František Alois Hora (1838–1916)— Ambassador for Polish Culture in West Bohemia and his Relations with 19th century Polish Intellectuals

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This paper is dedicated to František Alois Hora (1838–1916), a Pilsen teacher, writer and translator, who broke down borders between Czechs and Poles. He translated more than 50 Polish authors, in particular Józef Ignacy Kraszewski, Stanisław Grudziński, Adam Pług, Eliza Orzeszkowa, Władysław Bogusławski, Wilhelmina Zyndram-Kościałkowska, Helena Janina Boguska – Hajota, Józefa Sawicka – Ostoja, Zygmunt Miłkowski – T. T. Jez, Bolesław Prus and Henryk Sienkiewicz. He established personal friendships with most of these writers, and his papers in the Pilsen City Archives contain many interesting letters in Polish. He compiled and published a Polish-Czech dictionary, Czech-Polish dictionary and Polish practical grammar, organised free Polish language courses and popularised the culture and literature of Poland. Although his work is of great significance, interest of literary or history researchers has remained scant right up to the present day.

Key words: František Alois Hora; Czechs and Poles; Pilsen teacher; translator; Polonophile

A researcher embarking on a study of Czech-Polish cultural relations in the 19th century will probably be surprised at the extent and significance of the diligent work of František Alois Hora, a teacher at the Pilsen Realschule. His activities in translation, lecturing, linguistics and education equal those of his friend and collaborator, the well-known Czech Polonophile Eduard Jelínek.

Although the Pilsen City Archives contains a wide-ranging and neatly organised catalogue of his papers, including extensive correspondence¹, Hora as a person has received less attention in the literature than he would deserve. Contemporary

¹ AMP (Archiv města Plzně), fond LP 10–14, Korespondence F. A. Hory.; AMP, fond LP 15/1–18, Životopisy F. A. Hory.; AMP, fond LP 10/31, Korespondence Grabowski

journalism aside, his life and work were first described by Karel Škába, a Pilsen secondary school teacher and theatre critic, in a publication issued by the Pilsen Municipal Historical Museum². Hora is also mentioned in Felix's Literární Plzeň v obryse.³ At the beginning of the 1950 s, Milada Suchá,⁴ an employee of the State Research Library in Pilsen, offered a detailed analysis of Hora's Czech-Polish correspondence. Later, on the occasion of his jubilee, Hora was briefly commemorated by Miloslav Bělohlávek⁵ and Hana Dobrá, ⁶ archivists of the city of Pilsen. Concise information concerning Hora is available on the servers of the libraries in Pilsen and Kladno, as well as in the Internet encyclopedia Wikipedia.⁷ Apart from Suchá's text, which represents a good scholarly study, along with a contribution by the author of this article in the Czech-Polish anthology *Podzwonne dla granic*,⁸ the above sources consist mostly of potted biographies with a basic overview of Hora's work. It is somewhat surprising that Hora's detailed handwritten autobiography, which positively calls out for scholarly probing, has remained untapped. This autobiography serves as the main source for the current article, whose aim is to recall the commendable activities of a forgotten Pilsen Polonophile. Hora diligently presents to the Czech reader a whole series of Polish works: he introduced their authors both in print and at public lectures, and, moreover, provided readers with a dictionary and a neatly structured Polish grammar. He even invited anyone interested to participate in free Polish language courses, which he himself organised and personally led. While many influential politicians of the 19th century would invoke Slavic reciprocity and brotherhood at popular gatherings or in the press, the unassuming Hora was tirelessly creating it and fulfilling it with specific activities. This article also recalls

Škába K. (1922). František Alois Hora. In Macháček F. (ed.), Sborník Městského historického musea v Plzni VII. Plzeň: Městské historické muzeum, pp. 44–45.

³ Felix E. (1933). *Literární Plzeň v obryse*, díl 2, Plzeň: Společnost pro národopis a ochranu památek za součinnosti Spolku přátel vědy a literatury české.

⁴ Suchá M. (1953) Písemné styky profesora F. A. Hory s Poláky. Slavia 22/2–3, pp. 322–337.

