duchovní portrét v rámu české kultury 20. století* (Prague: Knihovna V. Havla, 2011), 150. See also Delia Popescu, *Political Action in Václav Havel's Thought: The Responsibility of Resistance*. (Lanham, Md: Lexington Books, 2012), 4. See also "Poslední rozhovor," in Havel, Václav, *Eseje a jiné texty z let 1970-1989*, Spisy 4, Prague: Torst, 1999, 171; "Dálkový výslech," 1985-1986, in Havel, Václav, *Eseje a jiné texty z let 1970-1989*, Spisy 4, Prague: Torst, 1999, 726.

³ He further stated: "A small example: it is this natural world in which the cosmos appears to us as incomprehensibly large. It need not appear such to astronomers. They measure the rays and something simply appears closer and something farther, but it is not proper for astronomy to marvel over some mystery. It is proper for astronomy to search further and to constantly learn more." Václav Havel, "Vzpomínka na Jana Patočku," in Ivan Chvatík, ed., *Myšlení Jana Patočky očima dnešní fenomenologie*. Prague: Filosofia and Oikoymenh, 2009, 15.

Havel saw Patočka as a teacher for the first time in a closed lecture on Comenius in the National Museum in the late 1950s. He was struck by his nobility of expression and every word affected him deeply. It was the genuinely truthful speech which he so appreciated in the prohibited literature and which so sharply contrasted with oratory of distortion in the world surrounding him. Havel got to know Patočka personally only in 1960 when Ivan Vyskočil started inviting the philosopher to the theater *Na zábradlí*. There late into the night Patočka discussed phenomenology, existentialism and philosophy in general. The strength of his presentations lay not just in the depth of his knowledge, but in the character of his entire personality, in “its genuineness, modesty, and humor.” These “unofficial seminars” were an introduction into the world of philosophizing in the proper and original meaning of the word. There was no classroom boredom, but “an intensive vital search for the meaning of things and illuminating one’s own identity, one’s own situation in the world.”⁴ Several years later in 1990, when receiving an honorary doctorate from Charles University in Prague, Havel, in fact, would claim that he had derived much of his entire philosophical education and aspiration from the private lectures and seminars of “our great modern philosopher Jan Patočka.”⁵

Contacts: Era of Dissent

Finally, in the era of dissent, following the demise of the Prague Spring in 1969, Havel viewed Patočka as an amazing example of an intellectual who literally was not afraid to risk his life for upholding the truth. He especially admired Patočka’s maxim that “There exist things for which it is worth it to suffer.”⁶ These included the values of western civilization: democracy; respect for human rights and for the order of nature; freedom of the individual; inviolability of his property; and the sense of co-responsibility for the world (conviction that, if freedom was threatened somewhere, it was threatened everywhere). Patočka was at the same time aware of the paradox that life under communism taught that these values were worth a sacrifice, while those living in the West never had to undergo such a test.⁷

It was also in the 1970s that Havel lost his earlier diffidence vis-à-vis Patočka, as his intellectually superior and, at last, he was not reluctant to cross the line from “an admiring listener to that of a partner.” In the last phase of Patočka’s

⁴ “Poslední rozhovor,” in Václav Havel, *Eseje a jiné texty z let 1970-1989*, Spisy 4, (Prague: Torst, 1999), 172. During the Prague Spring in 1967, Havel proposed restoration of Patočka’s membership in the *Svaz československých spisovatelů*, Václav Havel, *Eseje a jiné texty z let 1953-1969*, Spisy 3, (Prague: Torst, 1999), 798.

⁵ “Čestný doktorát Univerzity Karlovy,” in Václav Havel, *Projevy z let 1990-1992, Letní přemítání*, Spisy 6, (Prague: Torst, 1999), 166. Havel’s claim seems to contradict Žantovský’s assertion about his relative indifference to Patočka’s private seminars, see Michael Žantovský, *Havel*, 192.

⁶ Václav Havel, *Eseje a jiné texty z let 1970-1989*, 261.

⁷ “Spoluodpovědnost Západu,” Václav Havel, *Projevy a jiné texty z let 1992-1999*, Spisy 7, (Prague: Torst, 1999), 166.

life, in the mid-1970s, they were connected, not only by common opinions, but also by common views of action, and finally, at last for a brief time, they actually worked together.⁸ Thus, in mid-1976, Havel persuaded Patočka to join the campaign, which he and Jiří Němec were organizing against the arrest of the underground musical group *The Plastic People of the Universe*.⁹ In April 1976, both Havel and Patočka were among those signing a letter of protest to President Gustav Husák.¹⁰

The protest activities led to the launching of a petition, called Charter 77, and urging respect for human rights in Czechoslovakia. Havel was then asked to enlist Patočka as one of the three spokesmen for the dissident group. The philosopher agreed only after Havel secured approval for his nomination from those whom Patočka considered more deserving to play that role.¹¹ When Patočka died after lengthy interrogation by the Czech Communist police in March 1977, Havel took part in the elaborate funeral ceremonies, and wrote a touching homage to the philosopher.¹² He particularly cherished the memories of the last conversation with Patočka, when they met while both were awaiting an interrogation at the police station in March 1977, and Patočka calmly discoursed on the issues of immortality and human responsibility.¹³ Shortly thereafter in October 1978, Havel likewise dedicated his first major philosophical work, *Power of the Powerless* [*Moc bezmocných*] to Patočka's memory.¹⁴

After the Velvet Revolution of 1989, in his official statements, Havel habitually mentioned Patočka's name among the great personalities of Czech history, together with George of Poděbrady, Comenius, Havlíček, Milan R. Štefánik, and Masaryk.¹⁵ As early as his "Chat from Lány" of March 18, 1990, he paid once more a warm tribute to Patočka as a *spiritus movens* of dissident activity in Communist Czechoslovakia, stating:

⁸ Václav Havel, *Eseje a jiné texty z let 1970-1989*, Spisy 4, 172-173.

⁹ Jan Patočka, *Sebrané spisy*, 13 (Prague: Oikoymenh, 2006), 436-437. Patočka wrote in their defense a samizdat article "K záležitostem Plastic People of the Universe," Jan Patočka, *Sebrané spisy*, 12 (Prague: Oikoymenh, 2006), 425-427.

¹⁰ Žantovský, *Havel*, 173.

¹¹ Václav Havel, "Vzpomínka na Jana Patočku," in Ivan Chvatík, ed., *Myšlení Jana Patočky očima dnešní fenomenologie*. Prague: Filosofie and Oikoymenh, 2009, 16; Daniel Kaiser, *Dissident Václav Havel* (Prague: Paseka, 2009), 116-117, 129.

¹² This tribute was reminiscent of Plato's to Socrates, James F. Pontuso, *Václav Havel: Civic Responsibility in the Postmodern Age* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2004), 6; Václav Havel, "The Last Conversation," in H. Gordon Skilling, *Charter 77 and Human Rights in Czechoslovakia* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1981), 242-244.

¹³ Václav Havel, *Eseje a jiné texty z let 1970-1989*, Spisy 4, 174.

¹⁴ Putna, *Václav Havel*, 151. On his interest in the publication of Patočka's writings abroad with the help of George Soros in 1986, see Václav Havel and František Janouch, *Korespondence, 1978-2001* (Prague: Acropolis, 2007), 208; see also 375.

¹⁵ Putna, *Václav Havel*, 145; Václav Havel, *Spisy*, 8 vols. (Prague: Torst, 1999-2003), 4: 1179.

The most important personage at the origin of the Charter [77] was the philosopher Jan Patočka, a personality about whom our public does not know very much. He was the father and teacher of several generations of Czech and Slovak philosophers. On the basis of a profound philosophical erudition, he knew how to articulate what we have all felt in an uncertain way. I was personally influenced by him even virtually in my political, not just philosophical, thinking.¹⁶

In January 1990, when the name of Masaryk University was returned to the university in Brno, Havel expressed the expectation that a new university, which would be established in the future, might bear the name of Jan Patočka, “this our possibly most significant modern philosopher and educator, who has done so much for us to enjoy the liberties that we now have.”¹⁷

Philosophy: Natural World

Some of the more mysterious, if not mystical aspects, of Havel’s thought may be illumined by their relationships to the tenets of Jan Patočka. As a prime example, it is possible to point to Havel’s grounding his philosophy in the experience of the “natural world” which provided a metaphysical foundation for moral judgments. This experience involved an intellectual process which Havel called “transcendence.”¹⁸

Influenced by Husserl, Patočka laid the ground for theory of transcendence in his first major work, his *Habitationschrift*, titled *Přirozený svět jako filosofický problém* [The Natural World as a Philosophical Problem] (1936), which Havel studied in his early youth. Patočka maintained that the crisis of modern man stemmed from his living in a double world: (1) the world of scientific constructs that is held to be the only correct one; and (2) the natural world that is pushed into the background as something unimportant. Because of this schism, modern science was not aware of the conditions and assumptions from which it had originally arisen. It lost the ability to explain the meaning of the world and to bear responsibility for the world.¹⁹ Patočka likewise associated transcendence with “the

¹⁶ Václav Havel, *Hovory v Lánech*. Vol. 1, 1990 (Prague: Knihovna Václava Havla, 2013), 37. In his other philosophical book, *Summer Meditations* [Letní přemítání], he again referred to Patočka in his phenomenological discussion of the concept of “home” [domov] as an existential given; as one of the concentric circles in the middle of which the ego finds itself, see Václav Havel, *Spisy*, 8 vols. (Prague: Torst, 1999-2003), 6:409; see also Putna, *Václav Havel*, 283.

¹⁷ “Jmenování nových rektorů,” January 19, 1990, Havel, *Projevy z let 1990-1992. Letní přemítání*, *Spisy* 6, 22.

¹⁸ James F. Pontuso, *Václav Havel: Civic Responsibility in the Postmodern Age* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2004), 18; Peter A. Lawler, “Havel on Political Responsibility,” *The Political Science Reviewer* 22 (1993), 40-41.

¹⁹ Jan Patočka, *Přirozený svět jako filosofický problém*, in his *Fenomenologické spisy*, vol. 1/ *Sebrané spisy*, vol. 6. (Prague: Oikoymenth, 2008), 133-138. On Havel’s critique of the detrimental pretensions of modern scientific thought, see Lawler, “Havel on Political Responsibility,” 35, 37.

movement of truth, which humans used to step over matters given to them directly and with which they reached the world as a whole."²⁰ The transcendental theory of experience was in a position to reconcile the contradictions between the two worlds. The key to overcoming the division is the concept of subjectivity in contrast to the objectivity of the scientific world. The subjectivity is deep it is not just another being among others, but the underlying being of other beings, "which forms within itself in a lawful way [*zákonitě*] the universality of Being."²¹ This transcendental—pre-existing—subjectivity is the (natural) world.²² According to Havel, totalitarian ideologies were pernicious constructs masking the absence of an understanding the real natural world.²³

Thus, Patočka, and through him Havel, derived their fundamental view on the problem of "the natural world" from Husserl. Husserl thought that the moral and intellectual confusion of modern humanity was caused by its reliance on modern science. Its one-sided objectivism offered only a distorted image and, in particular, the natural world remained hidden. It was necessary to correct the situation. Rather than relying on objective perception, Husserl found the ground on which to erect the new understanding of the natural world in radical subjectivism that led directly to the issue of transcendence.²⁴

Philosophy: Transcendence

Patočka suggested that Husserl's phenomenology might help to discover the original natural experience of the world of senses. He differed, however, from Husserl, even in his early work, by maintaining that the natural world to be thus discovered was not merely a static and passively perceived horizontal given, but required choices of perspectives and active adoption of standpoints, in other words an existential dynamic movement. All objectively given data were the result of constituting activities, gained from the experience of the natural world and this experience presupposed an initial dwelling in the natural world. Thus, what was given in a perception needed to be supplemented by what was not given. This not-given should not be discarded as something undesirable (which was Husserl's view), but taken into account as a precondition of the currently held experience. These experiences, which had preceded the perception, tied us to the world as a whole through transcendence, exercised through transcendental subjectivity.²⁵

²⁰ Josef Zúmr, "Patočka, Jan (1907-77)," *Routledge Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. Edward Craig, 10 vols. (London: Routledge, 1998), 7: 253.

²¹ Jan Patočka, *Přirozený svět jako filosofický problém*, in his *Fenomenologické spisy*, vol. 1/ *Sebrané spisy*, vol. 6. (Prague: Oikoymenth, 2008), 148-149.

²² *Ibid.*, 150.

²³ Lawler, "Havel on Political Responsibility," 37-38, 40-41.

²⁴ Josef Zúmr, "Patočka a Masaryk," *Filosofický časopis*, 39 (1991), 449-450.

²⁵ Jiří Gabriel, ed., *Slovník českých filozofů* (Brno: Masarykova univerzita, 1998), 436; Edward F. Findlay, "Classical Ethics and Postmodern Critique: Political Philosophy in Václav Havel and Jan Patočka," *Review of Politics*, 61 (1999), 422-423. Patočka denied that these experiences of pre-perception might be equated with the Platonic ideas,

Thus, according to Patočka, Husserl could not free himself from the grasp of the phenomena as something ephemeral even in transcendence. Consequently, the identity of what was manifested in the phenomena (the ontic reality) remained hidden.²⁶ In this dilemma, Patočka turned for help to Martin Heidegger, whom he had known when studying in Heidelberg in the 1930s. According to Heidegger, the phenomenon was not constituted subjectively, but the subjective self could discover its potential through an exploration of the phenomena.²⁷ Inspired by Heidegger, Patočka wished to determine the phenomenological field which provided the setting for the manifestation of being that emanated from the subjective self. He sought to make transparent the process of the manifestation of being (synonymous with the natural world), whereby it becomes a phenomenon.²⁸ Moreover, the Heidegger-inspired “asubjective phenomenology,” according to Patočka led (through the interplay of the subject and the phenomena) to the discovery of an ontic reality which, however, lacked a metaphysical content.²⁹

Elaborating, in turn, on Patočka’s concept, transcendence was for Havel the intellectual wellspring of what was the common starting point and ontological common ground of all cultures. These ontic impulses were implanted in human hearts and minds more deeply than any political opinions, sympathies, and antipathies.³⁰ Moreover, Patočka’s insight inspired Havel’s contention that a willingness to sacrifice, especially in war, was a way of acknowledging the transcendental.³¹

Speaking in the Netherlands in March 1995 to commemorate the resistance to Nazism, Havel took the opportunity to discuss the transcendent meaning of death. The moral achievement of the resistance was not just as a phenomenon of decency, but rather a metaphysical phenomenon. It reflected the willingness of anti-Nazi resisters to act beyond the limits of their lives by risking death for an uncertain, yet possible benefit to future generations. This attachment to a

perceptible by an inner experience. This was another aspect of his “Negative Platonism” (*negativní platonismus*); see also “Patočka, Jan,” *Filosofický slovník*, 2nd ed., Břetislav Horyna and others, eds. (Olomouc: Nakladatelství Olomouc, 2002), 310; “Patočka, Jan,” *Československý biografický slovník*, Josef Tomeš and Alena Lébllová, eds. (Prague: Academia, 1992), 524.

²⁶ I. Šrubař, “Asubjektivní fenomenologie, přirozený svět a humanismus,” *Filosofický časopis*, 39 (1991), 407.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 407-408. On Heidegger’s influence through Patočka, see also Aviezer Tucker, “Václav Havel’s Heideggerianism,” *Telos* 85 (1990), 63-78.

²⁸ Šrubař, “Asubjektivní fenomenologie, přirozený svět a humanismus,” 409.

²⁹ Jan Zouhar, “Jan Patočka a Masarykovo pojetí dějin,” *Filosofický časopis*, 55 (2007), 460.

³⁰ “Medaile svobody,” Philadelphia, July 4, 1994, in Václav Havel, *Spisy*, 7 vols. (Prague: Torst, 1999), 7:267.

³¹ Edward F. Findlay, “Classical Ethics and Postmodern Critique: Political Philosophy in Václav Havel and Jan Patočka,” *Review of Politics*, 61 (1999), 431; see also “Gézská medaile,” Vlaardingen, March 13, 1995,” in Václav Havel, *Spisy*, 7 vols. Prague: Torst, 1999, 7: 376-77.

transcendent reality was also illustrated by the willingness of the resisters to sacrifice their lives rather than betray their comrades.³²

Havel again addressed the topic of death several months later, in December 1995, in Hiroshima, Japan. He raised the question, if we all knew that we would eventually die, why did human beings continue to live and strive. In addition, all the substantial matters that we cultivate clearly extend beyond the horizon of our lives. The existence of the metaphysical hope that makes us strive in the face of death could be explained only by a deep archetypal certainty—albeit so much denied and not admitted—that the earthly life did not definitively end with death. The earthly life was not an accidental occurrence, but rather a part of, or a link in, a large and mysterious order.³³

Thus, Patočka influenced not only Havel's epistemology, but also his ethics. In the moral sphere, Havel's insistence on man's "responsibility" for humanity and for the world—which had been lost and must be recaptured—was evidently also inspired by him.³⁴ Hence Havel shared with Patočka the pronounced ecological concerns that expected mankind to reach a proper ethical relationship with the universal environment. In their triangular relationship, it is however, important to note that in their moralism—especially in their belief in the Judeo-Christian foundations of morality—Havel and Patočka departed from the atheistic amorality of Heidegger.³⁵

It is important to stress that, unlike the proto-totalitarian philosophies of Hegel or Marx, the metaphysics of Havel's "transcendent" was not essentialist; it was based on the Socratic (rather than Platonic) approach to philosophy. Thus, it did not involve reaching hard conceptual realities and historical guidelines, but rather envisioned philosophy as a journey of existential questioning, relying on subjective insights to get in touch with the "transcendent." Following Patočka in basing his philosophy on immediate experience, unencumbered by metaphysical superstructures—as noted earlier—Havel likewise preferred the Socratic role of a perpetual questioner, accepting the impossibility of grasping the totality of being in a single Platonic vision.³⁶ Relying on Patočka's combination of insights from Husserl and Heidegger, Havel was thus able to retain an attachment to the ontology of the transcendental, while rejecting the philosophical metanarratives.³⁷

³² "Gézska medaile," Vlaardingen, March 13, 1995," Havel, *Spisy* 7:376-77.

