

# VI

## *From the Enlightenment to Romantic Nationalism (Maria Theresa–Revolution of 1848)*

In eighteenth-century Europe, Czechs were renowned for their musicality. František Xaver Brixi, the *Kapellmeister* of St. Vitus Cathedral in Prague, was the most popular composer in the Czech lands. Josef Mysliveček, father of Czech opera, made a brilliant career in Italy, where he was famous as “Il divino Boemo” (divine Bohemian). He maintained contact with Bohemia and several of his works were performed in Prague. Brixi and Mysliveček belonged to an exceptionally strong generation of Czech composers active abroad, interpreters and virtuosi who gave rise to the saying “Every Czech is a musician” (“Co Čech to muzikant”). This alleged “musicality” of the Czech people stemmed to a large degree from the harsh conditions of Czech serfs; a good musician could hope that he might be set free.

Life would begin to change in the Czech lands with the reforms of the Empress Maria Theresa (1740–80), but first she had to defend her title to the Bohemian throne. After the death of Emperor Charles VI, there was some danger that the Habsburgs’ Danube empire would be radically reduced to the eastern part of Austria and Hungary, and the rest claimed by powerful neighbors. Nevertheless, the energetic Maria Theresa succeeded in defending her heritage, with the exception of economically important Silesian territory, definitively lost in 1763. Added to the loss of Lusatia in 1635, the lands of the Czech crowns were thus further reduced, and the contours of the northern borders of the future Czech Republic appeared on maps of Europe.

The wars in the first decades of Maria Theresa’s reign demonstrated the urgency of transforming the Danube empire into a compact state of citizens willing to work and fight for their homeland. Following the principles of the Enlightenment, the empress initiated the dissolution of feudal social structures, which were replaced by effective state bureaucracy. The concept itself was forward-looking, but in the course of its implementation, Czech statehood de facto disappeared. The kingdom of Bohemia continued to exist on the international scene, as an integral part of the Holy Roman Empire, and

THANKS]

ORK]

Virgil's *Bucolics*, and Pindarus

within the Austrian state, but in reality the Austrian and Bohemian chancelleries were combined.

The Czech lands—Bohemia, Moravia, and the rest of Silesia—were administratively dissolved into “hereditary German countries,” as the provinces of the newly centralized state began to be called. As a consequence, the Czech Estates (upper classes) lost all political power; the country would henceforth be administered by educated clerks appointed by the crown without regard to their national or social origin. In another important advance toward civic society, the empress separated justice and administration. She established a supreme court to maintain justice in the Austrian state. However, it did not apply to Jews, whom she expelled from Prague in 1741.

Maria Theresa’s reforms encouraged industry, commerce, and the development of agriculture. Count Rudolph Chotek, the highly educated state chancellor, played a key role in the transformation of the economically backward Habsburg Empire into a modern state capable of competing abroad. He came from an old Czech aristocratic family, and in 1754 the very first world’s fair took place on the grounds of his castle at Veltrusy, Bohemia. It was quite an advanced venture; only samples of goods were exhibited, although visitors could order from printed catalogues. The fair was visited not only by many foreign businessmen but also by the empress and her consort. This so-called Great Fair of Products of the Czech Kingdom promoted new technologies, especially in manufacturing.

Reforms by Maria Theresa’s son and successor, Joseph II, were still more radical, aiming to grant basic civil rights and equality before the law to the entire population of the Habsburg state. During the ten years of his rule, 1780–90, he issued over six thousand decrees. In his Patent of Toleration of 1781 he extended religious freedom in his empire to Lutherans, Calvinists, and Greek Orthodox believers. The emperor hoped to attract non-Catholics from economically more advanced parts of Europe who could help in the industrialization of his lands. In his Serfdom Patent (also in 1781) he established basic civil liberties for the serfs, on whose work the economy of the Habsburg state was largely based. This patent was preceded by decrees forbidding physical punishment and securing legal protection for serfs. Besides Joseph’s moral objections to serfdom, he was motivated by the fact that serfs’ tithes to their landlords left them unable to pay taxes to their government (and the nobles and clerics were tax-exempt). The Serfdom Patent guaranteed peasants a free choice of marriage partner, career, and place of residence. Czech peasants could freely move not only to cities but also to new manufacturing centers, and their standard of living increased accordingly.

