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CZECH WOMEN PHILOSOPHERS AND SCIENTISTS (outline 2016)

Historical timeline

General introduction

Chapter I: Czech women in philosophy and science before 1830

I. Introduction

In the research devoted to Czech women in science and philosophy up until the 19th century, restricting women only to those writing in Czech would mean a great impoverishment. Hence the choice of individual personalities will be determined by their place of origin – it will concern women born on the present-day territory of the Czech Republic or coming from traditional Bohemian and Moravian aristocracies. However, the corpus could be extended also by authors who did not work merely on this territory but stayed for a short or long time abroad without losing touch with the Czech environment.

There is a very small publishing activity of women on the Czech territory before the 19th century. Even though women did not publish their works, we still find proofs of their writing activities. Moreover, in some cases we even have manuscripts of their texts at our disposal. As important evidence of women's interests, one can see also their correspondence, diaries or the selection of literature they purchased for their private libraries. The preserved texts written by Czech women are mostly written in French and German and can be accessed in archives and castle libraries. Part of these documents is also registered in scholarly literature written in Czech.

The aim of the project is not to provide an overview on individual personalities, but more likely search for evidence showing philosophical or academic interest. Therefore, it is apt to focus rather on several particular aspects of the selected women's activities. In many cases, it will be necessary to draw a careful distinction between women's activities that are the expression of religious contemplation and philosophical interest.

Furthermore, we are interested in interconnecting philosophical and scientific interests of women in the Czech environment with the contemporary European context. Simultaneously – if possible – we will explain the preserved documents with regard to current philosophical and scientific discussions. The aim is to convert their intentions and often also conceptual apparatus into modern philosophical and scientific terminology.

Unfortunately, there is no survey study devoted to educated Czech women, their philosophical and scientific interests. One must stem from partial studies concentrating on separate periods. An important source is a work by Frantisek Martin Pelcl called *Abbildungen bohmischer und mahrischer Gelehrten und Kunstler, nebst kurzen Nachrichten von ihren Leben und Werken* from the years of 1773–1782, where educated women occur. This work is crucial also as it allows us to see the criteria for determining scholars in the second half of the 18th century.

II. Earliest period

At the beginning of Czech history, there is a legend of the women ruler Libuše (Libussa). She is mentioned by Cosmas of Prague and further elaboration of the legend can be found in the Chronicle of Dalimil in 14th century. Libuše introduced to the Czech culture the image of a wise woman who herself decides about her life and the fate of her country.

Despite the legend of Libuše, the medieval approach to women and their intellectual capabilities on the Czech territory, similarly to other European countries, came from the Christian doctrine based on Aristotle's and Galen's theory. Women should be subordinated to men and develop traditional women's virtues associated to childbearing and housekeeping. Nevertheless, in the Czech countries in the Middle Ages, we do not find manifestations of absolute misogyny, perhaps under the influence of the later spreading of Christianity and the development of Marian devotion. This trend is evident also from the small extent of witch-hunts taking place on the Czech territory towards the close of 17th century, more likely in a restricted form.

With some exceptions, often connected to family background, women in the earliest period had access to education only in convents or movements associated to them. Hence women's activities that can be regarded as manifestations of philosophical or scientific interest were closely related to religious topics. The first women's convent and the first monastery in Bohemia ever was the Benedictine convent of St. George, founded in Prague around 976 by Mlada, the sister of Boleslav II from the Premyslid dynasty. The first prominent educated woman in the Czech convents was the Premyslid princess Agnes, who was an abbess of the Poor Clare monastery "Na Františku" in Prague. Her sister Vilemina (Guglielma) was a leading figure as well; according to some scholars, she was the founder of the Milanese sect of Guglielmites with feminist tendencies. However, there are many doubts surrounding her life even now. At the beginning of 14th century, the continuator of the **mystical** orientation of Czech educated women (according to the environment of Rhenish convents and the Beguine movement) was Agnes's niece Kunigunde, an abbess of the aforementioned monastery of St. George.

Kunigunde had contributed a great deal to enriching the convent library. She commissioned the local scriptorium to adapt older manuscripts and write new books. The most significant work was the *Passional*, which expresses Kunigunde's mystical relationship to Christ. Kunigunde influenced her niece, Elizabeth the Premyslid, who dwelt as a young girl with her in the monastery. Elizabeth and her step mother Elizabeth Richeza also supported arts and religious production of books, in particular illuminated manuscripts commissioned by Elizabeth Richeza in the scriptorium in Brno is a major cultural deed.

Besides the contemporary evidence of women living in monasteries, there are also mentions of educated women from aristocratic circles and their intellectual interests. For example, Charles IV was surrounded by educated women: his sister Jutta (Bonna) von Luxemburg became a prominent patroness of arts in France and his third wife Anna von Schweidnitz exchanged letters with Petrarca. Unfortunately, her letters have not survived, yet **Petrarca's answer** to Anna's announcement of giving birth to a daughter from 23 May 1358, when the poet (presumably responding to her disappointment) congratulates her and mentions prominent women from the past to console her. Anna von Schweidnitz grew up in the royal court of Buda where she received excellent education and upbringing under the influence of the progressive Hungarian queen Elizabeth.

III. Renaissance and reformation

1. Women with humanistic education

The most extensive education in the period of humanism might have been received by **Catherine Elisabeth von Kamenek**. Catherine was a daughter of a prominent scholar, professor at Charles University and one of the translators of the Bible of Kralice, Nicholas Albert von Kamenek (c. 1550–1617) and could speak, *inter alia*, Latin, Ancient Greek and Hebrew. Her unusual education resulted from her family background; after all, her brother is said to have been a competent translator as well.

Another outstanding educated woman was the poet **Elizabeth Jane Weston** (1581–1612), a step-daughter of Edward Kelly. Weston lived in Prague and got involved in the communication of the Republic of Letters. Weston is the only woman who had earned her own entry in Pelcl's catalogue *Abbildungen bohmischer und mahrischer Gelehrten und Kunstler, nebst kurzen Nachrichten von ihren Leben und Werken* (1773–1782).

2. Women in reformation movements

In the reformation religious movements of 15th and 16th centuries, Czech women became partially emancipated, even though their education still remained rather restricted. Women strove to be involved in theological disputes already in the Hussite period. Even those coming from lower classes were learning to read; some were said to know the Bible better than many priests. Nevertheless, most scholars and reformers of that time saw this women's activity with disdain. Among the representatives of the Hussite movement, traditional ideas of the role of women persevered (except for Matthew of Janow).