³³ "Cena budoucnost naděje," Hiroshima, December 5, 1995, Václav Havel, *Spisy*, 7 vols. Prague: Torst, 1999, 7:540-541.

³⁴ D. Christopher Brooks, "The Art of the Political: Havel's Dramatic Literature as Political Theory," *East European Quarterly*, 39 (2006), 498-505; Findlay, "Classical Ethics and Postmodern Critique," 408-409.

³⁵ Tucker, "Václav Havel's Heideggerianism," 73n30; Findlay, "Classical Ethics and Postmodern Critique: Political Philosophy in Václav Havel and Jan Patočka," 426. Lawler, "Havel's Postmodern View of Man in the Cosmos," *Perspectives on Political Science*, 26 (Winter 1997), 31, refers to the influence of Heidegger on Havel's emphasis of transcendence, but he does not note the mediation through Patočka.

³⁶ Findlay, "Classical Ethics and Postmodern Critique," 418; "Jan Patočka," Jiří Gabriel, ed., *Slovník českých filozofů* (Brno: Masarykova univerzita, 1998), 437.

³⁷ Findlay, "Classical Ethics and Postmodern Critique," 427, 437.

In dispensing with the Platonic-Hegelian metaphysical eschatology, Havel was prepared (in the words of Richard Rorty) “to substitute groundless hope for theoretical insight.”³⁸ He was a disciple of Jan Patočka’s phenomenology, and thus also approached Masaryk’s empiricism.³⁹ Above all, a reasonably coherent philosophical view can be derived from Havel’s writings, contrary to the assertions of such a distinguished commentator as Isaiah Berlin.⁴⁰

Morality: Basis of Politics (and Economics)

Aside from the inspiration of “negative Platonism” in metaphysics and “transcendence” in epistemology and ethics, according to Havel, Patočka endowed politics, (as well as economics) with a proper moral foundation. The opposition to totalitarian regimes was not motivated in the first place by defense of human rights, but by the lack of moral foundations of all the spheres of human activity and the inability of contemporary civilization (not only its Communist part) to pay sufficient attention to these foundations.⁴¹

For humanity to develop in agreement with the possibilities of technical, instrumental reason, to experience a progress of knowledge and technical skills, there must be an underlying conviction of inevitable necessity of principles that are absolute and unconditional. It is inadequate to rely on a morality that is self-seeking or opportunistic. These principles could not be generated by political power of the state, or by the power of economic production but these powers depended on the moral principles.⁴² Without a moral foundation even the best society, with the best technical equipment, could not function. The purpose of morality, however, was not to enable society to function. It was not defined by the human beings arbitrarily according to their needs, wishes, or tendencies, but it was morality that defines the behavior of man.⁴³

Havel agreed with Patočka on the relationship between the morality of individuals and their social obligations, which essentially involved an application of the metaphysical concept of transcendence. On the level of the individual, the

³⁸ Richard Rorty, “The End of Leninism, Havel, and Social Hope,” in his *Truth and Progress* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 236.

³⁹ See also Robert Pirro, “Václav Havel and the Political Uses of Tragedy,” *Political Theory*, 30 (2002), 228-229; Rorty, Richard, “The End of Leninism, Havel, and Social Hope,” in his *Truth and Progress* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 231, 236, 239.

⁴⁰ Isaiah Berlin stated in an interview in *Lidové noviny*, November 15, 1997 that “there exists no Havelian doctrine nor Havelian work which could be definitely demarcated.” Cited by Findlay, “Classical Ethics and Postmodern Critique,” 403. For an opposing view, see Aviezer Tucker, *The Philosophy and Politics of Czech Dissidence from Patočka to Havel*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2000, 135.

⁴¹ “Dálkový výslech,” 1985-1986, in Václav Havel, *Eseje a jiné texty z let 1970-1989*, Spisy 4, 839-841; Žantovský, *Havel*, 191.

⁴² Žantovský, *Havel*, 192; Jan Patočka, “Čím je a čím není Charta 77,” *Sebrané spisy*, 12 (Prague: Oikoymenth, 2006), 428.

⁴³ Patočka, “Čím je a čím není Charta 77,” 428.

focus of social activity should be the integral and honorable human "I", vouching for itself, because it was aiming at something above itself, and it was able sacrifice something – or in an extreme case everything. The individual thus was able to rise from its everyday prospering private life—or as Patočka used to say from this "domination of the day" [*vlády dne*]⁴⁴— in order to make this sacrifice and so to make sure that life had a meaning.

Likewise, Havel shared with Patočka a conviction that the lack of moral foundations (and hence a detachment from the "natural world") affected not only the Communist, but also the Western society. Thus, Havel maintained that it was false to believe that the Western values, that is, the idea of democracy, human rights, civil society, and free market would rapidly spread throughout the entire world. It would be naïve, to assume that these values would automatically diffuse everywhere. A part of the problem—making the western model unattractive to many—was its incomplete character, its half-heartedness. Sounding a bit like Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn in his famous address at the Harvard Commencement of 1978,⁴⁵ Havel claimed that the western system was often tied up with moral relativism, materialism, denial of anything spiritual, haughty contempt of anything super-personal, a complete crisis of authority and a decay springing from it. Moreover, there was the West's relentless consumerism and lack of solidarity, self-centered cult of personal or group material well-being, absence of faith in a higher order (or simply in eternity), and an expansionism which was contemptuous of anything that resisted the monotonous and spiritless rationalism of contemporary technical civilization.⁴⁶ Some of this pessimism about Western civilization—because of its uprooting from the "natural world"—stemmed also from Heidegger, whom Patočka knew from Heidelberg in the mid-1930s, and who deplored the crises of contemporary society as "the inaptitude of humanity face to face with the planetary power of technology."⁴⁷

Morality: Human Rights World-Wide

Havel was affected by Patočka even in the area of political theory and practice. From Patočka's influence on Charter 77 Havel was particularly impressed by Patočka's insistence that it is important to openly embrace values which are considered essential regardless of the immediate outlook of their realization. Secondly, Havel strongly endorsed Patočka's insistence on the world-wide applicability of the concept of human rights. He taught the need for solidarity with those who fought elsewhere for such values. Havel referred to this

⁴⁴ "Politika a svědomí" in Havel, *Eseje a jiné texty z let 1970-1989*, 435.

⁴⁵ Aleksandr I. Solzhenitsyn, *A World Split Apart*, Commencement Address Delivered at Harvard University, June 8, 1978. New York: Harper and Row, 1978, especially, 19-23, 33-37.

⁴⁶ "Cena Jacksona H. Ralstona," Stanford, September 29, 1994, Václav Havel, *Spisy*, 7 vols. Prague: Torst, 1999, 7:287-88. On parallels with Solzhenitsyn, see also Tucker, "Václav Havel's Heideggerianism," 68-69, 72.

⁴⁷ Tucker, "Václav Havel's Heideggerianism," 64.

inspiration, especially during his presidency and afterwards. He traveled worldwide and met with dissidents and human rights fighter, above all from the countries with dictatorial or authoritarian regime whether of the Right or of the Left. He was genuinely surprised how often these dissidents look the legacy of Charter 77 and to its moral dimension for inspiration. This legacy of the peaceful, but dedicated resistance, to the violation of human rights was to a large extent due to Patočka. Havel called for a perpetuation of Patočka's legacy. Because in the Czech Republic the resistance scored a victory, this fact should not make the Czechs indifferent to the plight of those who were still struggling.⁴⁸ At the same time, Havel pointed out that—from the viewpoint of Patočka's theory of metaphysics—the concept of human rights actually and clearly implied that nations were placing themselves under the authority of an overarching moral order, and thus they recognized something unconditionally above themselves. In addition, and in a practical sense, the Czechoslovak state by signing the Helsinki Act formally adhered to a higher, moral foundation of everything political, and consequently provided a legitimate basis for Charter 77 to ask for a realization of the principles proclaimed in this act.⁴⁹

After the Velvet Revolution, addressing the Czech Parliament on February 23, 1993, as Czech President, Havel paid a special tribute to Patočka, who next to Masaryk was the outstanding teacher of the moral foundations of democracy, particularly of the political meaning of truth as a moral value.⁵⁰ As President, Havel, of course, demonstrated this concern for violation of human rights in another sovereign state by his rather unpopular support of the inhabitants of Kosovo against the Serbian state (March to June 1999). International law, protecting rights of the individual, should be superordinate to international law protecting the rights of states, including their sovereignty.⁵¹ Havel maintained that this maxim was correctly observed by the intervention in Serbia.

Politics: "Community of the Perturbed"

Havel first mentioned Patočka's concept of "the community of the perturbed" (*obec otřesených*) in his essay "Politika a svědomí" (1984). According to him, Patočka had in mind those who dared to oppose to an impersonal power the only thing they had: their own humanity. Havel speculated that the better future of the world might rest in such an international community of the perturbed, who in their commotion would disregard boundaries of states, political systems, and power

⁴⁸ Václav Havel, "Vzpomínka na Jana Patočku," in Ivan Chvatík, ed., *Myšlení Jana Patočky očima dnešní fenomenologie*. Prague: Filosofia and Oikoymenh, 2009, 16.

⁴⁹ Jan Patočka, "Čím je a čím není Charta 77," 429.

⁵⁰ "Poslanecká sněmovna Parlamentu České republiky," February 23, 1993, Václav Havel, *Projevy a jiné texty z let 1992-1999*, Spisy 7, Prague: Torst, 1999, 50.

⁵¹ "Společné zasedání obou komor kanadského parlamentu," Ottawa, April 29, 1999, in Václav Havel, *Spisy*, 7 vols. (Prague: Torst, 1999), 7:865-866.

blocs; they would disregard traditional political arrangements and offices and try to rely only on the political power of human conscience.⁵²

In responding to the award of the Erasmus Prize in the Netherlands in March 1986, Havel launched into an advocacy of such a brotherhood which he compared to the idea of a humanistic fraternity proposed by Erasmus. He maintained that there existed an ideal connection between Patočka's "*obec otřesených*" and Erasmus' book *Praise of Folly* (*Moriae encomium*, *Chvála bláznovství*). In elaborating on the relationship, Havel pointed out that Erasmus was understood as a great—possibly the last—personification of European integrity. He traveled all through Europe and addressed himself to the continent. He worried about all-European problems; and he was revered and asked for advice from all countries of Europe. The approaching religious division especially tormented him and he tried face to face with it to safeguard and protect the unity of European spirit, European consciousness, and European tradition. He also concluded that these values were human in the highest sense and as such they should be respected and adopted by all Europeans regardless of denominational, national, or power political considerations. It was in this context that he dreamt about a kind of supranational brotherhood of wise men.⁵³ Havel suggested that he concept of the "*obec otřesených*" (community of the perturbed)—which Patočka was developing—could be considered a present-day variant of Erasmus's idea of such a brotherhood. The readiness to oppose by the mere power of a typewriter an all-powerful machinery of the totalitarian bureaucracy could well be viewed as a modern version of Erasmus's folly (*bláznovství*).⁵⁴

If there were connection between Erasmus's humanistic brotherhood of the erudites, and Patočka's community of the perturbed, this connecting line might well be leading to the appearance of some kind of All-European consciousness. Havel backed up his intuition of such an increasing all-European awareness by two examples. In the 1970s, in the wake of the Prague Spring, Western Europe was indifferent to the mass repression in Czechoslovakia under normalization. Ten years later, in the 1980s, the repression of a relatively small numbers of dissidents aroused outbursts of indignation and protests in the west, especially among intellectuals. Havel pointed to the immediate situation—the award of the Erasmus prize to himself—as a sign of the surging revival of the all-European spirit in which a country of Western Europe bestowed its cherished prize on the denizen of an East European land. This also showed that the European spirit was arising despite the disruption due to the Iron Curtain.⁵⁵ Incidentally, much earlier, Husserl (on whom Patočka and—through Patočka—Havel relied) likewise

⁵² "Politika a svědomí" in Václav Havel, *Eseje a jiné texty z let 1970-1989*, 418-445; written: Hrádeček, February 1984, p. 444-445.

⁵³ "Děkovná řeč" in Václav Havel, *Eseje a jiné texty z let 1970-1989*, 613-622, March 1986, 617; Desiderius Erasmus, *Praise of Folly* (London: Penguin Books, 1993). The title is inspired by the world's view of the Christian way as a folly or as the folly of the Cross, according to St. Paul, 1 Corinthians, 1:18; see *ibid.*, xi, xix.

⁵⁴ "Děkovná řeč," 613-622, March 1986, 616.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 613-622, March 1986, 618- 619, 621-22.

expected the cure of the current predicament of modern humanity from the renewal of European value—as a restoration of rationality.⁵⁶

Politics: Parallel Polis

In structural politics, it has been pointed out that Patočka had a significant influence on Havel's way of preparing the institutional infrastructure for the Velvet Revolution in his idea of the "Polis."⁵⁷ The concept of antique Polis as a locus of political freedom was adopted by Patočka from Martin Heidegger.⁵⁸ The emergence of Patočka's concept of Polis in the resistance movement of the 1970s was linked to the appearance of the earlier-mentioned underground group *The Plastic People of the Universe*, which was defined by its leader Ivan Jirous as a phenomenon of "second culture" for those who wished to lead their lives not in the wide community of the state, but in the narrow community of the municipality (*obec*).⁵⁹ At that time, Patočka presented his ideas about the polis in his lectures to the young dissidents through the time up to the establishment of Charter 77. Shortly after his death, Havel and Václav Benda (b. 1946) began to develop Patočka's ideas about the polis, respectively in their writings on *Moc bezmocných* and *Paralelní polis*. Benda linked Jirous's idea of "second culture" with the development of the "parallel polis," which meant the development of parallel institutions and structures alongside the official structures.⁶⁰

Havel elaborated Benda's project into an overall political theory of polis and his of political and theatrical elements mixture proved to be an important precondition of the eventual Velvet Revolution.⁶¹ While Czechoslovakia in 1989 may have lagged behind some other Communist countries in creating an oppositional civil society, it had created a large number of civil movements, connected with the Charter 77. Moreover, Havel's concept of the polis benefited from the legacy of the Prague Spring, based on "the plurality of social associations from below."⁶² During October and November 1989 these numerous independent associations coalesced under the umbrella of Civic Forum (*Občanské fórum*) and were ready to assume power from the largely defunct Communist Party.⁶³

Thus the parallel polis, a conceptual product of the "second culture," created a pluralistic network of clubs, organizations and associations with a broad scale of

⁵⁶ Patočka, "Masarykovo a Husserlovo pojetí duševní krise lidstva, 1936)," 24-25. See also Jan Zouhar, "Jan Patočka a Masarykovo pojetí dějin," *Filosofický časopis*, 55 (2007), 463, citing from Jan Patočka, *Tři studie o Masarykovi* (Prague: Mladá fronta, 1991), 10.

⁵⁷ Josef Chytrý, "Jan Patočka a středoevropská myšlenka polis. Od filosofické fenomenologie k české sametové revoluci," in Ivan Chvatík, ed., *Myšlení Jana Patočky očima dnešní fenomenologie*, (Prague: Filosofia and Oikomenh, 2009), 437-460.

⁵⁸ Chytrý, "Jan Patočka a středoevropská myšlenka polis," 451-453.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 455.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 456-457.

⁶¹ Václav Havel, *Moc bezmocných*, Spisy, 4:303-307.

⁶² Václav Havel, *Dálkový výslech*, Spisy, 4:720.

⁶³ Chytrý, "Jan Patočka a středoevropská myšlenka polis," 458.

goals and purposes that Havel called "authentic social self-organization."⁶⁴ At a point in the late 1970s, it even appeared that Havel may have considered this "parallel polis" as an "embryonic fore image or symbolic micro-model" of a more meaningful "post-democratic political structures", which could provide a better basis for a political arrangement of society than parliamentary institutions could.⁶⁵ During the aftermath of the Velvet Revolution, however, Havel unequivocally endorsed the western democratic ideas of government and the concept of the parallel polis remained merely an instrument of transition from the totalitarian system.