The nobility, deprived of serf labor, was forced to seek new sources of



income and thus became the beacons of economic progress in Czech lands. Exercising their feudal monopoly in the market, they began to produce alcoholic beverages and other products that only they could make and sell. Many aristocrats turned to exportable goods, mainly textile and glass manufacturing, in which they utilized the assets of their landed property to secure the fuel sources and minerals needed in their factories. They also began to process their own agricultural production to produce woolen cloth or wood artifacts. While the Czech lands began to contribute significantly to the wealth of the Habsburg state, of crucial importance for future economic growth were the savings and insurance companies founded by the landed aristocracy in Prague and Brno in the 1820s.

Already Maria Theresa understood perfectly the importance of free circulation of goods and thoroughly reconstructed the transportation system in her empire. Nevertheless, the idea of connecting the south-flowing Danube and the north-flowing Vltava (in German, Moldau)—thus integrating Austria and Bohemia—was not realized till after her death. In 1832 the first intercity railway (albeit horse-drawn) on the European continent connected Linz, Austria, on the Danube and České Budějovice (Budweis), Bohemia, on the Vltava. The new railway joined not only two cities and two countries, but also the North Sea and the Mediterranean. A line almost 130 kilometers long served to transport goods, and in summer it transported passengers as well. This universally admired project was the inspiration of Franz Josef Gerstner, the first director of the Prague Polytechnic Institute, who had constructed the first steam machine in the Czech lands in 1817.

A new railway, natural resources, and a cheap labor force were the main reasons why L. & C. Hardtmuth founded a plant in České Budějovice. The plant produced pencils called Koh-i-noor, after the famous Indian diamond which arrived in London while Franz Hardtmuth was studying there. These pencils are yellow, like the diamond, and schoolchildren throughout the world know the letters written on them, H meaning hard, B meaning black (and soft), and HB for the middle caliber.

Another breakthrough in long distance transport was the Northern Railway connecting Vienna and Galicia, the northernmost province of the Habsburg Empire, today divided between Poland and Ukraine. The first section from Vienna to Břeclav, Moravia, was opened in 1839 as Austria's first steam railway. The Northern Railway reached the Moravian-Polish border in 1848, and simultaneously, from 1842 to 1845, a forking line was constructed from Olomouc to Prague, thus opening railway traffic between Vienna and Prague. The design and construction of the Olomouc-Prague line, and of the equally important Prague-Dresden line, was the work of Josef Gerstner's



pupil, Jan Perner. Oddly enough, this active Czech patriot was the first victim of a railway accident in the Czech lands. Those behind the Czechs' economic prosperity were not only local engineers like Gerstner and Perner, but also a whole army of small inventors. The first sugar cubes, for instance, were produced in 1843 at the Dačice refinery (South Bohemia) according to the patent of Jacob Christoph Rad, whose wife had injured herself while cutting loaf sugar and asked her husband to do something about it.

According to economic theories of the time, the wealth of a state depended on the size of its population, and the Habsburg state began to look after the health of its citizens. Urban sanitation improved, as did health education and state medical care, vaccinations included. These reforms and the economic boom around 1800 had extensive consequences—the population of Bohemia and Moravia increased by 22 percent.

There is no doubt that without the enlightened rule of Maria Theresa and her son, Joseph II, the constitution of the modern Czech nation would not exist; because of their reforms a Czech intellectual elite emerged. Paradoxically, these reforms also threatened Czech identity on both the political and the cultural level.

A devout Catholic, Maria Theresa nevertheless considerably reduced the power of the Catholic Church and ended Jesuit control of the educational system—which meant that theology was to a large degree replaced by the sciences. Mandatory education was introduced in 1774, largely in order to train civil servants. Children, girls as well as boys, between the ages of six and twelve, began to attend schools in the Czech and Austrian lands; their parents had to pay fees but textbooks were free. The emergence of a Czech literate class was of cardinal importance for the development of the Czech nation; without it, the emancipation process would never have come into existence. But it had a snag: the public schools used German, which the empress had declared the official state language.