⁵ Bělohlávek M. (1981). František Alois Hora. *Plzeňský kulturní přehled* 1981/listopad, pp. 27–28.

⁶ Dobrá H. (1988). Čestný občan města Plzně, *Ibid.* 1988/ červenec–srpen, pp. 6–7.

⁷ Katalog Clavius Knihovny města Plzně. [online] Available at URL:http://lanius.kmp.plzen-city.cz [Cit. 2008-04-15]; Středočeská vědecká knihovna v Kladně. [online] Available at URL:http://ipac.svkkl.cz [Cit. 2008-04-15]; Wikipedia [online] Available at: http://cs.wikipedia.org [Cit. 2008-04-15].

⁸ Morávková N. (2009). K působení Františka Aloise Hory (1838–1916) – milovníka polského jazyka a kultury v západních Čechách/ Wpływ Františeka Aloisa Hory (1838–1916) – miłośnika języka i kultury polskiej w zachodnich Czechach. In Lipowski, J. – Żygadło – Czopnik, D. (eds.). Podzwonne dla granic: Polsko-czeskie linie podziałów i miejsca kontaktów w języku, literaturze i kulturze. Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, pp. 67–71.

⁹ AMP, fond LP 15/5 Životopis F. A. Hory.

Hora's interesting contacts with important representatives of Polish culture in the 19th century, in particular Bronisław Grabowski.

František Alois Hora was born on 1 August 1838 in Svinařov¹⁰ near Smeczno. His father, the family breadwinner, died shortly afterwards; nonetheless, his mother sent the gifted boy to school in Prague, where his elder brother Josef was already studying. Hora first attended a Hauptschule, then a Realschule. He and his brother shared a rented room and supported each other. Naturally, the resources their mother could provide were insufficient, and the two students were forced to earn extra money by private tutoring and translating especially German literature. They gained their first literary and publishing experience thanks to Jan Václav Rozum, a senior level teacher at the Realschule and author of popular prose and plays for young people; he also edited the periodical Zlaté klasy and encouraged both boys to contribute to it. As a reward for various short texts, anecdotes and translations, they received a year's free subscription to the publication. From 1857 Hora also began to contribute to Štěpnice, a supplement to the pedagogical magazine Škola a život, as well as to Humoristický listy and Pražské noviny. He also tried writing poetry and, on the recommendation of Gustav Pfleger Moravský, whom he met through a friend after an amateur theatre performance, published a collection of "epigraphs for a commemorative book" entitled *Album* at the Pospíšil publishing house in Prague. This publishing house assumed greater significance for the young writer as it was here that he met his closest friend, Gustav Herrmann, brother of the more famous Ignát Herrmann. Gustav was a Czech prose writer of the then emerging realism, and someone with whom Hora shared the same cultural interests and ideals. Herrmann was employed at Pospíšil for a while as an apprentice. Although Herrmann died young, the memory of his faithful companion never faded from Hora's mind. The correspondence between the two young men from the time of Herrmann's officer service in 1859-1860, today neatly catalogued in Hora's papers referred to above, testifies to the kindred spirit, mutual harmony of opinion, and patriotic and Slavic fervour of the two correspondents.

Hora began his higher vocational studies at the Prague Polytechnic School, subsequently completing them in Vienna. Despite the political atmosphere of Bach's rigid absolutism, the socially active young man lived a busy student life full of patriotism and pan-Slavic ideals. It was particularly in the community group, surrounded by fellow students from various parts of the empire, including young Poles, that Hora's lifelong affection for the Polish people and their culture began to emerge. In addition to Slavic brotherhood, young intellectuals in Bohemia and Poland were united by

Here we find the inspiration for one of Hora's pseudonyms – Horymír Vinařovský: the original name of the village was Vinařov. Other pseudonyms he used were: Samuel Šídlo, Tichoslav Sklenička, K. Turek, F. A. H., F. H.

the same national destiny, namely the history of a nation suffering politically under foreign domination and striving for a just emancipation. In 1860, Hora was even arrested and sentenced to 24 hours internment and subsequent "surveillance" for having participated in an event at a cemetery which the police discovered had been organised by anti-state protesters.