Within the Czech reformation movements, it was women from the Unity of the Brethren who participated in running the congregation and its defence. In the Unity of the Brethren, even girls were to obtain elementary education. Further on, the congregation was organized so that older sisters should take care of younger members and help them read and understand the Bible. From the milieu of the Unity of the Brethren, also written documents of women's authors' activities have been preserved. For example, Crescencia Zmrzlikova of Svojsin wrote a defence of the Unity of the Brethren in response to the letter of an Utraquist priest John Bechynka and Johanna Kreiger of Krajek is the author of a written confession of faith. Moreover, also **Marta von Boskowitz** (1463–1507) prepared the defence of the Unity of the Brethren in the form of a letter addressed to Vladislaus II. Even though the king did not comply with her request, his answer expressed personal respect for the author. Bohuslav Hasištejnský of Lobkowitz responded to Marta's letter in the opposite way; he prepared a stylistically refined polemic text in which he refers to the stereotypical ideas of the role of women. Even though they are not elaborate theological contemplations, the aforementioned written documents prove women's intellectual interest manifested in argumentative texts determined to defend the church.

Women from the Unity of the Brethren followed their families also on **foreign missions**. For example, the Moravian expatriate Rosina Schneider, married Zeisberger, lived in North America; Rosina Stach, married Beck, was the first missionary in Greenland; and Anna Maria Tonn lived in Surinam. However, documents proving their possible (scientific) interest in exotic destinations are not available.

3. Women in society and politics

Women for whose intellectual ambitions we have contemporary evidence acted also outside the area of literacy and traditional erudition. Today, we could talk of competent politicians and economists. The most prominent figure was **Polyxena of Lobkowitz** (1566–1642), who was an adamant administratrix of a vast manor and drew admiration (and hatred) thanks to her negotiating skills. In literature dealing with the history of women in the Czech countries, there is often quoted a letter addressed to Polyxena, written by Charles Senior of Zerotin. In the text, this leading aristocrat refers to Polyxena as the first lady of the kingdom and highlights her intellectual capabilities, which was at that time exceptionally overt expression of respect. Polyxena was under the influence of her mother, Spaniard Maria Manrique de Lara, who held, together with her other daughters, the so-called **salon of Pernstein**. In the Czech aristocratic circles, there were gatherings of ladies (*fraucimors*), yet with some exceptions, they were not based on mixed audience and sociability. If we search in the Czech countries for an institution similar to French salons of the 17th century, we might discover only the salon of Pernstein mentioned above. Its main figure, Maria Manrique de Lara, was the widow of the Chancellor Vratislaus II of Pernstein. Her salon was the centre of Catholic interests and simultaneously also a meeting place of foreign visitors coming to Prague, especially Spaniards and Italians. The hostess and her society of ladies were well known for witted conversation and interest in Catholic politics. Even though we have evidence about the functioning of this salon from both local and foreign visitors, proofs of philosophical or scientific interests of the participating ladies have not persisted, even though we can presuppose that the refined conversations touched upon these topics as well.

IV. Baroque and classicism (c. until 1830)

1. Translators

Among the most educated women on the Czech territory in the Baroque period, there were the daughters of Franz Anton von Sporck – elder **Maria Eleanora** (1687–1717) and younger **Anna Catherine** (1689–1754). Their father was a major figure of the Czech baroque culture, well known for his interest in literature and arts. Sporck was interested in developing spirituality and morals; he was keen on studying reformation movements in Christianity, especially in manifestations stemming from Jansenism and Quietism. In accordance with this moral mission, he decided to translate from French to German selected works that he intended to spread among his serfs in order to boost their religiosity. Franz Anton commissioned his two daughters to translate the selected works and hence he used their extensive philological erudition.

Both sisters proved to be excellent translators. They dealt mainly with French religious and philosophical literature. Maria Eleanora had a creative approach to translating; she augmented some texts herself. In 1712, Sporck published in Prague the manuscript called *Wiederlegung Der Atheisten, Deisten Und Neuen Zweyffler*. Its author might have been the Parisian professor of theology Michel Mauduit. It was written under the influence of the thoughts of Blaise Pascal; the first part is more likely a free adaptation of a chapter of Pascal's *Pensées*. According to some scholars, the author of this part is Marie Eleanora herself.

2. Readers and book collectors

The philosophical and scientific interest of Czech women is evident also from the lists of books acquired to private castle libraries. The most distinct example of the collecting and

reading activity is constructing the library in Cesky Krumlov, which was initiated by **Marie Ernestine von Eggenberg**, née von Schwarzenberg (1646–1719). Her accomplishments and the Eggenberg fond of the castle library were described in depth in the publications of Jitka Radimská. Marie Ernestine owned Pascal's *Lettres provinciales*, banned Jansenist books, Bayle's *Dictionnaire historique et critique* and even some "feminist" works by Poullain de la Barre. In the preserved books, one can find Marie Ernestine's handwritten notes and other evidence proves the thorough reading of texts and their reception.

3. Authors of manuscripts

The Russian aristocrat **Alexandra Shuvalov** (1775–1847) married the Moravian count Franz Joseph of Dietrichstein and moved to Vienna. The marriage ended in 1804 and Alexandra sought consolation in faith; she intensively read religious works as well as fiction. In the archive of family Dietrichstein, there are the manuscripts of her works written in French and her correspondence. Alexandra was a prolific writer, even though most of her texts are unfinished. Her philosophical interest is evident especially from her moralizing treatise *L'art de s'élever soi-même* (Art of self-education) and the comedy fragment *Le philosophe moderne* (Modern philosopher), in which she makes fun of the Enlightenment view of freedom and equality.

Another author whose manuscripts have lasted until today is **Karolina Ferdinandi** (1777–1844). Karolina, a daughter of a government clerk from Galicia, was the wife of Franz Adam Waldstein. Waldstein is said to have addressed Karolina as "Aspasia" and Casanova turned her into one of the heroines of the philosophical dialogues he wrote during his stay in the Duchcov Chateau. Karolina and Franz Adam dealt with various literary forms as a leisure-time activity; however, they also had more serious philosophical interests manifested in their writings. Karolina herself is the author of several preserved manuscripts, for instance French contemplation about history and philosophy and a longer French essay about love.