Influence of Patočka and Masaryk

Above all, it is proper to conclude that Havel was a powerful thinker in his own right, who adjusted borrowed ideas, coming from Patočka and other sources, to his own particular purposes. His benign relationship to Patočka's teaching contrasted with Patočka's often rather acerbic attitudes toward Masaryk's philosophy. Havel's easy-going interest in randomly borrowing suitable ideas from his philosophical mentor differed from Patočka's penchant for the application of strict mathematical-like logic which led him to assert unbridgeable gaps between Masaryk's major assertions.⁶⁶ As a final paradox, Havel's references to Patočka in his own writings appear rather sporadic, when compared with his numerous and extensive ones to Masaryk's teaching. Yet, Patočka's influence on Havel's philosophical orientation was undoubtedly more substantial than Masaryk's. Even that, however, should not be overestimated. As Delia Popescu has properly pointed out there are limitations of Patočka's (and through him Husserl's and Heidegger's) influence on Havel's thought.⁶⁷ In particular, his historical, political, and social ideas owe much to Thomas G. Masaryk.⁶⁸ In his speech on Czechoslovak television before the first presidential election on December 16, 1989, he named both Patočka and Masaryk among those who deserved praise for preserving the identity of the nation in difficult times.⁶⁹ He again included Patočka together with Masaryk among those who had maintained

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 459.

⁶⁵ Václav Havel, *Moc bezmocných*, Spisy, 4:328.

⁶⁶ Patočka, Jan, "Pokus o českou národní filosofii a jeho nezdar (1946)," idem, *Sebrané spisy*, 12, (Prague: 2006), 348, 356-357.

⁶⁷ She implies that the fine analyses of Aviezer Tucker, Edward Findlay, and James Pontuso particularly tend to leave this impression. Delia Popescu, *Political Action in Václav Havel's Thought: The Responsibility of Resistance*, (Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books, 2012), 24.

⁶⁸ See Zdeněk V. David, "Václav Havel and the Legacy of Tomáš Masaryk," *Kosmas: Czechoslovak and Central European Journal*, Vol. 26, no. 2 (Spring 2013), 24-49.

⁶⁹ The others were Jiřík z Poděbrad, Komenský, Havlíček, Štúr, Štefaník. See "Projev v Československé televizi o politické situaci před volbou prezidenta republiky," December 16, 1989, in Havel, *Eseje a jiné texty z let 1970-1989*, 1179.

the Czech national ethos of dedication to truth as a moral value in the speech at his presidential inauguration in February 1993.⁷⁰

⁷⁰ This time he left out the Slovaks and added earlier figures: Cyril and Methodius, Duke Václav, Charles IV, and Jan Hus, as well as replacing Havlíček with Palacký. "Projev k občanům po inauguraci," Havel, *Projevy a jiné texty z let 1992-1999*, 40; see also Havel, Václav, *Projevy z let 1990-1992, Letní přemítání*, 542.

Loss and Mourning in the G Minor Piano Trios of Smetana and Dvořák¹

Michael Peiffer

An oft-appearing theme for works created during the nineteenth-century Romantic Era is that of autobiography. Painters, for instance, produced self-portraits that conveyed predicaments in their life. Sir Joshua Reynolds—himself perhaps an early architect of the romantic style—painted *Self-Portrait of a Deaf Man* (c. 1775), which depicts the artist as the victim of losing his hearing. François-René de Chateaubriand wrote his multi-volume *Mémoires d'Outre-Tombe* [Memoirs from beyond the Grave] during the latter half of his life. These memories became a record of what Chateaubriand accomplished during his life as well as a chronicle of the notable events that occurred concurrently. The idea, therefore, of composers incorporating details of their lives into their music, or perhaps the details of their lives dictating what they compose, is not outside the realm of possibility—indeed, Bedřich Smetana's first string quartet (Op. 116 "From My Life") is a glowing example of autobiography in music. Two other pieces from Bohemia, the Piano Trio in G Minor (1855) of Bedřich Smetana (1824-1884) and the like-titled Piano Trio in G Minor (1876) of Antonín Dvořák (1841-1904), are no exception to this autobiographical trend, as they emanated from similar traumatic circumstances; consequently, these responses to tragedy warrant further comparison. Both composers had recently endured the death of a young daughter and each wrote a piano trio in the days following that event. Dvořák may, in fact, have considered the similarities between his situation in 1876, after the untimely death of his Josefa, and that of Smetana in late 1854, after the death of his oldest child Bedřiška, as he and Smetana were good friends.² It should be noted, however, that no documentary evidence has been discovered to support this suggestion of direct influence. Nevertheless, it seems extremely unlikely that Dvořák would have serendipitously written a memorial for his own daughter in the same key and genre as those utilized by Smetana. Sadly, child mortality was an all-too-common occurrence in the mid-nineteenth century, and it struck the Dvořák household severely—his first three children died between the years of 1875 and 1877, none of them having reached five years of age.³ Interestingly, the Smetana household had also suffered a spate of child mortality:

¹ The author is greatly indebted to Dr. Judith Mabary for her tireless reviews of this article.

² Dvořák played viola in the orchestra at the Provisional Theater, where Smetana was the conductor. Smetana was known to have praised Dvořák's works, including the *Slavonic Dances*. For more information, see Otakar Šourek, *Antonín Dvořák: Letters and Reminiscences*, trans. Roberta Finlayson Samsour (Prague: Artia, [1954]), 49. The Provisional Theater orchestra also performed many of Dvořák's works under Smetana's baton and Smetana's compositions were well-known to Prague audiences; consequently, they were certainly aware of each other's works.

³ Otakar (first-born)—three years old at death (d. 8 September 1877); Josefa (second-born)—three days old at death (d. 21 September 1875); and Růženka (third-born)—ten months old at death (d. 13 August 1877).

the first, second, and fourth of Smetana's daughters (all of his children were girls) also died before reaching five years of age.⁴

Bedřich Smetana's early life was centered around and molded by his family. By the time Bedřich was born, his father, a brewer, had married his third wife; there were five surviving children from the first two marriages and two from the current one. Ten more children, seven of whom survived, were born after Smetana. His father was an amateur string quartet musician who introduced his son to music. By the age of six, Bedřich had given his first public performance on the piano. From there he went on to study in Prague and later Plzeň. He married his first wife, Kateřina, when he was twenty-five. They had four children together, all girls. Typical of the unfortunate times, three of these daughters died in their youth, and his wife Kateřina died after only ten years of marriage. Smetana went on to marry Bettina Ferdinandová; the couple had two daughters together.

Antonín Dvořák's childhood consisted of an apprenticeship to his father's craft as butcher, music lessons at school, and deep religious roots, implanted by his parents. Eventually his love for music won out over his abject hatred of his apprenticeship and he proceeded to attend the Prague Organ School. In 1873 Dvořák married Anna Čermáková and they began a family. Anna was the sister of his student Josefina—with whom the composer had first fallen in love, but her lack of affection towards him and disinterest in encouraging his advances ended that prospect. Josephina married Count Kounic in 1877 and the two couples became great friends. Antonín and Anna had three children, two daughters and a son, in the first three years of their marriage, all of whom died before the age of five and within three years of each other. The Dvořáks went on to have four more daughters and two more sons; all survived into adulthood.

Of Smetana and Dvořák's children, the death of Bedřiška Smetanová prompted the composition of a piano trio and that of Josefa Dvořáková probably did as well. Bedřiška had shown hints of musical interest early in her short life. Her mother wrote an account in her diary of the sole concert that Bedřiška attended. She noted,

How quietly and cheerfully she sat through the whole long concert. [...] When, later on, I remembered how that small, four-year-old child behaved, I was hardly able to understand how she could have been so reasonable and good.⁵

Smetana called her "unusually gifted" in a letter dated September 6, 1877 to his friend and publisher Dr. Ludevít Procházka (1837-1888).⁶ Josefa was

⁴ Bedřiška (first-born)—four years old at death (d. 6 September 1855); Gabriela (second-born)—two years old at death (d. July 1854); and Kateřina (fourth-born)—one year old at death (d. June 1856).

⁵ František Bartoš, *Bedřich Smetana: Letters and Reminiscences*, trans. Daphne Rusbridge (Prague: Artia, 1955), 35-36.

Dvořák's first daughter. In addition to the piano trio, the initial compositional efforts on the well-known *Stabat Mater*—the text of which recounts the sorrow and anguish of the Virgin Mary as she stood at the base of the cross during Jesus's crucifixion—followed shortly after her sudden death. The epitaph on Josefa's grave conveys the degree of the anguish that Dvořák was feeling following her death:

Here lies our child; in her were embodied all her grieving father's most beautiful hopes and her mother's greatest happiness. Her departure to the world of angels has taken away everything from us.⁷

As referenced above, Dvořák and Smetana each wrote for the piano trio and in the key of G minor shortly after their daughters' deaths. Among the various options for keys, there were many possibilities. Why then did both Dvořák and Smetana choose G minor? Theorist Alfred Lavignac characterized G-flat major as "gentle and calm," and G-sharp minor as "very somber."⁸ Either of these keys could have also served as the basis of these pieces. Undoubtedly, Smetana and Dvořák observed that something in the key of G minor evoked a mood or feeling that was similar to what they were experiencing following their daughters' deaths.

We can trace the idea of a key expressing a certain mood back to the Baroque period (approximately 1600-1750) and the so-called Doctrine of the Affections. This doctrine's basis was that different aspects of music could express certain emotions or Affects—admiration, love, hatred, desire, joy, and sorrow—that philosopher René Descartes had outlined in the mid-seventeenth century.⁹ Even before the time of this theory, there was the belief in a similar Doctrine of Ethos in ancient Greece. These doctrines attempted to delineate the moods/feelings thought to be evoked by a piece or aspect of music, such as key, meter, intervals, etc. Unfortunately, these belief systems, by definition, cannot effectively be applied to the music of Dvořák or Smetana as both are from the Romantic Era. There exists another system, laid out by the German theorist Christian Schubart, however, that describes a more contemporary viewpoint of the relationships between mood and tonality. In his *Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst* [Ideas for an Aesthetic of Music] (1785) he laid out a framework detailing the evocative nature of the various keys that can be applied to nineteenth-century compositions.¹⁰

⁶ *Ibid.*, 37.

⁷ Richard Rodda, "Notes to Chamber Music Society of Lincoln Center Concert, Oct. 16, 2012," (http://www.chambermusicsociety.org/images/uploads/events/Oct_16_2012_unedited_notes.pdf; accessed 30 May 2016).

⁸ Albert Lavignac, *Music and Musicians*, trans. William Marchant (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1907), 365-66.

⁹ René Descartes, *Les passions de l'âme* [The Passions of the Soul] (Paris: Henry Le Gras, 1649), 94.

¹⁰ Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart, *Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst* [Ideas for an Aesthetic of Music] (Vienna: Bey J. V. Degen, 1806). I have used Ted Alan DuBois's *Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart's 'Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst': an*

In his seminal work Schubart characterized all of the keys and examined voluminous other aspects of musical aesthetics, including the history of music and of musical instruments, characteristics of solo playing, musical colorings, and aspects of musical expression—the category in which he included the analysis of the keys as they relate to certain emotional states. Before describing individual keys, he introduced the characterizations by saying, “Each key is either colored or not colored. One expresses innocence and simplicity with uncolored keys. Gentle, melancholic feelings [are expressed] with flat keys; wild and strong passions with sharp keys.”¹¹ He therefore believed that different keys had specific and distinct characters inherent within them. About the main key of the two piano trios in question, Schubart said, “G minor, displeasure, uneasiness, worry about a failed scheme; discontented gnashing at the bit; in a word, anger and disgust.”¹²

While some today may consider Schubart’s 210-year-old work dated, both Beethoven and Schumann knew about his tome, and there is a body of new writing in the same vein, studied for example in Maho Ishiguro’s Master’s thesis from 2010 entitled *The Affective Properties of Keys in Instrumental Music from the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries*.¹³ In this monograph, Ishiguro catalogs a number of authors’ views regarding the various keys. She mentions G minor though the lens of multiple writers, notably John W. Moore (1807-?), Ernst Pauer (1826-1905), and Albert Lavignac (1846-1916). Moore’s characterization of G minor is particularly appropriate here, defining it as “replete with melancholy.”¹⁴ Pauer continued,

Sometimes sadness, sometimes quiet and sedate joy, a gentle grace with a slight touch of dreamy melancholy. Occasionally it rises to a romantic elevation. It effectively portrays the sentimental; and when used for expressing passionate feelings, the sweetness of its character will deprive the passion of all harshness.¹⁵

Finally, Lavignac’s analysis states simply, “melancholy, shy.”¹⁶ All three of these writers describe G minor as melancholic, which does not line up precisely with Schubart’s classification, but seems to accurately convey what logic would contend were the emotions felt by Smetana and Dvořák on the deaths of their children.¹⁷

Annotated Translation (PhD dissertation, University of Southern California, 1983) as a reference here because of its value as a translation and interpretation.

¹¹ Brackets in original. *Ibid.*, 433.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ Maho A. Ishiguro, *The Affective Properties of Keys in Instrumental Music from the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries* (MM Thesis, University of Massachusetts – Amherst, 2010).

¹⁴ Moore in *Ibid.*, 44.

¹⁵ Pauer in *Ibid.*, 49.

¹⁶ Lavignac, 365-66.

¹⁷ Both composers used the key of G minor sparingly in chamber music. Dvořák’s output includes only one other chamber work in this key: the Rondo for Violoncello and Piano

Is Dvořák's Trio a Memorial?

The object of Smetana's trio is clear: in a letter to his publisher, Dr. Ludevít Procházka, he mentioned, as previously noted, that he wrote it as a memorial to Bedřiška;¹⁸ Dvořák's trio, however, does not benefit from such documentation. Katz and Beckerman, in their chapter on the chamber music of the two artists, declare, "Unlike the older composer [Smetana], Dvořák left no indication that his trio was intended as a memorial."¹⁹ Even with this lack of evidence, a prudent argument can be made that he did intend for his trio to be in remembrance of Josefa.²⁰

Various authors have agreed, in fact, that Dvořák's trio may represent such a commemoration. Clapham speculated that the trio "may quite possibly reflect the composer's despondent mood which followed a tragedy of the year before."²¹ Smallman stated that the trio "shares with Smetana's trio in the same key a similar elegiac purpose."²² Robertson noted that Josefa's death "cast a shadow over the first compositions of the following year, 1876."²³ Finally, Šourek declared that the trio "anticipates quite unmistakably the spiritual atmosphere of the *Stabat Mater* and [...] is predominantly expressive of spiritual anguish."²⁴ Each of these authors has described Dvořák's Piano Trio in G Minor with words that imply something dire was weighing on the composer's mind during the creation of the work.

With such speculation in mind, what does the work itself contain to support such opinions? Are there sufficient similarities between Dvořák and Smetana's G minor piano trios that, without any other evidence, we can say they serve the same general purpose? If not, are there aspects of Dvořák's trio alone that identify it as a memorial in its own right?

(1891). Smetana used the key in his *Fantasia on a Bohemian Song* for violin and piano (1843) and *From the Homeland* for violin and piano (1880).

¹⁸ Bartoš, *Letters and Reminiscences*, 37.

¹⁹ Derek Katz and Michael Beckerman, "The Chamber Music of Smetana and Dvořák," *Nineteenth-Century Chamber Music*, ed. Stephen Hefling (New York: Schirmer Books, 1998), 333.

²⁰ In his book *New Worlds of Dvořák: Searching in America for the Composer's Inner Life* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2003), 56, Michael Beckerman asked and answered an interesting and extremely important question:

How do you operate when you have no evidence? Or, rather, how do you proceed when your evidence is minimal? [...] In the absence of any hints, we tend to fall back on the 'general quality' of the music, a procedure that is both wildly speculative and at the same time entirely appropriate.

This general procedure is the one I have adopted to justify my classification of Dvořák's trio as a memorial to Josefa.

²¹ John Clapham, *Dvořák* (London: W.W. Norton, 1979), 38.

²² Basil Smallman, *The Piano Trio: Its History, Technique, and Repertoire* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 158.

²³ Alec Robertson, *Dvořák* (New York: Pellegrini and Cudaby, 1949), 32.

²⁴ Otakar Šourek, *The Chamber Music of Antonín Dvořák*, trans. Roberta Finlayson Samsour (Prague: Artia, [1956]), 150.

Numerous authors have commented on the motivic economy Dvořák employed in his trio. Šourek determined that:

[The Piano Trio in G Minor] is distinguished by a frugality of thematic material such as is rare in Dvořák. No movement has more than two themes (the slow movement, indeed, only one) and what is more, the two themes are often closely related, thus strengthening the impression of thematic simplicity.²⁵

Especially notable is the first movement, where only two themes pervade the lines of all three instruments (violin, cello, piano) in different forms, variations, and ranges.

Allegro Moderato ♩ = 112

Example 1: The first theme, indicated with brackets, from Dvořák's Piano Trio, Op. 26, Mvt. 1²⁶

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ Antonín Dvořák, *Piano Trio in G Minor* (Berlin: Bote and Bock, 1879), 2. Both of these works are in the public domain in the United States.

Example 2: The second theme, indicated with brackets, and the constant sixteenth-note segment, indicated within boxes, from Dvořák's Piano Trio, Op. 26, Mvt. 1.