After completing his studies, Hora worked briefly in 1863 and 1864 as a teacher at Petr Bílka's educational institution in Vienna, after which he obtained a position as a substitute and then full-time teacher at the Pilsen Realschule. He joined this newly opened and long-awaited institution at the start of the 1864–1865 school year, teaching mathematics, descriptive geometry, drawing and pencraft. He compensated for the natural and technical orientation of his subjects by continuing his literary activity, especially poetry and drama, mostly creating topical declamatory verse or unpretentious farces, often adaptations. He soon became a well-known local man of letters and patriotic educator.

In 1866, Hora was invited by leading Pilsen publisher Ignác Schiebl to take over the editorship of a local magazine aimed at both educating and entertaining, *Radbuza: list pro poučení a zábavu*. Hora set to work enthusiastically, filling the magazine with a variety of contributions, mostly of an educational or popular nature. However, it failed to establish itself, gaining only about a hundred subscribers, whereupon Schiebl, who, in addition to *Radbuza*, was already issuing two other periodicals, *Pilsner Bote* and *Plzeňské noviny*, had to discontinue its publication. Although Hora, as a capable editor, was soon taken on by *Plzeňské noviny*, the relationship of the two men was still severely tested when Schiebl did not spare criticism of Hora's efforts at drama, which the Pilsen theatre was willing to stage. ¹² He reproached Hora for the amateurish nature of his work.

In 1867, another collection of poems by Hora appeared under the title Randály.¹³ He also wrote for young people (Všehochuť, Malý svět v pěkných obrázkách, Všelicos, Strakatina)¹⁴ and authored useful textbooks, both original (Initial Ornamentation for Lower Secondary Schools and Industrial Schools, Patterns for Measuring Drawing, Brief Instruction on Colours)¹⁵ and in translation, especially the popular textbook

¹¹ AMP, fond LP 14/59. Jmenování učitelem plzeňské reálky.

¹² A particular target of Schiebl's criticism, including in print, was the comedy *Petrolej v Kvaso-*

¹³ Hora F. A. (1884). Randály. Chrudim: Pospíšil.

Hora F. A. (1889). Všehochuť. Plzeň: Steinhauser & Korb; Hora F. A. (1889). Malý svět v pěkných obrázkách. Plzeň: Steinhauser & Korb; Hora F. A. (1889). Všelicos. Plzeň: Steinhauser & Korb; Hora F. A. (1889) Strakatina. Plzeň: Steinhauser & Korb.

¹⁵ Hora. F. A. (1900). Počátkové ornamentiky pro nižší reálky a školy průmyslové. I. sešit. Plzeň: I. Schiebl; Hora. F. A. (1900).; Hora. F. A. (1900). Stručná nauka o barvách: pro žáky škol realních a průmyslových. Plzeň: Steinhauser & Korb; Hora F. A. (1866). Vzorky k měřickému kreslení

Arithmetic and Algebra for Higher Years of Secondary Schools by France Močník.¹⁶ Nor did he neglect his educational and theatrical work: in 1874 he published another collection of declamations, *Besední kytice*,¹⁷ and adapted Štěpánek's play *Obležení Prahy od Švédů* for the Pilsen theatre.¹⁸

In 1874, Hora joined the Union of Czech Writers and became its Pilsen representative. He was growing increasingly concerned about the quality of translations, and published his indignation at the carelessness of some translators in an essay on bad translations in Czech literature. 19 He attempted to remedy the situation himself through his own tireless and diligent translation work. As a committed patriot and promoter of Slavic reciprocity, he focused on Polish literature. With an acerbity all of his own, he endeavoured to produce translations that were accurate to the point of being literal. If he was unsure of a word or an entire sequence of text, he did not shrink from writing to the author personally with a request for clarification. Here it is possible to trace the beginnings of Hora's long and fruitful collaboration with Polish writers and scholars; his correspondence provides a rich documentation of these interesting relationships. The number of Polish authors Hora translated exceeds fifty²⁰ and includes the following names: Józef Ignacy Kraszewski, whom Hora probably translated the most, Stanisław Grudziński, Adam Plug, Eliza Orzeszkowa, literary critic Władysław Bogusławski, Wilhelmina Zyndram-Kościałkowska, Helena Janina Boguska alias Hajota, Jósefa Sawicka alias Ostoja, Zygmunt Miłkowski alias Teodor Tomas Jez, as well as Bolesław Prus and Henryk Sienkiewicz.