Without Czech peasants, the Czech national movement would have ended before it started. At that time, peasants in Czech lands could not have cared less about the problems of national identity, but they did speak Czech, and soon began to flood the Germanized cities in Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia. Around 1800 there were in the Czech lands more than three million peasants, two-thirds of the entire population, who considered Czech their mother tongue. They were the ancestors of the liberal townspeople who were later instrumental in establishing Czech society and promoting its political independence.

Still, the Germanization of Czech lands was picking up speed, and was only blocked by new ideas coming from Germany itself—yet another para-



dox of this revolutionary epoch. The idea of a Czech national revival was based on a conception of the nation centered on the so-called *Volk* (people), their language and traditions unspoiled by civilization. The main ideologue of this movement was the German philosopher and theologian Johann Gottfried Herder. He discarded the traditional model of a juridical and political state, which made of course a great impression on the Czechs, whose state had been repeatedly proclaimed by Austrian rulers to be nonexistent. Czech patriots wholeheartedly accepted Herder's concepts of the "folk-nation" and "soul of the people" (*Volksgeist*). According to this thesis, the Czech nation was not formed by laws or political consensus, but by climate, education, tradition—and above all by the Czech language, which shaped the thoughts and habits of its people.

The peak of Herder's triumph in the Slav East is represented by Jan Kollár's 1824 poetic epic, *Daughter of Sláva*. It was published in Pest (Hungary), where Kollár worked as a Lutheran pastor. In the prologue, which expresses Kollár's pan-Slavic vision, the German oak tree is confronted with the Slav linden. After Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock appropriated the oak for his nation, as a symbol of German hardness, and contrasted it with the linden, these two trees began to symbolize respective national characters in Czech culture. Linden's soft wood and sweet-smelling blossoms stand for Czech tenderness and graciousness; it is presented as modest, but unyielding. When the first Czechoslovak republic was created, linden leaves appeared on state symbols and currency. Even today, on ceremonial occasions linden trees are solemnly planted.

The Czech national revival was inspired by the German national renaissance only in its first stage. After around 1840, Germans had adopted the French view of the nation as indivisible despite any differences of origin or language. From then on, language was secondary and the main goal was the united national state, and Czechs were invited to take part in it. On the German side, it was generally assumed that the Czech lands would be part of the German state, because there were French analogies—Basques, Bretons, and Alsations did not speak French, which in theory did not make them less French than any other citizens of the French state.

German literary culture had lagged behind that of other European nations and reemerged only in the second half of the eighteenth century. Then new literary trends flooded the Czech lands as well, and French books were quickly replaced by those of Gessner, Klopstock, Kleist, and others. At that time, prospects for the revival of a linguistically Czech culture were dim. Czech literature, by Catholic writers educated in Jesuit schools, remained mediocre. German literature in Czech lands, on the other hand, produced



at least one writer of pan-European importance—Christian Heinrich Spiess, an actor who wrote the first German version of the English Gothic novel. He was born in Freiburg, Saxony, but his life was connected with Prague and above all with Bezděkov (German, *Besdiekau*) in the Šumava forest in southern Bohemia, where the popular tradition of ghost stories was very strong. Spiess was one of the most widely read German authors of his day, and most famous was his horror tale *Das Petermännchen* (The dwarf of Westerbourg), published in 1791–92 in Prague. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, German authors such as Clemens Brentano and Karl Egon Ebert began to take an interest in Czechs and their history.

Over a period of years, between 1791 and 1796, the first scientific work written in Czech, *Nová kronika česká* (A new Bohemian chronicle), was published by František Martin Pelcl, professor of the newly founded department of Czech language at the Prague university. The father of the Czech language revival, first among several in the Slav world, was Josef Dobrovský, Pelcl's young friend from the next generation. Josef Dobrovský, a linguist and historian, helped establish the Bohemian Academy of Sciences (1784) and the National Museum (1818). He laid the foundations of Czech philology and literary history with the first scholarly evaluation of Czech language and literature, published in 1791. Dobrovský regarded the peak of Czech literature as the *Bible Kralická*, the Czech translation of the Bible produced by the Unity of the Brethren and published by Daniel Adam of Veleslavin (1546–99). Dobrovský did not believe that the Czech language could be revived, and promoted it only as a communication medium between the ruling class and the peasant majority. Nevertheless, his 1809 grammar, in which the rules for the creation of Czech words were determined, was basic to further development of the Czech language.