Throughout the entire first movement, elements of the principal theme are ubiquitous. Perhaps the most notable segment of the second theme is in the ever-present sixteenth notes (see boxes, Example 2). This motive appears most often in the piano part with both the cello and violin helping to sustain it. The feeling that the sixteenth notes give the movement is that of uneasiness and driving toward a destination unknown to the listener. This motive is sometimes interrupted, but sometimes reinforced by the sets of two vehement quarter-note chords apparent in the first and last measures of Example 1. (Usually Dvořák assigned these chords to all three instruments together, but in certain instances these tones appear in different instrumental combinations, such as in only the piano, the piano and the violin, the violin and cello.)

A similar motivic consistency is apparent in the second movement. With findings echoing those of Šourek, Anthony Crain noted in his 1978 DMA dissertation that, "The second movement is remarkable in that it is based entirely on a two-measure melodic motive and expanded through repetition of melodic fragments."²⁷ Šourek called this a "single melodically and emotionally tense theme."²⁸ This movement, as will be discussed later, is the only one in Dvořák's trio that can be considered disconsolate, but the others do demonstrate a similar economy and recycling of motives.

In *New Worlds of Dvořák* Beckerman included a chapter entitled "The Master is Not Well" in a section named "The Hidden Dvořák." Here he examined the various maladies from which Dvořák seemed to have suffered. One such ailment was depression, which Beckerman proposed probably "became part of the emotional palette out of which he composed."²⁹ Perhaps this depression led Dvořák to fixate on the tragic events in his life. If this was the case, it may explain the motivic economy of his piano trio.

With only one theme in the second movement and only two in the others, Dvořák's Piano Trio in G Minor is not thematically dense; the composer used those themes repeatedly within each movement. Indeed, Robertson wrote: "the semiquaver [sixteenth-note] figure which [sic] first appears on the piano breaks out *like a rash* [author's italics] over the whole movement."³⁰ While the economy of the themes may be problematic for some, like Robertson, perhaps such sparsity stems from his state of depression following Josefa's death. Speculatively, and it is only that, the limitation to a maximum of two themes in each movement may be attributable to the number of full days—two—that Josefa lived.

²⁷ Anthony J. Crain, *Dvořák's Four Piano Trios* (DMA Dissertation, University of Cincinnati, 1978), 66.

²⁸ Šourek, *The Chamber Music of Antonín Dvořák*, 151.

²⁹ Beckerman, *New Worlds of Dvořák*, 190.

³⁰ Robertson, *Dvořák*, 90-91. While Robertson seems to have intended this as a criticism, I would say that, on the contrary, it demonstrates Dvořák's mastery of the genre.

Another key aspect of Dvořák's trio that is critical to examine is the length of time it took to complete. Once he started composing, Dvořák wrote at a feverish pace, beginning on January 4 and finishing on January 20, 1876.³¹ While he typically composed quickly, this span of sixteen days seems uncharacteristically short. Biographer Kurt Honolka helped place such a discrepancy in the context of Dvořák's creative process: "if it often seemed amazing that he had put a whole string quartet on paper in a few days, one can be sure that he had gone through a lengthy thought process beforehand."³² Based on this statement, it is entirely logical to surmise that Dvořák had been ruminating on this work in the four-and-a-half months that had passed since Josefa died. The G minor trio was the first work he started after Josefa's death on August 21, 1875; it is therefore plausible that the composer intended this piece as a memorial for her, if only on a subconscious level.

Critical views of Dvořák's trio add different perspectives to the argument of whether the work is a statement of grief. Former BBC commentator and music critic Robert Philip mentioned in his liner notes for a recent Hyperion release of this trio, "In fact there is little of this [spiritual anguish—as noted by Šourek] to be found in the music. [...] the mood is too energetic and determined to seem at all tragic except in the slow movement."³³ Yet, where is it written that a memorial must be tragic? Surely the death of a two-day-old daughter is tragic, but for all we know Dvořák may have chosen to idealize his memories of Josefa and her short life in a positive way. Reviewer Tim Homfray of *The Strad* says it better: "The G minor Trio in particular generates increasing emotional weight as it veers constantly between lyricism and passion."³⁴ Another reviewer, Jeffery Joseph, wrote that the trio has a "spirit of equivocation"—perhaps this is why Dvořák never wrote anything about its genesis.³⁵ Dvořák's trio may not need, as Šourek puts it, "spiritual anguish" in order to be in memory of Josefa.

A Look into the Music

In addition to the critical views of Dvořák's trio presented above, there are significant similarities between it and Smetana's trio that will support, in the end, a description of Dvořák's work as a memorial. While Dvořák did not write such an evocative melody as Smetana for his first movement, the one he did create, because of the motivic economy and omnipresence, is appropriate for a piece that

³¹ Šourek, *The Chamber Music of Antonín Dvořák*, 149.

³² Kurt Honolka, *Dvořák*, trans. Anne Wyburd (London: Haus Publishing, 2004), 118.

³³ Robert Philip, liner notes to *Dvořák Piano Trios in B flat major, Op. 21 & G minor, Op. 26, Suk Elegy Op. 23*, perf. Florestan Trio (Hyperion CDA67572, l2007l).

³⁴ Tim Homfray, Review of "Dvořák Piano Trios in B flat major, Op. 21 & G minor, Op. 26, Suk Elegy, Op. 23," perf. Florestan Trio (Hyperion CDA67572, l2007l), *The Strad* CXIX/1416 (April 2008), 89-90.

³⁵ Jeffery Joseph, Review of "Dvořák: Piano Trios No. 4, Op. 9 'Dumky'; No. 1, Op. 21; No. 2, Op. 26 & No. 3, Op. 65," perf. Solomon Trio (Carlton Classics 30366 00247, nd), *The Strad* CVIII/1289 (September 1997), 1001.

memorializes a daughter who embodied her father's most beautiful hopes. In addition, the third movement of Smetana's trio shares with Dvořák's first movement—and third—a distinct ostinato pattern that drives the section toward some sort of goal unknown to the listeners.

In the opening movement of Dvořák's trio the composer wrote the first theme in the violin part. This melody, provided in Example 1, could have multiple interpretations. While listening to this movement, the adjectives melancholy, sorrowful, and (later) driving come to mind. One word that does not manifest, however, is happy. This movement is not, as Philip seems to have implied above, a happy movement.

Dvořák's second movement *Largo*, although in a major key (Eb), is the only section of this trio that seems to evoke any sustained sense of pathos. Its slow tempo and emotional melody project a strong feeling of sadness and grief. In one instance the violinist is instructed to play the theme *Sul G* [on the G string]. This instruction results in altering the theme to make it more intense and to convey a sense of longing and agony. Coincidentally, this is also the same marking Smetana used for the intensely emotional, perhaps even melodramatic, opening violin solo of his trio.

The third movement *Scherzo* and its accompanying trio elicit respectively the frantic, driving nature of the first movement and a stately waltz feeling. The trio is in G major, while the *scherzo* is in G minor. A sense of balance comes from the fact that Dvořák paired the milder trio in a major key with the agitated *scherzo* in its minor key.

To round out the trio, Dvořák hearkened back to the first movement in the finale. While this fourth movement's themes are distinct, they are similar to those of the opening in that there are punctuating chords as well as multitudes of sixteenth notes throughout. While it starts in G minor, the majority of the finale is in the key of G major, which, like the trio, lends the movement a happier feeling. Perhaps it would be prudent to note here that Schubart wrote about this tonality, "in a word, [that] each gentle and serene motion of the heart can be expressed splendidly in this key."³⁶ The selection of G major could, perhaps, signal the coming to terms of Dvořák with Josefa's death.

While three of Dvořák's movements do not evoke the expected attitude of a memorial—the principal complaint of the reviewers above—the same could be said of Smetana's trio, which is known to be a reminiscence. Admittedly, Smetana's opening violin solo, played first on the G string to increase the emotion and intensity, does have strong import; yet much of the remainder of the movement, even in its lushness, lacks all feeling of a traditional memorial. The second theme brings with it a childlike innocence perhaps reminiscent of Smetana's memories of Bedřiška. The balance of the movement carries a grandiosity that undoubtedly runs counter to some audience and reviewer expectations, much like Dvořák's trio. It is notable, too, that there is a piano

³⁶ DuBois, *Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart's 'Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst,'* 436.

cadenza in the middle of the movement that is very free and incorporates dissonance and timelessness before the violin reenters with the opening theme. Perhaps this interlude is redolent of the clash between death and life of Bedřicha's bout of scarlet fever.

Smetana's second movement follows in much the same vein as the first, in that it does not sound much like a memorial. Formally, this is a *scherzo* with two trios; in this case the trios are labeled *Alternativo I* and *Alternativo II*. The opening section reappears between the two *alternativi* and also at the end. This section starts with the two piano lines and the cello line entering in unison, giving the movement a sense of uneasiness. Unison passages are apparent throughout the movement. The first *alternativo*—trio—is pleasant, serene, and untroubled. The second, marked *Maestoso* [majestic], is grand and characterized by significant changes in dynamics—from *piano* to *forte*—and instrumentation, at times omitting one or two of the instruments, and having pairs play duets.

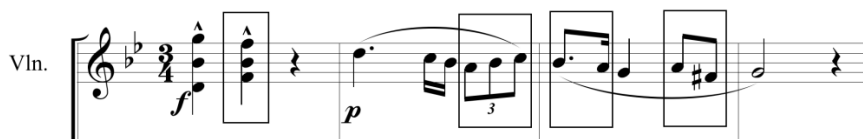
The finale of Smetana's work, a rondo, demonstrates the full range of emotions and borrows material from the composer's earlier work, the Piano Sonata in G minor (1846). The opening with its striking and scrubby string entrance, and interruptions from the piano, grabs the listener's attention immediately and is quickly followed by the piano ostinato with duple and triple subdivisions of the beat to fortify the driving feeling of the movement, which is mostly a rousing dance (see Example 3). A slow and peaceful second theme interrupts the momentum that has been building. Smetana then craftily transitions back to the main theme by juxtaposing the quick rhythmic first motive under the lush second theme, gently reinserting the dancelike momentum. As suddenly as the ostinato motive returns, the cello takes over and recapitulates the second theme again. Instead of returning directly to the first theme, as a rondo would normally do, Smetana then incorporated what seems to be a funeral march.³⁷ Finally, the driving first theme returns for the dramatic and breathtaking end of the movement and the piece.

Both composers employed mixed subdivisions of the beat to give the trios their driving momentum. Perhaps this is most notable, as mentioned above, in Smetana's third movement piano line, where at the beginning the right hand plays in duple subdivisions against the left hand in triple. Dvořák seems to have favored simultaneous triple and quadruple subdivisions, as this combination appears in both the first and second movements. His first movement's main theme also employs varied subdivisions to create a sense of forward motion (see Example 4).

³⁷ Smetana marked this section with the tempo indication *Grave, quasi marcia* [Grave, as if a march]. Bedřich Smetana, *Piano Trio in G Minor* (Leipzig: C.F. Peters, 1938), 41.



Example 3: Smetana's third movement driving motive (Mvt. 3, mm. 8-10).³⁸ The upper line (right hand) has each beat divided into two subdivisions, while the lower line (left hand) has three.



Example 4: The varied subdivisions in Dvořák's first theme (Mvt. 1, mm. 1-4).³⁹ Each box surrounds the same duration of time (one beat).

The key scheme also demonstrates similarities between the two piano trios, thus lending further credence to the argument that Dvořák was also writing a memorial to his daughter. The outer movements of both works remain close to the home key of G minor, only deviating significantly—to the relative G major—on occasion to provide variety and perhaps a glimmer of hope in the sadness that was enveloping the composers. Dvořák's third movement also stays within this key design.⁴⁰ The second movement of each of the trios is, therefore, the only place where we can find any sort of variation in the key scheme. Dvořák's *Largo* second movement is in E-flat major. This is a key closely related to G minor, differing only by one flat. Smetana's second movement explores two keys in addition to the home key of G minor. As discussed above, its structure contains a theme that is interspersed with two *alternativi*. The main theme, in G minor, is quickly followed by the first *alternativo* in F major. Between the two *alternativi* the theme returns the listener back to G minor. The final *alternativo* takes the listener to C minor before the theme recurs again in G minor. The general form—albeit neither in terms of the key scheme nor the proportions—is similar to that of the

³⁸ Smetana, *Piano Trio*, 26.

³⁹ Dvořák, *Piano Trio*, 2.

⁴⁰ Smetana's trio has only three movements while Dvořák's has four.

rondo, which follows the structure ABACA (G minor, F Major, G minor, C minor, G minor).

Movement	Keys Employed	
	Dvořák's Trio	Smetana's Trio
1	G minor and G major	G minor and G major
2	E-flat major	G minor, F major, G minor, C minor, G minor
3	G minor and G major	G minor and G major
4	G minor and G major	(only three movements)

As demonstrated, these trios have numerous parallels, ranging from the selection of key schemes, to special instructions to the violinist regarding which string to use (*Sul G*), to a general lack of sadness in the majority of the music. While each piece does contain moments of sorrow and melancholy, these emotional states are certainly not the only ones expressed by the music. Since Smetana's trio predates Dvořák's, and since Smetana indicated specifically that it was a memorial to Fritzi (his pet name for Bedřiška), it is precedential in that memorial music does not need to be wholly funereal or sad. Furthermore, in both trios there is a sense of urgency and drive to something the identity of which the listener does not, and perhaps cannot, know. Both composers achieved this feeling of moving forward through the juxtaposition of different rhythmic subdivisions.

Conclusion

Originating from similar circumstances after the death of a young daughter, Dvořák's Piano Trio in G Minor, Op. 26 and Smetana's Piano Trio in G Minor, Op. 15 serve the same purpose, even if Dvořák never designated his composition as a memorial. By comparing the two works, it is evident that they are quite similar, comparable enough, indeed, to affix the label of a memorial to Dvořák's trio as well. These resemblances manifest in various ways throughout the pieces: namely in the affects presented, which on the whole are not as mournful as one might expect; the juxtaposition of simple and compound subdivisions; and the key schemes. All of these aspects support the hypothesis that Dvořák wrote his trio, perhaps following Smetana's example, in honor of his deceased daughter Josefa. While it may never be determined definitively whether this statement is actually true, there is sufficient, compelling evidence to at least consider the possibility.

ESSAY

Czech Radio's 400,000 Online Audio Files and Self-Learning on the Go: Some Reflections

David Z. Chroust

Czech Radio in Transatlantic Context

What does it mean to discover an online archive like Czech Radio's 400,000 audio files? It means you can explore the world and anything that interests you through the work of radio journalists from the past ten years. It means you can learn better, because your brain absorbs ideas better when they come from more than one sensory channel, from listening instead of just reading. It means you can learn more, because you can listen while you cook, clean up, drive, walk, relax or wait for your turn somewhere.

Český rozhlas—shortened to *ČRo*—means “Czech Radio,” and it is among the oldest public-service radio broadcasting companies in the world. It began its work in 1923, five years after the Czechoslovak Republic formed as a successor to the Habsburg monarchy. In the United States, it took another half-century to launch National Public Radio (1971). In Europe, the European Broadcasting Union is a portal to public radio companies in the continent's many countries. We can link to them from EBU's Web site and then explore and compare them. If we do, then we meet the phenomenon of Europe's many national languages, a phenomenon that produces emotions and self-learning: do we despair and see the languages as a barrier, or do we feel excitement and opportunity? In 1980s Cleveland, Ohio, I listened to the Sunday nationality programs, and I enjoyed the languages I understood least—Lithuanian and Hungarian—as much as those I understood most—German and Serbo-Croatian.¹

Public radio across Europe and the world also varies by content, archive and interface. If we want to use a Web-based broadcaster to educate or entertain ourselves, then we will begin to ask ourselves what we can find on its site and how we can search for content that may interest us. The *ČRo* archive of audio files is much larger than the archives of ARD and Deutschlandradio in Germany, BBC in Great Britain or Radio Rossii and Golos Rossii in Russia. We quickly sense this with a few keyword searches. Take Germany's Social Democratic Party: in 2013 it became 150 years old and did much reflecting about its history. The SPD is Germany's oldest political party and one of its two dominant parties, but we find few German audio files on the SPD sesquicentennial.

An interface is the Web page that allows us to search an online archive. Every broadcaster has a different interface, different in design and options for limiting

¹ The *Český rozhlas* (Czech Radio) Web site is at www.rozhlas.cz. To search for documents, including the audio files of radio stories, click “hledat” (search). For America's National Public Radio see www.npr.org and for the European Broadcasting Union www3.ebu.ch.

and displaying results. Sorting is by relevance or date most everywhere, and we can choose either. Searching is by keyword. *ČRo* looks for our keywords, with all their grammatical variants, in the annotations that describe every radio story. Annotations are from one to several phrases, sentences or questions. They try to encapsulate what a story is about, and they mention names, places and events.

ČRo lets us search for everything at once by putting nothing in the search window. Most interfaces do not let us do this. But at *ČRo*, this act brings us almost a million documents. If we limit them to audio files, we find that 40% of the *ČRo* archive are things we can listen to. The number of audio files we get this way is over 380,000, and it grows slowly every day. We don't know how accurate this number is. Maybe it is inflated with lots of duplicate or inaccessible files. Whatever the true number is, we know the *ČRo* archive is big, one of the biggest in the Transatlantic world. In the United States, National Public Radio has a big archive too, but I think it falls behind *ČRo* on length, because on NPR we tend to encounter stories in the range of 5-10 minutes. At *ČRo* it is often 30-60 minutes.

