

**CZECH-POLISH
HISTORICAL
AND
PEDAGOGICAL**

JOURNAL

13/2021/1

CZECH-POLISH HISTORICAL AND PEDAGOGICAL JOURNAL

Volume 13/2021/1

Journal of the Faculty of Education of Masaryk University Brno

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Typeset, printed and bound by the Reprocentrum, a. s., Blansko, Czech Republic

Since February 2016 the journal has been included in the prestigious European database of scientific journals ERIH PLUS (European Reference Index for the Humanities and the Social Sciences). Since 2015 included in the Web of Science (ESCI).

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ARTICLES

**The Czech School Foundation in Volhynia,
1921–1939**

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Vaculík, J. (2021). The Czech School Foundation in Volhynia, 1921–1939. *Czech-Polish Historical and Pedagogical Journal*, 13/2021/1, 3–12.

<https://doi.org/10.5817/cphpj-2021-001>

It was certainly a great merit of the Czech School Foundation (CSF) that it undertook the difficult task of organizing Czech private education in Volhynia in accordance with the provisions of the Czechoslovak-Polish Treaty. The most difficult thing was to overcome the lack of funds, which were being obtained in the form of regular fund-raising collections once or twice a year and extraordinary fund-raising events on various occasions – parties, weddings, baptisms, etc. The Czech education system in Volhynia also received material assistance (textbooks, pupils' libraries, teachers) from the school administration of the Czechoslovak Republic and from Comenius, the Association for the Support of Czechoslovak Foreign Schools.

Key words: *Volhynia; Czechs; School Foundation; 1921–1939*

The restoration of peace immediately led Czech minority workers in western Volhynia to attempt to restore Czech education in order to overcome the unfortunate situation left by the pre-war Russified school and the war period as quickly as possible. At the beginning of the 1920s, out of 20811 Czechs over the age of ten, 16,711 (80.3%) could read and 4100 were illiterate (19.7%, 38% in Poland as a whole). Of the total number of literate Czechs, 5,358 had only home education, 11262 graduated from primary school, 59 from secondary school, 18 from vocational school and 14 from university.¹ Although many villages were destroyed by the events of the war, the Czechs from Volhynia paid the primary attention to the restoration of school buildings. In the school year 1920–1921, there were 29 public and 5 private Czech schools in western Volhynia. In 1921–1922, all private schools were taken over by the state and, in addition, ten new Czech schools were opened.

¹ Naše zahraničí (NZ), (1930), vol. 3, p. 125.

Thus, a total of 1974 pupils attended 44 Czech schools, of which 1,600 were of the Orthodox religion.² There were 58 teachers in the schools, of whom 42 were Czechs, 10 Russians and Ukrainians, 5 Poles and 1 German. Of the 42 Czech teachers, only 6 went to a Czech school, while 36 went to a Russian school. Schools were mostly one-class with three to four departments. Lessons were in Czech, starting with the second department, there were 4 lessons a week in Polish. Personnel costs were taken over by the state, while the material costs were taken care of by the municipalities. There were different standards of the schools; they varied in quality from well-equipped schools to country cottages with small windows and clay floors.³ There were 4727 Czech children at school age; this means that more than half of them, especially from the smaller colonies, went to Polish schools, studied at home or did not study at all.

At the initiative of the Organizational Club in Volhynia, on July 17, 1921, the Congress of representatives of Czech municipalities in Polish Volhynia took place in the capital of the Volhynian Voivodeship of Lutsk; its main purpose was to establish the Czech School Foundation (CSF) and economic organization of Czech settlements.⁴ The activities of the CSF were to be organized according to the model of the Central School Foundation in Bohemia. Until 1939, the CSF remained the most important Czech association in Volhynia and played an important role in organizing the local Czech education and culture. In major Czech settlements, the CSF established its unions, the so-called “kolo”, where all the organizational, financial and material assistance to the Czech educational system was concentrated. The post-war temporary measures in the area of the Czech education system in Poland was governed by the Czechoslovak-Polish Treaty on Legal and Financial Matters, concluded in Warsaw on April 23, 1925. Under this agreement, the teaching of children in their mother tongue was to be ensured and any pressure on parents to send children to schools teaching in a language other than their mother tongue was declared illegal. It was the duty of the state to open a state minority school wherever a national minority accounted for one quarter of the population of a municipality and where compulsory school attendance applied to at least forty children belonging to that minority. This at first sight liberal provision, however, collided with the fact that in Volhynia, there were large municipalities (‘gminas’), including a number of not only Czech, but also Ukrainian settlements, and in no ‘gmina’, the number of Czechs reached 25%.

² NZ (1922–1923), vol. 1, p. 32.

³ There, vol. 2, p. 84.

⁴ Památník založení a desetileté činnosti České matice školské v Republice polské (1933). Luck, p. 3.

For the Czech minority, this resulted only in the use of other articles of the Treaty that allowed the opening of private schools teaching in the minority's language with the right of the public. In this case, however, all personal and material expenses were borne by the minority organization which established the school, while the Ministry provided support only at its choice.⁵

It was certainly a great merit of the CSF that it undertook the difficult task of organizing Czech private education in Volhynia in accordance with the provisions of the Czechoslovak-Polish Treaty. The most difficult thing was to overcome the lack of funds, which were being obtained in the form of regular fund-raising collections once or twice a year and extraordinary fund-raising events on various occasions – parties, weddings, baptisms, etc. The Czech education system in Volhynia also received material assistance (textbooks, pupils' libraries, teachers) from the school administration of the Czechoslovak Republic and from Comenius, the Association for the Support of Czechoslovak Foreign Schools. Despite this, Czech School Foundation schools suffered from a permanent shortage of teachers, as there was little interest in the teaching profession among the Czech Volhynian youth (in the school year 1925–1926, only three Volhynian Czechs studied at Polish teacher training institutes).⁶ At Czech schools, mainly graduates were active from the Polish teacher seminar in Ostrzeszów in the Poznań region, who came from Zelov and Kučov in the Łódź region.⁷

The Articles of Association of the CSF in Volhynia based in Lutsk were approved on October 4, 1923.⁸ The first General Assembly of the CSF was held on December 2, 1923 in Lutsk with the participation of 192 delegates. Vladimír Preisler was elected a chairman of the CSF main administration, Josef Vlk was elected its vice-chairman, and Josef Albrecht secretary. Initially, each member contributed 8 kg of rye, 75% of which remained to the local union; the rest went to the headquarters. Later it was set at two zlotys per year.

In connection with the introduction of joint schools for all children, regardless of nationality, the number of Czech schools gradually decreased. As at March 1, 1923, there were 40 Czech schools with 1944 pupils, as at September 1, 1924, only 22 Czech schools, but in addition, two Utraquist Czech-Polish schools, and a number of Polish schools taught the Czech language as a subject. As at April 1, 1925, the number of purely Czech schools dropped to 12.⁹

⁵ NZ (1926), vol. 1, pp. 26–28; Komenský (1933–1934), pp. 193–195; Sbirka zákonů a nařízení státu Československého (1926), vol. 33, pp. 271–308. 119; NZ (1926), vol. 1, pp. 26–28.

⁶ NZ (1926), vol. 1, pp. 26–28.

⁷ NZ (1922–1923), vol. 2, p. 87.

⁸ Dziennik Urzędowy Wojewódstwa Wolyńskiego (1923), No. 2, p. 1.

⁹ Klíma, S. (1925). Čechové a Slováci za hranicemi. Praha, p. 82.

The Polish embassy in the Czechoslovak Republic denied news from the “*Národní listy*” newspaper, which in March 1925 wrote about the oppression of Czech education in Volhynia. This official denial admitted errors and mistakes and tried to justify them by saying that Polish education was still at the early stages of its organization.¹⁰ Also the Olomouc People’s Party’s “*Našinec*” paper published that the Polish authorities had attacked the Czech schools and closed them down. According to the paper, all Czech teachers were dismissed in the Lutsk district and the action continued in the Dubno district. The pretext for the dismissal of Czech teachers was lack of their qualification; qualified teachers were then transferred to Ukrainian schools.¹¹

The dismal conditions of the Czech education system in Volhynia, when in the school year 1924–1925 the Polish authorities even organized collecting signatures of Volhynian Czechs in favour of Polish schools and when teachers were being removed, made the CSF Supervisory Board to file a memorandum addressed to the Minister of Culture and Education and to the Polish Committee for the Eastern Border Region. The memorandum contained ten requirements, inter alia: each Czech settlement should have its own school with Czech as a teaching language; the leading teachers should have a perfect command of the Czech language; the government should maintain one teacher per forty pupils; teachers from Czechoslovakia should be recruited; the Czech School Inspectorate should be established; and Czechoslovak academic diplomas should be recognized.¹²

During the debate on the Czechoslovak-Polish Treaty regulating legal and financial issues, the leader of the National Democrats, K. Kramář, spoke about the position of the Czech minority in Volhynia at the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Czechoslovak Chamber of Deputies on February 24, 1926. Among other things, he emphasized the merits of the Volhynian Czechs in the first foreign resistance and demanded that negotiations be commenced with the Polish government that “the provision of 40 children for a public school in the municipality should also apply to settlements”.¹³

It was stated at the General Assembly of the CSF held on February 28, 1928 that this educational and cultural institution had fifty local unions with 1870 members. It had already managed nine Czech private schools, which were equipped with school supplies from Czechoslovakia. It had subscriptions to 400 magazines and was buying a number of books from Czechoslovakia. Vladimír Mesner was elected the new chairman of the CSF instead of Jan Janata of Boratín, who had performed this function in 1925–1928.

¹⁰ Archive Office of President of Republic Prague (AOPR), D 4084/25.

¹¹ *Našinec* (1925), No. 62.

¹² *Hlas Volyně* (HV) (1926), No. 5, pp. 2–3; No. 6, p. 3.

¹³ *Věstník Ústředního sdružení Čechů a Slováků z Ruska* (ÚSČSR) (1925–1926), No. 8, p. 8.

At the beginning of 1929, the first congress of the chairmen of individual CSF unions was held. Chairman Vladimír Mesner informed that there were 24 state schools in Volhynia, where Czech teachers worked and where lessons were taught in Czech or Czech was a taught subject. At another 9 state schools, Czech was taught by teachers of other nationalities, for example Poles from the Cieszyn region. At that time, there were 14 CSF schools, in which mostly Czech was used as a teaching language. Mesner also noted the need for a further 15–20 Czech teachers for state schools.¹⁴

In 1929, the 6th General Assembly of the CSF was held in Zdolbunov, where a Czech school operated, which in the years 1917–1922 was maintained by the Czech Committee and 1922–1934 by “Česká beseda”. The majority of Czech children in Volhynia attended state schools, where they had the opportunity of being taught the Czech language (2360 pupils in 1928–1929), while only 390 pupils attended Czech private schools.¹⁵ There was the Czech Teachers’ Association operating in Volhynia under the CSF, which was chaired by teacher Vladimír Ficek from Semiduby, later by Vladimír Tomáš from Kvasilov.¹⁶ In January 1932, the Association organized its first conference and general assembly in Lutsk.¹⁷

The CSF had no guaranteed income; membership fees were negligible, support from the Polish state minimal. In 1932, the CSF received 15 thousand zlotys from Czechoslovakia, 8 thousand from voluntary fund-raising collections, 7 thousand from individual local unions, 2 thousand from the sale of books and 2 thousand from membership fees. The expenditures went to Foundation schools (20 thousand zlotys), administration (12 thousand), and support for Czech students at teacher training institutes (1 thousand).¹⁸ By 1932, the CSF had raised a total of 31,000 thousand zlotys among Volhynian Czechs.

Of the thirteen Czech private schools (in 1932–1933), the school in Zdolbunov was organized as a seven-year school, in Lutsk and Rovno as a five-year school and in other places a four-year school. There were 524 pupils and 17 teachers in these schools. The teaching language was Czech, except for the Polish language, Polish history and Polish geography, which were taught in Polish.

Following the example of Polish fully organized seven-class schools, the CSF counted on the extension of the Lutsk school, which was to become the basis of the future private Czech secondary school, to a higher type school. In 1937, this was

¹⁴ Buditel (1929), No. 6.

¹⁵ Ročenka ČSR (1930), Praha 1930, p. 27.

¹⁶ Náš buditel (NB) (1931), No. 4, pp. 33–34.

¹⁷ HV (1932), No. 6.

¹⁸ Deset let České matice školské (1933). Luck, table. XIV.

a five-class school with seven successive grades and five full-time and three external teachers. A total of 170 pupils paid up to 35 zlotys per year of tuition, in the case of more children from one family a total of 50 zlotys. The pupils came from families of farmers (112), sole traders (35), workers (14), clerks (7) and entrepreneurs (2). There were only eleven pupils from ethnically mixed families, and all but five were of Czech nationality. Most of the pupils came from the surroundings of Lutsk, as only about eighty Czech families lived in the town.¹⁹ The school had a student library with 266 volumes, a teacher's library with 98 volumes and 120 textbooks, and a library for adults with 250 volumes. A parents' association cooperated with the school, helped organize school events and ensured public relations. Material provision was ensured by the CSF department, which set the amount of the school fee and obtained funds to maintain the school. The school reading room was maintained by the pupil self-government from the income from various entertainments. Available Czech magazines included *Lípa*, *Radost*, *Naše práce*, *Mladý svět*, *Poškolák* and *Našim dětem*. The pupil self-government also managed the inner life of the school and taught the children democratic coexistence and association behaviour. Pupils learned to independently organize school events and to behave there in a proper way. In the CSF boarding school, they paid 35 zlotys per month in cash or in kind.²⁰

The CSF school in Rovno was established in 1926 and had 98 pupils and 3 teachers in the mid-1930s; the school administrator Vladimír Vlček from Říčany near Prague was paid by the Czechoslovak Ministry of Education and National Enlightenment. The Rovno CSF school had four successive grades, a pupil library with 261 volumes and the CSF library with 763 volumes. It had subscription to eighteen magazines from the Czechoslovak Republic, such as the *Národní politika*, *Venkov* and *Hvězda*. From the funds obtained from the enrolment and differentiated tuition fees, a religion teacher and a school caretaker were maintained and rent was paid.

In 1930 in Zdobunov they decided to build a new two-storey modern school building, which was handed over for use in 1934, when the school was taken over from CSF *Česká beseda*. The school was attended by 150 pupils every year. The new school building was built with the support of the Comenius Association in Prague and the Czechoslovak Ministry of Education and National Enlightenment. The CSF maintained the school from collections, parties and concerts. In the interwar period, it was run by Ljuba Vlasáková, Antonín Masopust and Josef Kosek.

The regular General Assembly of the CSF held in Zdobunov on 7 March 1937 was attended by the Legation Secretary of the press service of the Czechoslovak

¹⁹ Folprecht, J. (1937). *Československé školské obce v zahraničí*. Praha, pp. 111–112.

²⁰ National Archive Prague (NA), Ministry of Education (ME), cardboard. 3996.

Embassy in Poland, Josef Hejret. Delegates of individual CSF unions acknowledged the need to establish an agricultural school in Volhynia or agricultural courses possibly connected with a family school. CSF expenditures went primarily to teachers' salaries (34 thousand zlotys per year). Salaries of Foundation teachers of 100 zlotys (starting salary) to 250 zlotys (after 25 years of service) corresponded to the salaries of teachers at state schools. Teachers from the Czechoslovak Republic were paid better (in compensation for increased expenditures) and worked in the main schools (Lutsk, Rovno, Zdolbunov). The teacher conference, which took place before the General Assembly of the CSF, was also attended by the inspector of the Volhynian School Board in Rovno. The CSF applied for public rights also for Foundation schools; but even without that, the school certificates from Foundation schools were respected in the same way as from public schools. After the application was submitted, the School Board carried out rigorous reviews at the CSF schools, which were more successful in larger schools than in smaller schools. The CSF established a special pedagogical committee to monitor the didactic and pedagogical level of teachers. For 1937, the CSF provided 18 thousand zlotys for construction purposes, in particular for the construction of the school in Rovno, as the then makeshift solution did not comply with the regulations. From the total income of the CSF for 1936 amounting to 78 thousand zlotys, over 50 thousand zlotys came from the Czechoslovak Republic. The CSF directly took care of only 680 pupils of the Foundation schools (1935–1936), while 2790 Czech children attended state schools.²¹

A committee headed by teacher Křivka of Straklov was elected at the General Assembly; the committee was to prepare the publication of the history of the Czech colonies in Volhynia. In May 1938, Ing. Alois Knotek was commissioned to write this publication, and he began his studies in the museum libraries in Lutsk, Rovno, Dubno and Ostroh.²² However, the Polish-German War in 1939 frustrated the promisingly commenced work, because the author became missing.

In December 1937, the CSF sent to the Czechoslovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs a submission containing a summary of the most urgent requirements of Volhynian Czechs. The requirements concerned both education and other areas of minority life. Among other things, it required the following: establishment of a Czech school of economics and family with professors from the Czechoslovak Republic and of a Czech technical school; removal of obstacles to the issuance of cheap passports and sending money to the Czechoslovak Republic to cover the expenses related to study; and permitting organized trips of children to Czechoslovakia using a cheap

²¹ Archives of Ministry of Foreign Office Prague (AMFO), f. Warsaw Embassy, political news 1937, 13. 3. 1937.

²² *Krajanské listy* (KL), 1, 1938, No. 25, p. 4.

common passport.²³ The Czech School Foundation assumed that in the second half of the 1930s, the minority did not have its representative in the Polish government to defend its interests, and had to therefore negotiate with it through the Czechoslovak Republic, which was to enforce its requirements in international negotiations with Poland. The requirements of the CSF were primarily aimed at improving the situation in the Czech education system in Volhynia, facilitating contacts with the Czechoslovak Republic and creating space for the activities of the associations.²⁴ However, the Czechoslovak Embassy in Poland commented on the submission of the minority that the current state of Czechoslovak-Polish relations was not suitable for submitting any requests, as Poland did not recognize the principle of reciprocity between the Czech minority in Poland and the Polish one in the Czechoslovak Republic.²⁵

On 6 March 1938, it was stated at the General Assembly of the CSF that the situation of Czechs in Volhynia was deteriorating as a result of the overall Polish policy towards national minorities. The establishment of complete seven-class schools threatened the existence of Czech schools with fewer classes. In seven-class schools, Czech children represented only an insignificant minority, which negatively influenced the existence of teaching Czech as a subject. Czech state school teachers were increasingly being replaced by Poles from the Cieszyn region, who – according to the authorities – had an excellent command of the Czech language (10–12 persons). In 1938, the Czechs had only three private seven-class schools (Lutsk, Rovno, Zdolbunov); the other private schools only had one class.²⁶ Under the impression of the meeting of the Czechoslovak Prime Minister Milan Hodža with the Polish minority in Czechoslovakia, some speakers at the CSF General Assembly asked for establishing a delegation that would hand over the requirements of Volhynian Czechs to the Polish Prime Minister, General Felician Sławoj-Skladkowski. A commission was elected at the General Assembly to draw up a memorandum and submit it first to the Duke of Volhynia, Henryk Józewski. The task of another commission was to write a chronicle of Volhynian Czechs.

The last General Assembly of the Czech School Foundation was held on 5 March 1939 in Lutsk. It noted many obstacles in the Foundation activities. The modest Czech education in Volhynia was endangered; positively evaluated were the contributions of the Czechoslovak Republic to the building of schools and teachers' salaries.²⁷ In August 1939, the CSF administration convened an unofficial meeting

²³ AMFA, f. 2. section, c. 255.