At first the Czechs were reviving only their language, but when they began to produce actual literary texts early in the nineteenth century, they coped with their cultural inferiority complex in a way strikingly similar to that of German intellectuals in preceding generations. The second generation of the revival of Czech language and culture was sparked by Josef Jungmann, who became the rector of the Prague university in 1840. By that time he had already organized a group of devoted collaborators who changed the shape of culture in Czech lands. Jungmann and his group had concluded that Czechs would never be able to speak German as perfectly as those who were brought up in the language, and therefore it was vital for Czechs to speak Czech if they wanted to compete with their German compatriots. They came forth with the idea of literary Czech as a future equivalent of literary German.



That is why Jungmann began to translate French, English, and German masterpieces into the Czech language.

Jungmann published five volumes of a Czech-German dictionary between 1834 and 1839, including not only words actually used but also borrowings from old Czech documents or from other Slavic languages, and his own neologisms, some of which became common usage. Like Dobrovský, he set sixteenth-century Czech as the ideal to emulate, and decried the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as dark ages. Jungmann's own era was that of rebirth, national renaissance. His talks on the Czech language, published in 1806, take place in the underworld, where Daniel Adam of Veleslavín, representing the golden age of Czech literacy in the sixteenth century, disputes with a new arrival, a then-contemporary Czech, who considers German his main language. The dialogue was in a way a manifesto of Jungmann's circle, stressing that only those who speak Czech can be considered legitimate inhabitants of Czech lands.

The first newspaper in the Czech language, originally named *Pražské poštovské noviny* (Prague postal newspaper), was published by Václav Matěj Kramerius in 1789. He was so successful that in 1795 he founded the publishing house and bookstore *Česká expedice* (Czech expedition), which specialized in Czech books for the general public. The importance of this revolution in communications cannot be exaggerated. Thanks to Kramerius's books and newspapers, Czech patriots emancipated themselves from the nobility who up to that time had a monopoly on information. Daily readers of Kramerius's Czech newspapers entered the world of power politics.

Two famous Slovaks played an important part in the Czech national revival—Ján Kollár, mentioned earlier, and Pavel Josef Šafařík. Kollár was a poet, archaeologist, scientist, and politician; his poem "Daughter of Sláva" describes his wanderings through the Slav world and his longing for his sweetheart, whom he had to leave behind. In this work inspired by Petrarch's sonnets, Dante's *Divine Comedy*, and Byron's "Childe Harold's Pilgrimage," a radically new hero appeared, an energetic and upright young man, tormented by his desires and frustrated by the constraints of his surroundings. Kollár immediately became a champion of the young generation of Czech patriots, on whom his poetry had decisive and lasting influence. Kollár was also the main spokesman for pan-Slavism, which he conceived as a counterpart to the movement for German unification, although his idea of a "unified Slav nation" did not find followers.

Šafařík's activities were also divided between art and science. In his poetry he introduced the figure of the Slovak hero Jánošík, a sort of Robin Hood. In



1837 his epochal scientific work, *Slavonic Antiquities*, described the origin of all Slav tribes, whose early culture is presented as equal to that of the Germans of that time. With this book he founded a new discipline, Slavistics. It was immediately translated into Russian, German, and Polish and contributed to the positive reevaluation of Slavs abroad. Šafařík lived from 1833 in Prague, where he wrote exclusively in Czech. He had reservations about the Slovak language, even though he considered Slovaks to be a separate nation.

In Slovakia the situation was even more complicated than in the Czech lands. Protestants wrote in the archaic Czech language until Anton Bernolák, a Catholic priest, used a standard Slovak language based on the west Slovak dialect in his book published in 1787 in Bratislava (*Dissertatio philologico-critica de litteris Slavorum*). The attempt was only partly successful because Protestants continued to use the archaic Czech language of the *Bible of Kralice*. Change came only in 1843, when a Lutheran priest, L'udovít Štúr, proposed the central Slovak dialect as a replacement of both Bernolák's language and sixteenth-century Czech. This is basically the language that is now used in the Slovak Republic.