Chapter II: Czech women in philosophy and science after 1830

The period of the first half of the 19th century is associated with the ongoing process of forming the modern Czech nation, which is referred to as Czech national revival. While the core of the first stage of this process, taking place in the last third of the 18th century, was local patriotism, in the second decade of the 19th century, we can witness a shift of emphasis from love to one's homeland to love to one's nation, arrival of national patriotism and gradual assertion of the linguistic conception of nation. It was crucial for the development and form of science that there was a prevailing opinion according to which science is an indelible part of every nation's culture and hence it is essential to construct science in the Czech language. The construction of scientific terminology started in the 1820s. A major role in this effort was played by establishing new scientific institutions and journals. In 1821, the first Czech academic journal *Krok* was founded, which tried, by means of publishing translations but also original scientific works, to prove that Czech is capable of expressing complex abstract ideas. Analogical activities were part of the *Časopis českého muzea* (*Journal of the Czech Museum*), published from 1827 by Vlastenecké muzeum (Patriotic Museum) in Bohemia. Moreover, scholarly literature written in Czech was published also by Matices Ceska, founded in 1831.

The institutional and organisational base of scientific work in the Czech lands was relatively narrow. There was the university in Prague, undergoing major reforms in the 1780s, within which German was introduced into some subjects; however, it did not replace Latin until the 1820s. Czech occurred only in lectures for midwives. The situation at the university in Olomouc was complicated after the abolishment of the Jesuit order; since the 1780s until the

late 1820s, its status decreased to a mere lyceum. Further on, there was Učená společnost (Česká společnost nauk, později pak Královská česká společnost nauk; Learned Society, Bohemian Society of Sciences, later on Royal Society of Sciences) on the Czech territory, established in the 1780s as an expression of local patriotism via which aristocracy intended to assert their own interests. In scholarly work, this local patriotism was evident from their orientation on researching history, legal history, cultural sights and language of the Czech lands, researching nature on this territory and its natural resources. The Learned Society released *Pojednání* (journal *Abhandlungen der königlichen böhmischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*); however, its activities decreased at the beginning of the 19th century.

An important role for the development of research in the first half of the 19th century was played by the newly established regional museums. The Moravian Regional Museum in Brno was founded in 1817, the Patriotic Museum in Prague in 1818. The aim of these institutions was not only to develop science, but also spread its findings into society, popularise and raise public awareness. Hence, partially, Czech language was essential also for these practical reasons. At that time, the bearer and preserver of Czech were above all people in the countryside; yet on the other hand, they lacked higher education. Therefore, the problem of intelligibility and understanding in creating scientific terminology was not easy to overcome. Last but not least, in the need of spreading scientific findings, an important role was played by the fact that the beginning of the 19th century is also the period of when the Industrial Revolution was entering the Czech lands.

On a larger scale, women were becoming consumers/students of science approximately at the turn of the 1840s; yet approximately at the same time, we can also trace their attempts at their own creative scientific activities in the form of working at an encyclopaedia. The fact that it was their joint enterprise seems to be important. Women enter the public sphere together also in the field of literature (*Pomněnky na rok 1843*). The revolutionary year of 1848 and the subsequent arrival of Bach's absolutism slowed down their activities, not only those in science. As regards time, a major milestone for women working in the Czech science is the 1860s. This milestone can be applied on the development of Czech science in general. After the fall of Bach's absolutism, there is a boom in the activities of the so-called *spolky* (associations); academic unions of scientists are being founded. There is a rise in women's activities in the public space and there are discussions on whether it makes sense to educate women. In 1890, the first grammar school for women is established. Its graduates are trying to study at foreign universities, as the university in Prague does not offer full-time study for women until 1897. Hence, the depicted period of women's activities in science ends at the beginning of the 20th century when the Czech society is entered by first women university graduates.

I. Woman supporting man's virtues and happiness

One of the chief influences that are simultaneously hard to grasp, shaping the thinking of one generation of the Czech society at the beginning of the 19th century, is represented by Bernard Bolzano (1781–1848), who was appointed in 1805 to the then newly created chair of the professor of “philosophy of religion”, which had been established a year before that. Besides teaching the subject of religion itself, this position /chair was accompanied also with the duty to deliver educational speeches (exhortations), replacing standard sermons, in which Bolzano spoke to students on Sundays and holidays. It was in these exhortations that Bolzano presented himself as a social and religious-reformation thinker and critic. Despite expectations raised by establishing the place of the professor of religious philosophy, Bolzano spread in his educational speeches the ideas of Enlightenment rationalism. Students took notes

of his exhortations and through their copies, Bolzano's ideas were diffused beyond the university walls.

In 1810, he wrote his exhortation "*On the mission and dignity of womanhood*", in which Bolzano repudiates the at that time again spreading and in his opinion undignified and pagan opinion that women are not capable of acquiring deeper knowledge, as they lack abstract reasoning, that they are inferior to men and that the only duty and point in the existence of women is to give men sensual pleasure. By doing that, Bolzano may be in critical opposition to Kant. Bolzano claims that the female sex has basically/in principle the same perceptiveness of wisdom, virtue and happiness and hence they deserve basically/in principle the same rights and entitlements as men. According to Bolzano, the differences in the rights and duties, which can be actually observed, are natural and, moreover, only temporary. The different status of men and women stems from the natural predispositions of both sexes. Their purpose is both the reproduction of our species and mutual furtherance of virtues and happiness. If there were no differences between the sexes, Bolzano argues that there could be founded no communities (families) among people making it possible to develop individuals. On the grounds of the difference in the natural character and predispositions of both sexes (on the one hand, Bolzano lists the men's tendency towards superiority, feeling of power and lack of compliance and, on the other hand, patience, moodiness, gentler temperament and corporal weaknesses of women), Bolzano also explains and justifies the sense of the rule according to which man should be the head of the family. Bolzano claims that "women will rebel more against the dominance of men; yet contrary to that, man would not bear female dominance in any case." However, this family arrangement does not allow men to make any decisions they choose. In case of a dispute, man cannot decide in his own interest. Bolzano demanded that man act according to what is the best for the happiness of his family as a whole, according to the best of his knowledge. At the end of his sermon, Bolzano also reminded man's duty to show respect to women (especially sons to their mothers).

The image of a woman who helps and supports the man in his effort to achieve the happiness of the whole corresponds to the ideal of women in the Czech National Revival. In the given image, there is an intersection of the ideas of the Enlightenment and Romanticism. In real life, this image could take on various forms. From a woman who simply understands the importance of her husband's activities for the happiness of the nation/Czech people and hence takes care of all everyday chores and upbringing of children, over a woman raising sons who are patriots, up to a woman who is her husband's partner and helper. It is rather difficult to have a more concrete idea of women's activities in any of the meanings mentioned above, as they acted in a closed circle of family or close friends, away from the public eye. In the surviving correspondence and later memoirs, it is possible to find several examples proving women's actions as men's partners and helpers in their scholarly work.