²⁴ There, 17. 1. 1938.

²⁵ There, f. 2. section, c. 255, 8. 4. 1938.

²⁶ There, Warsaw Embassy, political news 1938, 7. 3. 1938.

²⁷ KL (1939), No. 17.

of representatives of Czech settlements in Volhynia to Lutsk, where Juraj Slávik, the Czechoslovak envoy in Poland spoke, and where the Volhynian Czechs expressed their support for the Czechoslovak foreign resistance.

In the years 1926–1939, Czech teachers provided by the Czechoslovak Ministry of Education and National Enlightenment played an irreplaceable role. They operated both in large CSF schools and in some state schools. Already in the school year 1926–1927, the Ministry sent six teachers from the Czechoslovak Republic to Volhynia; the Ministry paid them and ensured their lifelong provision in the Czechoslovak Republic upon their return. In 1931, four teachers from the Czechoslovak Republic worked in Volhynia, namely in Rovno, Zdolbunov, Mirohošť and Kupičov.²⁸ However, on January 17, 1932, teacher Jan Kozák was forced to leave Mirohošť, as he was not allowed to stay by the authorities. His educational activities encountered resistance of Polish nationalists, were labelled political and he himself was declared an extreme chauvinist who did not respect his superiors and school authorities and disrupted the peaceful coexistence of Volhynian Czechs with the local population.²⁹

In 1932, teacher Karel Švarc was sent from the Czechoslovak Republic to the Polish-Czech state school in Malín. Already during his nomination, the Polish Embassy in the Czechoslovak Republic found out that he was an active member of the Czechoslovak National Socialist Party and Sokol.³⁰ The report of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs even stated that his activities in the Party were more intensive than in the pedagogical field. In addition to Švarc, other teachers also worked in Volhynia in 1933: Vladimír Vlček at the CSF school in Rovno, Josef Kosek at the Česká beseda school in Zdolbunov and Josef Kredba at the CSF school in Lutsk.³¹ However, the extracurricular activities of teachers from the Czechoslovak Republic aroused the extreme displeasure of Polish nationalists. Švarc was accused by a school inspector in Dubno of a disloyal attitude to the Polishness of the school and chauvinistic attitudes, by which he allegedly influenced the local Czech population and youth.³² The immediate dismissal of Švarc was prevented by the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as in the Czechoslovak Republic, the change could be interpreted as a deterioration of the position of the Czech minority in Volhynia.³³ In 1935, the school board of trustees in Rovno

²⁸ NB (1931), No. 1, p. 8.

²⁹ Archive of New File Warsaw (ANF), f. Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA), sign. 10 625, c. 31–32.

³⁰ ANF, f. MFA, sign. 5699. 16. 6. 1932.

³¹ There, 14. 9. 1933.

³² There, 2. 5. 1934.

³³ There, 27. 5. 1934.

again turned to the Ministry of Culture and Enlightenment with a request for Švarc's dismissal. This time, no foreign policy considerations were made, so the contract for the next school year was no longer renewed with Švarc.³⁴

Another teacher from the Czechoslovak Republic, Josef Albl, became the successor of Švarc in Malín. The Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs recommended showing the maximum of objectivism in relation to the Volhynian Czechs and accepting Albl. As the Polish Embassy in Prague did not find any public engagement of Albl, it gave the Ministry of Culture and Enlightenment its consent to his employment as of 1 September 1936.³⁵

The state schools attended by Czech pupils were of various types. Although Czech teachers taught in Czech-Polish schools (11 schools), at least half of the subjects and lessons were taught in Polish. In Polish-Czech schools (14 schools), where a large part of the teachers were Poles, the Czech language was taught only as a subject. This was also the case in Polish-Ukrainian schools (7 schools). In the second half of the 1930s, 1,800 Czech pupils attended these three types of schools. Hundreds of other Czech children (850) were forced to attend Polish schools where no Czech language was taught.³⁶ The Czechs built 53 school buildings at their own expense.

Courses had been organized for Czech teachers since 1927, at which Maxmilián Kolaja, a professor at the Brno Industrial School, taught Czech language, and professional teacher Stanislav Vrána from Brno taught pedagogy. Forty teachers took part in the courses.³⁷ Those interested from Volhynia also attended courses for Czech foreign teachers organized in the Czechoslovak Republic. In 1922, 14 male and 5 female teachers took part in such a course.³⁸ Holiday stays in the Czechoslovak Republic were organized also for the children of foreign compatriots under the care of the Czech Heart organization. For example, in 1927, 58 children accompanied by three guides took part in a ten-day stay in Prague organized for children from Volhynia.³⁹ In 1931, 18 boys and girls took part in the expedition.

The deterioration of Polish-Czechoslovak relations in connection with the question of the Těšín region in the second half of the 1930s also affected Czech schools in Volhynia. In Rovno, Zdolbunov and Lutsk, Polish protesters soiled the windows of Czech schools.⁴⁰

³⁴ There, 14. 10. 1935.

³⁵ There, 30. 10. 1935; There, 23. 3. 1936; There, 19. 5. 1936.

³⁶ *Statystyka szkolnictwa 1937–1938* (1939). Warszawa, p. 26.

³⁷ *NZ* (1937), vol. 3, p. 137; There, (1930), No. 4, p. 170; There, No. 5, pp. 218–219.

³⁸ There, (1922–1923), vol. 3, pp. 126–128.

³⁹ *NZ* (1927), vol. 3, p. 149.

⁴⁰ ANF, f. MFO, sign. 5698.

A Russian Officer with Polish Roots in Czechoslovakia. On the Seventieth Anniversary of Vladimír Hejmovský's Victory in the Grand Pardubice Steeplechase

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Kaleta, P. (2021). A Russian Officer with Polish Roots in Czechoslovakia. On the Seventieth Anniversary of Vladimír Hejmovský's Victory in the Grand Pardubice Steeplechase. *Czech-Polish Historical and Pedagogical Journal*, 13/2021/1, 13–23.
<https://doi.org/10.5817/cphpj-2021-002>

Vladimír Hejmovský (Russian: Vladimir Geymovsky) was a tsarist officer in Russia who fought on the side of the Whites against the Bolsheviks. After arriving in Czechoslovakia in 1923, he became an officer in the Czechoslovak army. He was also a passionate equestrian who managed to win the Grand Pardubice Steeplechase in 1951 – when he was nearly sixty years old. But he would never again achieve a similar sporting achievement. Czechoslovakia's State Security (StB) sought to get rid of him for his earlier anti-Bolshevik activities (and his activities in the Russian émigré organization Victor), which they succeeded in doing in September 1952.

Key words: *Vladimír Hejmovský / Vladimir Geymovsky; Grand Pardubice Steeplechase; army officer; equestrianism; Vítěz (Victor)*

Introduction

The wave of Russian and Ukrainian emigration brought thousands of people from a wide variety of backgrounds to interwar Czechoslovakia. Many of these new arrivals had established themselves in a number of different fields of human endeavors such as science, literature, and culture. Most studies of Russian and Ukrainian emigration have focused precisely on these individuals, but very little attention has been paid to the sporting activities of Russian and Ukrainian émigrés in the Czechoslovak Republic. Émigrés established themselves in popular as well as less popular sports, but their successes often remained forgotten for decades. One example of such an achievement is Vladimír Hejmovský's 1951 victory in the Grand Pardubice Steeplechase, the most famous Czech (Czechoslovak) horse race. Hejmovský's name was thus indelibly inscribed on the list of victors of this famous race, especially because he remains the race's oldest winner. For many decades, however, Hejmovský was almost completely forgotten, his memory preserved by just a few of his colleagues and experts on horse racing. Hejmovský's tumultuous

life was revealed to the general public roughly ten years ago by the sports journalist Pavel Kovář, in particular thanks to his book *Velká pardubická. Příběhy z dějin, současnosti a zákulisí slavného sportu* (The Grand Pardubice: Behind-the-Scenes Stories from the Past and Present of the Famous Sport, Prague 2011). Our primary goal has been to use archival materials to shine a light on Hejmovský's military activities and, in particular, on his activities within the Russian émigré organization Victor in Czechoslovakia and the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, which may have led to his mysterious and tragic death in 1952. Among other things, the study presents new information on the circumstances surrounding Hejmovský's death. On the sixtieth anniversary of his victory in the Grand Pardubice, we would thus like to remember and reevaluate the life and sporting activities of Vladimír Hejmovský.

Life and activities in the army

Vladimír Hejmovský was born on 30 October 1892 in the Lithuanian town of Shavli (today Šiauliai) in the Kovno Governate of tsarist Russia. He hailed from the Polish noble family Heymowski; one of his ancestors was Heymo, who distinguished himself at the 1683 Battle of Vienna while serving under John III Sobieski, for which he received the ending “-ski” (Heymowski). After Lithuania became a part of the Russian Empire, the family used the Russian form of the name, Geymovsky.¹ We know that Hejmovský graduated from the Second Military School of Peter the Great in St. Petersburg in 1910. In August 1913, he was made a subaltern of the 7th Siberian Artillery Brigade in Irkutsk, and on 30 July 1914 he was transferred to the 12th Siberian Artillery Brigade as subaltern of the 6th Battery (from 1 August on the Austrian front, from 1915 on the German front, and after August 1916 on the Austrian front again). From October 1916 to January 1917, he attended a quick course at the Nicholas Academy of the General Staff in St. Petersburg before serving as senior adjutant of the 7th Siberian Army Corps (from February to August 1917 on the Austrian front). After this, he was again in St. Petersburg, where he was a staff officer for special purposes at the Ministry of Defense from August to December 1917. In November 1918, he began his anti-Bolshevik activities in the Russian Civil War as subaltern of an independent artillery division of the 2nd Battery in Yekaterinoslav.

¹ Hlůzová V. (2010). *Prošli Šternberskem. Výběrový slovníček 225 osobností*. Šternberk: vlastním nákladem, p. 34.

² Kovář P. (2011). *Velká pardubická. Příběhy z dějin, současnosti a zákulisí slavného sportu*. Praha: XYZ, p. 76.

He then served in various officer functions in the field, ending up as chief of staff of general Aleksandr Nikolayevich Cherepov's army group. Like his brother Viktor, Hejmovský was evacuated to Turkey, where he lived with his wife Lydie, whom he had met in the army. In Gallipoli, he was made first officer of the 1st Alexeyev Artillery Battery (October 1920 – August 1922), and in June 1922, he was raised to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel. After the army's dissolution, he and his wife and brother left for Bulgaria, where he worked on plantations.² When they got the opportunity in April 1923, they all left Sofia for Czechoslovakia.³ Hejmovský arrived with the goal of studying, but as a lieutenant colonel in the Russian army he was immediately included among twenty-two candidates who, once the necessary formalities had been completed, were accepted as officers into the Czechoslovak army.⁴

In February 1924, Hejmovský began his army service in Czechoslovakia as captain of the 6th Irkutsk Artillery Regiment in Brno. After completing firearms training at the artillery academy in Olomouc in 1926, he served as captain or major of the 4/6 Battery in Brno until 1931 (except for a month in July and August 1926, when he took a practical firearms course in Plavecké Podhradie, Slovakia, and the period from November 1927 to May 1928, when he attended artillery equitation school in Olomouc). From October 1931 to March 1932, he was commander of the 5th Battery of the 10th Artillery Regiment in Lučenec, and in 1932–1936 he served as commander of the 4/7 Battery of the 7th Artillery Regiment in Olomouc. In 1937, now holding the rank of major, he was the deputy commander of a division in Olomouc. In September 1937, he was transferred to the 10th Artillery Regiment in Lučenec, where he was deputy commander of the 3rd Division until November 1938 (in the meantime, he had completed a course for division commander). In November 1938, he was made division commander of the 110th Artillery Regiment, which was stationed in Čadca and Žilina, Slovakia. In late March 1939, he was charged with decommissioning the 7th Artillery Regiment in Olomouc, and in January 1940 he went into voluntary retirement. In 1939–1940, he was active in resistance activities in a group headed by Reserve Captain Hlaváč.⁵

³ Národní archiv Praha, fond: Ministerstvo zahraničních věcí – Ruská pomocná akce, Praha, karton č. 117, Hejmovský Vladimír, 1892, no. 1.

⁴ Národní archiv Praha, fond: Ministerstvo zahraničních věcí – Ruská pomocná akce, Praha, karton č. 117, Hejmovský Vladimír, 1892, no. 2, potvrzení generála Vladimira Šokorova, 27. 4. 1923.

⁵ Vojenský ústřední archiv Praha, osobní spis, SK, kartotéka, Kvalifikační listina válečná, Vladimír Hejmovský.

On 10 May 1945, Hejmovský volunteered as an interpreter for the Russian section of the Moravian Brigade in Olomouc. In May, he was made division commander of the 7th Artillery Regiment (from June to August 1945, division commander in Moravská Třebová). In August 1945 he was summoned to Bruntál, where he served as artillery commander or deputy artillery commander until January 1946. From January to March 1946, he was commander of the 1st Division of the 306th Artillery Regiment in Olomouc, and from March 1946 to February 1947 he was commander of the 1st Division of the 7th Artillery Regiment in Opava. He then returned to Olomouc, and in June 1947 began serving as division commander of the 7th Artillery Regiment in Opava, where he remained until November 1947. He retired on 1 February 1948. Hejmovský's service record describes him as follows: "Of a serious, clearly defined character with a sense of duty and responsibility. Thoughtful and enterprising. Refined behavior while in and out of uniform, with excellent social manners."⁶ Similarly, his record's description of his relationship to sports comes as no surprise: "He is a great admirer of physical exercise and a high-performing athlete in hiking, canoeing, swimming, skijöring,⁷ and especially horse racing, where he has earned a number of prizes."⁸

Equestrianism and a surprising victory at the Grand Pardubice

As indicated above, Vladimír Hejmovský had a warm relationship to sports, especially equestrianism. Besides proving his horse-riding talent during training exercises while an army officer, he also competed in races in Brno and especially in Olomouc, where he often achieved excellent results. Hejmovský was an active participant in horse racing in Czechoslovakia in the 1930s, and his retirement in 1948 allowed him to focus even more intensely on his favorite activity. One new ambition was to participate in Czechoslovakia's most celebrated horse race, the Grand Pardubice Steeplechase – naturally with the goal of placing as well as possible. To this end, he acquired the mare Stella and the filly Asja from the army in Bruntál. Asja was a highly talented horse, and Hejmovský achieved successes with her

⁶ Vojenský ústřední archiv Praha, osobní spis, SK, kartotéka, Kvalifikační listina, část II, za kvalifikační období od 15. října 1945 do 31. prosince 1945.

⁷ A form of winter sport in which a person on skis is pulled by a horse or dogs [author's note].

⁸ Vojenský ústřední archiv Praha, osobní spis, SK, kartotéka, Kvalifikační listina, část II, za kvalifikační období od 15. října 1945 do 31. prosince 1945.

Original text: „Je velkým ctitelům tělesných cvičení a výkonným sportovcem v turistice, kanoistice, plavání, skijöringu a hlavně v jezdeckých závodech. Při jezdeckých závodech dobl mnoha cen.“

from the beginning.⁹ In 1950, she was one of the best steeplechase race horses in Czechoslovakia.¹⁰ But in 1951, just a month before the great race, she was tragically killed in a collision with a motorcycle. Under these circumstances, Hejmovský accepted an offer from the pharmacist Werner of Opava to start on Werner's stallion Salvator, who was already being prepared for the race and who had competed in the previous two Grand Pardubices, placing sixth in 1950.

Hejmovský was left with little time to get to know the new horse. A week before the race, he tested the course with Salvator. Describing Hejmovský's performance in the race, his friend Jaroslav Krečmer from Hradec Králové noted: "Hejmovský's ride was a prime horse-racing experience for the viewers, who welcomed him with both astonishment and hesitation. First off, he was a complete unknown; and with his tall and skinny figure and the gray hairs of a sixty-year-old, he differed significantly from the young riders. People had little faith in him, as most conclusively confirmed by the bewildered betting agent who confided in me that only one spectator had bet on Hejmovský – his son Igor. I made the second bet."¹¹ During the race, Hejmovský exhibited a highly tactical performance. In order to eliminate the possibility of a fall, he approached the Taxis Ditch as the first competitor, and Salvator masterfully leaped over it. Hejmovský managed the other obstacles as well and kept his horse between second and fourth place. In the home stretch, Hejmovský and Salvator overtook the two leading riders to achieve an unexpected victory. Describing the atmosphere at the track, Krečmer wrote: "All the spectators in the stands rose to their feet and roared with enthusiasm, appreciating the exceptional equestrian performance of the 'old man' in whom they had placed so little faith before. He was truly a great jockey. He triumphed on someone else's horse, one that he had been working with for less than a week."¹²

⁹ Such as placing third in Olomouc in May 1948; see 12 000 diváků na klusáckých dostizích. Lidová demokracie 5, no. 109, 10. 5. 1948, p. 3.

¹⁰ Cf. Kovář P. (2011). *Velká pardubická. Příběhy z dějin, současnosti a zákulisí slavného sportu*. Praha: XYZ, p. 76.

¹¹ Kovář P. (2011). *Velká pardubická. Příběhy z dějin, současnosti a zákulisí slavného sportu*. Praha: XYZ, p. 77.

Original text: „Jízda Hejmovského byla pro diváky vrcholným jezdeckým zážitkem. Přijali ho s údivem i rozpaky. Především jim byl zcela neznám, potom se značně lišil svou vysokou a štíhlou postavou a šedinami šedesátníka od ostatních mladých jezdců. Nedůvěřovali mu, což mi nejpřekvapivěji potvrdil rozpačitý totalizátor, když mi přiznal, že na Hejmovského vsadil pouze jeden divák, to byl jeho syn Igor. Pak jsem si vsadil ještě já.“

¹² Kovář P. (2011). *Velká pardubická. Příběhy z dějin, současnosti a zákulisí slavného sportu*. Praha: XYZ, p. 79.

Original text: „Všichni diváci na tribunách vstávali a dlouho nadšeně bouřili, dovedli ocenit mimořádný jezdecký výkon, starého pána, kterému předtím nedůvěřovali. Byl to vskutku velký jezdec. Zvítězil na cizím koni, kterého si připravoval necelý týden.“

This enormous success gave Hejmovský more than a little motivation to continue his horse-racing activities. He soon acquired the thoroughbred Lovec, whom he began to prepare for races, with the goal of participating in the 1952 Grand Pardubice. Several further successes followed, including two victories. After the final races in August and early September 1952, Lovec appeared ready, and all Hejmovský had to do was to get into form for the Grand Pardubice in October. But he soon found himself caught up in the course of events. On 9 September 1952, Hejmovský was summoned to the information department of the Ministry of National Defense in Prague, from where he never returned. On 11 September, his wife received the news that Vladimír Hejmovský had committed suicide the day before by jumping from a window at the StB building on Bartolomějská Street. Shocked by the news of Hejmovský's tragic death, his wife and son asked the authorities to clarify the circumstances surrounding this terrible event. But it wasn't until 1994 that his son Igor received a partial answer, when the Office for the Documentation and Investigation of the Crimes of Communism sent him an official statement that merely confirmed that Hejmovský had been brought in to the Ministry of National Defense's information department at 10am on 9 September 1952, and at 12:45pm the following day he allegedly committed suicide by jumping from the window of the StB building at Bartolomějská 7.¹³ In 2010, a small piece of information relating to the cause of Hejmovský's death was revealed by the historian Prokop Tomek, who had been present at the 1997 testimony of Rudolf Untermüller, the StB investigator who, along with his colleague Albín Hejnek, had been guarding Hejmovský on the fourth floor of the "isolation section" on Konviktská Street, where (according to Untermüller) Hejmovský jumped from the window during lunch.¹⁴ Unfortunately, the actual circumstances of Hejmovský's death remain unclear. Vladimír Hejmovský was a member of the "White" interwar émigré community in Czechoslovakia, which the Soviet regime systematically sought to eliminate. For many Russian émigrés, the arrival of the Red Army in the former Czechoslovakia usually meant internment, often followed by death or deportation. Hejmovský's unfortunate demise in September 1952 was almost certainly related to "Operation Chameleon," during which the StB focused on Russian émigrés and the people they worked with.