The Listener's Personal Encounter with *ČRo*

Of course, to get the most out of *ČRo*, we must understand the Czech language or want to understand it. We must fall into these two categories, but from there our approach to *ČRo* becomes entirely personal. The lived life that brings us to *ČRo* is all our own, and so are the interests and views we bring along. My first day at school was September 1, 1968, and it was in Teplice, close to the German Democratic Republic. We can think of it as the country where the Social Democratic Party and its ideas first crossed borders in the 1860s, from Saxony to Bohemia, to change the lives of working people. I only went to school there to the end of March. Then I played at the refugee camp Traiskirchen south of Vienna. After that all my education was American, up to a master's in library science at Kent State and a Ph.D. in history at Texas A&M. My wife is from Moscow, and so I now live in another language at home, in my mind and sometimes abroad.

For me, *ČRo* feels like a change of consciousness, and I can wonder about it without end. Is it some deep form of reconnection and continuity? The radio was part of my childhood in Teplice. Striking also is the sense that *ČRo* has of itself, the genius loci it has in Vinohrady, on the air, and now by World Wide Web, because of all the working lives, talents and also struggles lived out for it. In 1945 and 1968 people even went into armed conflict, resistance and death over the radio and its building. In 1968 the radio escaped to the countryside. Josef Wechsberg listened to it, listened for it and wrote *Voices*, a late piece of Prague Jewish soul I read decades ago. *ČRo* explores its own past and its own archive in two programs. *Tajuplný ostrov* commenced in 2013 to celebrated ninety years of *ČRo*. It means "Island full of wonders," and the other program is *Archiv Plus*.²

² Joseph Wechsberg, *The Voices* (New York: Doubleday, March 7, 1969), 113 pp.

ČRo and its language are also a new way to look at the world we live in today. We know that language, any language, is more than a technology for communication. It is always much more than what we think it is, because it determines so much of how we feel, think and act. Is a new language as profound as one of our senses in the way it reinforces learning? Is the impact of learning in Czech as big as the impact of learning by listening, instead of just learning by reading or learning in English? One day I searched ČRo for the keyword “mozek.” I found over 480 audio stories about the brain and started choosing, bookmarking and listening to some of them. Neuroscientists spoke about new and more complete understandings of the brain thanks to brain imaging technologies worked out since the 1980s. I learned more about who I am in my left-handedness. The annotation called the left-handed “více odvázaní,” something like “more unbounded,” and I took this finding along as a nice piece of self-affirmation. I listened on and learned about the paleolithic brain, the social brain, the conservative-versus-liberal brain, the gendered brain and the ageing brain in an ageing Europe. Amid all this were stories about the “odliv mozků.” It means “brain drain,” the migration of highly-educated people to richer countries that offer higher salaries. The same concept invokes a different image in the other language, no “drain” but minds carried off by the tides flowing out to sea.³

The ethnicity we all carry makes a second atmosphere for us to breathe. On a Greyhound bus in the Midwest once, my long trip turned into a delight, a trilingual conversation about Balkan music, my passion, thanks to the Bulgarian next to me. Ethnicity also makes nations and states, and there it hardens into ethnocentricity. That's what drove me to ČRo, and it will drive me on again. I love NPR, but its American outlook leaves out too much of the world. ČRo's partition of our world disappoints me too. This is how Patrick Fridrichovský introduces the Russian female duo *Nochnye snaipery* on *Hudební globus*, his program about global pop music: “We avoided the countries of the former Soviet Union so far. After all, the inoculations we got in Soviet times were such that many of us developed aversions to anything that came from Eastern Europe.” Sad too is that not a single one of Fridrichovský's 158 otherwise fine episodes are about the Slavic Balkans, decades after the Swiss ethnomusicologist Marcel Cellier discovered them for the world. Anglo-American music is everywhere on ČRo. It even fills the breaks on its daily news program, *Radiožurnál*. ČRo brings me back to the heights of deference to the West that I remember from my youth, looking up to my parents' generation. At school, I developed my own deference. It was to Eastern Europe: it felt good to be from a place so much on the minds of America in those years.⁴

³ For a review of recent critics, who “show that brain science promises much and delivers little,” see Adam Gopnik, “Mindless: The New Neuro-Skeptics,” *The New Yorker*, September 9, 2013, 86-88.

⁴ *Hudební globus*, radio program on ČRo Dvojka, 26.3.2012 (Nochnye snaipery). Patrick Fridrichovský, *Hudební globus*, since January 2011, 158 30-minute episodes, accessed on June 12, 2014. Marcel Cellier released *Le Mystère des Voix Bulgares* (Mystery of Bulgarian voices) in 1975. At least Jirka Moravčík sometimes turns to the Romany Balkans

Searching and Discovery

Academic librarianship, my profession, calls it a “false hit” when we search for “brain” and get “brain drain,” when we aim for medicine and get sociology. For us in the profession, our job is supposed to be better searching. No more “false hits” and simple keyword searches. Remake the world by cataloging. As for me, I would rather learn to better search the world as it is and to make my mind more open. Good thing our administrators now also speak the word “discovery.” Now we have sanction to help people “discover” things and to make “discovery tools” for them. “Searching” and “discovery” are opposable, and the other-minded can make much of this. We may search for one thing, discover another, and it may all be good.

A small window for keywords is a good challenge. Four hundred thousand audio files on the other side is a big reward. What kinds of keywords can we imagine? In the 1920s readers sometimes wrote to the *Hospodář* about land reform in Czechoslovakia. It was supposed to turn back the three hundred years since the battle at White Mountain by taking land from noblemen, who were too German and too powerful. But who got land? Was the Agrarian Party running the land reform offices to spin its own web of power? The *Hospodář* was a magazine in Omaha, Nebraska, for farmers all over the world. I was writing a small book about it. So, I searched *ČRo* for *pozemková reforma* and listened to historian Michal Stehlík explain land reform. Stehlík is a historian and dean of liberal arts at Prague’s 14th-century Charles University. I wanted to hear more about the whole period. I wondered about searching for some time until this question occurred to me: why not use dates as keywords? I started entering them at *ČRo*—“1920,” “1921,” “1922,”... That’s how I discovered Petruška Šustrová and Petr Koura’s *Rok po roce* (Year by year): each 30-minute episode is about a single year in Czechoslovakia and the world, and we can listen our way through the 20th century, year by year.⁵

Rok po roce was such a simple and brilliant idea, it knocked me out of my preoccupation with keywords. Each story at *ČRo* has a program label, but I understood only now how this amounts to a whole new way to search. Each *ČRo* program has its own authors, mission, format, length, periodicity, and a Web page that explains all this and offers up all the episodes in reverse chronological order. Stehlík’s essay on land reform aired on *Leonardo*, a program for science and technology. I found a pull-down menu of *ČRo* programs. It is two levels below the search page, under “iRadio” and “Audio archiv,” at “Vyberte pořad” (Choose program). The default list here is 367 present programs. If we check a box, we get 1,001 past and present programs. The list is a kind of subject catalog. Only more

in his world music program, *Hudba ze zapadlých vesnic*, *ČRo* Ostrava (formerly Hradec Králové), since 2004, weekly, 274 26-minute episodes.

⁵ Michal Stehlík, “Pozemková reforma první republiky,” *Vstupte!* radio program on *ČRo* Leonardo, 22.6.2012. *Rok po roce*, *ČRo* 6, February 2007 to February 2009, 110 episodes.

than a controlled vocabulary of subject terms, the program titles—unwilling to just describe contents—keep us rethinking our searches and our search for knowledge. I looked for programs in my own field, history, but I couldn't stay in it. History, too expansive, didn't let me, and neither did my left-handedness and ČRo.⁶

Here is what I found: three weekly, half-hour history programs—*Historický klub* in 271 episodes, *Historie věčně živá* in 445 episodes, and its recent successor *Historie Plus* in 64 episodes. *Kde se děly dějiny*, 210 episodes, explores historical places. Local ČRo stations reflect on material culture on the landscape. ČRo Plzeň does this for western Bohemia in *Odkazy minulosti* (146 episodes). More civilizational is *Kořeny*, 1,275 episodes, which explores religions. History overlaps with source studies and biography, and all this leads us to many other programs. *Politická literatura* reviews books from historians and public figures around the world, over 500 since 2002, while *Portréty* has portrayed over 500 leaders and thinkers, especially in Central Europe. The 125 episodes of *Pamětníci* are spoken testimonies of extraordinary lives. *Hovory* (392 episodes) interviews people from “all possible parts of society” who have an “interesting personal and professional life and opinions.” Enormous is *Příběhy 20. století*, a mosaic of 20th-century pathologies in 1,233 fifty-minute oral histories in collaboration with the Prague Institute for the Study of Totalitarian Regimes. ČRo's explorations of its audio archive, *Tajuplný ostrov* and *Archiv Plus*, are another 140 episodes.⁷

Just these thirteen programs already add up to 5,341 audio files, and our interest in history, or any other discipline, would lead us to many others. We learn quickly to exploit interfaces that seem to limit us. From well-known terms like *pozemková reforma*, we expand our ideas about keywords. Then we find entire structures and use them to make the online content our own.

⁶ List of all present and past ČRo programs at iRadio/Audio archiv/Vyberte pořad, accessed on June 12, 2014.

⁷ *Historický klub*, radio program on ČRo Vltava, 2002 to April 2014, weekly, 271 episodes. *Historie věčně živá*, ČRo 6, 2004 to February 2013, weekly, 445 episodes. *Historie Plus*, ČRo Plus, 64 episodes. *Kde se děly dějiny*, ČRo Dvojka, 210 episodes. *Odkazy minulosti*, Plzeň, 146 episodes on churches, castles, ruins, abandoned villages. See also *Němí svědci historie*, Olomouc, since May 2005, weekly, 261 five-minute episodes. *Kořeny*, ČRo Plus, since 2002, weekly, 1,275 episodes. *Politická literatura*, ČRo Plus, since March 2013, weekly, 58 episodes, 30 minutes each. *Politická literatura na českých pultech*, ČRo 6, 2002 to February 2013, weekly, 447 episodes. *Portréty*, ČRo Plus, since 2004, weekly, 535 episodes. *Pamětníci*, ČRo 6, to January 2007, weekly, 125 episodes. *Hovory*, ČRo Plus, formerly ČRo 6, 392 episodes. *Příběhy 20. století*, ČRo Plus in collaboration with Post Bellum and Ústav pro studium totalitních režimů, since May 2006, 1,233 50-minute episodes drawing on the *Paměť národa* database. *Tajuplný ostrov*, ČRo Dvojka, since January 2013, 74 55-minute episodes. *Archiv Plus*, ČRo Plus, since March 2013, 66 30- or 50-minute episodes. These data are all from June 9-10, 2014, when I found them on each program's Web page.

Voices from the Czech Diasporas

Every nation and every language is global. Capitalism made them that way as it spread out from England by the 19th century. *ČRo* teaches us about the world, and for this it uses the global Czech diaspora. It finds Czechs abroad who become sources about the places where they live. Even in Malta, a small island and the smallest state in the European Union, there was a Czech resident to explain why Malta is so good at getting money from the EU: Malta already sharpened this skill when it was under the British, and its politicians—all lawyers—are just the right professionals for the job. With EU money Malta can finally reengineer its main road, which the sea floods three times a year.⁸

Sometimes the global Czech diaspora is itself the subject. *ČRo* finds children and even grandchildren of emigrants able to tell us about their long lives and their native cities and countries with great eloquence in Czech. With “Majenka” Hloušková, it is Buenos Aires since the 1930s, her cultured immigrant parents, and her life in the theater, training voices. Her own voice is lovely, and the time spent listening to it not enough. From her young collaborator, recently arrived to open the Czech Center, we hear more about *Porteños*—that’s the name for the people of Argentina’s capital—as people who love life and not just their work. Who don’t plan ahead but always get every venue perfectly ready for an event five minutes before it happens. Whose feelings for Europe, the old homeland, and interest in learning more about it are so great, we become small celebrities just by being from there. I was glad to hear about these other Americans on the Rio de la Plata: it felt good to hear how different they are from the Americans we became in the United States.⁹

In Bulgaria, Julie Komeščík learned languages after World War II and spent her working life at Balkantourist as a guide for visiting delegations and tourists. Her grandfather came to Bulgaria. After the war, Communists took the furniture factory he built and put the family in prison. One of their former workers got them out. Julie punctuates painful memories with the word “osud” (fate). She slows down, dwells on it, and says it with something like a sigh, and we witness someone carrying the spirit of quite another place into Czech. It is the best kind of translation. In another episode Julie recalls her misadventures with a tour group of bewildered Bulgarian tobacco farmers in 1968 Prague.¹⁰

Diasporas change with the generations. In May 2014 the Czech Republic passed its first decade in the European Union. Essayists and analysts spoke on *ČRo*. So did two young women in their montage for the *Radiodokument* program. As interpreters they went to Strasbourg in May 2004 and recorded themselves then. With them we hear a European parliament full of languages and feel the

⁸ *Ranní Plus*, radio program on *ČRo*, 22.5.2014.

⁹ Mařenka Hloušková and Daniela Čapková, *Koktejl*, radio program on *ČRo Ostrava*, 26.12.2008.

¹⁰ Julie František, *Tisíc příběhů*, radio program on *ČRo Dvojka*, 20.4.2008 (autobiography). *Váš příběh*, *ČRo Dvojka*, 5.2.2008 (Bulgarian tourists in 1968 Prague).

thrill and turns in the women's lives. Ten years later they speak again, from lives well-worn in routines, back in Prague. One took a husband from Strasbourg, a Slovene, and had a daughter. Both lost hope in their profession: international gatherings had fled the idealism and interpretation of Strasbourg and resorted to English.¹¹

ČRo and New Social Lives

ČRo learns from and about its language diaspora, and we can learn from this. Our interests and disciplines make us part of our own diasporas. The words for what people do are another category of keywords. They are almost as common as personal names in the annotations to radio stories, and we can use them to search our way to new social lives on ČRo, social lives of learning, collaboration and friendship across disciplines and other communities of work and leisure, across languages and continents. The keyword "historik" (historian) brings us 2,020 audio files. Just scrolling through this many results changes our outlook on the discipline. The annotations reveal the names of many unknown colleagues and something of their work and ideas. If they intrigue us, we can click to listen and learn more, and then we can google the authors, email them, and meet them on Skype. We can also cross disciplines and stretch our social imagination and social self-understandings. ČRo seems to reach into all social groups. Test its reach with a word like "uklízečka" (cleaning lady), and you get 17 audio files. A social anthropologist speaks about immigrant cleaning women; a psychologist about her experiences working as one. Cleaning women cross borders and see how people live across the global economy. "Personalisti" (employment consultants) are a more recent group of social visionaries, and we find 8 audio files about them. As we read more annotations and listen to more stories, we learn the language of what people do and use it as another search language. ČRo gives us a world of spoken voices and many ways to remake ourselves on the go with just an iPhone in our pocket and two small earpieces on.¹²

¹¹ Eva Blechová, *Radiodokument*, radio program on ČRo Vltava, 14.5.2014.

¹² Keyword "historik," "uklízečka" and "personalista" at ČRo, June 12, 2014. Social anthropologist Petra Ezzeddine on immigrant cleaning women, *Hovory*, radio program on ČRo Plus, 10.5.2013. Psychologist Jiřina Prekopová on her earlier life as a cleaning lady, *Dobrá vůle*, ČRo Dvojka, 16.10.2011.

RESEARCH NOTES:

The Bohemian Identity of Martinus Hermanzen Hoffman Revisited

Miloslav Rechcigl, Jr.

The Hoffman family belongs to one of the largest family clans in the US, which is also reflected in a large number of websites that are devoted to their genealogy. This particular family has claimed their descent from the old Bohemian aristocratic family of Hoffman of Grünbüchel and Strechau.

My interest in the family stems from the claim that one of the presumed descendants of this family, Martinus Hermanzen Hoffman (1625-1713), immigrated to New Amsterdam in the midst of the seventeenth century.¹ If proven, this would be a significant historical find because, until now, we have been aware of only two other Bohemians who immigrated to America at that time, namely Augustine Herman (1621-1686), a native of Prague, and Frederick Philipse (1626-1702), son of a Bohemian aristocratic family.

Martinus Hermanzen Hoffman (1625-1713), who was born in Revel (present Tallin), Estonia, immigrated to New Netherlands in 1657, where he became a successful merchant. He was generally thought to be of Swedish origin and was considered one of the first Scandinavians to come to America.

Based on American sources,² his father was presumably Wilhelm Hoffman, a native of Prague, whose family roots could be traced, according to these sources, to Jan (Johann) Hoffmann (1371-1451), professor of anatomy at Charles University. The latter then removed to Leipzig, where, together with his colleagues from Prague, he was instrumental in establishing the University of Leipzig and becoming its first Rector.

As reported in one of my earlier articles,³ I had made a concerted effort to investigate the genealogy of this family, in an effort to see whether I could link the American branch of the Hoffmans with the branch that resided in Bohemia.