The key figures in the early nineteenth-century Czech revival were not poets, but historians. František Palacký is rightly considered a father of the Czech nation, together with Charles IV and the first democratic president, T. G. Masaryk. Like Šafařík he was a Protestant. His main work is *The History of the Czech Nation in Bohemia and Moravia*, which he began to publish in 1836. It is written from the Czech and Protestant point of view, but it is not anti-Habsburg. Palacký was firmly persuaded that it was beneficial for Czechs to be part of a large and powerful Danube imperium. Palacký's monumental history was financed by the local Bohemian government and patriotic Czech aristocrats, above all Count Kašpar Maria Sternberg, a close friend of Goethe, who was instrumental in founding the National Museum in 1818. In 1825 the *Journal of the Bohemian Museum* came out, with Palacký as editor. At first it was published in Czech and German, but soon it dropped the German and became the main organ of the Czech national renaissance.

In the early nineteenth century, the western and northern European cult of the ancient national epic reached Bohemia, and young Palacký translated the Scottish epics of Ossian in 1817, even though their authenticity was a matter of dispute. In the same year a literary hoax allegedly dating from the epoch around 800 was "discovered" in Zelená Hora (Green Hill, a town in the Pilsen district of western Bohemia). If genuine, the *Manuscript of Zelená Hora*, describing the judgment of Libuše, would have been the oldest literary monument in the Czech language, documenting the high cultural standard and "democratic" nature of ancient Slav society, with a ruler elected by a landed



assembly. In the same year, the *Manuscript of Dvůr Králové* was "discovered," allegedly coming from the thirteenth century and containing poems in Czech created in still earlier centuries (Dvůr Králové, in northeastern Bohemia, is known in German as Königinhof and in English as Queen's Court).

Both manuscripts were suspect from the very beginning, and Josef Dobrovský publicly proclaimed the *Manuscript of Zelená Hora* a hoax.<sup>1</sup> But the younger generation of Czech revivalists did not doubt the authenticity of the new "discoveries." The manuscripts added several centuries to the Czech literary tradition, which Dobrovský's pupils saw as more important than scientific rigor; they condemned him as a slavizing German. The literary quality and inspirational force of both of these hoaxes is very high. There is no doubt that nineteenth-century Czech culture would have been very different without them.

The craziness about forged manuscripts and other similar "discoveries" provoked Josef Jaroslav Langer to create the *Manuscript of Bohdanec*, a parody published in 1830. In the preface he describes how he found a manuscript in a wine cellar: a poem about Bohdanec girls famous for loose morals. This "mystification" was typical of the Czech national revival, which was basically a literary movement, characterized from the very beginning by elements of pretense, illusion, and, last but not least, humor.

While the Czech national revival was at the same time playful and deadly earnest, it had a very important sectarian aspect. In 1864 Siegfried Kapper (also known as Isaac Solomon Kapper) published a poem with the telling title, "Do Not Say I Am Not Czech." Kapper belonged to the generation of Bohemian Jews, who began, after their release from the ghettos, to seek their identity.<sup>2</sup> In his journal *Slavische Melodien* he promulgated Czech literature; it was only after he had translated Mácha's *May* into German that Czech patriots began to take it seriously. Kapper was the first Jew to write Czech patriotic poetry, all the while insisting that he was a Jew. Karel Havlíček Borovský, one of the most radical Czech patriots, immediately rejected Kapper's initiative. Borovský argued that his "Semitic origin" disqualified him as a Czech. For a long time this authoritative verdict deterred any Jew from following in Kapper's footsteps.

The foundation of the Patriotic Museum (later renamed the National Museum) in 1818 was the most important project of that time promoting Czech science and culture. Around 1800, the revival of Czech literature emerged in important work in historiography, linguistics, poetry, and drama. However, the most significant intellectual then active in Bohemia was the German-speaking Bernard Bolzano (1781–1848), the main representative of the Czech Enlightenment. In Western Europe this movement had begun at the end of



the seventeenth century, but it arrived in the Czech lands with a half-century delay and lasted until the mid-nineteenth century.