¹³ Kovář P. (2011). *Velká pardubická. Příběhy z dějin, současnosti a zákulisí slavného sportu*. Praha: XYZ, p. 79.

¹⁴ Kovář P. (2011). *Velká pardubická. Příběhy z dějin, současnosti a zákulisí slavného sportu*. Praha: XYZ, pp. 79–80.

Activities in Victor

In Czechoslovakia, Vladimír Hejmovský remained a staunch opponent of Bolshevism and the Soviets' red dictatorship, as evidenced by a mention in the communist newspaper *Rudé právo* from February 1930, whose author V. Born ironically comments on a meeting of the Czech-Russian association in Brno on 4 February 1930, where Captain Vladimír Hejmovský moved to hold a financial collection for General Kutepov,¹⁵ who had been kidnapped on 26 January 1930 in Paris by agents of the Soviet Union's OGPU. Such collections were not nearly as nonsensical as *Rudé právo* made them out to be: At the time, Russian émigrés in numerous countries held fundraising drives to help finance the search for Kutepov. In addition, Kutepov's wife Lidiya Davidovna Kutepova, who was living in Prague, found herself in a difficult financial situation.¹⁶ Hejmovský clearly found it difficult to accept the Bolsheviks' victory.

Although he was a member of the Czechoslovak army, Hejmovský did not avoid community work and was involved in the patriotic education of the younger generation of Russians. In particular, his activities were associated with the Russian organization Victor (Czech: Vítěz, Russian: Витяз), which was the name of the Russian émigré scout organization, with offices in Prague and Brno. Very little information has survived on the organization's activities in Czechoslovakia and during the Protectorate. One of the few sources is from the StB files relating to Operation Chameleon, during which former members and organizers of a Victor camp were investigated in the early 1950s. One of the camp's main instructors was Vladimír Hejmovský. Considering the period in which they originated (during the peak of political trials in Czechoslovakia), these documents must be viewed with the proper amount of skepticism. The investigators' focus was on the "White Guardist" (to use the vocabulary of the communist regime) Victor camp in Milenovice near Protivín, which was described by two of the camp's participants. The first was the technical officer Michal Kovín (Kovín), the son of a Russian émigré,¹⁷ who was interrogated while serving a five-year sentence in Jáchymov for embezzlement (the interview was recorded on 22 May 1952). According to Kovín's testimony, the camp was divided into three groups. The first consisted of youth

¹⁵ Born V. (1930). Nezahyne Kutěpov na Solověckých ostrovech. *Rudé právo* 11, no. 37, 12. 2, p. 4.

¹⁶ Information from A. Kopřivová.

¹⁷ His father was probably the marriage con-artist and repeat offender Mikhail Dimitrievich Kovin; cf., e.g., Tři roky za sňatkové podvody (937). *Moravský deník* 32, no. 13, 16. 1. 1937, p. 2.

aged sixteen and younger. The second group consisted of older members, who were divided into smaller groups of no more than ten people, each with a military instructor who engaged them in military training. The heads of these groups formed the third group, whose members already had participated in several such courses and in other, specialized courses. The Chameleon report states that, "On the military front, the camp was headed by Colonel Hejmovský, who supervised the military training. Said person died this year in Prague as the result of an accident."¹⁸

In 1937–1938 the camp was located in Kaplice near České Budějovice, in 1939 it was near Křivoklát, and in 1940–1941 it was held in the aforementioned Milenovice. While being interrogated in Jáchymov on 22 May 1952,¹⁹ Michal Kovín remarked of Vladimír Hejmovský: "He is a former Russian aristocrat, and served as a colonel in the Czechoslovak army in Olomouc, where he was commander of an artillery regiment. During the war, he was employed in the office of Dr. Andreev in Prague, Fenix Palace, Wenceslas Square."²⁰ He was a camp leader at the camp in Milenovice, where he organized military training. I heard from Leonid Víra that during the war Hejmovský recruited Russian émigrés into the German army."²¹ According to Kovín, one participant in the Victor camp was the former aristocrat Karel Schwarzenberg (a prince from the Schwarzenbergs' Orlik branch), who also supported the camp with pork and other foodstuffs from his estate. In addition, the camp's participants dug trenches in Schwarzenberg's forests and its leaders would visit him at Orlik for feasts. Schwarzenberg held various meetings at his chateau in Protivín that were attended by the camp's leaders.²²

On 26 April 1952, the StB's Regional Command in Brno began its investigation of Vladimír Hejmovský.²³ The StB subsequently determined that Hejmovský had lived in Brno in 1924–1932, and that in 1924 his mother Helena Hejmovská had moved from Moscow to be with him. His wife Lidiya (Lydie), with whom he

¹⁸ Archiv bezpečnostních složek Praha, OB-4BN, všeobecný svazek: Chameleon, Brno, report on group file Chameleon, no. 3.

Original text: „Po stránce vojenské byl vedoucí tábora plk. Hejmovský, který dohlížel na vojenský výcvik. Jmenovaný zemřel t. r. v Praze následkem úrazu.“

¹⁹ The date on the document is 22. 5. 1951, which is probably a typo.

²⁰ The Fenix Palace was the headquarters for a number of other Russian émigré organizations [author's note].

²¹ Archiv bezpečnostních složek Praha, OB-4BN, všeobecný svazek: Chameleon, Brno, minutes of testimony of Michal Kovín, Jáchymov, 22. 5. 1951 [1952?], no. 13.

²² Archiv bezpečnostních složek Praha, OB-4BN, všeobecný svazek: Chameleon, Brno, minutes of testimony of Michal Kovín, Jáchymov, 22. 5. 1951 [1952?], no. 12.

²³ Archiv bezpečnostních složek Praha, OB-4BN, všeobecný svazek: Chameleon, Brno, Ministerstvo národní bezpečnosti – velitelství státní bezpečnosti, Brno, 26. 4. 1952, no. 44.

had a son Igor (born 1931), was investigated as well. Until 1930, Hejmovský's household also included his brother Viktor, who moved to Bratislava that year.²⁴ Over the following months, the StB continued to take an ever closer look at Hejmovský's past. It found that, while he was an officer in Brno, he was also a member of an officers' battalion of the Russian army under the leadership of General Leontiy Viktorovich Temnikov (1881–1944), who died in Brno on 30 April 1944.²⁵ The group, which also included former general Sergei Nikolaevich Voytsekhovskiy (1883–1951), was focused on fighting communism.²⁶

The investigation continued even after Hejmovský's mysterious death in September 1952. On 14 May 1953, agent "Xavera" (code 22411) testified about Hejmovský: "His wife was the tsarist aristocrat Lidiya Ivanovna, who was a doctor at St. Anne's. The Hejmovský family organized large feasts at their home, where the 'better' classes of Russian émigré society met. One such person was Dr. Vi[s]sarionov. Otherwise, the Hejmovský family had no assets, and everything they had in their home belonged to the army. They lived with his mother, who was German, and Hejmovský's father was a Pole, of Polish ethnicity."²⁷ Further information was provided to the StB by Tařána Jandová (whose father was the Russian émigré Vladimir Vasilievich Fotiev) on 26 May 1953. Jandová stated that had been a member of the Russian "White Guardist" organization NORM (National Organization of Russian Youth), which she had joined in 1942 (when she also spent two months at the camp in Milenovice). According to her testimony, the political arm of NORM was run by a Kovalevský/Kovalevsky [misspelled in the text as Kavalevský], while military training was led by Colonel Hejmovský.

²⁴ Archiv bezpečnostních složek Praha, OB-4BN, všeobecný svazek: Chameleon, Brno, report on the state of Hejmovský's home and family, 1952, no. 47.

²⁵ Leonid Viktorovich Temnikov's family in Czechoslovakia included his brother Georgy Viktorovich Temnikov (1879–1929) and two sisters: Margarita Viktorovna Voytsekhovskaya (1884–1965), who was the wife of General Sergei Nikolaevich Voytsekhovskiy, and Yelizaveta Viktorovna Nesterova (1890–1975). Two other brothers, Mitrofan and Antony, died in 1918 and 1920. See personal archive of A. Kopřivová.

²⁶ Archiv bezpečnostních složek Praha, OB-4BN, všeobecný svazek: Chameleon, Brno, record dated 17. 6. 1952, no. 68.

²⁷ Archiv bezpečnostních složek Praha, OB-4BN, všeobecný svazek: Chameleon, Brno, report from IN dated 14. 5. 1953, no. 121.

Original text: „Za manželku měl carskou šlechtičnu Lidii Ivanovnu, která byla jako lékařka u sv. Anny. Rodina Hejmovských pořádala ve svém bytě velké hostiny, kde se scházela tzv. lepší ruská emigrace. Docházel tam i MUDr. Vi[s]sarionov. Jinak rodina Hejmovských neměla žádného majetku a všechno, co měli v bytě, patřilo armádě. Společně s nimi žila jeho matka, která byla Němka a otec Hejmovského byl Polák, polské národnosti.“

On the relationship between NORM and Victor, Jandová remarked: “As to the composition of ‘NORM,’ I should point out that the camp as such was called ‘NORM,’ but the members of the group were called ‘VICTORITES’ because they would say I am going to ‘VICTOR,’ not I am going to NORM.”²⁸ The political activities at the camp were aimed against the USSR, the tsarist order was praised, and there were lectures on the leaders of the White Guardist armies. According to Jandová, the lectures claimed that the Germans would win the war against the USSR and the tsarist regime would be reinstated. She described the military training at the camp as follows: “Corporal Hejmovský came [to the camp] for military training. He supervised the drill which the second group had already done, and taught us field orientation using a compass and dead reckoning. He led this training through instructors. Its aim was to train the individual members against the ‘[b]olsheviks’ – in battle, if necessary.”²⁹ The activities of the alleged NORM organization, Jandová claimed, were guided from Prague and were led in Brno by Dr. Vissarionov [erroneously spelled Visarionov] and his partner Tamara Vírová.

Although Taťána Jandová’s testimony claims that the Russian organization NORM (НОРМ, Национальная организация русской молодёжи) was active in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia in 1942, it is highly unlikely that this was so. It seems far more likely that, during the interrogation (or consciously due to some kind of manipulation on the part of the interrogators), the organization’s name was mixed up with the acronym of another organization. NORM was not founded until 1944 in Germany, and it is far more logical that the organization in question was the Russian scouting organization NORS (НОРС, Национальная организация русских скаутов), which had been founded by Russian émigrés in France in 1920, and which operated in Prague and Brno under the name Victor (Вítěz/Витяз). But the version with NORM suited the Czechoslovak regime in the early 1950s, since that organization was the Russian national socialist counterpart to the Nazis’ Hitlerjugend.

²⁸ Archiv bezpečnostních složek Praha, OB-4BN, všeobecný svazek: Chameleon, Brno, minutes of testimony of Taťána Jandová, 26. 5. 1953, no. 138.

Original text: „Ke složení organizace „NORM“ upozorňuji, že tábor jako takový se jmenoval „NORM“, ale členové skupin byli zvaní „VÍTĚZOVCI“, to proto, že se říkalo, já jdu do „VÍTĚZU“, a ne do „NORMU.“

²⁹ Archiv bezpečnostních složek Praha, OB-4BN, všeobecný svazek: Chameleon, Brno, minutes of testimony of Taťána Jandová, 26. 5. 1953, no. 138.

Original text: „Z hlediska vojenského výcviku tam dojížděl plk. Hejmovský. Dohlížel na pořadový výcvik, který již prováděla druhá skupina, učil nás orientaci v terénu pomocí kompasu a odhadu. Tento výcvik řídil prostřednictvím instruktorů. Tento výcvik směřoval k tomu, aby jednotliví členové byli vychováni proti [b]olševikům v případě nutnosti, pro boj.“

Conclusion

The documents from the StB's "Chameleon" file offer new information about why Vladimír Hejmovský, a former officer in the tsarist army and subsequently a lieutenant colonel in the White Army and major in the Czechoslovak army, was detained and quite possibly physically eliminated in 1952. The exact circumstances of his death in September 1952 will probably never be determined. Only the two previously mentioned StB investigators could say for sure. Nevertheless, the investigation of "Operation Chameleon" shows that the StB focused on Hejmovský because he was a lead instructor at the Russian scouting organization Victor in Czechoslovakia. As an anti-Bolshevik, a critic of the Soviet regime, and a former member of the tsarist army, Hejmovský was too inconvenient for the Czechoslovak regime. The relative calm that Hejmovský enjoyed after the arrival of the Red Army and during the first postwar years had probably been the result of his services in the Czechoslovak resistance in the Olomouc region during the Second World War. But when the political trials of the early 1950s unearthed testimony that recalled Hejmovský's anti-Bolshevik activities and his involvement with the Victor scouting organization, the communist regime "had" to act. In the postwar years, State Security frequently came up with false claims regarding some kind of association with the Germans, and the otherwise unfounded information that Hejmovský (a member of the Czechoslovak resistance) had helped to recruit Russian émigrés for the Germany army would appear to be just this kind of falsehood. The fact that Vladimír Hejmovský was no anonymous Russian émigré or "mere" retired officer, but that he was relatively well known thanks to his victory in the 1951 Grand Pardubice, almost certainly played a role as well – and so he had to be removed by the totalitarian regime. The involvement of Soviet intelligence agencies in his case nevertheless remains an open question.

The Polish Club in Prague (1887–2020)¹

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Baron, R. – Madecki, R. (2021). The Polish Club in Prague (1887–2020). *Czech-Polish Historical and Pedagogical Journal*, 13/2021/1, 24–43.

<https://doi.org/10.5817/cphpj-2021-003>

The essay presents a synthesizing glimpse into the relatively long tradition of Polish associational life in Prague (on the example of the Polish Club), which was violently interrupted during the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia (1940) and restored after the Velvet Revolution in Czechoslovakia (1991). Today's Polish Club in Prague directly succeeds an organisation of the same name that originated under the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy (1887). It is widely regarded as the representative and speaker of all Poles permanently living in the capitol in the Czech Republic or in its immediate vicinity. It plays this role towards the state and local authorities (in particular the City of Prague Magistrate) as well as the Polish representative office in the Czech Republic, i.e. the Embassy of the Republic of Poland in Prague (including its Consular Department). The activities and attitudes of the Polish Club in Prague have thus never been without significance in terms of the development of Czech-Polish relations – in particular with regard to the cultural social contacts, mutual recognition of both neighbouring nations or overcoming the negative heterostereotypes.

Key words: *Polish Club in Prague; Czech-Polish cultural relations; associational life in Prague; Polish studies in Prague*

State of the research

The outcomes of the existing research on the history of the Polish Club in Prague can be referred to as insufficient. Although it is not an entirely unexplored area (whether within research on the history of the Poles in the Czech Lands or history of the Czech-Polish cultural and social relations), the findings are limited to a mere factual description with numerous gaps or unanswered questions. The first

¹ The paper was prepared as part of grant funded project: *Česká univerzitní polonistika do roku 1939 (od polonofilství k systematickému bádání o dějinách polského jazyka a literatury) / Czech University Polish Studies before 1939 (from Polonophilia to systematic research on the Polish language and literature)*, Grantová agentura České republiky / The Czech Science Foundation, No. 19-09017S.

chronological reference to the Club's operation in the inter-war period is provided in an unpublished dissertation, which its author Jacek Doliwa defended in 1985 at Jan Evangelista Purkyně University in Brno. This work aims at associations of Czechoslovak-Polish mutuality.² When the newly established Polish Club in Prague (1991) drew attention to its existence by issuing the brochure *Klub Polski w Pradze* (1992), J. Doliwa described to the readers the surprisingly long and turbulent history of the club.³ In his presentation, he covered the entire operation of the club (1887–1940). The following works included valuable scientific articles by the Club female functionaries – Ewa Klosová and Alina Střížencová.⁴ A brief characteristic was provided in the form of an encyclopaedic entry in a lexicon of the Poles in the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic by Zenon Jasiński from the University of Opole (a leading Polish researcher on the history of Polish clubs in the Czech lands, Czech education in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia and Polish education in Cieszyn Silesia). Unlike Doliwa, he focused on the initial period of the Club's operation, i.e. until the beginning of World War I.⁵ Conversely, Ondřej Klipa focused his thesis on an analysis of the post-November development in the Polish Club as regards collective identity of the Prague Poles.⁶ The Polonist Roman Madecki from Masaryk University in Brno concentrated on the Club's most recent issues in a broadly conceived synoptic essay.⁷ An encyclopaedic

² Library of the Faculty of Arts, Masaryk University, Brno. Doliwa, J. (1985). *Polsko-československé kulturní vztahy v letech 1925–1934 v činnosti organizací polsko-československé vzájemnosti [Polish-Czechoslovak cultural relations between 1925 and 1934 in activities of Polish-Czechoslovak mutuality organizations]*. Brno: Jan Evangelista Purkyně University.

³ Doliwa, J. (1992). Polish Club in Prague – a historical sketch. In *Klub Polski w Pradze*. Praga: Stowarzyszenie Klub Polski w Pradze.

⁴ Klosová, E. (1997). Z dějin Klubu Polskiego w Pradze od powstania do rozwiązania (1887–1940). In *Klub Polski w Pradze 1887–1997*. Praga: Klub Polski w Pradze, p. 10–15; Střížencová, A. (2007). Klub Polski w Pradze i jego korzenie (1887–1918). In W. Adamiec, B. Kučera (Eds.), *120 lat Klubu Polskiego w Pradze*. Praha: Klub Polski w Pradze, pp. 12–16.

⁵ Jasiński, Z. (2012). Klub Polski w Pradze (1885–1940). In Z. Jasiński, B. Cimała (Eds.), *Leksykon Polaków w Republice Czeskiej i Republice Słowackiej*, vol. I. Opole: Instytut Nauk Pedagogicznych Uniwersytetu Opolskiego, pp. 125–127. Cf. Jasiński, Z. (1999/2000). Działalność organizacji polskich w Pradze na przełomie XIX i XX wieku. *Annales Universitatis Mariae Curie-Skłodowska, Sectio F – Historia*, pp. 297–316.

⁶ Klipa, O. (2004). *Kolektivní identita Poláků v Praze a její rozdílné varianty [Collective identity of the Poles in Prague and its distinct variants]*. Prague: Institute of Ethnology, Faculty of Arts of Charles University, thesis; idem (2005). Polish ethnic minority in Prague and issues of the young generation. *Lidé města / Urban People*, no. 1, pp. 52–74.

⁷ Madecki, R. (2017). To the legacy of the Poles in Prague. In R. Baron, M. Michalska (Eds.), *Śladami Polaków w Pradze (XIX–XXI wiek). Szkice i portrety historyczno-literackie*, Praga: Klub Polski w Pradze, pp. 329–354.

entry that served as a basis for preparation of the current essay is now in print.⁸ Despite the mentioned partial attempts, the theme remains very insufficiently mapped. It lacks deeper dive into the archive materials, embedding the explored issues in broad contemporary contexts or interdisciplinary interpretation of the already obtained findings. Let us remember that up to now, there has been no work for foreign researchers to whom the Czech and Polish languages are an insurmountable barrier.