I was able to ascertain that there was an old Bohemian aristocratic family of Freiherren Hofmann of Grünbüchel and Strechau, who played an important role in the Kingdom of Bohemia, and had large properties in Bohemia and Moravia. But beyond these bare facts the record is not clear at all.

According to reliable sources,⁴ any connection with Jan Hoffmann, (1371-1451), sometimes referred to as Jan Hofman ze Svídnice or as Johannes Hoffmann zu Schweidnitz, professor of anatomy at Charles University, who indeed existed,⁵

¹ "Miloslav Rechcigl, Jr., "Pursuing the Bohemian Identity of Martinus Hermanzen Hoffman, an Early Settler in the 17th Century's New Amsterdam," *Fact - Legend or a Hoax*," *Kosmas*, 22, No. 2 (Spring 2009), pp. 89-97.

² Frances Wellman Hoffman, *The Hoffmans of North Carolina Revisited, 1749-1998*. Franklin, NC: Genealogy Publishing Services, 1999.

³ Miloslav Rechcigl, Jr., *op. cit.*

⁴ Klaus Eckert Ehrlicher, "Ein Steirisches Adelsgeschlecht in Böhmen und Mähren Hoffmann Freiherren zu Gruenpüchel und Strechau," *Bohemia* 21 (1980), pp. 59-83.

⁵ *Ottův Slovník Naučný*. Praha: J. Ott, 1897, Vol. 11, p. 450.

can now be discounted. The previous claim was based on the supposition that the referenced Jan Hoffmann was the father of Friedrich Hoffman of Grünbüchel and Strechau,⁶ which was found incorrect.

The above Friedrich Hoffman, usually referred to as Friedrich II Hoffman (1482-1521), was in reality the son of Friedrich Hoffman zu Farmach and Kunegund Grasswein.⁷ Schloss Farmach was located in Saalfelden on the Bavarian-Austrian border and von Grasswein was a Styrian noble family.

As for the connection with Martinus Hermanzen Hoffmann, the following is an abbreviated lineage, as claimed by some American genealogists:

Hoffman z. Grünbüchel

2. Friedrich II Hoffman z. Grünbüchel u. Strechau (1403-1468), b. Prague; d. Germany (Correct years, as I have shown above, are actually 1482-1521)

m. 1. Margaretha Pichler v. Strocha (139-1433), b. Styria; d. Styria

3. Johann Hoffman (1429-1468), b. Styria; d. Germany (Correct years are actually 1491-1564)

m. 2. Prudentia v. Roggendorf (1430-1 472), b. Styria; d. Germany

4. Ferdinand Hoffman (1470-1565), b. Styria; d. Styria (The correct years are in fact 1540-1607)

m. 2. Elizabeth v. Dohna (1475-?) She actually died after 1607

5. Frederick Hoffman (1522-1607), b. Styria; d. Hradec Králové, Bohemia

m. ca. 1544 Juliana v. Danitz (1525-?), b. Bohemia; d. Bohemia

6. Andreas Hoffman (1548-1625), b. Bohemia; d. Bohemia

m. Unknown

7. Dr. Wilhelm Hermanzen Hoffman (1583-1644), b. Prague; d. Prague

m. Andrea from Estonia

8. Martinus Hermanzen Hoffman (1625-1712), b. Tallin, Estonia

m. 1. Lysbeth Hermans (d. 1665)

⁶ Frances Wellman Hoffman, *op. cit.*

⁷ Adam Wandruszka, "Hoffmann, Freiherr zu Gruenpüchel und Strechau, Hanns," in: *Neue Deutsche Biographie*; URL: <http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd137600615.html>

m. 2. Emmerentye Claessen De Witt (1645-1686)

Disregarding the years, which are mostly in error, as indicated in parentheses, the above genealogy checks up to Generation 4, relating to Ferdinand Hoffman and his marriage to Elizabeth v. Dohna. From that point on, none of it could be confirmed.

I have recently read on the Internet the M.S. Thesis of Kateřina Hausnerová, a graduate student at University of Olomouc, Czech Republic, devoted to Ferdinand Hoffman of Grünbüchel, the same person from whom American Hoffmans claim their descent. According to her sources, Ferdinand and Elizabeth did not have any son by name of Frederick. In fact, they only had one daughter, who probably died before reaching maturity.⁸ Subsequently, I was also able to verify the nonexistence of this Frederick from another reputable source.⁹

Beyond that, if one examines the years when these people were supposed to live, one will see that the imaginary Frederick (1522- 1607) would be older than his own parents, which is ridiculous. According to reliable sources Ferdinand Hoffman lived between 1540-1607, rather than 1470-1565, as the American sources claimed.

Conclusion

It is evident from the above that the assumptions, on which the descent of the American Hoffmans is based, are all wrong. In other words, the referenced Hoffman family tree is a myth. Frankly this may be one of the biggest hoaxes contrived in genealogy. To be sure, there may still be a valid connection between Martinus Hermanzen Hoffman and the Bohemian Hoffmans, but it certainly did not go through Ferdinand Hoffman - Elizabeth v. Dohna linkage.

⁸ The MA thesis can be downloaded at this URL: https://theses.cz/id/j1gh16/DIPLOMOV_PRCE_KATEINA_HAUSNEROV.pdf

⁹ Klaus Eckert Ehrlicher, "Ein Steirisches Adelsgeschlecht in Böhmen und Mähren Hoffmann Freiherren zu Gruenpüchel und Strechau," *op. cit.*

BOOK REVIEWS

Martin Groman, *Stanislav Budín, Komunistka bez legitimace*, Prague: Ústav pro studium totalitních režimů, 2015, 270 pp. ISBN 978-80-87912-41-6.

Jan Drábek, *Dva životy Vladimíra Krajiny*. Prague: Toužimský a Moravec 2016, 208 pp. ISBN 978-80-7264-171-0.

Both these biographies, published in 2015, illustrate the twentieth-century history of Czechoslovakia. Stanislav Budín (1903-1979) and Vladimír Krajina (1905-1993) lived under a regime which they in turn worked for and opposed. Both also went into exile. Because they wanted Czechoslovak national life to continue, they actively participated in it both at home and in exile. One, Stanislav Budín, was (as the subtitle of Martin Groman's book says) a Communist without a Party card; the other, Vladimír Krajina, had opposed all totalitarian regimes, be they of the red or brown variety, and his life suffered the consequences of this belief. Both men, independently of each other, resisted the then ruling regimes. They returned to their country, where the powers-that-be first accepted and subsequently rejected them. They both had conflicts with those with whom they had wanted to work. Finally, both seemed destined to oblivion. Thanks to Jan Drábek and Martin Grosman—the authors of *Dva životy Vladimíra Krajiny* and *Stanislav Budín, Komunistka bez legitimace*, respectively—that will no longer be the case. Yet not only were the two protagonists, Vladimír Krajina and Stanislav Budín, different, so is the manner in which the biographers chose to write their books.

Jan Drábek, an exceptional and well-known exile writer, has written the biography of Vladimír Krajina in such a way that it also captures the history and struggles which shaped this nation in the twentieth century. "Without him the resistance abroad would have looked quite different," Jan Drábek, whose father was a personal friend of Krajina, concludes. Under the Protectorate, i.e., under Nazi occupation, Krajina maintained contact with the government-in-exile and other Czechoslovaks abroad. He sent out several thousand dispatches and assured that the people abroad were dissuaded from the notion that those who remained inside the country were obedient servants of the Third Reich. His action helped our representatives abroad, especially the London government-in-exile, which President Edvard Beneš headed. Krajina opposed the assassination of Heydrich, the Nazi Protector of Bohemia and Moravia because he thought the Nazi reprisals would be too costly to the nation and the resistance at home. He even met personally with Josef Gabčík and Jan Kubiš, two of the parachutists sent to assassinate Heydrich. In spite of this, Krajina managed to keep it secret. The Nazis persecuted him, but although he knew much he betrayed nothing. After the War, Krajina was decorated by Winston Churchill and other representatives of the Czechoslovak resistance abroad. A biologist by profession, Krajina was also, "quite beside the point," a patriot.

After World War II, Krajina attempted to revive the National Socialist Party in his native land, but ended up going into exile. He finally settled in Canada.

There, in Vancouver, he began his “second life” by teaching biology at the University of British Columbia. There he also propagated principles that today would be called “ecological.” He managed to have more than a hundred ecological reservations created throughout Canada, an activity for which he was officially honored. After the Velvet Revolution, about forty-two years after his departure, Krajina visited his homeland, where President Havel awarded him the Order of White Lion, First Class, an honor reserved to those who are not Czechoslovak citizens or hold another additional citizenship. Dozens of photographs illustrate the book; they include pictures of the participants in the resistance. These were taken at various times: for example, those of the brothers Mašín (Ctirad and Josef) and Milan Paumer were procured in the winter of 1954/1955 in the United States. Pictures of political leaders, family photos, as well as photographs of Krajina in various phases of his life, also make their appearance.

The author Jan Drábek concludes his study with an interesting reflection on what Tom Brokaw has called “the greatest generation,” the one that came to adulthood during the Great Depression and went on to win World War II. The North Americans and West Europeans afterwards return safely to their homes. Those from Eastern Europe soon enough faced the choice to respect and obey a regime headed by a more murderous tyrant than that of Adolf Hitler, Joseph Stalin, or they had to again choose illegality. Krajina chose the latter. Although he admits the Cold War made moral choices clearer than they are today, Drábek wonders whether the present generations would make the same correct and heroic decision.

The second book is devoted to Stanislav Budín, a man whose life was interrupted by emigration to the United States, where he spent the World War II years. Budín attempted to propagate in Czechoslovakia a political system different than the one Krajina espoused. He advocated Communist principles of both its domestic and foreign adherents, i.e., Soviet provenience. He too did not succeed and was persecuted. The author correctly points this out in the book’s subtitle: “without a party card.” Stanislav Budín believed in Communism and became a Party member, but his views at times conflicted with those of the “comrades” with whom he wanted to serve: he was simply not conformist and obedient enough.

Martin Groman, the author of *Stanislav Budín, Komunistka bez legitimize*, a historian presently working in the Ústav pro studium totalitních režimů (ÚSTR), focuses on Budín’s personal story, but indirectly also tells of the story of those who placed themselves at the side of the Communist Party before World War II. In 1903, Stanislav Budín, or Bencion Solomovič Bať as he was then called, was born into a Jewish family living in the town of Kamianets-Podilskyi in a territory which was then part of the Russian Empire. Like many others, he left home, eventually studying in Prague, where he joined the Communist movement. In the 1930s, Budín became the editor-in-chief of the Communist Party organ, *Rudé Právo*. Budín often had conflicts with Klement Gottwald and Václav Kopecký. Finally, he was expelled from his chosen Party. Sensing that the rise of Nazism did not augur well for him, Budín, along with his wife and daughter Rita (who,

better known under her married name, Rita Klímová, became Czechoslovakia's first ambassador to the United States after the Velvet Revolution), left Czechoslovakia in 1939. He settled in New York and wrote for Czech language newspapers, especially *Newyorský listy*. His leftist views were not always welcome among the Czech-Americans. The family returned to Czechoslovakia in 1946, but Budín was not readmitted into the Communist Party. He continued to write and sometimes publish, in spite of often being at odds with the specific party line of the moment. His comrades again persecuted Budín and his family after he signed Charter 77. Perhaps, his second shunning was less painful than the first one, because by then the Communist Party was the ruling one.

Although both books are successful biographies of men who were supposed to be forgotten, their authors approached their subjects differently. As a responsible and precise historian, Martin Groman amply documents Budín's peripatetic career as an *engagé* Communist journalist. He draws upon his subject's memoirs, correspondence and the contemporary press; moreover, he has also incorporated into his work findings from the notorious archives of the Ministry of Interior and StB. In addition to that, dozens of family photos illustrate the volume. *Stanislav Budín, Komunista bez legitimace* presents a parallel view of the history of Czechoslovakia: one that incorporates the lives of those who espoused Communism in the pre-World War II era and were at odds with it when it came to power. Martin Groman's work, thus, does help the reader understand the evolution of many Czechoslovak politicians, journalists and writers.

In *Dva životy Vladimíra Krajiny*, Jan Drábek brings to life personalities and events nearly lost in the fog of history. He writes as a novelist rather than a historian. With this skill, he spins stories and confronts personal or rather family reminiscences with historical facts and vice versa. The result is a very readable and enjoyable biography that dramatically captures directly and indirectly many happenings of the past century and simultaneously enriches it with telling details.

Jiřina Šiklová, Prague, Czech Republic

Heda Margolius Kovály. *Innocence, or Murder on Steep Street*. Trans. Alex Zucker. New York: Soho Press, Inc., 2015. ISBN: 978-1-61695-645-5, 235 pp.

Heda Margolius Kovály's only novel, *Innocence, or Murder on Steep Street*, illustrates the terror-ridden times of Stalinization in 1950s Czechoslovakia, presenting reality as a nightmare come true. Furthermore, Kovály's cunning shifts of point of view throughout the novel are unsettling, giving the reader a sense of the disorienting era described in the book.

The volume under review, a translation of *Nevina aneb Vražda v Příkré ulici*, first published by the exile publisher Index in 1986, is Kovály's only novel. She is known primarily for her memoirs, which related her life as a Jew who survived concentration camps and married Rudolf Margolis, a high Communist official executed in the Slanský show trial. After a difficult life in Czechoslovakia as Margolis's widow, she emigrated to Britain and later to the United States. Sixty-

Eight Publishers in Toronto brought out her initial biography, *Na vlastní kůži*, a dialogue between communism and democracy co-authored with Erazim Kohák. Later she published her biography in various English language mutations and republications as *The Victor and Vanquished, I Do Not Want to Remember, Under a Cruel Star: Life in Prague, 1941-1968* and *Prague Farewell*.

This novel is divided into two parts. In the first part, 24-year old Helena is the central character, and the murder plays a minor role at the beginning of the tale. Helena works at the Horizon cinema that often plays detective films. She lost her job at a publishing house only days after her husband Karel was imprisoned on trumped up charges and is shunned by society. Karel and Helen invited Karel's secretary Jana and her boyfriend to their cottage, and, unbeknownst to them, Jana's boyfriend was from West Germany. When Jana and the Westerner were arrested, they had Karel's map with them. Karel had drawn the military depots near his cottage on the map.

In the second part, the murder takes priority, and Helena is relegated to a smaller role. Captain Nedoma, who ran the murder investigation in the first part and who had an affair with one of the Horizon's employees, is found stabbed to death in his car. The complicated case reads like one of the detective films that the movie theatre often shows.

Several of the characters have surnames that exemplify their personalities. Helen is set up, so that she sleeps with Mr. Hrůza, who has been interrogating Karel. Hrůza means "horror" or "terror." His character's behavior certainly illustrates the terror in Stalinist society. At the beginning, Captain Nedoma is having an affair with Helena's colleague, Marie. His name means "not at home." It is also significant that the author gives Helena a commonplace last name, "Nováková." What happens to the protagonist and her husband could happen to anyone, any day.

It is necessary to look at the political situation that bred the emotional suffocation that is featured in this work. During the late forties and early fifties, purges were commonplace in Czechoslovakia. After Yugoslavia broke away from Soviet control, Joseph Stalin wanted to make sure East European bloc satellites did not follow Tito's example. Communist leaders as well as opponents of the regime were purged. High-ranking Communists were targeted if they were Jews, Slovak nationalists, veterans of the Spanish Civil War or if they had established contacts in the West during World War II, for instance. Trials were scripted with lines memorized by the defendants. The de-Stalinization that followed Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalin at the Twentieth Party Congress in February, 1956, was much slower in Czechoslovakia than in Poland and Hungary. Only in the early 1960s did the atmosphere change.

The use of the word "innocence" throughout the novel is significant not only because it makes up part of the title of the book. Trying to solve Captain Nedoma's murder, Lieutenant Vendyš, in charge of the investigation, ponders over the case and decides that Helena is not guilty, calling her "the embodiment of innocence." (171) Though Vendyš, a decent though flawed detective doing his best to find the killer, describes Helen as innocent, the only truly innocent

character in the book is Karel. He winds up hanging himself after Mr. Hrůza shows him pictures of Helena in bed with him. Helena slept with the ministry official Mr. Hrůza because she thought it would help get Karel out of prison. She did not consider it to be the betrayal that it was, which shows her naivety as well.

Musing that she is totally alone because her friend Růžena has dumped her, Helena says to herself, "The bottom line was I could stand anything, as long as I knew I was innocent. But did it actually matter? If they executed an innocent man, was he any less dead for it?" (57) Thus, innocence is no protection against the system. Everyone is branded guilty, whether or not he or she has committed a crime. There is no escape from punishment in a country ruled by terror.

Captain Nedoma, who is trying to prove Helena is a spy, says to Mrs. Kouřimská, his informer at the Horizon cinema, "There is no such thing as an innocent person." (53) Indeed, according to the Communists, the word innocence does not exist. Karel's imprisonment is just one testimony to this belief prevalent in totalitarian society.

One way to deal with the terrors of the times was resignation. That people become resigned to the system is exemplified by Jaromír Šípek's remark when he is with Helena at the zoo. Šípek, who is in love with Helen, asserts that people are like animals: "As long as they've [animals] got a nice place to live and something to keep them entertained, they can do without freedom." Furthermore, he calls freedom "lonely and dangerous." (74) This is just what the Communists want people to believe, that the lack of freedom is for their own protection. It is often easier for people to resign themselves to the system, convincing themselves that freedom has a negative connotation.