From 1805 Bolzano taught philosophy of religion at the university in Prague—so successfully that in 1818 he was elected head of the philosophy department. In the following year, his unorthodox political and religious views caused him to be dismissed from his position by Austrian authorities and exiled from Prague. As a social thinker Bolzano was influenced by the revolutionary ideas of civil society. He fought for the absolute equality of all people, and especially provocative was his criticism of social injustice, anti-Semitism, and discrimination against women. Today he is celebrated for his ground-breaking work in logic and philosophy, where he laid foundations for phenomenology and analytical philosophy. Bolzano is widely known as the author of a mathematical theorem called Bolzano-Weierstrass, even though Weierstrass published it much later. This theorem has an important application in economics. Bolzano's most important work was his *Wissenschaftslehre* (Theory of science), written in 1837, which later made him world-famous in the fields of logic, epistemology, and scientific pedagogy.<sup>3</sup> The work could not be published during Bolzano's lifetime; it was discovered later by Central European philosophers and became one of the sources of phenomenology and analytical philosophy, which came to dominate English-speaking countries in the twentieth century.

Christian Doppler was another remarkable German-speaking scientist active in Prague. He taught mathematics at the university from 1835 until the revolution of 1848, when he fled to Vienna. In Prague he discovered and published his most important work on the so-called Doppler effect, which is widely known as the abrupt change of sound of a quickly passing car. A hundred years later, in 1949, the discovery that the wavelength of a wave depends on motion was the inspiration for the Big Bang theory of the evolution of the universe.

Bernard Bolzano strongly endorsed bilingual "Bohemism," the utopian attempt to integrate Bohemians and Czechs, which found the most supporters in the 1820s and 1830s. Bohemians (in German, *Böhmen*) were heirs of the historical Bohemian kingdom, formed politically by the clergy, nobility, and commoners—while Czechs (in German "Czechen") were a Slav ethnic group in the historical Czech lands. Critics of Czech nationalism considered the Czechs a nation without a history, belatedly creating for itself a standard language and literature. Ideologues of the Czech national movement, however, stressed that Czech was the historical national language in Bohemia as well as the language of the majority in the country.



ch lands with a half-century  
 religion at the university in  
 ed head of the philosophy  
 dox political and religious  
 ion by Austrian authorities  
 ano was influenced by the  
 the absolute equality of all  
 m of social injustice, anti-  
 lay he is celebrated for his  
 ere he laid foundations for  
 io is widely known as the  
 -Weierstrass, even though  
 has an important applica-  
 : was his *Wissenschaftslehre*  
 ade him world-famous in  
 gogy.<sup>3</sup> The work could not  
 vered later by Central Eu-  
 s of phenomenology and  
 lish-speaking countries in

erman-speaking scientist  
 niversity from 1835 until  
 Prague he discovered and  
 l Doppler effect, which is  
 ickly passing car. A hun-  
 ngth of a wave depends  
 y of the evolution of the

hemism," the utopian at-  
 und the most supporters  
 imen) were heirs of the  
 the clergy, nobility, and  
 were a Slav ethnic group  
 onalism considered the  
 for itself a standard lan-  
 al movement, however,  
 ge in Bohemia as well as

Bohemism, on the other hand, presented Bohemia as a common country of two tribes, in which Czechs and Germans, as well as their languages, were equal. The aims of the Czechs and Germans living in Bohemia were, however, altogether different and mutually incompatible. Czechs looked to Vienna; they wanted to remain in the Danube empire, which they believed would soon become a federation of free nations. The Germans looked to Berlin and they dreamed of a united Germany in which Bohemia would be included as one of the German states.