Predecessors (The Bond, Polish Association / Polish Circle, Polish Society)

The tradition of modern associational activities of the Polish community in Prague dates back to the second half of the 19th century. The adoption of the Law on Voluntary Association (Law No. 134/1867)⁹ allowed a comprehensive development of associational life in Cisleithania. Associations of Prague Poles, but also Prague Polonophile-minded or Slavophile-minded Czechs were also facilitated by a positive attitude of the liberal part of the Czech society towards the Polish nation. The so-called second wave of these sentiments arrived with the January Uprising in a territory annexed by Russia although after the Austro-Hungarian Compromise, the Czech and Polish policies began to diverge strongly within the Habsburg Monarchy.¹⁰ It is a fact that the sufficient number of Poles living in Prague and their social structure (officials, tradesmen, freelance businesses, students) fulfilled the basic conditions for development of fully-fledged associational activities.

Although the present *Klub Polski w Pradze* [Polish Club in Prague] has for a long time directly embodied the associational life of the local Polish community, it is far from being the oldest Polish organisation in the City of Prague. This primacy belongs to the *Ogniwo* [Bond] student association, which unified Polish students of Prague universities (in particular the Czech Polytechnic Institute of the Kingdom

⁸ Baron, R. (2020). Klub Polski in Prague. In J. Pánek (Ed.), *Akademická encyklopedie českých dějin* [Academic Encyclopaedia of Czech History], vol. VI (H/1–K/1). Prague: Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, pp. 439–443.

⁹ Malý, K. (2017). The 150th anniversary of the December Constitution. *Právněhistorické studie* [Legal historical studies] vol. 47, no. 2, p. 63.

¹⁰ Lehr-Splawiński, T. – Piwarski, K. – Wojciechowski, Z. (1947). *Polska Czechy. Dziesięć wieków sąsiedztwa*, Katowice – Wrocław: Instytut Śląski, pp. 242–243; Žáček, V. (1967). The 1863 Polish Uprising and second wave of Czech Polonophilia. In V. Žáček (Ed.), *Češi a Poláci v minulosti* [Czechs and Poles in the past], vol. II, Prague: Czechoslovakia Academy of Sciences, pp. 254–259; Wihoda, M. – Řezník, M. – Friedl, J. (2017). A thousand-year story of one difficult neighbourhood. In J. Friedl – T. Jurek – M. Řezník – M. Wihoda, *Dějiny Polska* [History of Poland]. Prague: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, p. 603.

of Bohemia) from 1869 until 1871. The first chairman was Dominik Zbrożek, the second Szczepan Maciejowski (both from the Czech Polytechnics), the third Zbrożek again. *Ogniwo* concentrated on lectures on historical topics. The members' interest in political events in Europe probably contributed to problems with approving new statutes and subsequently to rapid termination of the associational activities.¹¹

Another Polish association of compatriots in Prague, *Stowarzyszenie Polskie w Pradze* [Polish Association in Prague], which was established in 1880 and operated also under the name *Kółko Polskie* or *Koło Polskie* [Polish Circle] did not last very long either.¹² Unlike the previous association, the members were not primarily students but officials, self-employed persons, businessmen, engineers or tradesmen. The significance of Polish-Czech friendship and cooperation for members of the mentioned association can also be documented by the name of its first chairman. He was the well-known Young Czech politician and Polonophile Emanuel Tonner (1829–1900), author of brochures *Češi a Poláci* [The Czechs and the Poles] (1863) and *Slovo upřímné k Polákům a Rusům* [An Honest Word with the Poles and Russians] (1871).¹³ Yet, he was not the only Polonophile-oriented Czech in this organization. The other representatives included Josef Barák (1833–1883),¹⁴ the *Národní listy* editor, Edvard Jelínek (1855–1897),¹⁵ the future vice-chairman of the association, editor of *Slovanský sborník* and untiring promoter of Polish culture in the Czech milieu and Czech culture in the Polish milieu, František Hovorka (1857–1917),¹⁶ member of the committee, journalist, translator and publisher (he published *Knihovna česko-polská* [Czech-Polish Library]) and Celestýn Liposlav Frič, a publicist and translator (he translated *With Fire and Sword* by Henryk Sienkiewicz).¹⁷

¹¹ Jasiński, Z. (2017). *Ogniwo – pierwsza polska organizacja w Pradze (1869–1871)*. In *Śladami Polaków w Pradze (XIX–XXI wiek)*, pp. 137–139.

¹² Jasiński, Z. (2017). *Stowarzyszenie Polskie w Pradze (1880–1884)*. In *Śladami Polaków w Pradze (XIX–XXI wiek)*, pp. 140–144.

¹³ Baron, R. (2009). *Między Polską i Czechami. W optyce historyka z Brna*, Toruń: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, pp. 186–194.

¹⁴ Žáček, V. (1955). Czech-Polish revolutionary collaboration in the 1860s. In M. Kudělka (Ed.), *Česko-polský sborník vědeckých prací* [Czech-Polish collection of scientific works], vol. I, Prague: Státní pedagogické nakladatelství, pp. 465–466.

¹⁵ Walasek, S. (2010). Polish-Czech Dialogue in the 19th Century and at the start of the 20th Century. In *Czech-Polish Historical and Pedagogical Journal*, vol. 2, pp. 5–6.

¹⁶ Svadbová, B. (1993). František Ladislav Hovorka. In V. Forst (Ed.), *Lexikon české literatury: osobnosti, díla, instituce*, vol. 2/1 (H–J). Prague: Academia, pp. 302–303.

¹⁷ Baron, R. (2011), *Rzecz o niektórych związkach Henryka Sienkiewicza z Czechami*. I. Hofman, W. Maguś (Eds.), *Przez Kresy i historię po obrzeża polityki*. Prof. Marcelemu Kosmanowi w półwiecze pracy naukowej, Toruń: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, p. 30.

All of them also actively participated in organisation of lectures on the history or literature (the Polish January Uprising, Poland in Czech poetry, travel pictures from Poland or Polish theatre review). One of the lectures concerned Czech-Polish relations and their significance in political life of the Polish nobility in the 15th century (presented by Dr. Czesław Koryciński). Most listeners were attracted by a social evening dedicated to Adam Mickiewicz whose works (in Czech translation) were narrated by Prague actors. The programme also included music by Fryderyk Chopin, Henryk Wieniawski and Bedřich Smetana (28 November 1880). However, Polish culture in the Czech milieu was more importantly promoted by events organized by *Umělecká beseda* in Prague.¹⁸

Besides Tonner, who was elected the chairman twice, the Polish Club, or the Polish Circle was chaired by doctor Karol Chodouński, doctor Ignacy Szpadkowski and Teodor Jeske-Choiński (1854–1920), a young journalist, literary critic and writer (author of many historical novels)¹⁹ who studied philosophy at Charles-Ferdinand University in Prague. The association resided in Betlémské náměstí in the flat of the official Władysław Obertyński where regular meetings were held. Due to a significant decline in the membership base and gradual phasing-out of the activities, the remaining members decided to dissolve the Association and join their forces with the second existing Polish association of compatriots in Prague (1884).²⁰

This second organisation was *Ognisko Polskie w Pradze* [Polish Society in Prague], which was established in 1881 and provably operated until 1912. Although it was never formally cancelled, we can assume that it effectively disappeared at the beginning of World War I (most of the members came from a territory annexed by Russia, thus being expelled from Austria-Hungary at that time). The Polish Society pursued the same goals as the previous associations of Polish compatriots in Prague. This included the maintenance and spread of the Polish language, literature and history through cultural events, mutual support of the members and contributions to the Polish-Czech mutuality.²¹

The first chairman from the total of 23 was Count Zygmunt Antoni Potulicki-Skórczewski (1851–1911) who temporarily resided in Prague with his mother (he came from Greater Poland). The other chairmen included Andrzej Obrzut

¹⁸ Bečka, J. (1967). Relations in the cultural sphere in the second half of the 90th and early 20th centuries. In *Češi a Poláci v minulosti* [Czechs and Poles in the past], vol. II, p. 399.

¹⁹ Štěpán, L. (2000). Jeske-Choiński Teodor. In: Štěpán (Ed.), *Slovník polských spisovatelů*. [Dictionary of Polish writers]. Prague: Nakladatelství Libri, pp. 217–218; Markiewicz, H. (2004). *Pozytywizm*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, pp. 458–459.

²⁰ Jasiński, Z. (2017). *Stowarzyszenie Polskie w Pradze (1880–1884)*, pp. 141–144.

²¹ Jasiński, Z. (2017). *Ognisko Polskie w Pradze (1881–1915)*. In *Śladami Polaków w Pradze (XIX–XXI wiek)*, pp. 145–155.

(professor of medicine at the Czech Charles-Ferdinand University), Władysław Florjański (1854–1911), which was a pseudonym of the Prague National Theatre soloist Florian Koman/Kohmann²² who was elected several times, Adolf Černý (1864–1952) – one of the best-known Czech Polonophiles, creator and editor of *Slovanský přehled* journal and teacher of Polish at the Czech Charles-Ferdinand University,²³ Jaroslav Rozvoda (1869–1920) – Polish belles-lettres publicist and translator, e.g. *Quo Vadis* by Sienkiewicz²⁴, Bořivoj Prusík (1872–1928) – librarian and translator of Russian, Polish and English belles-lettres and scientific literature (e.g. the *History of Polish Literature* by Aleksander Brückner²⁵) who was one of the main initiators of the establishment, then engineers Juliusz Pinkus and Władysław Królikowski and lawyer Waclaw Bielicki. In 1911 (the 30th anniversary of the establishment), Ignacy Jan Paderewski (1860–1941) was elected honorary chairman of the Polish Society. He was a renowned pianist and later a leading politician in the restored Polish state who initiated and financed the Grunwald Memorial in Krakow, which commemorated the 500th anniversary of Polish-Lithuanian victory over the German Teutonic Order in the Battle of Grunwald.²⁶ Another honorary member of the Polish Society (also of the Polish National Museum in Rapperswil, Switzerland) was František Alois Hora (1838–1916) – member of the Plzeň city council, teacher, writer, playwright, author of specialized essays and German and Polish translator (works by Eliza Orzeszkowa, Józef Ignacy Kraszewski, Bronisław Grabowski or Gabriela Zapolska). He also compiled two dictionaries: *Kapesní slovník polsko-český* (*Polsko-czeski słownik kieszonkowy* [Pocket Polish-Czech Dictionary]; Prague 1890) and *Kapesní slovník česko-polský* [Pocket Czech-Polish Dictionary] (Prague 1902).²⁷ The latter (after the author's death)

²² Raszewski, Z. et al. (1973). *Słownik biograficzny teatru polskiego (1765–1965)*. Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, p. 170.

²³ Chodějovský, J. (2014). Adolf Černý (1864–1952). In R. Baron, R. Madecki et al., *Česká polonistická studia: tradice a současnost (filologie – historie – politologie – právo)* [Polish Studies in the Czech Lands: tradition and the present (philology – history – political science – law)]. Prague: Institute of History of the CAS, pp. 392–398.

²⁴ Sobotková, M. (2003). Recepcja powieści Henryka Sienkiewicza *Quo vadis* w środowisku czeskim. In L. Ludorowski, H. Ludorowska, Z. Mokranowska (Eds.), *Sienkiewicz – pamięć i współczesność*, *Studia Sienkiewiczowskie*, vol. III. Lublin: Towarzystwo im. Henryka Sienkiewicza, pp. 82–83.

²⁵ Kardyni-Pelikánová, K. (2017). „Čechy krásné, Čechy mé...“. *Czeska i polska literatura we wzajemnych interakcjach. Miscellanea literaturoznawcze: eseje, studia, szkice*. Brno: Masaryk University, p. 105.

²⁶ Wapiński, R. (2009). *Ignacy Paderewski*. Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy imienia Ossolińskich, p. 73–78.

²⁷ Grave of F. A. Hora in Pilsen. Cf. Svatoňová, I. (1993). František Alois Hora. In *Lexikon české literatury*, vol. 2/1, pp. 258–259.

served in the teaching of basic Czech vocabulary to Prof. Marian Szykowski, creator of the Czech institutional Polish studies (immediately before his arrival at Charles University in Prague in 1923).²⁸ The honorary membership was also granted to the above-mentioned J. Rozvoda (1903).²⁹

The Polish Society membership was not very high – from 22 (in 1897) to 76 (in 1909) persons. The main activities involved lectures, literary and music evenings, trips and celebrations of selected anniversaries in the Polish history (victory of John III Sobieski over the Ottoman Turks in the Battle of Vienna 1683 or ratification of the Constitution of 3 May 1791). The Polish Society had its own library and in 1906, it initiated the creation of a separate association *Czytelnia Polska w Pradze* [Polish Reading Room in Prague]. The associational life was not exclusively a male affair. Its operation was also continuously managed by women, for example Maria Knauerová who looked after the library. In a programme dedicated to Mickiewicz's creation, the Warsaw female pianist Helena Hermanowa with Józefa and Malwina Drescler gave a performance together with Adolf Černý (1884). In 1910, students organized the Congress of Polish Student Organisations in Bohemia, which was attended by the Polish Society in Prague, Association of Polish Students in Přebram and Association of Polish Academics in Tábor. Unfortunately, the 30th anniversary of the Polish Society was also its swan song.³⁰

The Polish Club under the Habsburg Monarchy (1887–1918)

On the one hand, the significant personal interconnection of almost all Polish associations of compatriots in Prague contributed to their mutual cooperation and support, but on the other hand, it reflected personal ambitions and efforts to enforce separate interests or schemes. The demise of the Polish Association (1884) and the initial years of the Polish Society (1881–1884) prompted the idea of establishing another Polish organisation in Prague (1885). Stanisław Ryszard Towarnicki (a financial officer), one of the founders of the Polish Association (1880) and future secretary of Polish Society (1881) was the main initiator of the establishment of *Klub Polski w Pradze* [Polish Club in Prague]. He also became its first chairman (1887–1890, 1897–1899). Together with him, the new organization was co-established

²⁸ Baron, R. (2019). *Misja życia. Praski polonista Marian Szykowski (1883–1952) a idea polsko-czeskiego zbliżenia na polu kultury*. Warszawa–Praga: Tadeusz Manteuffel Institute of History of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Institute of History of the Czech Academy of Sciences, p. 51.

²⁹ Jasiński, Z. (1999/2000). *Działalność organizacji polskich w Pradze na przełomie XIX i XX*, p. 309.

³⁰ Jasiński, Z. (2017). *Ognisko Polskie w Pradze (1881–1915)*, pp. 151–154.

by Maurycy Knauer (treasurer), Oskar Echaust (committee member), Edward Scholz (vice-chairman), Juliusz Karpas (secretary), Mariusz Dembiński (librarian), Adolf Bertoth and Kazimierz Korestenski (audit committee members). The statutes were approved on 17 January 1887. The general assembly (36 persons) took place in U Bonů restaurant on 2 February the same year. The meeting was accompanied by a rich cultural programme (concert, poem recitation, Polish dinner, dance).³¹ The goals did not much differ from those set up by other Polish organizations in Prague, which might suggest that any potential differences only involved the personnel level. Yet, there was one significant difference after all: The Club had a purely Polish character, which distinguished it from its “Polish-Czech” predecessors.

One of the first events was a literary evening dedicated to the just deceased writer Józef Ignacy Kraszewski (18/04/1887). The requiem mass was served in the Church of St. Adalbert in New Town, Prague at the impulse of the Polish Club.³² We should emphasise that Kraszewski’s prose was well known to Czech readers and that it cleared the path to their spontaneous adoption of Sienkiewicz’s novels. According to Jelínek, Kraszewski’s work was a primary source of knowledge and understanding of the Polish nation in the existing Czech milieu. Another Czech Polonophile – the famous writer, journalist and politician Josef Václav Frič (1829–1890) – highlighted the importance of this novelist through literary depiction of the Polish history and emphasising systematic work for his homeland.³³ The U Libuše summer theatre (today’s Švanda Theatre in Smíchov) prepared the performance of *Mentor* by Jan Aleksander Fredro (07/05/1887), son of the renowned Polish playwright Aleksander Fredro. Translator Jiří Bittner (1846–1903), actor of the Provisional Theatre and then the National Theatre, named this comedy *Stará liška nad mladou* because one performance of the mentioned name had already been played on the Czech stages. The author accepted this change with understanding when he met J. Bittner at the Anglický dvůr Hotel in Poříčí, coincidentally on a fateful day for the National Theatre (12 August 1881).³⁴

³¹ Doliwa, J. (1992). *Polský klub v Praze – historický náčrt* [Polish Club in Prague – a historical sketch] without pagination.

³² Jasiński, Z. (2012). *Klub Polski w Pradze (1885–1940)*, p. 125; [Jaxa-Rožen, K.] (Ed.). *Klub Polski w Pradze 1887–1997*. Praga: Klub Polski w Pradze 1997, p. 65.

³³ Kardyni-Pelikánová, K. (1975). *Kontakty literackie polsko-czeskie w dobie powstania styczniowego*. Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk: Zakład Narodowy imienia Ossolińskich, p. 76.

³⁴ Jasiński, Z. (2012). Klub Polski w Pradze (1885–1940), p. 125; Švanda Theatre. In Česká divadelní encyklopedie http://encyklopedie.idu.cz/index.php/%C5%A0vandovo_divadlo (06/08/2020); Bittner, J. (1894). *Z mých paměti* [From my Memoir]. Prague: F. Šimáček, p. 293–294.

Very soon, the club Treasury of Mutual Assistance, a library counting 352 volumes and a reading room with Polish press (mainly from Galicia, but also from Chicago) were created. The most popular events involved literary evenings for the Club members and their families. Each year, events dedicated to the life and work of A. Mickiewicz took place, the most festive being related to the transport of the poet's mortal remains from Paris to Krakow (5 July 1890). Władysław Florjański (former, but also future chairman of the Polish Society) presented passages from *Master Thaddeus, or the Last Foray in Lithuania* in his mother tongue. Maria Bogucka, Florjański's colleague from the National Theatre in Prague, also took active part in many club events. However, the greatest uproar and excitement was caused by the performance of the famous Polish actress Helena Modrzejewska (29 March and 2 May 1891) who arrived in Prague from the United States and acted in six roles during 11 theatre performances at the National Theatre.³⁵

Every week, the members gathered to listen to reading from the work of Polish writers (e.g. Deluge by Sienkiewicz). They were also united in the main Catholic holidays and the inevitable Polish traditions such as "święcony" (traditional Easter breakfast), "wigilijka" (a Christmas party) of "opłatek" (a Christmas wafer). The historical memory and awareness of the individual members and the entire community were deepened by festivals commemorating Kościuszko Uprising or the Constitution of 3 May ratification. The Club also backed Poles arriving in Prague to see the beauty of the city or visit the General Land Centennial Exhibition in 1891.³⁶ It also promoted the performance of Moniuszko's *Halka* at the National Theatre (1898). While its 1868 premiere was met with relative coolness from the Czech audience in particular due to political reasons (which also applied to a repeated performance attended by Moniuszko who had arrived with a Polish delegation to participate in the ceremonious laying of the National Theatre cornerstone), at the end of the 19th century, *Halka* became popular in Prague and had 11 reruns.³⁷ The associational life systematically encountered financial

³⁵ Jasiński, Z. (2012). *Klub Polski w Pradze (1885–1940)*, p. 126; *Słownik biograficzny teatru polskiego (1765–1965)*, p. 43; Černý, F. (2000). *Kapitoly z dějin českého divadla* [Chapters from the history of the Czech theatre]. Prague: Academia, p. 155–159.