Hora's most prominent Polish friend and collaborator, however, was Bronisław Grabowski (1841–1900), an important Polish Slavist, ethnographer, folklorist, writer and translator. He came from Kalisz and spent his childhood and youth in Piotrków. In 1857, having graduated from grammar school, he lacked the means to continue his studies, so worked as an office clerk and later as a tutor for a country squire. It was not until 1860 that he was able to enrol at the University of St Petersburg, intending to read Slavonic Studies. As Grabowski mentions in his life story, sent in a letter to Hora, 21 the "wild chauvinism" of Professor Sneznevsky discouraged him from his

pro nižší školy reálné. Sešit 1, Obrazce přímočárné. Plzeň: J. M. Zíka; Hora F. A. (1866). Vzorky k měřickému kreslení pro nižší školy reálné. Sešit 2, Obrazce křivočárné. Plzeň: J. M. Zíka.

¹⁶ Močník F. (1875). Dra Frant. ryt. Močníka Arithmetika i algebra pro vyšší třídy škol středních. Překlad František Alois Hora. Praha: Nákladem B. Tempského.

¹⁷ Hora F. A. (1874). Besední kytice: sbírka deklamací vážných i žertovných pro obojí pohlaví. Praha: Fr. A. Urbánek.

¹⁸ Štěpánek, J. N. – Hora, F. A. (ed) (1876). Divadelní ochotník: repertorium soukromých divadel. Nové sbírky svazek 112. Praha: Nákladem kníhkupectví Mikuláše a Knappa.

¹⁹ Hora F. A. (1878). O špatných překladech v literatuře české. *Plzeňské listy*, vol. 4.

²⁰ Suchá M. (1953) Písemné styky profesora F. A. Hory s Poláky. Slavia 22/2–3, p. 322.

²¹ AMP, fond LP 10/31, Korespondence Grabowski.

original plan, so he devoted himself instead to English and Italian. Still he did not avoid nationalistic friction, even being arrested and briefly interned in Kronstadt. In 1862, the University of Warsaw was opened and František Bolemír Květ lectured there on comparative linguistics. Grabowski returned to Poland and continued his studies in philology at the new institute. The charismatic Květ returned him to his original interest in Slavic linguistics. Grabowski graduated in 1866, and obtained a position at a grammar school in Warsaw. Even as a student, he was interested in Czech literature, reading Czech fiction in the original, especially Karolina Světlá, Sofia Podlipská, and Prokop Chocholoušek. He met personally Světlá, Jan Neruda, later Jaroslav Vrchlický, Eduard Jelínek and many others; this, however, this did not affect his pan-Slavic ideals. He wrote short stories and plays, and translated. Familiar with all the Slavic languages, he was an ardent and irresistible promoter of Slavic reciprocity, and had a particular fondness for Czech culture. He frequently stayed in Prague and several times in Pilsen. He enjoyed a cordial friendship with Hora, through whom he established many interesting contacts in the Society of Friends of Czech Science and Literature in Pilsen. Grabowski left behind a long list of translations, he diligently spread awareness of Czech literature, not only in Poland but also in Croatia, as he presented and published his translations of Vrchlický, whom he bravely defended against the young modernists, in Zagreb. His friendship with Hora was a rare contribution to both cultures, Czech and Polish.