Anna Hoffmannová (1784–1842) came from an impoverished aristocratic house of Janotik of Adlerstein. Anna met Bolzano when her then 16-year-old daughter Karolina had died. At that time, Bolzano had already been removed from his university chair. They spent a major part of the following years on the Hoffmann farm in Těchobuz where Bolzano wrote most of his seminal works (above all *Vědosloví – Theory of Science*). Anna helped Bolzano in his academic work; she was the first reader of his texts and took care of his correspondence. Bolzano is said to have appreciated especially her judgment of the logical structure of his works and persuasiveness of their argumentation. In surviving correspondence, Bolzano writes that Anna has contributed to the origin of his work *Athanasia čili důvody nesmrtnosti duše* (*Athanasia or a Defence of the Immortality of the Soul*). It is very likely that Bolzano's life in Anna Hoffmann's presence had an impact on his opinions about the education of women and their role in society, which he reflected in his utopian work (*Knižka o nejlepším státě – On the Best State*).

Another example of women helping and contributing to the academic work of the members of their family is the Presl sisters. **Karolína Preslova** and **Terezie Preslova** were the sisters of **Jan Svatopluk Presl** (1791–1849) and **Karel Bořivoj Presl** (1794–1852). Both brothers devoted themselves to the study of natural sciences. In 1822, the second part of the work *O přirozenosti rostlin aneb rostlinář* (*On the Nature of Plants*) was published, which was prepared by Jan Svatopluk Presl together with Count Bedřich Berchtold of Uherčice (Friedrich von Berchtold). The volume consists of 80 plates with depicted plants. The carvings are said to have been made by Jan Svatopluk and coloured by Karolína and Terezie. At that time, *Rostlinář* represented a unique work in the Czech lands having a prominent place in the history of scientific illustration.

The idea that woman is to support virtue and happiness of man and the desire that men should also support the virtues and happiness of women had been present in the Czech society for a long time. Even though we can notice women's entrance into science and culture or their first attempts at creative activity in the scientific field in the late 1830s, women offering invisible support, help and participation in the work of their husbands do not disappear.

Laura Hanušová, née Nádherná (1817–1892) was born to a Prague family; her father, Jakub Nádherný, owned a tobacco warehouse. In 1838, she married Ignác Jan Hanuš (1812–1869), a Czech philosopher, whom she met as her tutor when Ignác earned his living as a student by giving private lessons. Hanuš was influenced by the philosophy of German idealism, above all Hegel's philosophy of history. From 1838, he worked as a professor of philosophy at the university in Lviv; in 1847, he returned to the Czech lands, first of all to the university in Olomouc and then to the university in Prague, from which he was dismissed in 1852. Laura Hanušová helped her husband in his scientific work. She read scholarly works and reported about them to him. She composed notes and lists for him. Temporary sources state that she taught her daughters herself, which was seen as a sign of her erudition.

II. Encyclopaedia for ladies

The plan to write an encyclopaedia started in a circle of women who first met in the Staněk family and later on in the Frič family. The leading figure of this group was **Bohuslava Rajská, née Čelakovská, her real name was Antonie Reissova** (1817–1852). Václav Staněk was a doctor, married to Bohuslava's elder sister Karolína. Josef Frič, married to Bohuslava's younger sister Johanna, was a lawyer. After her mother's death, Bohuslava Rajská freely moved in both households of her two sisters and organised there lectures for a group of girls and young women. The main lecturer was **Karel Slavoj Amerling** (1807–1884). Amerling founded a comprehensive educational institute called Budeč in Prague, where the lectures and activities for women were transferred in 1843. Women had two rooms at their disposal, a lecture hall and an office, which they could attend at any time. Besides those, they could use also other facilities and amenities of the Amerling Institute – laboratories, offices, garden or observatory.

The encyclopaedia was never completed and was regarded as lost. It was rediscovered in Amerling's estate in the late 1990s. This discovery made it possible to have a clearer and more concrete picture of the work's structure, focus, degree/extent of the completed work and names of women who worked on it. The encyclopaedia was based on the ten-volume *Damen Conversations Lexikon*, published by Karl Herloszsohen (of Czech origin) in the years of 1834–1838 in Leipzig. A majority of the entries of the Czech encyclopaedia were based on the translation, supplementation or development of the German encyclopaedia. The Czech version was expanded by Czech and generally Slavic topics, issues from local geography and Czech history. It can be deduced from the context of preparations of this enterprise that

women based some entries on the notes from Amerling's lectures. We know from contemporary correspondence that they were also building their own library. The preserved fragment also includes a part of the list of literature from which women might have stemmed while working on the encyclopaedia.

One of the main aims of the encyclopaedia was to sort general knowledge. In the preserved fragment, there are entries of some figures from the history of philosophy and science – Plato, Aristotle, Tycho de Brahe, Robert Boyle, James Bradley, Michal de Montagne, Hugo Grotius, and Niccolo Machiavelli. We know from the working version of the index that they were also planning to write an entry on Kant. In the main structure of the encyclopaedia, the Czech women followed the German counterpart, which reflected the female aspect of the encyclopaedia in emphasising religious topics and selecting female personalities from history. The surviving fragment of the encyclopaedia is rather vast; yet only entries from the first half (letters A-I) are elaborated more thoroughly. Some entries are not signed, others are. Hence we can give evidence that, besides Bohuslava Rajská, also other women took part in it, i.e. Marie Bieblová, Barbara (Miloslava) Brádková, Emilie Fryšová, Marie Hošková, Svatava Laadtová, Josefa (Bohuráda) Machotková, née Rudová, Svatava Michalovicová, née Amerlingová, Františka Svobodová, née Pichlová (pen name Marie Čacká), Marie (Bohdana) Vidimská, and others.

III. Natural scientific interest and socially critical ideas

Over a long time, research of nature and its resources had been held in the hands of private researchers. Even though some collections were handed over to the Learned Society or later to regional Museums, there was hardly any support of more systematic research. This weakness was tried to be remedied by the natural scientific journal **Živa**, which was launched in 1853. It can be said that the topic of the nature and its resources was the least problematic one in the period of Bach's absolutism. **Jan Evangelista Purkyně** (1787–1869), who returned to Prague in 1850 after 27 years of working at the university in Wrocław, encouraged women to pursue their interest in natural scientific research.