³⁶ Cf. Ďurčanský, M. – Kodera, P. (2005). Guests from Galicia. The Poles and Ruthenians at the Prague General Land Centennial Exhibition in 1891. In *Čas výstavního ruchu: studie a materiály*. České Budějovice: University of South Bohemia, Institute of History in cooperation with NTP, p. 40–74.

³⁷ Pelikán, J. (1969). From the Czech-Polish theatre relations. *Sborník prací filozofické fakulty brněnské univerzity* [Anthology of works of the Faculty of Arts, Brno University], series D, p. 10; Bečka, J. (1967). *Styky a vztahy v oblasti kultury* [Relations in the area of culture], pp. 421–422.

limits because the Club had incomes only from the membership fees and the Club events. Moreover, the Club tried to support its Prague compatriots who found themselves in financial difficulties. A kindergarten established in 1899 for twenty-two Polish children was soon closed due to the financial reasons. The association had no permanent seat. The members had meetings and general meetings in places like the Nusle Pub, U Vocolků restaurant, Platteis Hotel or in Svatováclavská záložna. Besides S. Towarnicki, the chairman's position was held by Jan Matusz, Mieczysław Twardowski, Oskar Echaust, Władysław Królikowski and Kazimierz Hofman. The number of members varied between 48 (1887) and 74 (1892), which means that the Club had its steady supporters, but did not expand in number.³⁸

During the First World War, the associational activities dramatically changed into full concentration on the charity. The Club provided facilities for a kitchen, which gave food to Polish war refugees from Galicia, collected funds for the poor and provided its books to wounded soldiers in the hospitals. After all, many Club members had served during a war in the Austro-Hungarian army.³⁹ Given the relatively large number of people who ran before the Russian army to the Czech Lands (nearly 11 thousand in 1917 in Prague alone), the assistance provided by the Polish Club was literally a drop in the sea. The responsibility in this matter was assumed by the newly established Committee for Polish Refugees (*Komitet Uchodźców Polskich*), which operated in Prague between 1916 and 1918 under the leadership of Klemens Dąbrowski (1869–1953), a Benedictine monk from the Emmaus Monastery. Most assistance to compatriots without home or resources was provided by the Poles, but there were also Czech people who were not indifferent to this suffering. To name a few, let us mention Jaroslav Rozvoda, an honorary member of the Polish Society in Prague, František Hovorka, committee member of the Polish Circle, Karel Šafránek and his wife, Jaroslav Bidlo⁴⁰, a university professor and one of the first Czech researchers on the history of Poland or the priests Antonín Petr, Ludomír Petr, Josef Švejcár and František Ohera.⁴¹

³⁸ Jasiński, Z. (2012). *Klub Polski w Pradze (1885–1940)*, p. 126.

³⁹ Ibidem, pp. 126–127.

⁴⁰ Ďurčanský, M. (2014). Jaroslav Bidlo (1868–1937). *Česká polonistická studia: tradice a současnost* [Polish Studies in the Czech Lands: tradition and the present], pp. 383–388.

⁴¹ Maziarz, A. (2014). Komitet Uchodźców Polskich (1916–1918) w Pradze. In Z. Jasiński, B. Cimała (Eds.), *Leksykon Polaków w Republice Czeskiej i Republice Słowackiej*, vol. III. Opole: Instytut Nauk Pedagogicznych Uniwersytetu Opolskiego, pp. 189–194.

The Polish Club in Prague in interwar Czechoslovakia (1919–1940)

After the end of the First World War and establishment of Czechoslovakia, the traditional associational activities of the Polish Club in Prague were soon restored (1919). However, the development was not completely continuous. The Club management was overtaken from the Poles in Prague by Polish diplomats operating in Prague.⁴² This new situation can be illustrated by Waclaw Łaciński, head of the Polish representative office, who headed the Club between 1922 and 1926 (in 1932–1939, he served as the Polish consul, or General Consul in Bratislava).⁴³ In this period, Aleksander Dunajecki, the first Polish consul in Prague (he held this position in 1919–1927) and his deputy Jan Pawlica took active part in the associational life. The consulate was located in a residential house at Smíchov (Štefánikova 46).⁴⁴ Count Zygmunt Lasocki (1867–1948), the Polish emissary to Czechoslovakia between 1924 and 1927, was not only an honorary member of the Club, but also an important supporter. As Lasocki was also an honorary member of the Academic Circle of the Friends of Poland, we can assume that he supported all Polish or Polish-Czech cultural and social events in Prague through public diplomacy.⁴⁵

The second important change in the Club's overall direction was the turn to Polish-Czech mutuality. This trend was represented by the translator František Vondráček (1865–1954) and other Czech Polonophiles. As a prolific translator, he translated into his mother tongue some of the most famous novels by Stefan Żeromski (*Seedtime and Ashes*) or H. Sienkiewicz (*In Desert and Wilderness*), but also works by Adam Asnyk, Maria Konopnicka, Bolesław Prus or Lucjan Rydel.⁴⁶ He was a teacher of Polish at the College of Commerce and a school inspector for the Land School Council. In 1925, he became vice-chairman of the Polish Club in Prague.⁴⁷ Yet, he was not alone in his effort to deepen Czech-Polish cultural

⁴² Doliwa, J. (1992). *Polský klub v Praze – historický náčrt* [Polish Club in Prague – a historical sketch].

⁴³ Klosová, E. (1997). *Z dziejów Klubu Polskiego w Pradze od powstania do rozwiązania (1887–1940)*, p. 160; Segeš, D., Bystrický, V. (2007). Reflection on interwar political development in Slovakia through the eyes of Warsaw, *Historický časopis* (Institute of History of the SAS), no. 2, p. 342.

⁴⁴ Bestry, J. (2005). *Služba konsularna Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej w Czechosłowacji*. Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, pp. 65–65, 68.

⁴⁵ Baron, R. (2013). Prof. Marian Szykowski and Czech-Polish mutuality I (1921–1939). *Sborník prací Pedagogické fakulty Masarykovy univerzity, řada společenských věd*, no. 1, p. 86.

⁴⁶ Krystýnek, J. (1964). Czech translations from Polish literature in 1914–1930. *Sborník prací filozofické fakulty brněnské univerzity*, D 11, pp. 80, 93–94.

⁴⁷ Doliwa, J. (1992). *Polský klub v Praze – historický náčrt* [Polish Club in Prague – a historical sketch].

and social bonds. Following the establishment of the Department of Polish Language and Literature at Charles University in Prague (1923)⁴⁸, its head Professor Marian Szykowski brought his Czech students and colleagues to the Club – most importantly Josef and Iza Šaun, but also Jaroslav Michl (chairman of the newly established Academic Circle of the Friends of Poland). The third major change compared with the prewar period was in the membership base, which was now twice as large (e.g. 127 in 1924).⁴⁹

The activities of all Polish-Czech organizations were boosted by magnificent Prague celebrations (mainly in the Pantheon of the National Museum) connected with the transport of Sienkiewicz's mortal remains from Vevey in Switzerland to Warsaw through Czechoslovakia (23–25 October 1924).⁵⁰ The same year, a branch of the Club was established in Mariánské Lázně, headed by Stanisław Sadowski, an honorary consul of the Republic of Poland. In this case, the matter concerned the music legacy of Fryderyk Chopin and commemoration of his stay in this spa town (1836).⁵¹ From 1923 to 1925, sixty meetings and eleven lectures took place there. The Polish Club closely cooperated with the Academic Circle of the Friends of Poland and the Social Czech-Polish Club, which was co-established and headed for many years by the playwright and certified translator Josef Furrych (1868–1936), author of *Diferenční slovník česko-polský* (Praha 1925).⁵² The associations exchanged mass and individual visits from Poland to show the guests the beauties and historical sights of the capital of Czechoslovakia. Together they organized various events for their members and the general public.

Another change occurred in 1926. The Polish diplomats withdrew, which probably coincided with the May coup of Józef Piłsudski and arrival of the new Foreign Minister August Zaleski. Adam Skrowaczewski (a Škoda Works secretary)

⁴⁸ Benešová, M., Rusin Dybalska, R., Zakopalová, L. (2013). *90 let pražské polonistiky – dějiny a současnost / 90 lat praskiej polonistyki – historia i współczesność* [90 years of Polish studies in Prague – history and present]. Prague: Charles University, Nakladatelství Karolinum, pp. 11–25.

⁴⁹ Doliwa, J. (1992). *Polský klub v Praze – historický náčrt* [Polish Club in Prague – a historical sketch]; Jasiński, Z. (2012). *Klub Polski w Pradze (1885–1940)*, p. 127.

⁵⁰ Bečka, J. (1964). Transfer of mortal remains of Henryk Sienkiewicz from Switzerland to his homeland in 1924 and celebrations in Czechoslovakia. *Slavia Occidentalis*, pp. 25–27; Baron, R. (2011). *Rzecz o niektórych związkach Henryka Sienkiewicza z Czechami*, pp. 33–37.

⁵¹ Bednář, K. (1962). *Chopin v Mariánských Lázních* [Chopin in Mariánské Lázně]. Mariánské Lázně: Fryderyk Chopin association in the Cultural and Social Centre; Martinek L. (2013). *Fryderyk Chopin v české literatuře* [Fryderyk Chopin in Czech literature]. Opava: Silesian University in Opava.

⁵² Bartůšková, S. (1985). Josef Furrych. In V. Forst (Ed.), *Lexikon české literatury: osobnosti, díla, instituce*, vol. 1 (A–G). Prague: Academia, p. 779.

was elected the Club chairman and, together with Marian Szykowski and young Czech Polonophiles, broke the existing close cooperation with the new leadership. The 40th anniversary of the Club's establishment thus proceeded in different conditions, which occurred in the milieu of Prague Poles and Czech Polonophiles in Prague. Yet, the Club still published its first jubilee publication, which summarized four decades of the history of the association (1927).⁵³ The jubilee celebrations were also attended by the Polish envoy Waclaw Grzybowski (1887–1959)⁵⁴ who had replaced Z. Lasocki in this position and managed the Polish representative office in Prague between 1927 and 1935. Chairman Skrowaczewski's closest colleagues in 1926–1933 included Józef Góral, František Holub, Wanda Klingnerová, Juliusz Friedrich, Michał Niesiołowski, Wiktor Sawicki, Józef Lochschmid and Józef Heczko. Hecko's daughter Anetta Balajková-Heczko continued in this tradition when she contributed as a translator to the Czech-Polish cultural understanding.⁵⁵ Despite personal disputes – mainly between the leading personalities of the individual Polish-Czech associations – some of the events and celebrations were interconnected. This particularly concerned the Polish public holidays (3 May and 11 November) or the holiday of Marshal Józef Piłsudski (19 March, 2008). An exemplary event was the celebration of the 25th death anniversary of the Polish playwright and artist Stanislaw Wyspiański. The celebration took place in an auditorium of the Faculty of Arts, Charles University with active participation of chairman Skrowaczewski and university professors M. Szykowski and J. Horák (1932).⁵⁶

The second half of the 1930s brought about a marked deterioration in Czechoslovak-Polish relations. The Polish Club in Prague continued to exist, but with less support from the local representatives of Polish diplomacy. Even a request of the last interwar chairman Jindřich Baranek to approve changes in the statutes did not meet with understanding of the Land Office in Prague (1935). In this difficult period for the Czech-Polish relations and mutuality of both nations, the female Club members started to be more intensely engaged by establishing a Ladies' Circle, which was headed by Rina Zavřelová. Surprisingly, the membership was not low (165). The vast majority were Poles (141), followed by Czechs with about 12 % (22),

⁵³ *Czterdzieści lat istnienia Klubu Polskiego w Pradze (1887–1927)*, Praga: Klub Polski 1927.

⁵⁴ Kornat, M. (2016). *Waclaw Grzybowski: ambasador w Moskwie (1936–1939). Biografia polityczna*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Sejmowe, pp. 45–74.

⁵⁵ Šoutová, M. (1982), *Polská krásná literatura v českých překladech 1945–1979* [Polish belles-lettres in Czech translations 1945–1979]. Prague: State Library CSR, Slavonic Library, p. 251.

⁵⁶ Doliwa, J. (1992). *Polský klub v Praze – historický náčrt* [Polish Club in Prague – a historical sketch].

while other nationalities were negligible (perhaps Slovak).⁵⁷ Perhaps the last important event was the celebration of the 50th establishment anniversary, which was held in the seat of the Car Club of the Czechoslovak Republic. As usual, the main speaker was M. Szykowski (honorary member of the Club).⁵⁸ The event was preceded by a holy mass celebrated by the Břevnov abbot Dominik Prokop (30 May 1937). The international political events such as the Munich Agreement or annexation of Cieszyn Silesia by the Polish state heralded the demise of the Polish Club in Prague. It finally occurred at the beginning of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia by the order of Reichsprotektor Konstantin von Neurath on 16 April 1940.⁵⁹

The Polish Club in Prague after the Velvet Revolution (1991–2020)

After the Second World War, the surviving female members continued to meet somehow, but the Polish Club was never formally restored at that time. This situation lasted until the Velvet Revolution after which the Prague Poles managed to pick up the threads of the interrupted tradition from the First Czechoslovak Republic. A sort of an intermediate stage arrived with the establishment of the 95th local group of the Polish Cultural Enlightenment Association in Czechoslovakia (*Polski Związek Kulturalno-Oświatowy*, PZKO) in Prague. This organisation had in fact been the only association of the Polish minority (in Cieszyn Silesia) since 1947, i.e. since the conclusion of an interstate allied agreement between Czechoslovakia and Poland until the Velvet Revolution.⁶⁰ The creation of a local association outside Cieszyn Silesia was promoted by Jerzy Gajdzica (1905–1994)⁶¹

⁵⁷ Madecki, R. (2017). *K odkazu Polaków v Praze* [To the Legacy of the Poles in Prague], p. 342.

⁵⁸ Balajková-Heczko, A. (1997). Klubowych wspomnień czar. In *Klub Polski w Pradze 1887–1997*, p. 23; Spis przedwojennych członków Klubu Polskiego. In *Ibidem*, p. 25.

⁵⁹ Doliwa, J. (1992). *Polský klub v Praze – historický náčrt* [Polish Club in Prague – a historical sketch]. Cf. Jasiński, Z. (2012). *Klub Polski w Pradze (1885–1940)*, p. 127.

⁶⁰ Josiek, W. (1997). *Společenské organizace a instituce* [Social organizations and institutions]. In K. D. Kadłubiec et al., *Polská národní menšina na Těšínsku v České republice (1920–1995)*. Ostrava: Faculty of Arts, University of Ostrava, pp. 157–161.

⁶¹ Gajdzica, J. (1991). Jerzy Gajdzica – nestor praskiej Polonii. *Głos Ludu*, no. 10 (24. 1. 1991). Cf. Borák, M. (2010). *Očima Poláků: historie a současnost československo-polských vztahů a polská menšina v Československu v zrcadle polského tisku na Těšínském Slezsku v letech 1989–1992* [Through the eyes of the Poles: the history and present of Czechoslovak-Polish relations and the Polish minority in Czechoslovakia in the mirror of the Polish press in Cieszyn Silesia in 1989–1992]. Annotated bibliography. Opava: Silesian University in Opava, pp. 23, 51.

– vice-chairman and librarian of the prewar Polish Club in Prague and newly chairman of the local PZKO group. However, the “pre-November” diplomats headed by Włodzimierz Mokrzyszczak, the last ambassador of the Polish People’s Republic to Czechoslovakia (in 1988–1990), also contributed with their activities. Apart from the ambassador, they included representatives of the consular department Ryszard Gacoń, Zdzisław Niewola, Józef Mróz and Mirosław Roguski, director of the Polish Cultural and Information Centre. The inauguration negotiations proceeded in the Polish Cultural and Information Centre in Wenceslas Square (symbolically on 3 May 1989). J. Gajdzica became the chairman, Bronisław Walicki the secretary, Edward Jeżowicz the treasurer and Alicja Skalska and Maria Kapiasová were elected to the committee. The local group had 25 members all of whom had to fulfil the condition of Czechoslovak citizenship according to the statutes).⁶² The vast majority of Poles residing in Prague had a Polish passport – at that time the so-called consular passport, which differed from normal passports in Poland.

During the Velvet Revolution, the Civic Forum of the Poles was established in Czechoslovakia and even an idea of separation or breaking away from the PZKO was put forward. The delegation of the Prague PZKO group was received by the Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki (1927–2013) during his official visit to Prague (22 January 1990). Only a few months later, it welcomed their fellow countryman on the Papal throne John Paul II at Ruzyně Airport (21 April 1990).⁶³ The future development of Prague Poles’ associational life was fundamentally affected by Jacek Baluch (1940–2019), new ambassador of the Republic of Poland to Czechoslovakia. Shortly after his arrival, he was impressed by pictures of the Polish Club commemorating the 10th anniversary of the association (1897), which was then located in the embassy club room in Fűstenberk Palace at Malá Strana. He decided to move this rare exhibit to his study so that he could document the Polish traditions in Prague to renowned Czech and Slovak guests, but also to the colleague ambassadors. He believed that this commemoration of Polish compatriots who were united in the Polish Club at the end of the 19th century would make an impression on their successor at the end of the 20th century.⁶⁴

⁶² Walicki, B. (1997). *Jak se probudili pražští krajané* (1988–1991) [How the Prague compatriots woke up (1988–1991)]. In *Klub Polski w Pradze 1887–1997*, pp. 29–30.

⁶³ Krajewski, W. (1992). Notes of the chronicler Włodzimierz Krajewski. In *Klub Polski w Pradze*.

⁶⁴ Baluch, J. (1992). *Polskie tableau*. In *Klub Polski w Pradze*; Idem (2017). *Praga, tak bliska! Daleka?* In *Śladami Polaków w Pradze (XIX–XXI wiek)*, p. 9. At present, this relic (historical set of pictures) is located in the new Club seat in the House of National Minorities in Vocolova Street.

In the post-November circumstances, the general assembly decided to dissolve the local PZKO group and establish a separate association *Stowarzyszenie Klub Polski w Pradze* [The Polish Club Association in Prague] (29 August 1991). After ratifying the statutes of the “old-new” association by the Ministry of the Interior of the Czech Republic (4 September 1991), the Club immediately joined the Congress of the Poles in the Czech Republic, an umbrella association of Polish clubs in the Czech Republic (5 September 1991). The first chairman of the restored Polish Club was Bronisław Walicki (1934–2017) who connected his life career with the Cieszyn and Prague Poles (he came from Bystřice nad Olší, worked in the Prague branch of the Polish LOT airline and then as a branch manager of the Alitalia airline). When Pope John Paul II was leaving the Czechoslovak Republic at Bratislava Airport after his first official visit, B. Walicki spoke to him in Polish on board the plane also on behalf of the Polish compatriots (22/04/1990). The Club was also managed by the above-mentioned J. Gajdzica (from Cieszyn Silesia and of Evangelical faith) who became its honorary chairman.⁶⁵ This act resulted in a personal but above all symbolic interconnection of both associations with the same name and partly the same mission – to associate Polish compatriots in Prague and Czech citizens interested in Polish culture and history. The immediate connection with the tradition of the original Polish Club was explicitly stated by Art. 4 Par. 1 of the statutes: “The Club picks up the threads of the ‘Polish Club’ in Prague, which was established in 1887.”⁶⁶ Interestingly, this year of establishment was discovered during archival research carried out by Jacek Doliwa,⁶⁷ the new Polish vice-consul in Prague, who had only a few years earlier defended a dissertation on associations of Czechoslovak-Polish mutuality in the interwar period.⁶⁸

Unlike the interwar period, the Polish diplomats satisfied themselves only with a universal support of the Polish Club in the post-November circumstances. As a result, they had no ambition to control or formally manage the association. At that time, the Polish compatriots in Prague were most assisted by Witold Rybczyński, the embassy counsellor and head of the consular department and Jacek Baluch (Bohemist and literary scientist), the historically first ambassador of Poland to the Czech Republic. Ambassador Baluch also attempted to restore the tradition of the “Polish Window” in the Evropa Hotel in Wenceslas Square, which

⁶⁵ Walicki, B. (1997). Resurrection of the Polish Club in Prague. In *Klub Polski w Pradze 1887–1997*, p. 33; Idem (1994). Szanowny i drogi śp. Jurku! *Kurier Praski / Pražský kurýr*, no. 2.