The correspondence of the two writers sheds light on the interesting circumstances of how their friendship began. On 3 March 1879, Hora delivered a lecture at the Pilsen Literary Association on Józef Ignacy Kraszewski and his work.²² He then sent the writer clippings containing positive responses to the lecture from *Plzeňské listy* and *Pilsner Reform*. In return, Kraszewski sent a portrait of himself and his latest texts. Hora then began to publish his translation of Kraszewski's novel *Milujeme se* in *Plzeňské listy*. He later sent Kraszewski's biography to the magazines *Koleda* and *Vlast*, as well as to a Pilsen calendar for 1880,²³ where he also published a translation of the author's short story *Soběradská*. Kraszewski responded with a touching thank-you note from Dresden. It was at this time when Grabowski noticed Hora as a promoter of Kraszewski and Polish literature in general. At the beginning of 1880, he published reports about Hora and his activities in Polish magazines, such as Warsaw's *Klosy* and *Kuryer Poranny*.²⁴ Hora was delighted and, in addition to Kraszewski's other works, *O účelu románů* and *Advokát*, translations of which he

²² For more on the correspondence between Hora and Kraszewski, see Kraszewski, J. I. – Hora F. A. (1951). *Korespondencja J. I. Kraszwskiego i F. A. Hory*. Wrocław: Wrocławska Drukarnia Naukowa.

²³ Plzeňský kalendář na obyčejný rok 1880. (1879). Plzeň: J. R. Port.

²⁴ AMP, fond LP 15/1–18, Životopisy F. A. Hory.

published in *Plzeňské listy*, plus a translation of his prose poem *Dobrák*, which appeared in *Koleda*, ²⁵ he set about translating another Polish author, Stanisław Grudziński, from whose work he selected the allegorical poem *Sněžnice: sen v zimní noci*. Since, as he writes, he did not want to approach publishers, he published the translation of *Sněžnice*²⁶ at his own expense and donated the net proceeds to the Pilsen Historical Museum. Grudziński's next work, *Zakleté jezero*, was translated by Hora in the same year, 1880, and appeared in instalments in *Plzeňské listy*. For the 1881 Pilsen calendar, Hora prepared translations of two short stories by Adam Pług, *Krvavá myrta* and *Kifor*.

Hora was completely absorbed by the Polish language. He even gave up the executive directorship of the Literary Association for the whole of 1881 in order to devote himself fully to the translation of Eliza Orzeszkowa's great novel *Meir Ezofowicz*, a work in which the author reacts to a theme then current in both Czech and Polish circles, namely the clash between traditional and conservative Jewish culture and unstoppable changes forced by modern times. Hora negotiated with the author the right to translate and make reproductions in phototype, but could not find a publisher for the translated work. Negative replies came successively from the publishing houses of J. Otto, Brožík a spol. and V. Steinhauser; nor could the periodicals *Světozor* and *Plzeňské listy* be persuaded. After all these vicissitudes, *Meir Ezofowicz* was finally published by A. Hynek;²⁷ in the meantime, however, an unauthorised, competing translation had already been prepared by the writer Václav Pok.

In 1881, Hora found a publisher for Grudziński's *Ukrajinské povídky* in the volume *Ottova laciná knihovna národní*, edited by Alois Jirásek.²⁸ The work thus reached a relatively high number of Czech readers.

In 1882, Hora translated Jez's *Spřízněné duše* for *Klatovy listy*. He was subsequently somewhat disappointed, as on several previous occasions, not to receive any royalties. Naturally he was not translating for money, but rather on account of his faith in the cause itself; nonetheless, he was still irritated by the arrogant behaviour of the editors. The next series of translations, mainly works by Kraszewski and Orzeszkowa, culminated in the translation of Henryk Sienkiewicz's village picture *Anděl*, published in *Plzeňské listy* at the end of 1882.

²⁵ Českoslovanská koleda: občanský kalendář na obyčejný rok. (1880). Praha: Josef Kolář.

²⁶ Grudziński S. (1880). Sněžnice: sen v zimní noci. Překlad František Alois Hora. Plzeň: F. A. Hora.

²⁷ Orzeszkowa E. (1882). *Meir Ezofovič: román ze života polských židův*. Překlad František Alois Hora. Praha: Alois Hynek.