Viktorie (Vítězka) Paulová (1832–1856) We know from Purkyně's correspondence that she was planning in the mid- 1850s to send him for evaluation her natural scientific texts, from which she was going to publish her book *On the life of minerals* intended for the youth. Viktorie died in 1856. Her article "Věk člověka" (The Age of Man) was published in the recently launched women's magazine *Lada*. In the article, she describes anatomical and psychological characteristics of people of various age categories.

Interest in natural scientific issues can be traced also in **Božena Němcová** (1820–1862), a prominent Czech writer. Purkyně encouraged her to pay more attention on her travels to the surrounding landscape. In the late 1850s, Němcová published 5 articles in *Živa*.

In the early 1960s, also two books by **Josefa Machotková, née Rudová** (1806–1877) were published, who belonged to the circle of women around Bohuslava Rajská. She took part in the work on the encyclopaedia. In the work *Tabák kuřlavý a šňupavý (Tobacco for Smoking and Snuffing, 1864)*, the author combines her natural scientific interest in tobacco with analysing its influence on social life. The socially critical ideas are also included in her work *Loterie: hrst naděje a pytel nejistoty (Lottery: Handful of Hope and Bagful of Uncertainty, 1863)*. In her work, Machotková proposes detailed mathematical calculations via which she proves that all the risk is on the side of the bettor, while certain profit can be enjoyed by the lottery runner. The writer frames the explanation and analysis of betting into ideas of happiness and ways of its achievement. Her view is influenced by the Enlightenment idea that human progress can be based on raising public awareness.

IV. Education, duty and happiness

After the fall of Bach's absolutism in the 1860s, there was a rise in the activities of associations (spolky). There are unions of experts (e.g. Union of Czech Mathematicians and Physicians), which are focused on organizing activities in the particular field of interest and publishing academic journals. One of the main aims of newly established women's associations is education (American Ladies' Club, Ženský výrobní spolek – Female Manufacturing Czech Society); however, there are disputes over why education is useful for women and whether it can make them happy. Ideas prevailing in the thinking of the first half of the 19th century can be observed in the works of **Magdalena Dobromila Rettigová** (1785–1845) *Mladá hospodyňka v domácnosti, jak sobě počínati má, aby své i manželovy spokojenosti došla* (*Young Housewife in the Household, How she Should act in Order to Achieve her Husband's and her Satisfaction*, 1840) and **Honorata Zapová** (1825–1856) *Nezabudky* (1859), which associate women's virtues and happiness exclusively with their homes. In 1960, first college for girls is established offering comprehensive education. However, the attempt at founding a grammar school failed due to the lack of interest of students or, better to say, parents of future students. Much greater emphasis was placed on such education that would help women find a job. We can imagine women's creative activity and attitudes to this topic on the grounds of analysing the lectures of women taking place in the American Ladies' Club, or also in other associations.

V. Care for others and the past

If we are to analyze women's publications published over the last three decades of the 19th century, we will discover two major thematic tendencies. On the one hand, Czech women theoretically reflect practical activity in the field of philanthropy, charity and care for others; on the other hand, they focus and care for the past, be it the past of the Czech society or the past of science.

One of the women absolutely devoted to charity work was **Maria Riegrová-Palacká** (1833–1891). Her activities and the reflection of these activities are profoundly shaped by the ideas of Bernard Bolzano and his conception of ethics. Among her published texts, there are “Podstatné rozdíly opatroven francouzských a německých” (Major Differences Between French and German Public Nurseries, 1868) or “Péče o blaho pracující třídy ve Francii a v Paříži zvláště” (Care for the Happiness of the Working Class in France and Especially in Paris, 1869).

Maria Riegrová-Palacká's daughter **Marie Červinková-Riegrová** (1854–1895) followed in her footsteps. She published her theoretical reflections on the care and help to others in the book *Ochrana chudé a opuštěné mládeže* (Defence of Poor and Deserted Youth, 1887). She also authored one of the first Bolzano's biographies, which she wrote to commemorate *Bernard Bolzano's* (1881) 100th birthday. She wrote a biographical study on her mother and other minor texts depicting the past of the Czech society.

“Care” for the past was manifested also in the works of **Paulina Šafaříková** (1836–1920), who dealt with astronomy: *Z dějin dalekohledu* (From the History of Binoculars, 1897) *William Herscher a jeho sestra Karolina* (William Herscher and his Sister Karolina, 1900)

VI. Influences of Eastern thinking

Approximately in the 1870s, the Czech society was pervaded by the influences of Eastern philosophy. Part of Czech women was influenced mainly by the synthesis of Eastern and Christian religion represented by the theosophical movement of the Russian countess Helena

Petrovna Blavatsky. Similar spiritualist movements, appearing in the thinking of some philosophers on the verge of the 20th century, can be perceived as a response to the turbulent development of science in the 19th century. Pavla Moudrá, who was one of the defenders of theosophy, used this philosophy in the discussion on the justification of using animals for scientific purposes (vivisection dispute), in which she got involved.

Pavla Moudrá (1861–1940) is renowned particularly as a journalist, writer and translator. In her life, she was very active in many various fields; she participated in the peace movement and also fought, besides cruel abuse and mistreatment of animals, e.g. against alcohol or prostitution. She was a member of Spolek na ochranu zvířat (Animal Protection Society) in Prague; together with Anna Pammrová (1860–1945), she then founded the association Přátelé lidskosti (Friends of Humanity). Moudrá was fully acquainted with the contemporary discussion on animal rights, knew the major texts of the anti-vivisection representatives of that time, translated and published digest from the work of Henry Salt *Animals' Rights* (published in 1915 under the title *Práva nižších – The Rights of the Inferior*). In 1909, she took part in the International Congress of the World League Against Vivisection and for the Protection of Animal Rights in London; three years later, she participated in the same event in Zurich. The main text of her reflection upon experimenting on live animals is her book *Vivisekce: úvahy o její ceně a prospěchu* (*Vivisection: Reflections on its Price and Benefits*, 1909); she dealt with the issue of animal rights protection also in her lectures *Výbor z přednášek* (*Selected Lectures*, 1st part 1918, 2nd part 1919) and in her later works *Dvě rozpravy* (*Two Discussions*, 1923), *Obrození duší* (*Revival of Souls*, 1926), *Můj odkaz světu* (*My Legacy to the World*, 1925).