⁶⁶ Cf. Statut Společnosti „Klub Polski“ v Praze. In *Klub Polski w Pradze*.

⁶⁷ Walicki, B. (2007). Bronisław Walicki. In *120 lat Klubu Polskiego w Pradze*, p. 136.

⁶⁸ Cf. footnote 2.

was initiated by M. Szyjkowski in the 1920s.⁶⁹ In 2002, a plaque commemorating this tradition was ceremonially unveiled there. It was promoted by representatives of *Kurier Praski* [Prague Courier] (Barbara Sierszuła-Pilousová), the Polish Club representatives (Władysław Adamiec), the Embassy of the Republic of Poland in Prague (Anna Olszewska) and the Evropa Hotel (Emanuel Belavý). The celebration was backed by the presence of Ambassador Andrzej Krawczyk and Otto Kechner, Deputy Mayor of the City of Prague.⁷⁰ The Polish Club could also rely on moral and material assistance from J. Baluch's successors as ambassadors, i.e. Marek Pernal (1995–2000), Andrzej Krawczyk (2001–2005), Andrzej Załucki (2005–2006), Jan Pastwa (2007–2012), Grażyna Bernatowiczová (2013–2017) and Barbara Ćwioro (2018–2020), but also from representatives of the General Consulate of the Republic of Poland in Prague or the Polish Institute in Prague. Thanks to this support, the Club representatives also attended meetings with leading representatives of Poland during their visits to the Czech Republic (Presidents Lech Wałęsa, Aleksander Kwaśniewski, Lech Kaczyński, Bronisław Komorowski and Andrzej Duda).⁷¹

In 1996, chairman Walicki was replaced by Władysław Adamiec who determined the direction of the Club until 2015 when he was replaced by a long-lasting committee member Michał Chrzastowski (of Polish origin). Other functionaries who significantly contributed to the development and operation of the Club included Krzysztof Jaxa-Rożen, Krystyna and Jiří Kotýnek, Barbara Sierszuła-Pilousová, Bibiana Szulc-Achová, Ewa Klosová, Alicja and Otakar Skalský, Marzena and Włodzimierz Krajewski, Eva and Andrzej Magal, Alina Stržencová, Elżbieta Grosseová and Kazimierz Towarnicki. The Club branch in Lysá nad Labem, which is managed by Mariola Světlá (until recently strongly supported by the local priest Tadeusz Barnowski), has also been very active since its establishment in 2002. The main events include the Polish Culture Days.⁷² Last year (2019), this sole

⁶⁹ Sierszuła-Pilousová, B. (2017). Polski stolik przy oknie „Evropy“. In *Śladami Polaków w Pradze (XIX–XXI wiek)*, p. 131–134. Cf. Valenta, J. (2001). Okno czy stolik? Polski stolik w Hotelu Europejskim, *Kurier Praski / Pražský kurýr*, no. 9; Jaxa-Rożen, K. (2002). Okno i stolik. *Kurier Praski / Pražský kurýr*, no. 7–8.

⁷⁰ Olaszek-Kotýnek, K. (2007). Stowarzyszenie Klub Polski w Pradze w latach 1991–2007. In *120 lat Klubu Polskiego w Pradze*, p. 79, 91.

⁷¹ Michalska, M. (2011). Polacy w Pradze i ich związki z ojczyzną – stara i nowa emigracja. In *Polacy poza granicami kraju u progu XXI wieku. Różne oblicza polskiej tożsamości*. Wrocław: Polskie Towarzystwo Ludoznawcze, Uniwersytet Wrocławski, p. 115. Cf. Olaszek-Kotýnek, K. (2017). Stowarzyszenie Klub Polski w Pradze – reaktywacja. In *Śladami Polaków w Pradze (XIX–XXI wiek)*, p. 184–185.

⁷² Gawlik, S. (2007). Sekcja Klubu Polskiego w Lysej nad Łabą. In *120 lat Klubu Polskiego w Pradze*, p. 98; Olaszek-Kotýnek, K. (2017). *Stowarzyszenie Klub Polski w Pradze – reaktywacja*, pp. 178–180.

branch transformed into a separate association. In the early 1990s, the meetings were held in the Polish Information and Cultural Centre, at the Polish Embassy or in the Dominican Abbey. In 1998, the Club rented premises in Karlín (Víkova 13) which, however, were damaged during the 2002 floods. The books, documents, technical equipment and furniture were therefore irretrievably lost. The natural disaster and its consequences cemented the Polish Prague community and strengthened links with the hitherto less active members.⁷³ The associational life returned to the Embassy and moved to private apartments. Later, the Club managed to return to Karlín, but in 2007, it found its permanent seat in the newly opened House of National Minorities in Vocelova Street, Prague 2 (together with associations of Prague Belarussians, Bulgarians, Croats, Hungarians, Germans, the Romany, Russians, Ruthenes, Greeks, Slovaks, Serbs, Ukrainians and Vietnamese).⁷⁴

The Club members usually met once a month. The contents of these meetings were varied. There were evenings devoted to important representatives of Polish culture such as the writers (e.g. A. Mickiewicz, J. Słowacki, S. Wyspiański, Z. Krasiński, K. I. Gałczyński, M. Konopnicka, J. I. Kraszewski, the Nobel Prize Laureates in Literature Cz. Miłosz and W. Szymborska who attended the 2010 Prague Book Fair as a guest of honour;⁷⁵ she was accompanied – like in Stockholm – by the Czech translator V. Dvořáčková), but also the pianist F. Chopin, composer S. Moniuszko, actress H. Modrzejewska, painters J. Chelmoński and W. Kossak, singers Cz. Niemen and J. Kaczmarski or the sportsman and Olympic champion J. Kusociński who was murdered by the Nazis in Palmiry near Warsaw. The Club meetings also involved discussions on historical issues (Constitution of 3rd May, restoration of Poland in 1918). The guests included Bishop Vaclav Malý, the former Free Europe Radio editor Jan de Weydenthal, political scientist Alexander Tomský, seafarer and writer Andrzej Perepekzko, film director Otakar Skalski (Club member), Bohemist Zofia Tarajło-Lipowska, historian Stanisław Zahradnik, harpist Ewa Jašlarová, sculptor Elżbieta Grosseová (Club member, paternally of Czech origin) or the Dominicans Tomasz Dostatni, Piotr Krysztofiać and Hieronim Kaczmarek (they subsequently headed the Polish parish in Prague,⁷⁶ which was established by the Archbishop of Prague Cardinal Miloslav Vlk in 2004).⁷⁷

⁷³ Klipa, O. (2004). *Kolektivní identita Poláků v Praze a její rozdílné varianty* [Collective identity of the Poles in Prague and its distinct variants], p. 25.

⁷⁴ Olaszek-Kotynek, K. (2017). *Stowarzyszenie Klub Polski w Pradze – reaktywacja*, pp. 168; <http://www.dnm-praha.eu/> (10.8.2020).

⁷⁵ Baron, R. – Madecki, R. – Malicki, J. et al. (2016). *Czeskie badania nad Polską w kontekście Europy Środkowej i Wschodniej*. Prague: Institute of History of the CAS, p. XXXV.

⁷⁶ Kaczmarek, H. (2017). *Katolicy z Polski w Pradze*. In *Śladami Polaków w Pradze (XIX–XXI wiek)*, p. 223–224.

⁷⁷ Olaszek-Kotynek, K. (2007). *Stowarzyszenie Klub Polski w Pradze w latach 1991–2007*, p. 58.

Between 1992 and 2004, the Club members published their own magazine *Kurier Praski* [the Prague Courier] (the total of 150 bilingual issues). The editorial work was shared by Ewa Klosová (nee Głowacka), Halina Bukowska, Krzysztof Jaxa-Rożen, Włodzimierz Krajewski, Barbara Sierszuła-Pilousová and Ladislav Hojný (graphic artist). The pages of this monthly reflected not only the attitudes and fates of the Prague Poles, but also the contemporary Czech-Polish relations in the context of Central Europe. When the magazine disappeared for financial reasons, the Club chairman W. Adamec tried to fill this gap. In 2006, he started to publish the non-printed periodical *Merkuriusz* [Mercury].⁷⁸

The other numerous Club activities included the establishment of the “Club theatre” *Teatr Klub-PL Praga im. Karola Wojtyły*, which was managed by the theatre director Józef Zbigniew Czernecki (2014). The first performance was *Rozbitkowie* [Castaways] based on the book *Na pełnym morzu* by Sławomir Mrożek (Divadlo Mana theatre in Prague-Vršovice, 2016), the second *Bratr naszego Boga* [Our God’s Brother] by Karol Wojtyła (the Dominican Abbey refectory, Divadlo Mana, 2018).⁷⁹ Since 2016, the choir A TO MY [IT’S US] has operated under the leadership of Eugeniusz Morgoń.

The Club does not celebrate the jubilees of its renewal in 1991 but its establishment in 1887. The jubilee events were attended by representatives of the Polish Embassy and had rich programmes in 1992, 1997, 2002, 2007, 2012 and 2017. The round anniversaries have produced jubilee prints dedicated to the history of the association and legacy of the Poles in Prague whose value is rising with time.⁸⁰ We need to point out that they were not concerned only with the period following 1991, but also with the period since the Club’s establishment in 1887.

The most recent publication – *Śladami Polaków w Pradze (XIX–XXI w.)* [Following the Poles’ Footsteps in Prague, 19th – 21st Century] – had a much wider scope. It was not intended – as it had been so far – to the relatively narrow audience of the Polish Club in Prague, but it sought to address the wider Polish public (amateur and professional).⁸¹

⁷⁸ Sierszuła-Pilousová, B. (2017). “Kurier Praski – Prague Courier (1992–2004)”. In *Śladami Polaków w Pradze (XIX–XXI wiek)*, p. 229–234; Adamec, W. (2017). „Merkuriusz“ (od 2006 do dziś). In *Śladami Polaków w Pradze (XIX–XXI wiek)*, p. 235–236.

⁷⁹ Klosová, E. (2017). Pan Reżyser. In *Śladami Polaków w Pradze (XIX–XXI wiek)*, pp. 286–287.

⁸⁰ (1992), *Klub Polski w Pradze*. Praga: Stowarzyszenie Klub Polski w Pradze; (1997), *Klub Polski w Pradze 1887–1997*. Praga: Klub Polski w Pradze; (Eds.), Adamec, W., Kučera, B. (2007). *120 lat Klubu Polskiego w Pradze*. Praha: Klub Polski w Pradze; (Eds.), Olaszek-Kotýnek, K., Kotýnek, J. (2012), *Klub Polski w Pradze (1887–2012)*, [Praga]: Praga: Klub Polski w Pradze.

The opening word was written by the Bohemist and former diplomat J. Baluch and the final summary for the Czech readers by the Polish and chairman of the former POLONUS Polish Club in Brno Roman Madecki.⁸²

As Professor Artur Patek from Krakow wrote in a review on this work: *Unlike Paris or London, Prague has never been a major centre of Polish emigration. Yet there are surprisingly many Polish traces in the Czech capital. They are not only about Poles who decided to link their destinies or associational lives with the city on the Vltava River, but also – and perhaps most importantly – about long-lasting and varied Polish-Czech contacts, the mutual Polish-Czech history.*

⁸¹ The book was also created by other researchers from the Czech Republic (Roman Baron, Krystyna Kardyni-Pelikánová, Libor Martinek) and Poland (Zenon Jasiński, Małgorzata Michalska, Zofia Tarajło-Lipowska), the Club members (Władysław Adamiec, Michał Chrzastowski, Elżbieta Grosseová, Krzysztof Jaxa-Rożen, Ewa Klosová, Włodzisław Krajewski, Andrzej Magala, Krystyna Olszek-Kotýnek, Bibiana Szulc-Ach), priest of the Polish parish in Prague Hieronim Kaczmarek, writer Katarzyna Boruń-Jagodzińska, staff members of the Polish Institute in Prague (Jitka Rohanová, Pavel Trojan) or the Embassy of the Republic of Poland in the Czech Republic (Marzena Krajewska). (Eds.) Baron, R., Michalska, M. (2017). *Śladami Polaków w Pradze (XIX–XXI wiek). Szkice i portrety historyczno-literackie*, Praga: Klub Polski w Pradze.

⁸² (Ed.) Putzlacher-Buchtová, R. (2007). *Klub Polski w Brnie POLONUS Polský klub v Brně (1997–2007)*. Brno: The Polish club in Brno. Cf. Baron, R. (2011). The Czechoslovak-Polish Club in Brno (1925–1939). *Czech-Polish Historical and Pedagogical Journal*, no. 1, pp. 43–64; (Eds.), Madecki, R., Štěpán, L. (2008). *Poláci v Brně (Polacy w Brnie) a na jižní Moravě [The Poles in Brno (Polacy w Brnie) and in South Moravia]*. Brno: Středoevropské centrum slovanských studií, SvN Regiony, pp. 11–26.

The Revived Statehood (1918–21) in the Reflection of the Czech (Slovak) and Polish Post Stamps and the Didactic Applications

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Štěpánek, K. (2021). The Revived Statehood (1918–21) in the Reflection of the Czech (Slovak) and Polish Post Stamps and the Didactic Applications. *Czech-Polish Historical and Pedagogical Journal*, 13/2021/1, 44–54.
<https://doi.org/10.5817/cphpj-2021-004>

The text analyses the historical, didactic and methodological aspects of the use of post stamps in the educational process. It focuses on the reflection of the renewed Czechoslovak and Polish statehood after the end of the First World War through the period and jubilee post stamps. Like posters, post stamps are a historical source reflecting mainly modern (national) history and, for example, the changes in the statehood. On the basis of an appropriate selection, the mechanisms of legitimization of the state power or propaganda can be concisely and effectively explained in history lessons. The described procedure creates an effective alternative educational medium that strengthens the interdisciplinary cooperation of school history – media education.

Key words: *teaching history; didactics of history; post stamps; Media Education; restoration of statehood; territory; army; Czechoslovakia; Poland*

The Introduction

The end of the First World War enabled, among other things, the declaration of the Republic of Poland and the Czechoslovak Republic, with the volunteer units playing important roles in restoring the statehood of both countries. The post-war uncertainty and contradictions/conflicts, whether between the neighbours or the winners and losers, immediately led to a number of other conflicts in this area, the interpretation of which underwent a number of changes in the creation of a collective memory. The presented text focuses on the reflection of this history (approx. 1918–21) through post stamps.

Although the efforts of both states to restore historic borders and other territorial claims gained support from the victorious powers, the implementation led to a number of conflicts and, in fact, permanent tensions not only between the two neighbours, but also throughout the Central European region. The simplified reminder of the territorial changes must include the connection of the southwestern

part of Lithuania with Vilnius and eastern Galicia in 1919 to Poland. Practically in parallel, this state also fought with Czechoslovakia to obtain Cieszyn (Poland got the greater part on the basis of a peace treaty) and with Soviet Russia for Ukraine and Belarus. By the Peace of Riga (1921), Poland was given a part of western Ukraine and Belarus. At the expense of Germany, Poland gained the area of West Prussia and Poznan. Upper Silesia was divided between Germany and Poland on the basis of the plebiscite in 1921. The historical Czech lands united with Slovakia and acquired the area of Vitorazsko and Valticko from Austria, the area of Hlučínsko from Germany, and Carpathian Ruthenia from the east. However, the young Republic first had to secure militarily the restless border inhabited by the Sudeten Germans and in the spring of 1919 to fight for Slovakia's territory with Hungary. The existence of both states, however, did not last long. Soon after the breaking up of Czechoslovakia in 1938–39, the Polish state disappeared again, and the renewed post-war revival meant more or less the changed borders for both. Although the Polish losses in the east were partially balanced at the expense of Germany, the final shape of the territory depended entirely on the victorious powers. Similarly, Czechoslovakia was forced to give up Carpathian Ruthenia in favour of the USSR.

When interpreting the stamp motifs, we follow, or for teaching, it is usually sufficient to use popularization works and encyclopaedias by military experts. However, it is also possible to rely on the thematic elaboration of military fighting traditions¹. One of the few texts in the Czech language written by a Polish author² deals with the connection between regime policy and history on the philatelic material of the Eastern bloc. In thinking about the tasks that an annotated mass media could perform in modern history teaching, the introductory lesson is one of the core works of modern German media didactics by H. J. Pandel³, as well as a text by a British historian and a didactic Robert Stradling promoting the principle

¹ Cf. more: Řezník, M. (2002). *Poland*. Prague: Libri, pp. 168–173; Jurek, T. – Wihoda, M. – Friedl, J. – Reznik, M. (2017): *History of Poland. (Dějiny Polska)* Prague: NLN – Lidové noviny Publishing House, pp. 270–306; Šedivá Koldinská, M. – Šedivý, I. (2008). *On the militant traditions of the army in the Czech lands or Czechoslovakia Wara and the Army in Czech History: Sociohistorical Features. (O bojových tradicích armády v českých zemích resp. Československu Válka a armáda v českých dějinách: Sociohistorické črty)* Prague: NLN – Nakladatelství Lidové noviny; Chwalba, A. (2018). *Polish Legions 1914–1918*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie apod.

² Libionka, D.(2005). Poselství poštovních známek. *Dějiny a současnost 1*. (Postage stamp message. *History and Present 1*), 21–24

³ Pandel, H. J. – Schneider, G.(2005) (eds.): *Handbuch Medien im Geschichtsunterricht*. Schwalbach/Ts., p. 211–255.

of multiperspective viewing of information sources and understanding their relationship to the present.⁴ From the Czech author's workshop, it is possible to recommend a media-oriented didactic synthesis of the author's tandem Labischová – Gracová with links to other sources⁵. The author's own collection and philatelic catalogues available via the Internet became a source of the research and selection of suitable post stamps.⁶

A post stamp – a witness and reminder of the restoration of independence

Very soon after the collapse/disintegration of the Central European monarchies and the establishment of the 1st Czechoslovak Republic and 2nd Polish Republic in 1918, the old imperial stamps were exchanged for new domestic issues. The pictorial messages, they gave about the struggle for a new form of the homeland, will first interest us in Czech (Slovak) philatelic material. This story begins in a distant foreign country and is related to the activities of foreign troops/units on the fronts of the First World War, for which the collective designation of the Legion was gradually adopted in both countries.