²⁸ Grudziński S. (1880). Ukrajinské povídky. Překlad František Alois Hora. Praha: Nakladatel: J. Otto. Laciná knihovna národní; č. 35.

From 1883 onwards, Hora sent most of his translations from Polish to Jelínek's *Slovanský sborník*;²⁹ in this context it is particularly worth mentioning Kraszewski's collected writings *Typy a charaktery*. The following year, *Plzeňské listy* published Hora's translations of Bogusławski's short story *Štěstí* and Orzeszkowa's *Zlatou nitku*. Hora then used Hajota's *Na jaře a v jeseni* in the magazine *Posel ze Sušice*, and a translation of Rzetkowski's *Růžička* in the first issue of a new periodical *Nová Plzeň*. The 1885 Pilsen calendar contained Hora's translation of Stanisław Sobieski's humorous poem *Nový rok učitelův*.

In 1884 Hora finally travelled to Poland, taking advantage of a trip organised by the Sokol gymnastics organisation to visit the Kraków region. He used the opportunity to prepare a guidebook *Průvodce po Krakově Věličce a okolí*, ³⁰ publication of which was sponsored by the Kolín branch of Sokol.

Hora's translation work continued with the publication in Czech of Bolesław Prus's short story *Na prázdninách* in *Nová Plzeň* in 1885, and later short stories by Zyndram-Kościałkowska, Sawicka – Ostoja, Orzeszkowa and Grabowski.

The turning point in Hora's work, however, came in 1886 when he applied his teaching experience to compile a neatly arranged and very popular handbook of Czech-Polish conversation.³¹ No such work had hitherto existed in Czech or Polish literature. On this occasion the publication was instigated at the invitation of the Prague publisher Alexander Storch, who was probably well aware of the market demand. The work was a success, highly praised in the press, and quickly sold out. The delighted Hora then embarked on his next linguistic venture, a dictionary. In 1887 the first volume of a pocket Polish-Czech Dictionary³² was published, also by Storch. The Czech-Polish dictionary which followed it had a much more complicated fate: for an incomprehensibly long time, Hora was unable find a publisher, despite sending requests and advertisements to all quarters, including Vienna and Leipzig. He advertised his search for a publisher in Moravská Orlice and Hlas; reports about the work appeared in Hlas národa, Kraj in St. Petersburg, Gazeta Warszawska and perhaps in all the Galician newspapers. Hora then offered it to publishers for free, for example to Jan Otto or Šimáček, but without success. The well-known Polish folklorist Jan Karłowicz, who had participated in compiling the dictionary with corrections and explanations of some terms, even launched a campaign for support

²⁹ Jelínek E. (ed.) (1884). Slovanský sborník statí z oboru národopisu, kulturní historie a dějin literarního i společenského života: "poznejme se!". Praha: J. Otto.

³⁰ Hora F. A. (1884). Průvodce po Krakově, Věličce a okolí. Kolín: costs borne by author.

³¹ Hora F. A. (1887). Rukověť konversace česko-polské – Podręcznik rozmów czesko-polskich. Praha: A. Storch syn.

³² Hora F. A. (1890). Polsko-czeski słownik kieszonkowy – Kapesní slovník polsko-český. Praha: A. Storch syn.

in Warsaw's Glos No. 41 in 1897 and contributed 100 roubles himself. The eminent Polish natural scientist Erazm Majewski likewise played a part by making a personal donation of 300 roubles and promoting support for the dictionary among his numerous influential friends and acquaintances. He also sought Polish subscribers and persuaded Wende, a Polish bookseller in Warsaw, to provide storage space for the future dictionary. Thanks to this effective help from Majewski, Hora was eventually able to publish the dictionary at his own expense, with the Prague-based Řivnáč assuming responsibility for distribution. The first volume was published on 5 February 1900, and the edition was completed in 1902.³³ The dictionary received extremely positive reviews for being modern, practical, clear and, last but not least, cheap and hence easily accessible. Also in 1901, once the dictionary had begun to be published ten long years after the original concept, Hora added a practical grammar of Polish plus a reader;³⁴ this was published by Jan Houser, owner of the Slavic Bookshop in Pilsen. Out of a sense of immense gratitude, Hora dedicated the work to Erazm Majewski, who in turn sent Hora the Wisla magazine free of charge, and for "Polish purposes" purchased twenty copies of the dictionary, as well as donating a further fifty to school libraries and associations in Bohemia.