Anna Pammrová (1860–1945) – her thinking profile was shaped by the Ancient Indian wisdom, occultism and theosophies, ideas of J. J. Rousseau, L. N. Tolstoy and Th. Lessing, confrontation with the philosophy of A. Schopenhauer and F. Nietzsche, but especially intellectual friendship with the Czech poet Otokar Březina. Her books and articles can be divided into three thematic fields. In the first of them, from the feminist perspective, she pursues the question of women's emancipation and condemns male superiority and female enslavement; the second issue is far-fetched criticism of modern civilisation and culture (she believes that people can save themselves only in solitude), consumer society, technological age and social injustice. That is related also to the third fundamental motive – ecological appeal to remedy our anti-ecological thinking and acting and to establish a new, deeper relationship to nature. Even though she pessimistically depicts our existence as absurd, her negativism is supplemented by the vision of a “unique goal”, beauty of “Omnilife”.

VII. First university graduates

The lack of existence, possibility or availability of education represented one of the major obstacles preventing women from entering science also in the Czech society. In the first half of the 19th century, education was luxury goods for women. Home education, private schools and boarding schools abroad were affordable only for rich families from higher bourgeoisie. In the second half of the 19th century, there had already been established colleges aimed at comprehensive education, schools for women teachers and grammar schools. However, they were still officially denied university studies. Therefore, several grammar school graduates tried to earn a university diploma abroad. Yet, as is clear from stories that have been preserved, it was not a completely successful strategy. Upon their return back to the Czech lands, the accomplished education was not recognised, they could not find a job and struggled with existential problems. **Bohuslava Kecková** (1854–1911) is the first Czech women doctor ever; she graduated at the university in Zurich. **Anna Bayerová** (1852–1924), a doctor,

graduated in 1881 in Bern. Also **Julie Kurková** went to study abroad; yet she died of tuberculosis during her studies of philosophy in Zurich.

The Prague university opened its doors to women in 1895 when they could attend lectures. Two years later, they were allowed to study full-time. First of all at the Faculty of Arts and then the Faculty of Medicine. Hence the first university graduates were women from the generation born in 1870s. The first graduates in 1900 were grammar school teachers (at Minerva in Prague or Vesna in Brno), there were 8 graduates with a teaching degree for various fields of natural science. A year later, Zdeňka Baborová earned a doctorate in zoology and Marie Fabiánová in mathematics. In 1902, **Anna Honzáková** (1875–1940) graduated from the Medical Faculty – first doctor of medicine, first general practitioner with a private practice. Another doctor, **Eliška Vozábová** (1874–1973) conducting research on skin tuberculosis, entered the discussion on vivisection. In 1903, the mathematician **Marie Fabiánová** published as a first woman an article in the *Časopis pro pěstování matematiky a fyziky* (Journal for conducting mathematics and physics). **Marie Zdeňka Baborová, née Čiháková** (1877–1937) devoted herself to botany and zoology. She wrote her dissertation work on *O tukovém tělese Arthropodů* (the Fat Body in Arthropods). Together with her brother, she took part in the *Velkém ilustrovaném přírodopisu všech tří říší* (Great Illustrated Natural History of Three Empires) and also wrote some entries for Otto's encyclopaedia.

Chapter III: Czech women in philosophy and science since 1918

From 1901, when the first two female students of the Faculty of Arts graduated, up until 1918, when the new independent Czechoslovak state was founded, 61 female doctors of medicine and 44 doctors of philosophy had successfully completed their studies. However, only two of these women managed to obtain a chair at university and worked there as teachers and scientists. It was Albína Dratvová and Milada Paulová, both of them graduating in 1918. The Faculty of Arts graduates from this period mostly returned to grammar schools where they worked as teachers. If they were occupied with science, they did so as private researchers. Non-university scientific institutions, such as the Czech Academy of Sciences and Arts did not take women as their members until the 1920s. Most of their first female members were writers. In the period of the First Republic, we can also find one example of a transfer of an exceptionally gifted scientist from the German university to the Czech university.

Ludmila Matiegková (1889–1960) is an example of a woman who managed, besides her work as a secondary school teacher, to leave behind significant findings also in her private research. The main focus of her professional interest was Egyptology, which was a field only coming into existence in the Czechoslovakia of that time. Matiegková studied history and geography at the Faculty of Arts. Besides that, she enrolled also in subjects from oriental philology. In 1914, she defended her dissertation thesis entitled *Názory starých Egyptanů o duši* (*Ancient Egyptians' Opinions on Soul*), supervised by philosopher František Čáda, who belonged to the circle of Czech positivism. Matiegková tried to apply the ideas of Wilhelm Wundt, a German philosopher and founder of experimental psychology, in her work; in the field of the psychology of nations on the ideas of Ancient Egyptians and compare the development of their conception of soul with the development of this notion in other nations. In her later academic work, Matiegková was influenced by her father, Jindřich Matiegka, who was a doctor of medicine and later a professor and founder of anthropology at Czech university. Matiegková published texts dealing with the problems of physical and social anthropology in Ancient Egyptians (article *Fyzická zdatnost u starých Egyptanů – Physical Fitness in Ancient Egyptians*, 1933), article *Rozlišování plemen a jeho praktické důsledky v starém Egyptě* (*Differentiation of Breeds and its Practical Consequences in Ancient Egypt*, 1935), book *Dítě ve starém Egyptě* (*Child in Ancient Egypt*, 1937); later on, she concentrated

on the history of Egyptian medicine and pharmacology. In the 1950s, she published the following articles in German: *Drie organische Adstringentien in den altägyptischen medizinischen Papyri* (1952), *Tierbestandteile in den altägyptischen Arzneien* (1958), *Produkte tierischer Exkretion und Sekretion in den altägyptischen Heilmitteln* (1959).

Due to her mother's blindness, from an early age, **Julie Moschelesová** (1892–1956) grew up in the family of her relative, English painter Felix Moscheles. She received her elementary education in London. Her further development and professional interest were shaped by her travels across Europe and North Africa during which she met the Norwegian geologist Hans Henrik Reusch (1852–1922). Also thanks to his help, she got a job as a secretary and translator at a geological institute in Oslo. Based on an appeal of a professor of the German university in Prague, Alfred Grund (1875–1914), who was on a study trip in Norway at that time, she returned to Prague in 1912 and began to study there. She enrolled in lectures from geography, geology and also meteorology. In 1916, she completed her studies by passing the final exam and defending the work *Die postglazialzeit in Skandinavien*, in which she summarised the findings of her geomorphological research of the Scandinavian Peninsula. Even though she managed to obtain a job at the German university after graduation, she had to leave after a short time due to her Jewish origin. In 1922, she worked at the Geographical Institute of the Czech University, where she was also awarded a habilitation in 1934. Her work there was interrupted by WWII, which she spent in Australia at a university in Melbourne and working for the army of the Dutch East India. Her extensive academic work, the results of which she published mainly abroad, shows two main lines of interest. On the one hand, Moschelesová dealt with physical geography, where she focused predominantly on the geomorphology of the Czech territory; on the other hand, she was interested in the relation of geography and people's social and economic activities (anthropogeography or social geography). She paid attention also to the theoretical issues of her field (article *Logická soustava zeměpisu člověka – Logical System of Human Geography*). Moschelesová was also an honorary member of the Sociological Society in London. The French Société de Géographie commerciale de Paris awarded her Gaudy's medal in 1930.