The many shifts in point of view are key to understanding the novel and the era in which it takes place. The changes in perspective make readers uncomfortable as they do not know what to expect next. In that respect, it mirrors the unpredictability of the era, when people do not know if today will be the day they are informed on by a relative or colleague, put under surveillance or are accused of a crime they did not commit.

The book starts out in the first person, describing the thoughts in Helen's head, giving readers an intimate portrayal of the protagonist of the first part of the novel. The second part ends in the third person with two characters referred to only as "the fat man" and "the fatter man" solving the murder of Captain Nedoma through dialogue. The ending denies us such intimacy, leaving a bitter aftertaste and a sense of the harsh, impersonal reality in which people were not considered to be unique individuals but as mere cogs in the totalitarian wheel.

At times, unnamed characters are thrust into the spotlight. There is dialogue between "the man" and "the woman," who are discussing informing on Helen, though by the end of the chapter we know that the two are Mrs. Kouřimská and Captain Nedoma.

The author also alternates calling characters by their first names and surnames, and this, too, can cause confusion. Yet her choice of form of address is not random. For example, when Helena goes out with Mr. Hrůza, he is referred to

by his last name. When she steps into his apartment, his first name is used, inferring that she has reached a certain level of intimacy with him.

Kovály's simple style belies the complexity of the plot as the case involving the murder of Captain Nedoma's death has numerous twists and turns. The author uses everyday words, often in dialogue, at times making it closer to a screenplay for a film noir than to a novel.

For readers interested in Czechoslovak history this novel is a must. Readers feel the stagnant, suffocating atmosphere as the tales progress. Fans of mystery novels will be enthusiastic as the second part is a real whodunit. The work is also an intriguing book for admirers of Franz Kafka. The novel is characterized by Kafkaesque elements. The characters experience feelings of alienation, guilt, paranoia and hopelessness. Even though Kovály's literary creation is full of such negative traits, readers who delve into the world of Stalinization will come away with an enlightening experience they will not forget.

Tracy A. Burns, Prague, Czech Republic

***Performing Captivity, Performing Escape. Cabarets and Plays from the Terezín/Theresienstadt Ghetto.* Edited and with an Introduction by Lisa Peschel. London: Seagull Books, 2014. ISBN: 978-0-8574-2-000-8. 420 pp.**

Performing Captivity, Performing Escape. Cabarets and Plays from the Terezín/Theresienstadt Ghetto presents Lisa Peschel's edited, revised, and translated into English *Divadelní texty z terezínské ghetto/ Theatretexte aus dem Ghetto Theresienstadt, 1941-1945*.

Terezín/Theresienstadt was unusual in that it served as a ghetto with an attached prison, as well as a concentration camp. The Nazi propaganda used this camp to convince the world that life was "normal" in this supposed Jewish resettlement area. For this reason, they allowed cultural life to take place. Peschel's work is an anthology of selected texts originating there. It contains cabarets, puppet play scripts, as well as historical and verse dramas, poems, songs, and satirical radio programs. It embraces humorous as well as serious texts, couplets, songs, radio sketches, even children's texts. Witnesses' and research commentaries, as well as extensive bibliographies, accompany the cited writings.

Famously, the camp was portrayed in two films intended to deceive the Red Cross and the world public about the true nature of Theresienstadt. Though "formally approved," cultural activities there were censored, limited, and conditioned. Ironically, the performances allowed prisoners to experience moments of "normal life," although many prisoners met their death in the camp or were sent to death on the transports. This small fort town, built in the 1780s, was designed to host a population of 7,000. Nevertheless, when used as a Jewish resettlement, the population at its peak reached 60,000 prisoners, creating extremely harsh living conditions with lack of space, water, food, sanitation, and a large death toll (33,000), even though it never served as an extermination camp.

Numerous memoirs and accounts of witnesses share much information about the camp's thriving cultural life, which occurred mostly between late 1942 and the summer of 1944, despite the decreasing population—many were taken on transports, which brought an abrupt end to the cultural participation of authors, actors, writers, musicians, choreographers, dancers, and others. Although many of the works of art and texts have been lost, some of the Theresienstadt works, such as Hans Krása's *Brundibár*, earned international recognition and have become symbolic for the power of art over dehumanizing Nazi practices.

In her introduction, Peschel explains that this edition was created with performance in mind, adapting the translation for performances. This well-researched annotated anthology reconstructs the plays' history as well as the lives and fates of former prisoners; it shares numerous connections, fills in gaps, and bridges available scholarship on the cultural life of Theresienstadt. This large selection contains Czech and German sections (referring to the original language) of texts by Czech, Moravian and Austrian Jews. Each text has an introduction, contains notes and biographical information about the authors, lists actors and other participants, including short biographical information if it could be found. The texts themselves are supported by extensive notes from the survivors. These commentaries help contemporary readership to understand references to life in the camp, as well as to explain subversive remarks and clarify other references which otherwise would be missed or hard to understand.

Peschel's English title refers to the major goals of the performances: to dramatize, satirize and deal with captivity and its realities, to show the power of art to enable escape, to ventilate nostalgia for home, to experience one's humanity in the midst of dehumanization, and to experience aesthetic pleasures amidst misery, trauma, and pain. The texts do reveal coping strategies—art and humor seemed to help many to cope, to overcome their traumatic present and the struggles of daily life. On dealing with trauma through the performative arts, Peschel, who conducted numerous interviews with survivors, summarizes her understanding: In the ghetto, quick adaptation to the new conditions was a matter of life and death. Theatrical performances could not change these conditions, but they could help the prisoners counteract the intense feelings of fear and helplessness in a way that kept them from becoming paralyzed by despair, and enabled them to go on with the daily fight for life (6).

The volume also contains an introduction by survivor Ivan Klíma, who shares his personal memories of seeing *The Bartered Bride*, *Brundibár*, various puppet shows, plays by Chekhov, Gogol, and Langer, as well as to see the poetry of Jiří Wolker, František Hrubín and K. J. Erben being staged. He also recalls powerful communal moments, such as the prisoners singing along with the popular Werich and Voskovec Liberated Theater. Klíma remembers: "Women sang even though it was difficult for the women to bring themselves to sing. They sang because it was a demonstration of free life in a hopelessly unfree environment" (38).

Although most of performances were staged and performed for hundreds of prisoners as Klíma noted, there were also performances staged for the benefit of sick and immobile prisoners in their rooms, quarters, corridors, or yards. Such

philanthropic performances were most notably arranged by Leo and Myra Strauss (known as Strauss Kabarets) or the Hofer Kabarets, also represented in the volume. The contribution and atmosphere of Strauss performances is explained in a few of the included essays. Phillip Manes, a prisoner, provides the following description:

The light muse has moved out into the courtyards, the posts and boards have been set up. It is the Strausses, those steadfast bringers of merriment, who with their ensemble have provided the elderly with two entertaining and often contemplative hours over two thousand times. They bring a colorful music, dance, seriousness and cheer, and above it all sounds the accordion, this rescuer of those in need of difficult-to-arrange accompaniment (227).

From the few texts included, it is clear that such cabarets moved between light and darkness, with the major aim to cheer the suffering audiences, the old and the sick. The unbelievably large number of Strauss cabaret performances—around 2000—serves as proof of the determination and belief in the power of art to help people to bear the unbearable. It is hard to believe that despite the ever-decreasing number of artists risking exposure to sickness and illnesses, the performances were ongoing, numbering about twenty a week, cheering the ill, the bedridden, the desperate, and the dying. These cabarets, sung in German, were frequently inspired by Viennese literary cabarets, containing combinations of good humor and social commentary.

Besides well-known operas, concerts, and traditionally popular puppet plays, the cabarets proved to be the most popular genre in the camp, as they were as popular in pre-war theaters, bars, and clubs, thus they are well-represented in the anthology. Cabarets satirized everyday reality, criticized the local hierarchy, favoritism, the daily rules, even German camp terms and procedures. Also included are also the so-called revues associated with the Liberated Theater style, consisting of short satirical sketches accompanied by jazz music from the pen of popular composer Jaroslav Ježek (represented by texts of the comic duo Josef Justing and Jiri Štefl). The most popular cabaret performers recognized in the publication were Karel Švenk, Felix Prokeš, Vítězslav Horpátky, Pavel Stránský, Kurt Egerer, and Pavel Weisskopf.

From the lesser-known cabarets, the anthology also contains a short excerpt from a “women’s” cabaret by Lisa Zeckendorf-Kutzinski. It was staged once on New Year’s Eve and performed before 350 prisoners. This cabaret satirizes the fashion, hairstyle, and even the figure of “the new camp woman”:

Smooth-shaven feminine skull is one of the most attractive features of the new woman. It looks exquisitely young and provocative. And now about your figure, the new shape is uber-slim; one wears one’s bones in view, not with little cushions of fat in the right places. You are all much too fat—so, off with that cumbersome fat; slim and bony is sexy. European scientists developed new diet. We will reveal the secret to you. In the morning, black chicory coffee, refusing milk and sugar, of course, and with one piece of dry bread—by no means no more. At midday, a thin soup, made with turnips that are actually intended for cattle, but that contribute greatly to the weight

loss. In the evening black coffee again, this time with two pieces of dry bread. Weight loss is guaranteed, and with long-term maintenance of this diet, success is dead certain. The highest acceptable weight is eighty pounds, but she who can bring her weight up to seventy pounds is a queen (402).

One of the most interesting contributions is the poetry of young authors, such as by Georg Kafka, who perished before he was able to write more; he died at the age of 22. Georg Kafka (Franz Kafka's relative) became a critically acclaimed young author in Theresienstadt. He worked as a typist during the day and wrote at night. His poem, *The Death of Orpheus*, seems devoid of any direct reference to camp life, but it reflects on his own inner life and on the nature of being an artist:

Perhaps you could look deep into his heart
By listening to the rhythm of his verse.
Play out your life the way that we perform this play,
Present it earnestly, but oh, never forget:
It's just a play. Regard our tale,
So quickly here then gone,
As a model for your own life, if it pleases you (338).

Peschel's book shows that many brave men and women contributed to the rich cultural life of the Theresienstadt camp. The reproductions of posters, sheet music, and photographs enhance the volume's immense scholarship, extensive comparative textual and archival research, numerous interviews, as well as correspondence with survivors. They help one to comprehend the complex art climate in the camp, inasmuch as the texts were created alongside the visual works of art. There were also individuals who drew and wrote diaries in secret since such attempts, when discovered, were harshly punished. Clandestinely and under the threat of capital punishment, prisoners conducted seminars, lessons, lectures and issued magazines and newsletters.

Performing Captivity, Performing Escape. Cabarets and Plays from the Terezin/Theresienstadt Ghetto helps the reader comprehend the immense creative spirit that was present in such a dehumanizing space. It bears witness to the tremendous loss of creative human capital, as it narrates and testifies to the power of art and to the creativity of people forced to live and die in such truly absolutely horrendous conditions. This work bears witness to a common bilingualism and transnationality that was later uprooted in the postwar national cleansing, making these bilingual and transnational texts unfit to be included in postwar national canons. The anthology serves as a powerful incentive for and window into a timely and conditioned transnational art that largely exists outside of traditional national literary canons.

Hana Waisserová, Lincoln, NE

Thomas A. Fudge, *Jerome of Prague and the Foundations of the Hussite Movement*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2016. ISBN: 9780190498849, 379 pp.¹

Anyone who has studied the Czech Reformation is familiar with the name of the philosopher Jerome of Prague (d. May 30, 1416), master of arts at the universities of Paris, Cologne, Heidelberg and Prague. In his time, Jerome was renowned in many parts of Europe as a nonconformist thinker who propagated some of John Wyclif's philosophical views. Jerome was also a close colleague of the preacher and theologian Jan Hus. From the time of their death at the stake behind the walls of German Constance, Hus and Jerome have formed a nearly inseparable duo of Church reformers, but in this regard, most of the attention is devoted to Hus while Jerome remains in the shadows. Those who want to know more about Jerome's life and work can consult František Šmahel's Czech monograph (2010) or his German introduction to Jerome's writings, which consists of more than one hundred pages and presents Jerome's life in great detail. It has been published in the series *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis* (Šmahel-Silagi 2010). In other world languages, besides the works of Herold, Kaluza and Šmahel, there exists the now outdated monograph in French (1974) by Josépha Pilný, dealing with Jerome's ecclesiastical trial in Constance. Up to the present, no extensive English work dealing Jerome's life and work has been published, although there are the longer studies of Reginald R. Betts focusing on Jerome's life in general (1947) and Renee Watkins concentrating on Jerome's death (1967). Thus, it is possible to consider Thomas Fudge's *Jerome of Prague and the Foundation of the Hussite Movement* as removing a certain lacuna within the scholarship of the English-speaking world. However, in view of the above-mentioned Šmahel's extensive German introduction, this certainly is not the first modern treatment of Jerome's life and work "in a major language."

Besides the introduction, the author has divided his work into nine chapters. In addition to an index and bibliography, the book also contains ten illustrations and a translation of eleven medieval texts related to Jerome.

The first chapter presents a recapitulative introduction to the context and themes of Jerome's life and work. Here Fudge introduces Jerome's preserved collected texts that have to do with the university disputes (9-10), most of which, according to him, come from the Prague quodlibets. At issue here are Jerome's *quaestiones*, but we know from the works of Šmahel and Herold that in fact, only one or possibly two come from that source. The others originated in different circumstances, as for example, during Jerome's stay in Heidelberg. This is one of the inaccuracies that we find here and there in this book. In this chapter Fudge accurately observes that around 1412 Jerome already "had amassed an impressive but troubling curriculum vitae" (27) and had enemies in many places in Europe. According to Fudge, Sigismund, King of the Romans, was numbered among them after Jerome's performance in Buda. These opponents had the opportunity to settle

¹ Translated by Mary Hrabík Šámal and Hugh Agnew.

their accounts with Jerome at the Council of Constance. Sympathetic is Fudge's finding that in the archives in Überlingen, where Jerome had briefly stayed before his imprisonment in Constance, there are no entries about him (10). In the conclusion of this chapter, Fudge returns to the Prague milieu. He states that Jerome's and Hus's deaths provided the emotional basis for the social revolution, reform of religious practices and establishment of alternative churches in the Czech provinces. Interestingly, Fudge also concludes that neither Hus nor Jerome played an important role in the later doctrinal, liturgical or practical development of the Czech reformation, but insists that this did not diminish their significance for the ensuing religious reform and Hussite revolution, whose cornerstone was the celebration of the Eucharist (32-33).

From the second chapter, entitled "Jerome as a Wyclifite Thinker," the reader might expect to learn in detail about Jerome's philosophical and theological views and his dependence on John Wyclif. Setting aside that Fudge somewhat over-values the reception of Wyclif and Ockham at the Prague university, at the expense of the influence of such significant thinkers as John Buridan or Marsilius of Inghen, he pays special attention to the importance of the practical and theological implications of philosophy among Czech thinkers, and bases his discussion on the theme of Divine Ideas. For him this topic is a central element of the "Hussites'" understanding of the concept of God's law, for which Matěj of Janov prepared the ground. It is also, according to Fudge, the theme that permits Jerome to be considered a significant figure of the Hussite movement. The Hussites were taken not only by the idea of Divine Ideas, but also by the practical implementation of these ideas (34 and 38-39). Fudge further raises the question of the links between metaphysics and theology, and argues that Wyclif's realism is theological realism, because his universals are Divine Ideas in the mind of God. This implies its direct relevance to faith and theology, because everything is based on Divine Ideas and is related to them. Thus Jerome considered philosophical disputations, according to the author, to be the foundation of Christian beliefs about the laws of God (36-39). Fudge then develops Vilém Herold's hypothesis about the ideal world of Divine Ideas which supposedly served the Czech reform-minded thinkers as a perfect Ideal, upon which they fixed their gaze in reforming the church. In this and in a series of similar arguments in Fudge's book there are certain inadequacies because they are not supported by any relevant reference to Jerome's texts, and in some cases do not make complete sense, so that the entire edifice appears artificial and unconvincing. One example is the passage according to which Wyclif served as a model for Jerome, even though according to Fudge the Prague master evaluated Wyclif's ideas with a critical eye. Here, without further explanation, we find only a vague reference to a few pages of Jerome's *quaestio* on first matter. In another place we read that Jerome, in agreement with Wyclif, held that "intellectual errors about universals were the cause of all sin in the world" (44), which the author supports with a precise reference to Jerome's text. In the referenced passage, however, Jerome does not discuss sin or Divine Ideas, as Fudge appears to assume. In the specific passage Jerome actually argues that nominalism, that is, the position that universals do not exist as things in the

world, leads to the impossibility of genuine knowledge of reality (Šmahel-Silagi 2010, 47-48, l. 1038-1068). From this it appears to follow that Fudge has incorrectly confused the theme of created universals *in rebus* and Ideas *in mente divina*. This inaccurate understanding of the problem of universals, from which Fudge develops Jerome's thinking about the practical role of universals as well as conflicts with Jean Gerson among others, marks other passages in the book. For example, Fudge links Jerome's realistic logic with the theme of Divine Ideas (50) and then to agreement with Wyclif's ideas in his *De blasphemia*. These ideas, however, bear no direct relation to Jerome's realist logic, which is founded on the real presence of created universals in created individuals. In a further example in chapter four, Fudge denies that Jerome would have defended the existence of a universal ass, or the idea of an ass in the mind of God (with the explanation that "an ass is something of a lower order...unworthy of pure ideas,"127). Yet Jerome undoubtedly and quite seriously supported these ideas, in part inspired by the *Quaestio de ideis* of St. Augustine, which may be proven in Jerome's own works (Šmahel-Silagi, 175 and 196).