Bolzano wholeheartedly welcomed the Czechs' revival, but remained pessimistic about their future, aware as he was that they were well behind their German compatriots in their literary and philosophical development. Unexpectedly, however, in early nineteenth-century Bohemia, a Czech genius, Karel Hynek Mácha, appeared—only to die prematurely in 1836. His funeral took place on the very day that his marriage (to an actress, Eleonora Šomková) had been planned. Mácha's *May* is considered the greatest Czech poem of all time. An important contribution to the corpus of European Romantic ballads, it was created to a large degree in defiance of the Czech national revival. When it appeared, Czech patriots unanimously criticized it as un-Czech, even though the majority of critics recognized his exceptional poetic talent. Not until 1858 did a new generation of Czech writers hail this poem as a work of genius and a hallowed model. A monument to Mácha by J. V. Myslbek was erected at Petřín Park to celebrate the centenary of his birth. It is one of the most frequented Prague sights, sought out not by tourists but by Czech sweethearts, who meet there at all times of the year, but especially on each first of May.

Among those who unreservedly rejected Mácha's poetry was Josef Kajetán Tyl, writer, dramatist, and songwriter, who put himself and his talent wholly at the service of his nation. Following the example of his teacher at the Hradec Králové secondary school, Václav Kliment Klicpera, Tyl set it as his main task to create Czech drama. Theater was the center of attention for Czech revivalists in the 1820s, and the reason was obvious: the majority of the Czech-speaking population of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia lived in villages and was largely illiterate. In 1849 the first company of Czech theater amateurs was formed; these were later found in most all Czech towns and were instrumental in spreading patriotic ideas throughout the country. Low-budget wandering puppet companies addressed this audience with great efficiency. Matěj Kopecký, the most famous of Czech puppeteers, visited Bohemian villages with shows starring the typical village figure, Honza (colloquial form of Jan/John). Honza made people laugh but also raised their self-esteem because he



overcame all obstacles. Even the devil was no match for him, not to mention universally hated authorities in the service of the Austrians. Czech puppet theater is still very much alive.

In 1846 Josef Kajetán Tyl was appointed artistic director of Czech plays at the main theater in Prague, today the Estates Theatre, opened already in 1783. Tyl viewed Czech theater as a means of mass education, which determined the form and content of his plays. Tyl's life story is typical for Czech revivalists. He was eager to excel in diverse fields and was exceptionally efficient as artist, organizer, and politician, but he lived all his life on the poverty line. His enormous popularity notwithstanding, he died poor and ill in 1856. Among his fairy stories inspired by Czech folklore, the "Bagpiper of Strakonice" stands out. In Tyl's time a bagpiper was the quintessential Czech, and the story concerns a Czech musician who left his country to find money and fame abroad. Even though he captivated the world with his proverbial Czech musicality, he returned because he discovered that he could not live outside his homeland.

The great issue of Tyl's era, the emigration and deracination of Czechs, remains topical even today. After the Russian occupation in 1968 and yet another wave of Czech emigration, a politically engaged adaptation of "Bagpiper of Strakonice" was filmed under the telling title *The Upward Falling Star* (1974). The main role was played by the Czech pop star Karel Gott, who only two years before had been urged to return home from capitalist Germany. "Bagpiper of Strakonice" and other Tyl pieces were always mainstays of the repertory for the Czech audience, but he is known and loved above all as the author of the Czech national anthem, "Kde domov můj?" (Where is my country?).

#### Notes

1. Josef Dobrovský, *Literarischer Betrug*, Archiv für Geschichte, Statistik, Literatur und Kunst 15 (Vienna: Franz Ludwig, 1824), 437–38. Recently, Edward L. Keenan advanced the provocative hypothesis that Dobrovský himself might be the author of one of the most venerated works of East Slavic epic literature, *Igor's Tale*. In *Josef Dobrovský and the Origins of the Igor Tale* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004), Keenan draws attention, among other things, to the strange fact that in this allegedly ancient Russian epic song we find the expression "pod ranami" ("under blows") in which the word "rána" is used in the exclusively Czech sense ("a blow"). In all other Slav languages "rána" means only "a wound."
2. There were about 460,000 Jews in the Habsburg Empire; the Jews living in the Czech lands, estimated at between 50,000 and 80,000 in number, were the richest among them.
3. Bernard Bolzano, *Theory of Science: Attempt at a Detailed and in the Main Novel Exposition of Logic with Constant Attention to Earlier Authors*, edited and translated by Rolf George (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972).