Adéla Kochanovská, née **Němejcová** (1907–1985) was the first professor of experimental physics and founder of the X-ray structure analysis in Czechoslovakia. She studied mathematics and physics at the Faculty of Science of Charles University. Already then was she captured by the lectures from X-ray spectroscopy of Václav Dolejšek (1895–1945), under whose supervision she also wrote her dissertation work focused on the study of radiation. She paid attention above all to the use of modern physical knowledge when solving technological issues. Her work from 1943 *Zkoušení jemné struktury materiálu röntgenovými paprsky* (*Testing the Smooth Structure of Material by Means of X-rays*) became the basis for applying X-ray analysis in technology and industry. Kochanovská published a great number of articles and studies, worked in professional laboratories and institutes (Spectroscopic Institute, Radiation Department of the Institute for Physical Research of the Skoda Factory) and lectured at universities and colleges (Charles University, Czech Technical University). Thanks to her achievements, she became one of the first three female members of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences in 1968. In press, she was referred to as the Czech "Madame Curie".

Milada Paulová (1891–1970) was the first associate professor (1925) as well as professor (1935) in the Czech lands. She specialised in the history of Southeast Europe and Byzantology. Milada Paulová worked as a professor at the Faculty of Arts at Charles University until 1961. She also worked as an editor – in this respect, her work for the prestigious journal *Byzantinoslavica* is of a great importance. As regards the modern history period, she is well known for her works on the origin and background of founding the new Czechoslovak state, on the relations between Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia and the issue of

Czech and Yugoslav resistance in WWI. Thanks to the results of her scientific work from contemporary history, Milada Paulová was respected not only in our country, but also in the former Yugoslavia as an acknowledged expert in the issue of Yugoslav history. She authored the work *Jihoslovanský odboj a česká Maffie I (Yugoslav Resistance and Czech Maffia I, Prague 1928)*, *Masaryk a Jihoslované (Masaryk and Yugoslavs, Praha 1931)*. Milada Paulová's life was devoted to science to which she subordinated and sacrificed everything, including her personal and family life. After 1948, Paulová was counted among several *pre-war* professors who were more or less tolerated at the faculty and could work without greater ideological sops, in her case until 1961. A number of her pupils still work as prominent experts in the field of Byzantology and history of the Balkans and Eastern Europe. Towards the end of her life, Paulová returned to her beloved topic, revisited her older conclusions and in the more relaxed atmosphere of the Prague Spring, she managed to publish a great monograph *Tajný výbor Maffie a spolupráce s Jihoslovany v letech 1916–1918 (Secret Committee of Maffia and Cooperation with Yugoslavs in the Years of 1916–1918)*. Hence she came to a dignified conclusion of her pioneering interwar research.

Albína Dratvová (1892–1969) studied philosophy together with physics and mathematics. First of all, she taught at a grammar school and had a permanent interest in the issue of secondary school classes of philosophy; she authored secondary school textbooks, *Introduction to philosophy* (1928) and *Philosophy* (1936). After that, in 1928 she left for the educational department of the Ministry of Education and National Enlightenment (and from there at the beginning of the occupation, at her own request, she took an early retirement). In 1932, she earned her habilitation with her work *Problém kauzality ve fyzice (The Problem of Causality in Physics)* and started to lecture at the Faculty of Arts of Charles University. In her work *Filosofie a přírodovědecké poznání (Philosophy and Natural Scientific Knowledge, 1939)*, she concentrated mainly on issues originating from natural sciences, if they want to approach to the nature of things. There are also some other works related to this field, *Heuristické předpoklady fyzikálního bádání (Heuristic Preconditions of Physical Research, 1934)*, *O aplikabilitě matematiky (On the Applicability of Mathematics)*, *Planckova filosofie (Planck's Philosophy, 1939)* and studies in journals on the prominent personalities from the history of natural sciences and philosophy.

Aware of the relativity of knowledge and lack of capability to build a complex worldview based on natural science, she also found the roots of the contemporary “sadness of scholars”. From the beginning, she was also interested in ethical issues, even though she did not start to publish ethically oriented studies until the late 1930s (*Smutek vzdělanců (Sadness of Scholars)*, *Etika tvůrčí práce (Ethics of Creative Work)*, *Duše dnešní ženy (Soul of Today's Woman)*, *Hledání ztraceného kosmu (Looking for the Lost Cosmos)*). The work *Duše dnešní ženy* is based on a set of lectures intended for radio broadcasting and other occasional speeches. Even though Dratvová stresses that it is essential to involve women in the development of society, her view of women and their characters exhibits many stereotypes. In her typology of modern women and their approach to happiness, the author maintains the traditional conception of women as creatures controlled by their emotions and dreams. Although Dratvová herself managed to break through in the field of the philosophy of science and mathematics, she still supposes that abstract thinking is not innate to women (“Women are hardly ever capable of abstract thinking, they do not intend to keep principles, but the particulars in their entire lifespan.”, p. 13).