The third chapter takes the reader back to Jerome's biography and his controversial appearances in disputations in Paris, Cologne, Heidelberg, Prague, and Kraków. Fudge understandably takes this opportunity to engage with the historical events in which Jerome's role was by no means negligible. Interesting interpretations may be found in Fudge's comparison of Jerome with Peter Abelard, or the passage on the different methodological approaches of Jerome and Jean Gerson, about which Kaluza and Herold have already written much. A reader familiar with the details of Jerome's life will be taken by Fudge's assertion that Jerome played a role not only in the rejection of papal bulls of indulgence in Prague in 1412, but also in Vienna in 1411 (105-106). Unfortunately, though, I was unable to locate this information in the passages referenced in the notes. The chapter provides further conclusions and assumptions that could be clarified on the basis of older and more recent literature not only in Czech but also major languages, for example regarding the Decree of Kutná Hora issued by King Wenceslas IV in January 1409, or the Prague quodlibets. It seems odd here and in other passages in the book when Fudge, without any further explanation, does not make use of the modern edition of Jerome's works, but instead cites the older edition of several of Jerome's works by Sedlák. This approach, accompanied by an incomplete acquaintance with the literature, unfortunately leads to mistakes. For example in the English translation of Jerome's *Štít víry* [The Shield of Faith] a newly-discovered portion of the text is missing (302, compare with Šmahel-Silagi 2010, 197, l. 72-94). Similarly, in treating Jerome's *quaestiones* from the 1409 quodlibet the author works with a text that was prepared for a different occasion (92-93), or erroneously reconstructs the course of Jerome of Prague's polemics with Blažej Vlk (99-100).

The author devotes the fourth chapter to a more detailed description of the disputes Jerome caused in Buda and Vienna. In the first city he was arrested for his controversial address in the presence of King Sigismund and representatives of the Hungarian church, while in the second a church trial was conducted against

him, the records of which provide a valuable source of information about Jerome's life. Among other points Fudge floats the generally probable hypothesis that after his release from detention in Hungary, Jerome did not return to Prague directly, but detoured through Vienna, since Jerome proclaimed that on the journey to Vienna he had travelled 24 miles. Where did he depart from, then? Fudge considers (like Katherine Walsh in her article from 1987, 408) that he left from Bratislava, which when calculated in Roman miles (approximately 1480 meters) would be about 30 kilometers and would not entirely correspond to the actual distance between the two cities. Yet a mile is not always a mile. If Jerome was counting in German miles, he could have stayed on one of the estates of Lacek of Kravaře, specifically in Valašské Meziříčí or in Velké Meziříčí, as we read in Šmahel's monographs (Šmahel 1966, 110 and Šmahel 2010, 49 and 135). If we counted in old Czech miles (11,249 meters), Jerome could even have returned to Prague from Buda and only then departed for Vienna. This chapter is particularly valuable for its introduction into the church's judicial procedure in matters of heresy in the context of the trial with Jerome. Fudge devotes detailed attention to this trial up to Jerome's flight from Vienna, his subsequent excommunication, and the consequences for Jerome.

In the fifth chapter Fudge devotes himself to iconoclasm in the Czech reformation and attempts to capture Jerome's involvement in the riots, violence, and image-destroying actions (including desecration of the cross) that took place in Prague after 1410. His conclusion is that the activity ascribed to Jerome was inspired by his theological convictions and the logical approach to criticizing religious practices. Iconoclasm, even in the course of the Hussite wars, cannot be ascribed according to Fudge solely to "military considerations" (162).

The next three chapters, in which Fudge discusses the trial of Jerome at the Council of Constance, are quite simply the strongest passages of the volume. In them the reader will become acquainted, on the basis of thoroughly analyzed sources, with the main aspects of Jerome's final life journey in the context of the council, which on May 30, 1416 sentenced him to death and had him burned at the stake. Jerome spent the greater part of his time in Constance—practically a full year—in prison. Supposedly he was even suspended upside down with his feet in stocks, and was in such bad condition that he requested a confessor. Fudge considers this treatment by the council to be equivalent to torture, and in the light of church law he calls it illegal. Among other very interesting insights he notes that Jerome of Prague's writings were not read during his lifetime. That is only partially true, for thanks to the witnesses in Vienna we know that one of his *quaestiones* circulated in Prague and was read at least by Blažej Vlk (Klicman 1898, 20 and Šmahel-Silagi 2010, 117-137). It is nevertheless important that the influence of Jerome's philosophical texts was very limited. Fudge does not intend by this interpretation to pursue the influence of Jerome's texts, but to support his own conclusion that at the Council of Constance "allegations of heresy were almost completely hearsay" (224).

The reader's attention may be drawn to two inaccuracies in Fudge's explanations. Fudge apparently considers a text that is clearly a fragment of the

second general recantation of September 23 (*revocatio*, see Šmahel-Silagi, 235-241), to be Jerome's first recantation of September 11 (*professio* or *abiuratio*, see Šmahel-Silagi, 225-227). This follows from the fact that Jerome in his first recantation does not touch upon the problem of the shield of faith at all, yet Fudge discusses it. Only in the second recantation did Jerome state that he had not drawn nor named the shield of faith with the aim of depicting the realism of universals as a condition of orthodox faith. He did not state, therefore, as Fudge asserts (with an erroneous reference to the supposed text of September 11) that "he had neither drawn the shield of faith nor named it" (194). Personally I consider it dubious that Jerome ever asserted that the realism of universals was the shield of faith. One way or the other, Fudge's text confirms in this connection that its author confuses the teaching of real created universals with Ideas in the mind of God (197).

The final chapter is dedicated to the reception of Jerome during his life and especially after his death. In it Fudge is concerned with Jerome's place in the liturgy and arts, but also with the use of Jerome's person for diverse ends. Recollections of personalities who knew, or asserted that they had met, Jerome during his lifetime are not absent here. In the first category belongs the Italian humanist and papal official Poggio Bracciolini, who described the last days of Jerome's life. The other group includes Gilles Charlier, author of a memoir written on the occasion of the Council of Basel who was supposedly a witness to Jerome's appearance in Paris, perhaps as a barely beginning student of the liberal arts.

Fudge's book is aimed at the Anglophone milieu for which due to linguistic barriers texts in Czech, or even German or French, are not always accessible. From this perspective we may highly commend the aim of this publication. On the other hand one may regret that the work is not entirely free of errors which would probably not have crept in if the previous research on Jerome and related themes in Czech, but also in German, French, and English, had been grasped to its fullest extent. On the same foundations Fudge's monograph could be expanded with further conclusions of existing research. While the strongest portions of the book are the chapters in its second half, the second chapter is particularly problematic. It is a pity that Fudge did not more thoroughly reflect Jerome's thinking as captured in the modern edition and the literature related to it, and instead set out to build a construct about the practical implications of universals. His construct need not be a priori mistaken, but it is not demonstrably built upon Jerome's texts.

Ota Pavlíček, Prague, Czech Republic

A Reply to Ota Pavlíček about Jerome of Prague

Thomas A. Fudge

As noted in an editorial titled “Jan Hus at 600” which appeared in *Kosmas* 28 (No.2, 2015), p. 7, I abhor the practice of suppressing ideas or neutering debate and I would not countenance suppressing a negative or critical review. Ota Pavlíček’s review of my book on Jerome of Prague is critical but not unfair. Prior to writing his review, Pavlíček corresponded with me and provided a series of helpful points for the forthcoming German edition of the book. This was much appreciated and suggested to me a level of decency and collegiality which is rapidly becoming a thing of the past in the increasing bellicosity of academic rivalries and professional jealousies.

Pavlíček singles out for special critique chapter two in which I endeavored to delineate the nature of late medieval philosophical dispute and Jerome’s relation thereto. This endeavor brought me quite consciously to the very edge of my own intellectual competence. I was not happy with my initial drafts of chapter two. Oxford University Press-appointed referees recommended that it be rewritten and suggested ways and means to do so. I followed that advice (from putative experts on medieval philosophy) but was still unhappy with my revision but it satisfied OUP and therefore went to press.

I do not profess to be expert on matters of medieval philosophy or especially in the thorny thickets in which discussion of universals and divine Ideas are often cloaked. I have nothing original or even interesting to say about the broader reaches of the debates between nominalists and realists and I have harbored for some time grave suspicions about the nature of “cat-in-the-hat” philosophical discourse.² In many ways I agree with Richard FitzRalph’s fourteenth-century comment that much of the debate on these matters was little more than the croaking of frogs and toads in medieval swamps.

The bulk of Pavlíček’s criticism of my work relates to chapter two and its extensions throughout the remainder of the book. It seems essential to point out that Jerome was not just a philosopher and indeed of the nine chapters in the book only one deals with this in detail. I can accept shortcomings and have no reservation about recommending the work of others (noted below) on Jerome’s philosophical views. If one truly wishes to come to terms with Jerome’s philosophical ideas, one will need to go beyond my book. I think this is fair criticism. However, there are nuances which Pavlíček appears to overlook.

The question about the nature of the divine Ideas and their relation to created universals is a tremendously confused one in most contemporary literature, and it is very easy to read Jerome as being less than clear on distinguishing between the two. Moreover, the problem with terminology may be a product of the relative carelessness with which many of the medieval Czech disputations handled the

² The phrase will be unfamiliar to most readers as it is of Australian provenance. It refers to the highly technical and theoretical aspects of philosophical discourse.

terms *Archetype* and *Idea*, as if they are somehow qualitatively different. Pavlíček may well be accurate about Jerome's position on universals and divine Ideas, but his own work exhibits insufficient evidence of a well-rounded grasp of Wyclif, Burley, Giles of Rome, and others who preceded Jerome. He has also not taken into account the important and much more complex analysis of Jerome's contemporary Stanislav of Znojmo. The proverbial argument often advanced by Czech scholars about the need for a new or critical edition before significant work can be undertaken is not persuasive.

Zénon Kaluza, Vilém Herold, František Šmahel, Martin Dekarli, and Pavlíček himself (among others) have forgotten more about medieval philosophy than I will ever know and Herold, Šmahel, and Pavlíček are bona fide experts on Jerome and especially his philosophical ideas. In my book, I tried to explore Herold's suggestion that metaphysical realism somehow led to theological error and I sought to discover an answer to the question of how abstract "ideas" influenced the shape of religious practice and produced heresy. Perhaps Pavlíček is right to suggest there is insufficient evidence (in terms of Jerome's works) to build the case I have attempted and hence I widened my base beyond Jerome's oeuvre in the attempt. I do not accept that in consequence my thesis works only "artificially and unconvincingly." Despite its obvious value, I also disagree with Pavlíček's opinion that Šmahel's lengthy introduction to his critical edition qualifies as a monograph on Jerome.

Pavlíček is right to point out that I should have consistently consulted the critical editions of the work of Jerome produced by Šmahel rather than occasionally utilizing the older work of Jan Sedlák. There is no justification for this inconsistency. On the other hand, my use of manuscripts goes back to my early research in Prague archives which started in 1991 (when Pavlíček was only eight years old) at the behest of my Cambridge University *doctor vater* Robert Scribner who required all of his doctorands to spend a year immersed in archives. This was almost twenty years before a critical edition of the works of Jerome was available. I preferred, perhaps wrongly, to use my research notes rather than relying upon Šmahel. While I have considerable respect for Šmahel (a scholar I have known personally since 1991) and have used his work on Hussite history generally for more than thirty years, I feel no obligation to accept his arguments and conclusions any more than I do the work of any other scholar. Šmahel may be right in his conclusions and in the reconstruction of difficult issues, which I did not accept and which Pavlíček admonishes me for ignoring, but neither Herold nor Šmahel are infallible and from time to time I have disagreed with them. Moreover, it might be noted in passing that Šmahel's critical edition of the works of Jerome contain a number of errors some of which Pavlíček himself has noted if not in print certainly privately.

Lastly, Pavlíček's PhD thesis has been unavailable even for private consultation. I had asked him about this twice, in writing, during the years in which I was engaged with Jerome. Had I been permitted to review his arguments, interpretations and conclusions I may have avoided the shortcomings he has identified. I would urge its appearance and look forward to his substantial

contribution to the scholarly study of a man whom Poggio Bracciolini characterized as worthy of eternal remembrance.

Contributors

Jaroslav Rokoský received his PhD from Charles University in 2004, and teaches twentieth-century Czech history at the Jan Purkyně University in Ústí nad Labem (Czech Republic). He is also an associate of Prague's Ústav pro studium totalitních režimů (Institute for the Study of Totalitarian Regimes) where he specializes in the third resistance movement. *Dvakrát otrokem: Paměti agrárníka Oldřicha Suchého*, which Rokoský edited, is his latest book-length publication in this field. Rokoský has written widely on the Agrarian Party and its leading personalities. His *Rudolf Beran a jeho doba: Vstup a pád agrární strany* (2008) is considered the definitive study of this political figure and his epoch.

Renata Ferklová holds a PhD from Prague's Charles University where she studied Czech language, history and literature. Her work as a curator-archivist in the Literární archiv Památníku národního písemnictví consists of cataloging the papers of important the twentieth-century personages, such as K. M. Čapek-Chod, Ladislav Stroupežnický, Jan Mukařovský, Jan Werich, Egon Hostovský, František Hrubín, Vilém Závada, František Křelina, and Zdeněk Kalista, and publishing the descriptions of these holding. A productive scholar, Ferklová has edited hitherto unpublished correspondence and manuscripts of contemporary Czech authors and penned literary-historical studies based on archival sources. Her research concentrates on Czechoslovakia in the 1950s, especially Communist cultural policies and the persecution of writers.

Zdeněk V. David has been a frequent contributor to *Kosmas* and is a leading authority on the Bohemian reformation and its philosophical influences on the Czech national renaissance. He also explores the philosophical background of Tomáš G. Masaryk's political thought, as in his contribution to this issue. He is currently senior scholar at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington, DC, where he was for many years the librarian. His book *Finding the Middle Way: The Utraquists' Liberal Challenge to Rome and Luther* was published in 2003, and followed in 2010 by *Realism, Tolerance and Liberalism in the Czech National Awakening: Legacies of the Bohemian Reformation*.

Michael Peiffer received his bachelor's degree from the College of Saint Benedict and Saint John's University and his master's degree from the University of Missouri. Currently, his path has led him to be a bookkeeper, but he pursues musical interests as time allows. This paper began life as a seminar research paper in a course taught by SVU member and *Kosmas* contributor Judith Mabary.

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Miloslav Rechciĝl, Jr. is one of the founders and past President of many years of the Czechoslovak Society of Arts and Sciences (SVU). He is a native of Mladá Boleslav, Czechoslovakia, who has lived in the US since 1950. In addition to enjoying a complete professional career as a biochemist, nutritionist and cancer researcher, he is an authority on immigration history from the territory of the former Czechoslovakia. He was instrumental in establishing the National Heritage Commission toward the preservation of Czech and Slovak cultural heritage in America. Among his many publications on Czech and Slovak topics are *The Czechoslovak Contribution to World Culture* (1964), *Czechoslovakia Past and Present* (1968), *Postavy naří Ameriky* (2000), *Czech American Historic Sites, Monuments and Memorials* (2004), *Czechoslovak American Archivalia* (2004), *Czech and Slovaks in America* (2005), and *On Behalf of Their Homeland: Fifty Years of SVU* (2008).

Jiřina řiklová received her PhD in 1958 from Charles University, and was instrumental in establishing the Department of Sociology at her alma mater. She was dismissed from her university post in the aftermath of the 1968 Warsaw Pact invasion. While earning her livelihood in a variety of non-academic jobs, řiklová became “the postman” of the dissident movement, organizing and maintaining a channel for the export of *samizdat* and the import of information and publications from the West. Returning to academic and public life after the Velvet Revolution, she founded Gender Studies and established the department of Social Work at Charles University. *Výhořtěná smrt: Úvahy o umírání a smrti* and *Omlouvám se za svou nepřítomnost: Dopisy z Ruzyně 1981–1982* are the latest in her long list of publications. řiklová also frequently comments on current affairs in the Czech media.

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Hana Waisserová is a lecturer of Czech Studies at the University of Nebraska, Lincoln. She teaches Czech language, culture and literature as well as a history course on Women and the Totalitarian Experience. Previously, she taught Anglophone and Transnational literature and culture, Gender and Central and Eastern European Studies at the Anglo-American University, Prague. She has lectured at Delhi University, India, and Texas A&M University. Her PhD thesis was called *East Meets West: Transnationalism in South Asian Cultural Production. Conventions and Strategies of Gendered Representations*. Her current

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