Although the Czechoslovak troops declared neutrality in Russia's civil war, after several incidents, a war front against the Red Army was opened in eastern Russia. The Czechoslovak troops occupied the Trans-Siberian Railway and from August 1918 became a decisive military force in Siberia, which significantly helped the declaration of independence of the Czechoslovak state. However, hasty return to the homeland became more complicated, and therefore it was necessary to establish, among other things, a field post office. According to the conditions of that time, a reliable institution operated (for soldiers free of charge) a section of several thousands of kilometres. The stamps with the text *Post of the Czechoslovak Siberian Army* or *The Czechoslovak Army in Russia*, which are witnesses of these activities, were mainly propagandistic and the proceeds from the (charitable) sale to the civilians was intended for the Disability Fund of the Czechoslovak troops.

⁴ Stradling, R. (2003). *Multiperspectivity in Teaching History: A Handbook for Teachers (Multiperspektivita ve vyučování dějepisu: příručka pro učitel)*. Praha: NLN – Nakladatelství Lidové noviny.

⁵ Labischová, D. – Gracová, B. (2008). *A guide to the study of history didactics. (Příručka ke studiu didaktiky dějepisu)* Ostrava: Ostravská univerzita v Ostravě.

⁶ The Internet offers, for commercial, advertising, information or propaganda reasons, easily accessible, practically complete, production of stamp countries around the world. You can search not only in the catalogues of renowned companies such as the British Gibbon, the German Michel, Catawiki, but also the Czech Pořís with user-friendly filtering according to vintages or motifs.



Fig. 1: The first stage of the promotion of the renewed Czechoslovak statehood (1918–38). The legionary post stamps with traditional militant symbolism (1918–20); resistance during the 1st World War (here the Battle of Bachmač) as a reminder of a series of stamps on the 20th anniversary (1938).

The original postage stamps, both chronologically the oldest ones and later with the annual themes, were to form a collective memory of the citizens of the young state.⁷

A significant didactic potential (the analysis and interpretation of allegorical promotional strategies) is revealed in the issue of six stamps issued on the first anniversary of the independent state. The first trio captures the Czech heraldic lion with the torn shackles/chains in different shades and pay-out stamps values, on the background of the scenery we can see a reminiscent state-building date. The symbolism of the Czech lion, self-relieved of its shackles/chains (i. e. by the armed resistance to the oppression of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy) should have been comprehensible/understandable to every citizen of the new state. The second trio (as it will be the case several more times) uses the motif of a mother-republic with a child. The occasional issue also served charitable purposes for the benefit of legionary families. In 1920, an issue of stamps was issued entitled *The Liberated Republic*, again in an unprecedented allegorical sense. This time, the central symbolic figure is a woman – republic, which rises with her arms outstretched above her head with the remnants of just torn prison ties above the Czech (and Slovak) country.

⁷ Cf. more: <http://www.pevinx.cz/propaganda.php>; <http://csol-mb.net/legionari-napostovnich-znamkach-prvni-ceskoslovenske-republiky-id1427.html>; http://www.filabrno.net/namety/CS%20legie_1914_20.htm; [online] [cit. 2020-08-02]; Trojan, M. (1996). *The catalogue of post stamps of Czechoslovakia, Czech Republic*. Prague: Philately Trojan.

The growing unrest in foreign relations in the mid-1930s can also be read between the symbolic lines of postal issues. The shift of interest to the anniversary of the battlefields was not only intended to strengthen the fighting spirit of the citizens and armies of both countries, but most likely already responded to the deteriorating international political situation in Europe. In the relevant lesson, we can work not only with a wide range of the factual data related to foreign units in France, Italy and Russia, but also with the eloquent symbolism. The Czechoslovak stamps show a foreign action and correlations of the company/platoon *Nazdar*, *Czech companies*, the battles of Zborov, Bachmač, Doss Alto or Arras from 1914–1918.⁸

The communist coup in February 1948, of course, caused a significant breakthrough in the concept and themes of stamp making. The legionnaires were replaced by workers, and a commemorative stamp from the same year took the position of the model on the anniversary of the restored the statehood.⁹ In the reform atmosphere of *the Prague Spring* and the release of the regime conditions in 1968, the Czechoslovak Post tried to rehabilitate the neglected anniversary with a number of actions. The most striking evidence of a temporary change in the political conditions is given by a stamp sheet with the current jubilee date copying the theme from 1919 (a lion with torn shackles/chains) – an obvious attempt at a restoration of the First Republic and Legionnaire traditions.

The “normalized” regime under the renewed control of the Soviet Union (1969–89) joined the traditions of the struggle for independence, but in its own way. The key point of the ideologized design of the post stamp was now taken over by the unmistakably five-pointed red star.

The motifs from the recruitment posters and postcards by Vojtěch Preissig¹⁰, promoting the anti-Habsburg resistance and the struggle for the independent Republic at the end of the World War I, became the basic inspiration for the postal activities celebrating the anniversary of the *Velvet Revolution* in the 1990s. The series consists of three commemorative stamps and, with their partly legionary motifs, indirectly follows the First Republic themes of the commemorative stamps.

⁸ On the belated series officially celebrating the 20th anniversary of the Czechoslovak stamp, cf. more: Karásek, J. – Papoušek, J. – Žampach, F. (1979). Monographs of Czechoslovak stamps. (*Monografie československých známek*) Part 3. Postage stamps (*Výplatní známky*) 1923–1939, Prague: Philately Trojan, pp. 309–310.

⁹ This time, the Czech state is expressed here by an allegory of a young family, and Marxist and workers’ symbolism is now becoming the core of the persuasive strategy.

¹⁰ Renowned graphic artist Vojtěch Preissig belonged to the representatives of our foreign resistance. He left for the USA before the war and it was here that in 1916–1918 he created designs and prints of promotional posters for Czechoslovakia. legions in France, Russia and Italy. <http://www.vhu.cz/vojtech-preissig-v-new-yorku/> [online] [cit. 2021-02-02].



Fig. 2: Second (1948–89) and third (1989–present) stage of promotion of renewed Czechoslovakia. statehood. A lion tearing handcuffs – a copy of the legionary stamp from 1919 (1968); the example of the original draft of Viktor Preisig's agitation legionary poster and thematically identical motifs of annual stamps (1998); the attack of legionnaires, commanders and politicians in an allegorical collage for independence on a postage stamp from the cycle to the centenary (2017).

Although the adoration of the fighting traditions of the First Republic Army at the time did not explicitly equate the creation of the independent state thanks to foreign troops, it nevertheless represented an important argument for its legitimization. In 1998, the Czech Post thus “dusted off” the importance of the legions for achieving the independence after a long pause. It is interesting to compare a relatively surprising lack of interest in the jubilee commemoration of the statehood in 2008 with the anniversaries that were given the opportunity to be presented: 100 years of the Czech ice hockey, 100 years of the National Technical Museum in Prague and George of Poděbrady – 550 years since his election as Czech king.

The increased activity around the centenary is clearly indicated by the whole cycle of emission activities. The sheets united by the title *Struggle for the Czech Statehood*, which have been featured in plans since 2015 and have been attracting attention with a distinctive composition and colour. For example, *The Road to the Statehood during the World War*, dated 1916, presents the scenes reminiscent of the war years before the establishing Czechoslovakia, as well as the historical figures from the important Czech monarchs through the representatives of Austria – Hungary up to the state-forming representatives of the Czechoslovakian foreign resistance. The significant historical events are briefly listed around the perimeter of the miniature sheets. The frequency of issues and the concept of the theme as a historical collage is not satisfied with a mere reminder of personalities and symbols

but it indicates higher ambitions. The composition of pictures and texts on the background of the war conflict probably also seeks to enlighten the communicative change of views on the post-war developments in the Czech lands and Slovakia.

Even the Polish legionnaires during the World War I organized a field post, which used some special stamps. The characteristic charitable stamps with the text of the *Polish Legionnaires* were also preserved in order to obtain some financial resources for the Legion Fund.



Fig. 3: The forms and development of the promotion of the restored statehood of Poland (1918–2018). (Above:) The annual stamp on the occasion of the establishment of the legions in 1914, headed by General Piłsudski (1939). An example of a propaganda stamp of the forbidden Solidarity movement celebrating the Polish legionnaires (1980s); The examples of issues for the 100th anniversary with the emphasis on the struggle for the Polish territory – (Top right:) The Polish Post celebrated the Silesian uprisings in the separate philatelic series (2019). (Down:) The so-called. first day cover/envelope with places of fighting; the commander of Polish divisions in the seven-day war with Czechoslovakia for Cieszyn (2019); the stamp on the occasion of the jubilee of the establishing the Blue Army under the command of General Józef Haller (2019).

The annual stamps of the establishment of the first legions (1914–1939) headed by General Piłsudski on the 20th and then especially on the 25th anniversary (1939) should have to, similarly to Czechoslovakia, support the ability of resistance of all sections of the population, including the Polish army. During the communist regime, the subject matter underwent a predictable taboo period and did not experience its restoration until after the fall of the Eastern Bloc.

The Polish Post also shows the increased issuance activity around the centenary of its return to the map of Europe, similarly to the Czech Post, with several cycles of thematic stamps: *the 100th Anniversary of Poland's Regained Independence*, *the First Days of Independence*, *the Army of the Reborn Republic* and *the End of the War*. The most interesting stage for us began with a series of six stamps with sepia-toned historical photographs on the occasion of 100 years of the Independence Day. They represent the government of Jerzy Moraczewski, a parade of the Polish cavalry in Sejny and Białystok, the occupation of Vilnius and generals Józef Haller and Józef Dowbor-Muśnický. A year later, it was supplemented by a similar cover/envelope on the first day with a map of the places for which the struggle was won. It consisted of stamps depicting posing the Silesian insurgents and the unit commanders (Edward Śmigły-Rydz, Franciszek Ksawery Latinik) or the guards in Lublin, Krakow, Lviv and Cieszyn – the places and territories that the new Polish army sought to either gain or defend. The commander of the Polish divisions, General Latinik, in *the seven-day war* with the Czechoslovak Republic over the Těšín region, will undoubtedly be remarkable for the Czech readers. After the pressure from the treaty powers, this short conflict of January 1919 was stopped and both sides were forced to make a ceasefire. After the Munich dictatorship, the Polish troops reoccupied the disputed territory and the problem was not contractually resolved until 1958.

The list also includes a stamp for the jubilee of the creation of *the Blue Army* under the command of General Józef Haller, whose name is derived from the blue-grey colour of the French uniforms, who went down in history as *the Blue General*. In the background, you can see a white eagle with the national emblem in a modification from 1916. In the separate philatelic series, the Polish Post celebrated a series of three armed uprisings in Silesia from 1919–21. The photo collage is accompanied by a necessary map of the local rebel bases and the claimed territory.

As in previous cases, the *Wielkopolska Uprising* for the control and annexation of the territory of the hitherto German Poznan ended at the urging of the treaty states in February 1919. The local Wielkopolska army was officially declared an allied army of the entente states, as well as, for example, the Czechoslovak legions in Russia and the territory was annexed to Poland.

An unusual chapter in the history of the Polish post stamps is represented by the activities of the banned Solidarity movement, especially in the 1980s. The stamps with the designation *Poczta Solidarność* still do not have a clear philatelic classification, as they lacked a connection to the postal service.¹¹ They are considered propaganda publications and testimonies of the time in the form of a stamp. Of course, they also played a role in the activities of opposition movements in overthrowing communist power, but their importance was only complementary. These stamps did not spread widely and rather served to raise funds for the activities of other unauthorized/illegal organizations. Another example is the propaganda stamp of the Solidarity movement celebrating Polish legionaries from the fronts of the First World War (Fig. 3 above).

On the didactics and methodology of the topic/theme

The didactic potential of the relevant philatelic material is basically contained in the detailed explanation of the previous subchapter. Through the post stamps, the students can perform a wide range of tasks from factually unpretentious to assignments that strengthen their understanding of deeper contexts. We thus support the competence of perceiving a post stamp, rather than as an apparent “mirror” of historical events, more as an interpretation of a historical reality. It is, of course, desirable that any analysis and interpretation of the chosen historical topic/theme by the pupils – and thus also the reflection of the renewed Czech-Polish statehood – took place from several visual or comparatively selected information sources. However, the thematically compiled set of the post stamps will also provide us with an emergency simulation of the heuristic activities. The decisive stimulus for their application in the teaching of history is not necessarily just the timeline. In addition to documenting changes in attitudes to the beginnings of the renewed independence, we can also consider various interdisciplinary relationships. It is by no means difficult to imagine that postal issues can be perceived in addition to the regime propaganda and social reflection as an alternative material to the media education or geography.

In methodological terms, we follow the basic rules of applying an iconic text in teaching: The description of the image (persons, objects, symbols of the place, – and their arrangement). The analysis (How are persons, etc. portrayed? The meaning of the symbols? To whom does the mark address his message?).

¹¹ Thus, they differ, for example, from the stamps issued and put into circulation during the Warsaw Uprising of 1944 or by post of the 2nd Polish Army, operating, inter alia, at the end of the war in the Czechoslovak territory. territory, etc.

The interpretation (For what purpose, the goals of the creator or the client of the work was created, what and why was not depicted?). The pupils can perform the following tasks, which are mainly used to fix or repeat the curriculum: to organize the stamps chronologically according to the depicted events. To organize the stamps by their putting into circulation. We can find out/identify the students' knowledge of the depicted events, the type of media from which they have the information about events or people from, and assign small tasks from the media (Internet etc.) to deepen this information.

The reflection of historical events through the lens of the thematic philately also represents a possible solution to the primary student task – the correct orientation in time – in the arrangement of unsorted philatelic material with a distinction between the period and commemorative issues. It will strengthen the students' skills in the field of their knowledge, expertise and communication. For many decades, the stamp production has been naturally offering a variety of independent graduated demands. Whether they place the stamps in a blank form and thus practice the mentioned knowledge of chronology or they try to reflect on the political and regime changes in the relationship to individual topics/themes of history.

Examples of task formulations for work in teaching:

1) Analyse and compare pictorial, textual and numerical data on the submitted post stamps! Arrange chronologically and insert into the table! When sorting the philatelic material, distinguish between the period and annual (i.e. commemorative) depictions!

2) On the map of the *World War I 1914–1918*, search the places of formation of the individual military units (Kiev, Bayonne) and places of the battles with the participation of legionnaires by the data from the Czechoslovak commemorative issue of the foreign units!

3) On the map of *Central Europe at the beginning of World War II*, search the places of the uprisings, the military campaigns and the battles for the restoration and the territorial claims of the Polish state by the data of the commemorative Polish issue (2019). Use the Wikipedia to find out the result of the conflicts and enter them in a blind history map. Compare with the post-war (1945) changes of the boundaries. Estimate the primary consequences of these changes, especially the migration of the population!

4) Compare the two post stamps reflecting the same theme, which are separated by decades. The older one documents the current historical change, the annual one commemorates it in order to form a collective memory. Compare the texts, the individual objects, their symbolism, explain the differences!

In conclusion

The broad topic of modelling the political memory as a space of civic identification and cultivation of historical consciousness was presented here through a narrow sample of visual media. At the same time, the comparison of the philatelic material clearly pointed out the different traditions and approaches of both countries to the observed issues. The Czech Post primarily reflected the changes in the regime's relationship to the legionary tradition, but always limited itself to its symbolic significance for the legitimization of the statehood. In addition to Legionnaires' history, the Polish post stamps present and consolidate specific territorial claims and their legitimacy as a fundamental theme in the collective memory.

We also found a number of strongly propagandistic, symbolic and allegorical elements on the post stamps of both countries with the defined motifs. The elements described above have retained their legibility and unambiguous interpretation even with a retrospective look of the present. However, the use of this iconic text in teaching should not be limited to one source of information. Multiperspective is a desirable matter of course in modern (historical) teaching. The post stamps indicate tendencies in the priorities of the former society regarding stereotyped symbolism, personality cults, martial traditions or the legitimization of the existing establishment or adoration (or negation) of the previous regimes. However, as a reliable measure of the existence or extent of these propaganda manifestations, they are not sufficient and require further media comparison. At the elementary level, it is desirable to transfer this principle to the history teaching (although the contribution to the popularization of the medium will be, with regard to the age of the students, even a mere motivational or factual application).

Shaping the past and comprehending the present: The World of Russian émigré textbooks in the 1920s–1930s¹

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Kovalev M. (2021). Shaping the past and comprehending the present: The World of Russian émigré textbooks in the 1920s–1930s. *Czech-Polish Historical and Pedagogical Journal*, 13/2021/1, 55–68.

<https://doi.org/10.5817/cphpj-2021-005>

Russian emigration after the 1917 revolution gave birth to a special culture of memory and a specific historical consciousness. These processes were greatly influenced by the dramatic events of the recent past (the First World War, the Revolution of 1917, the Civil War and the Exodus), which took on the character of historical trauma. The article focuses on how Russian émigré scholars tried to interpret complex issues of the Russian past and present in history textbooks. In this article, the textbooks by three historians (E. F. Shmurlo, L. M. Sukhotin and R. Yu. Wipper) are analyzed. The author of the article attempts to understand how these scholars assessed the Russian imperial past, including expansion, and how they explained the reasons for the Revolution and the collapse of statehood in 1917.

Key words: *Russian émigré textbooks; historical trauma; historiography*

Introduction

Quite a lot is previously known about the Russian emigration that emerged as a result of revolutionary events of 1917 and the merciless Civil War. The subject became firmly ingrained in scientific research and it widely reflected in culture and art. We can say that emigration has turned into a cultural myth of sorts. A centenary of “Russian Exodus”, which was celebrated in 2020, once again confirmed its status. A keen interest in the historical experience of the Russian emigration is associated, among other things, with attempts to understand its reaction to historical ordeals and radical transformations, to analyze critically its experience of constructing the “places of memory” and going through historical traumas. In this regard, the history of Russian pedagogy abroad provides extensive material.

¹ The article prepared with the financial support of the Russian Science Foundation, project № 20-18-00482.

Foundation and development of the Russian school abroad, which would make it possible to continue and complete education for children and young people, had become one of the pressing issues for emigrants. This idea was inevitably faced with serious obstacles. Russian refugees were scattered all across the globe, and the development of communication level at that time could not provide an opportunity for global communications and exchange of information. The dire financial state of emigrants made it difficult to organize educational process. Among other difficulties were lack or even total absence of necessary textbooks and teaching aids. The deficit of textbooks created great difficulties and at the same time imposed a special responsibility on the teacher, demanding a high level of pedagogical skills.

A distinguished credibility among the émigré community was the *Textbook of Russian History for Secondary School* by academician Sergey Fedorovich Platonov, a Great Russian historian, which was published back in 1909, and then republished repeatedly. Demand for it was so high so in the mid-1920s the Prague publishing house *Plamya* issued its next edition.² The Second Pedagogical Convention held in Prague in 1925 recommended that teachers use pre-revolutionary textbooks and teaching aids in teaching Russian history: *Book on Russian history for primary schools* by K. O. Weichelt, M. N. Kovalensky, V. A. Petrushevsky, V. Y. Ulanov, *A Brief Russian History* by V. G. Lafin, *Textbook on Russian History* and a course of lectures by S. F. Platonov, a textbook on Russian history for the fifth and sixth grades by M. M. Bogoslovsky, *A Brief Russian History* by M. A. Davydkin, I. I. Seleznev, *Textbook on Russian History* by I. M. Kataev, *Textbook on Russian history: a systematic course* by I. V. Skvortsov.³ Despite of distinctiveness of these books, they no longer met requirements of the time and new historical realities. It was necessary to write new textbooks that would fill these gaps and at the same time meet the ideological guidelines of the emigration: its messianic attitudes and belief in the inevitable and fast restoration of Russia. Russian scientists who found themselves in a foreign land took the matter in their hands. As modern researchers have noted, “the world of Russian emigration textbooks was not limited to pre-revolutionary copies”.⁴

² Platonov, S. F. (1924). *Učebnik russkoj istorii dlja srednej školy: kurs sistematičeskij*. Praga: Plamja, č. 1 (238 pp.); Eadem (1925). *Učebnik russkoj istorii dlja srednej školy: kurs sistematičeskij*. Praga: Plamja, č. 2 (238 pp.).