Vlasta Tatjana Miškovská (1908–1980) studied philosophy, French and Czech at Charles University. In the Czech environment, she introduced herself with her rigorous work *Filosofický význam druhého vydání Kantovy Kritiky čistého rozumu (Philosophical meaning of the Second Edition of Kant's Critique of Pure Reason)*, published in 1937. This publication was reviewed in the journal *Česká mysl (Czech Mind, 34, 1938)* by Jan Patočka. He is very

critical in his evaluation and sees the work as an “easy seminar paper”. Miškovská first worked as a secondary school teacher; after WWII she was employed at the TGM Institute and subsequently in the Comeniological group of the Cabinet of Pedagogical Sciences of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences. After 1945, she participated in the Czech discussions on French existentialism. In 1948, she published a shorter study “Existentialism is not humanism“, where she argues against Sartre’s conception, as is shown in the title of the text. First of all, Miškovská criticizes the vague notions which existentialism uses and a crucial lack of methodology of this approach (“Nearly all respect to method has been lost and thus also the precondition to self-discipline when interpreting somebody else’s work and in overlooking cultural life as such.” p. 14). Consequently, she focuses on Sartre’s conception of humanism. She criticises his attempt at developing an ethical conception based on the rejection of determination and with an absent theory of values. In her definition of humanism, Miškovská lays emphasis on a person’s obligations towards another person and his or her positive acceptance. She can see nothing like that in Sartre’s philosophy, in which the notion of “humanism” is only to “additionally gild the lack of speculative ability, bad literary taste, decadent annoyance of a person who does not believe in anything, does not serve to anything and spreads harmful subjectivism.” (p. 55) Afterwards, Miškovská was devoted primarily to the works of J. A. Comenius, edited his texts, translated from French and Latin. She retired in 1965 and participated in the work of her husband Jan Blahoslav Kozák.

After graduating from the grammar school in Vinohrady, Prague, **Jiřina Popelová** (1904–1985) studied (1923–28) philosophy and classical philology at the Faculty of Arts at Charles University. In 1929, she defended her doctoral dissertation *Quo modo Lucretius Epicuri de natura deorum doctrinam explicaverit*. She taught at grammar schools, went on a study stay to Italy (1932–34, with a Ph.D. at the Faculty of Arts at the university in Rome). After the war, she earned her habilitation (at the Faculty of Arts, MU) in 1946, was nominated an adjunct professor of philosophy at the Faculty of Education in 1947 and became a full professor in the same affiliation in 1948. In the same year, she became the dean and later on (1949–53) also the rector of the Faculty of Education at the restored university in Olomouc. Since 1953, she lectured on the history of philosophy and ethics at the Faculty of Arts of Charles University. Among her most important publications, there are *Poznání kulturní skutečnosti* (*Cognition of Cultural Reality*, 1936) and *Tři studie z filozofie dějin* (*Three Studies from the Philosophy of History*, 1947, published much later after being written). The first of them is conceived as an “introduction to noetics and methodology of cultural sciences”, the second one is on the philosophy of history in the thinking of Greeks and Romans, on historical relativism and the possibility of overcoming it, and on the conception of time in history. The link between the aforementioned books were her works *Dějiny a hodnoty* (*History and Values*, 1941) and *Pravda a jistoty* (*The Truth and Certainties*, 1942).

After the war, she appreciated Marxist philosophy (and Marxism as such) in the brochure *Socialistický světový názor* (*Socialist Worldview*, 1946). In her book *K filozofické problematice Marxova Kapitálu* (*On the Philosophical Issues in Marx’s Capital*, 1954), she *inter alia* pointed out the philosophical and methodological impact of Marx’s philosophical-economic works. Since the mid- 1950s, she dealt especially with the history of Czech and European philosophy and ethics. In the book *J. A. Komenského cesta k Všenápravě* (*J.A. Comenius’s Journey to Universal Reform*, 1958) and in the monograph *Filozofia J. A. Komenského* (*Philosophy of J. A. Comenius*, 1985), she showed that Comenius’s philosophical and religious views are a basis for his other activities, both theoretical and practical. The “philosophical schism” of modern philosophy – the dispute of its scientist and irrational schools was analysed in her work *Rozpad klasické filozofie* (*Decline of Classical Philosophy*, 1968). As an ethic philosopher, she wanted to develop ethics stemming from the inner logics of philosophy, closely tied to general axiology. Her *Etika* (*Ethics*, 1962; defended

as a work to acquire the “great doctor’s degree” at Lomonosov University in Moscow) concentrates on the history of ethics as well as modern moral issues, *Ětos a práce* (*Ethos and work*, 1981) on the ethics of occupations and *Problém norem* (*Problem of Norms*, 1981) combines the explanation of moral norms with an overall analysis of the activity of developing norms. She conceived the book *Zrození filozofie* (*Birth of Philosophy*, 1981) as an introduction to philosophy.

Božena Komárková (1903–1997) studied philosophy, history and geography at the Faculty of Arts at Masaryk University in the 1920s. Her closest teachers were Masaryk’s direct successors: philosopher Josef Tvrđý, historian Julius Glücklich and sociologist and ethic philosopher Inocenc Arnořt Bláha. Under their influence, she entered the practice believing in the Masarykian values: humanity, human dignity and democracy. She was also influenced by the Academic Ymca, a Christian student movement. She taught at secondary schools and already at the beginning of the Nazi occupation, she got involved in the anti-Nazi resistance organisation Obrana národa (Defence of Nation), was arrested in 1940 and after a two-year detention in Vratislav she was sentenced to twelve years of prison for “preparing treason”. After the liberation, she taught at the classical grammar school in Brno and wrote a dissertation at the Faculty of Arts of Masaryk University called *Obec Platónova a Augustinova* (*The City of Plato and Augustine*), after the defending of which she became a doctor of philosophy in March 1948. Her life-long issue was, both theoretically and practically, the issue of human rights. She could not defend her habilitation work *Lidská práva ve filosofii XIX. století* (*Human Rights in the Philosophy of XIXth century*) and earn the degree of an associate professor until June 1992. For ideological reasons, she was not allowed to teach since 1950; she had several jobs and retired in 1951. However, she continued in her educational work: she lectured in the Evangelical Church of Czech Brethren and her flat, she organised study and discussion groups. She wrote a number of articles for young people, some of which were published in *Křesťanská revue* (*Christian Revue*). Since the end of 1976, as a signatory of Charter 77 and later the Democracy for All Manifest, she found herself in the dissent; she was interrogated and her flat was rummaged by the police. Then she contributed to samizdat typewritten editions and compilations; a number of her works were published abroad. In them, she promoted Christian humanism; she interpreted the development of modern and postmodern society in a Christian way and emphasised the inalienability of human and civil rights. The works include *Sekularizovaný svět a evangelium* (*Secularised World and Gospel*, Zurich 1981, 1992), *Původ a význam lidských práv* (*Origin and Importance of Human Rights*, 1986, extended ed. from 1990 comprises also her doctoral dissertation), *Božena Komárková a její hosté* (*Božena Komárková and her Guests*, 1980, 1991). Her personal courage and loyalty to ideals were awarded by an honorary doctorate of theology from the university in Basel (1982), order of T. G. Masaryk for lifelong fight for democracy (1991), golden memorial medal of Masaryk University and a medal from Charles University.