Although problems concerning the dictionary restricted Hora's translation endeavours, he did not forget his good Polish friends, and in particular his dearest friend, Bronisław Grabowski. Grabowski was also the only Polish friend to visit Hora several times in Pilsen, where he also met other kindred spirits. He was definitely a Pilsen patriot whose work, especially drama, was well known in Pilsen because of Hora's translations. Pilsen likewise held Grabowski in high esteem and on 16 December 1899, thanks to Hora's involvement, the city organised a gala evening in honour of Grabowski at the Sokol Hall, which was attended by the most prominent personalities of Pilsen, headed by Mayor Peták. Hora delivered the ceremonial speech. Grabowski himself was unable to attend for health reasons, but out of gratitude to his beloved Pilseners he wished to dedicate to them a play from their history, probably about the fate of the robber knight Bavůrek of Švamberk. Unfortunately, his untimely death prevented him fulfilling his aim.

Hora subsequently published his ceremonial speech on the life of Grabowski in the entertainment supplement of *Plzeňské listy*, then more expansively in a separate booklet of fifty pages published by the National Printing House in Pilsen. After Grabowski's death, Hora also arranged for the publication of a memorial text

³³ Hora F. A. (1902). Kapesní slovník česko-polský – Słownik czesko-polski kieszonkowy. Praha: F. A. Hora.

³⁴ Hora F. A. (1901). Praktická mluvnice polská s čítankou. Plzeň: Houser.

Vzpomínky na Bronislawa Grabowského by Ksawera Krokowska,³⁵ the writer's sister-in-law, again in the entertainment supplement of *Plzeňské listy*.

In 1899, Hora retired to a well-deserved rest. However, he made full use of the free time he had thus acquired by lecturing regularly on Czech-Polish cultural issues and relations at Pilsen Town Hall and later also on politics at the municipal council, to which he was elected as an honourable citizen of the city in 1906. A highly meritorious achievement was his organisation and running of free Polish language courses. The textbook used was Hora's practical grammar, a second edition of which appeared in 1909. The courses were popular and well attended; Hora did not hesitate to publicise and popularise them in Poland, and in 1910 he was rewarded with a gift from the Towarzystwo Szkoły Ludowej in Kraków in the form of a collection of Polish literary works for use in the courses.

Hora remained true to his enthusiasm for Czech-Polish reciprocity until the end of his days, living a fruitful and useful life not only as a teacher, but also as a writer, translator, linguist, keen organiser and promoter of Czech-Polish reciprocity, honourable citizen of the city of Pilsen, member of the municipal and city council, member of the district school board, museum curator, secretary of the Society of Friends of Czech Science and Literature, where he lectured on Polish literature, honorary citizen of the town of Rapperswil and honorary member of its National Polish Museum. He died on 30 October 1916 at the age of 78 and was buried in Pilsen's Central Cemetery.

As has been described, the work of František Alois Hora is extensive and varied because he was writing and publishing from his student years. An overview of his publications contains fashionable verse of the day, humorous short stories, farces, textbooks and professional manuals; however, his most valuable work consists in translations from Polish, dictionaries and a Polish grammar. Hora's early fiction is not of the kind whose literary depth will survive the generations as it was distinctly of its day and aimed at the "literary consumer" at that time; however, work related to his passion for the Polish language and culture, whether it be the afore-mentioned translations, dictionaries, grammar book or free Polish courses in Pilsen and widespread pro-Polish cultural activity, is still deserving of enormous appreciation.

³⁵ AMP. LP 12/88–94. Dopisy K. Krokowska.