³ Leeds Russian Archive, The Zengor Archive, Ms 1500, box 117 (179): Chekhoslovakiia. Pedagogičeskoe Biuro. Biulleten' i pečat. materialy. Komplekt Vestn. Ped. biuro (nepolnyi), 1927–1931, 1925–1926, folder 5/2/14.

⁴ Barannikova, N. B. – Bezrogov, V. G. (2017). *Praktika učebnogo knigoizdanija v russskom zarubežje: Berlinskij variant. Istoriko-pedagogičeskij žurnal*, no. 2, p. 160.

Emigrant history textbooks and teaching aids provide an ample amount of research material. For instance, they give a notion on the connections between ideology, science, politics, for they clearly express collective historical ideas, have their own heroes and myths, demonstrate the level of scientific development of their time, reflect both stable ideological constructions and acute memorial disputes, and contain their own areas of silence and oblivion. However, until now they have hardly come to the attention of either Russian or foreign specialists. Certainly, there are analytical assessments of educational narratives by individual authors or works on specific groups of textbooks (in this sense, textbooks for primary schools can be described as “fortunate”),⁵ but a generalizing picture has not yet been presented.

In this article, we will try to understand how history textbooks written by Russian emigrants reflected the events of the recent past, how the notion of Russia and its history was transformed under the influence of the crucial events of the first quarter of the 20th century. We will attempt to recognize the connection between the methods of shaping the past and comprehending the present, including understanding of historical crises. In this paper, we will review the legacy of three expatriate authors. Their textbooks became widespread in different parts of the Russian diaspora, reflecting various attempts to find answers to difficult historical questions.

Yevgeny Frantsevich Shmurlo and his textbooks

In 1922, the textbook *History of Russia. 862–1917*⁶ appeared on the shelves of European bookstores. The author was Yevgeny Frantsevich Shmurlo (1853–1934), a prominent scientist, corresponding member of The Imperial Saint Petersburg Academy of Sciences. Before the revolution, he gained fame as a prominent specialist in the study of the era of Peter the Great, as well as Russian-Italian relations, and he was among the discoverers of the Vatican archives for the world science. Shmurlo finished his textbook in March 1922 in Rome, where he lived since 1903, holding the post of a scientific correspondent of the Academy of Sciences. Behind him were years of professorship in Saint Petersburg and Dorpat/Yurjev, fruitful work in European archives, publications of notable scientific works and collections

⁵ Ibid., pp. 159–180; Sedova, E. E. – Terenja, Ju. Ju. (2013). Učebniki dlja načal'nyh klassov kak sredstvo nacional'nogo vospitanija v ruskom zarubežje “pervoj volny”, In Barannikova, N. B., Bezrogov, V. G. (eds.), *Učebniki detstva. Iz istorii škol'noj knigi VII–XXI vekov*. Moskva: RGGU, pp. 116–141

⁶ Šmurlo, E. F. (1922). *Istorija Rossii. 862–1917*. Munchen: Grad Kitež (565 pp.).

of documents, and, in addition, a revolution that he did not accept, and which forced him to stay forever in a foreign land. Shmurlo's textbook was the first to get widespread use among the émigré community. Although in 1920 in New York, a textbook *Discussions on Russian History* by V. A. Yakhontov was published, but it did not become widely known, and in terms of volume, the book was four times smaller than Shmurlo's textbook.

Now, let us pay attention to the release date of Shmurlo's book – it is 1922. Not that long ago Russia experienced the Civil War, the USSR had not yet been officially formed, the memories of the exodus lived too vividly in the memory of the Russian refugees, but at the same time, they all still shared a belief in an upcoming return back. In the early 1920s, staying in a foreign country seemed only a temporary ordeal. Nevertheless, the older generation of exiles was concerned about the education of the younger generation. Many Russian children studied in foreign schools, therefore, their curricula did not provide for the systematic study of Russian history. The older generation of emigrants was worried about possible denationalization. National history became for them the most important standing point, and many reduced its teaching to the task of preserving national and cultural identity abroad. Researchers have long noted the importance of the communicative aspect of historical memories, since through telling the history, subjects realize and construct their own identity⁷. Construction of specific historical narratives fits into the intellectual culture of almost every diaspora and émigré community.⁸

Soon after the publication of *History of Russia* in Munich, the Prague publishing house *Plamya* published *Introduction to Russian History* (1924). It was not a serial publication of the previous work, for it set different tasks, a different range of issues and had a new target audience. In the preface, the author specified that his book came out of university lectures, and that in the book he strove to give general ideas on the peculiarities of the Russian historical process without presenting well-known facts and events. However, this book was not the last one. Shmurlo worked hard on a generalizing course of Russian history until the end of the 1920s, which became a kind of conclusion of all his scientific activities. His three volumes (the second

⁷ Rūsen, J. (2000). Ideal'nyj učebnik. Razmyšlenija o putevoditele i posrednike istoričeskogo obučenija, in: Bakonis, E. (ed.), *Učebnik: desjat' raznych mnenij*. Vil'nyus: Institut pedagogiki Litovskoj respubliki, p. 35.

⁸ Cf. e.g.: Ochs, K. (2006). International Migration and its impact on education: a look at Germany and the USA. *Research in Comparative and international education*, no. 4, pp. 381–392; Glynn, I., Olaf Kleist, J. et al. (2012). *History, Memory and Migration. Perceptions of the Past and the Politics of Incorporation*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan (251 pp.); Myers, K. (2015). *Struggles for a Past: Irish and Afro-Caribbean Histories in England, 1951–2000*. Manchester: Manchester University Press (275 pp.).

volume consisted of two parts) were published in Prague during 1931–1935 with a miserable print run of 100 copies. If *History of Russia* was aimed at school-age readers, then *Introduction to Russian History* and *Course of Russian History* were aimed at students.

When reading all three of his works, the author's commitment to one of the general lines of Russian historiography of the 19th century catches the attention – increased focus on the historical role of the state, which clearly reflected the spirit of the people who created it. Shmurlo believes that the Russians are obviously such people⁹. Let us pay attention to the seemingly paradoxical fact – the historian was of Polish-Lithuanian origin. However, it should not be surprising in the context of the historical experience of Russian imperial integration and specific understanding of ethnicity. A considerable number of representatives of non-Russian nationalities were zealously involved in the processes of state-political, economic and cultural development of the empire, while creating a very special identity. Another quality of Shmurlo's narratives is that they were greatly influenced by the postulates of geographical determinism. Following V. O. Klyuchevsky, he considered colonization to be one of the main elements of Russian history. It becomes the main metaphor of the textbook. Moreover, the colonization movement is viewed as a desire to find optimal natural boundaries and to protect oneself from hostile neighbors.¹⁰ Therefore, the expansion to the East is seen as historically predetermined, it is explained by the necessity to defend oneself against the constant onslaught of “*semi-barbarian tribes and steppe nomads*”: “... constant conflicts between these Asians inevitably drew us into their affairs. A cultural nation cannot show indifference to the squabbles and feuds of neighboring half-savage folks, since these conflicts will always respond unfavorably on development of such nation. Whether through patronage or conquest, these forces always have to be restrained, enemy land must be occupied or a hedge must be erected in order to shield and ensure the daily life of peaceful people from possible violations”.¹¹ It is curious that practically all of the wars waged by Russia were assessed as imposed, and the policy of the Western states towards it as treacherous and hypocritical.

In his textbooks, Shmurlo without doubt emphasized the positive developments that were brought by Russian colonization: “*Russian Drang nach Osten was a victory of European civilization over the Asian East*”.¹² He has a chresthomatic views on the historical merit of Russia, which shielded Europe from the Asian onslaught.

⁹ Šmurlo, E. F. (1924). *Vvedenie v rusckuju istoriju*. Praga: Plamja, p. 70.

¹⁰ Šmurlo, E. F. (2000). *Kurs rusckoj istorii. Tom 1: Vozniknovenie i obrazovanie rusckogo gosudarstva*. Sankt-Peterburg: Aleteja, p. 45.

¹¹ Šmurlo, E. F. (1924). *Vvedenie v rusckuju istoriju*, pp. 131–132.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 138.

In addition, Russia brought citizenship to the reattached peoples, introduced them to enlightenment and Christian culture. The civilizing mission in Asia becomes, in the eyes of the historian, one of the main historical objectives. Russia must give the East in a peaceful and non-violent way the features of a European-Christian civilization. Shmurlo constantly emphasizes in his text the European identity of Russia. In his opinion, Europe is a symbol of culture, development and progress, and the East embodies stagnation and barbarism.¹³ Reflections on Russian history and especially on the imperial period Shmurlo built around the idea of confrontation between West and East. In this confrontation, Russia was assigned a messianic role as a “*frontline fighter for Europe against Asia*”.¹⁴ Historian formed this concept long before the revolution and since then had become an integral part of his worldview.¹⁵

Shmurlo's ideological constructs logically correlated with the intellectual quests of Russian pre-revolutionary historiography. The golden age of national history and construction of models of the past began back in the 19th century. According to N. E. Koposov, such concepts of history were transmitted into the mass consciousness primarily through the school system and mass literature. Textbooks became one of the genres of the “national novel”, a kind of “autobiography of the nation”.¹⁶ Pre-revolutionary Russian authors substantiated the idea of the state's special role, which acted as the “major agent of civilization”.¹⁷ Increased attention to the role of the state migrated to the émigré textbooks, but their authors faced the most difficult task – to explain the recent rapid collapse of Russian statehood and relate it to all the country's previous experience. Shmurlo gave rather vague answers to this matter. Therefore, it is essential to compare his textbooks with the works of other émigré authors.

Textbooks by Lev Mikhailovich Sukhotin

Textbooks by Lev Mikhailovich Sukhotin (1879–1948) appeared in the educational space of Russia Abroad in the mid-1920s. He was of Oryol-Tula noble family, known for its relations with I. S. Turgenev. Another family line connected him with the literary community: his father's, Mikhail Sergeevich Sukhotin, second marriage

¹³ Ibid., pp. 110, 146–147; Šmurlo, E. F. (1922). *Istorija Rossii. 862–1917*, p. VI.

¹⁴ Šmurlo, E. F. (1924). *Vvedenie v russkiju istoriju*, p. 139.

¹⁵ Suvorov, V. V. (2017). *Formirovanie položitelnogo obraza Vostoka v rossijskojm obrazovannom obščestvě vo vtoroj polovine XIX – načale XX veka*. Saratov: Izdatel'stvo SGMU, p. 100.

¹⁶ Radkau, W. (2000). Podgotovka učebnika v Germanii, In Bakonis, E. (ed.), *Učebnik: desjat' raznyh mnenij*. Vil'nyus: Institut pedagogiki Litovskoj respubliky, p. 108.

¹⁷ Koposov, N. E. (2011) *Pamjat' strogogo režima: istorija i politika v Rossii*. Moskva: NLO, p. 33.

was to Tatyana Lvovna Tolstaya, the daughter of the great writer. L. M. Sukhotin studied at the Faculty of History and Philology of Moscow University from 1898 to 1903. After graduation, he preferred to engage in social activities. However, sudden health problems in 1907–1908 forced Sukhotin to leave his job in the local government of the Tula province. He settled in Moscow, entered the service in the Main Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and returned to science.¹⁸ He was widely known for his scientific works on Russian history in the 16th – 17th centuries and above all for publication of valuable sources.

The revolution split the noble family. L. M. Sukhotin joined the White movement, and after its defeat, on March 1, 1920, he emigrated with his family.¹⁹ At the same time, his younger brother, Aleksey (1888–1942) remained in Soviet Russia and became one of the leading specialists in the field of Slavic, Indo-Iranian and Turkic linguistics. L. M. Sukhotin ended up in the Balkans and, after his wanderings as refugee, he arrived in Belgrade on April 22, 1920. There, he turned to school teaching and from 1931 to 1941, he occupied a position of a headmaster of Russian-Serbian women's gymnasium. Sukhotin was known as a distinguished popularizer of the Russian language in Serbian community.²⁰ It is significant that after the occupation of Yugoslavia by the Germans in the spring of 1941, Sukhotin was dismissed from his post as headmaster of the gymnasium, and his textbook on Russian history was "triumphantly burned" by the Germanophile emigrants.²¹ In 1947, he moved to his son in Belgium, where he died.

Sukhotin was the only author who developed the entire line of school textbooks, including both the history of Russia²² and the history of foreign countries.²³ Furthermore, unlike Shmurló's works, his textbooks passed official approval – they were approved by the Council at the State Commission of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes for Russian Refugees as teaching aids for Russian

¹⁸ Gosudarstvennyj archiv Rossijskoj Federacii, f. 5881, op. 1, d. 53, pp. 2–3.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

²⁰ Končarevič, K. (2012). Vklad ruskoj diaspory v praktiku sostavlenija učebnikov po ruskomu jazyku dlja serbskoj auditoria. In *Ruska dijaspora i izučavanje ruskog jezika i ruske kulture u inoslovenskom i inostranom okruženju (Beograd, 1–2 jun. 2011): Referati*. Beograd: Slavističko društvo Srbije, p. 257, 263–264.

²¹ Archiv Rossijskoj Akademii nauk, f. 624, op. 4, d. 219, p. 1 ob.

²² Suchotin, L. M. (1926). *Učebnik ruskoj istorii. Mladšij kurs. Č. 1*. Novi Sad: Russkaja tipografija Filonova (110 pp.); Eadem (1927). *Učebnik ruskoj istorii. Mladšij kurs. Č. 2*. Novi Sad: Russkaja tipografija Filonova (143 pp.).

²³ Suchotin, L. M. (1925). *Istorija Drevnego mira: učebnoe rukovodstvo dlja srednej školy*. Belgrad (191 pp.); Eadem (1929). *Istorija Srednich vekov: učebnoe rukovodstvo dlja srednej školy*. Belgrad (244 pp.); Eadem (1931). *Istorija Novogo vremeni: učebnoe rukovodstvo dlja srednej školy*. Belgrad (208 pp.).

secondary schools. Sukhotin's textbook on Russian history, published in two parts in 1926–1927, was oriented towards the elementary course and was intended for gymnasium students of III–IV grades. The first part of the book covered the period from the history of the Eastern Slavs in ancient time to the Time of Troubles, the second part from the first Romanovs to the revolution of 1917. The author preferred to give account to events as they happened rather than imposing his opinion. He was convinced that history retold this way is easier for a schoolchild to perceive and understand at the age of 12–13. The second part was focused on children of 13–15 years old and therefore there was a gradual complication of the material, introduction of theory and assessments.

Like Shmurlo, the author perceives Russian history as the gradual development of surrounding areas by the Russian people, primarily in the East. At the same time, he clearly traced the empire's genealogy to Peter the Great, under whom Russia entered the "*family of civilized countries of Europe*".²⁴ Peter the Great was an embodiment of the empire for him not only with his official title, but also with all his power and spirit. When reflecting on the annexation of new territories, especially Asian lands, Sukhotin emphasized the "*low level of civilization*" of the indigenous population. Meanwhile, he is by no means inclined to hush up the facts of numerous national uprisings and their brutal suppression, for example, the uprising of the Bashkirs under Peter the Great or the Cossack unrest. Nevertheless, at the same time, he explained the actions of the government by state necessity. For example, devastation of the Ukrainian city of Baturin by A. D. Menshikov in 1708 acquitted as a response to the betrayal of hetman Ivan Mazepa.²⁵ Sukhotin has positive assessments of the imperial policy in the Caucasus and Central Asia. He did not delve too deeply into the reasons for Russia's expansion in these regions, but only repeated the popular opinion of his contemporaries on the necessity to protect the borders from the raids of warlike hill-people or "*restless Kyrgyz*"²⁶.

Sukhotin by no means idealized the czarist regime. He admitted that there was social inequality in Russia, that often governance was ineffective, enlightenment affected only the upper class, imperial splendor was only a decoration that covered up internal defects. The success of foreign policies and the rise of culture did not contribute to the improvement of the social system. The government did not meet the expectations of society; many representatives of the upper class stopped believing in a possibility of reformation and felt disposition towards revolutionary attitudes. It undermined stability of the empire, especially in connection with aggravated foreign affairs.

²⁴ Suchotin, L. M. (1926). *Učebnik russoj istorii. Mladšij kurs. Č. 1*, p. 61.

²⁵ Suchotin, L. M. (1927). *Učebnik russoj istorii. Mladšij kurs. Č. 2*, p. 55.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 118.

Remarkably, in his works, Sukhotin did not mention anything about labor issue, ideas of Marxism and formation of social democratic circles, as if Bolsheviks appeared out of nowhere. Incidentally, he did not differentiate a radical opposition movement in any way, its representatives were labeled as “revolutionaries”, “terrorists”, “left-wingers”, regardless of the differences and disagreements between them, including on tactical issues. As a result, both political assassinations of the early 20th century and participation in the First Russian Revolution were described as the result of actions of some abstract, impersonal forces. Significantly, Sukhotin did not name any of the revolutionaries of the early 20th century, not even V. I. Lenin, but he mentioned their victims – the Minister of Internal Affairs V. K. Plehve and Grand Duke Sergei Alexandrovich.

In all fairness, Sukhotin did not describe revolutionaries as bloody fanatics. Sometimes it seems that he paid more attention to external forces rather than internal ones. It is important for him to show that the Western powers looked with distrust at the strengthening of Russia, they tried to prevent it and harm the country, constantly interfered in its internal affairs, and provoked national movements. Treacherousness of the Western powers in Sukhotin’s opinion is demonstrated by constant references to attempts to drag Russia into estranged conflicts. We shall pay attention to the story of the Russian-Japanese war of 1904–1905. It was perceived by the author both as a national catastrophe and as a place of heroic memory. It is no coincidence that he devotes significant amount of attention to it than to the Patriotic War of 1812. The Battle of Tsushima is described in more detail than the Battle of Poltava and Borodino all together. Sukhotin emphasizes the role of Germany in organizing the Revolution of 1917 and its direct participation in the delivery of prominent revolutionary leaders from emigration to Russia.

In conclusion, in Sukhotin’s educational narratives like in Shmurlo’s, a big attention is paid to imperial history. Expansion of territories, colonization, civilizing mission become the main metaphors of the textbook. However, motive for the struggle against the Asian is less pronounced in Sukhotin’s works than in his older colleague’s, but he also sees an idea of Russia’s civilizing mission in the East as more important. Sukhotin understands the empire’s crisis more deeply than Shmurlo. While recognizing the numerous miscalculations of the imperial government, he, nevertheless, is too carried away by the external factor, looking for Russia’s enemies outside its borders.

Textbooks by Robert Yuryevich Wipper

In this part we will see how Robert Yuryevich Wipper (1859–1954), one of the most talented scientists of his time, whose destiny took many bizarre turns in history, related to the subject of Russian history and understanding of the empire’s crisis.

A student of V. I. Guerrier and V. O. Klyuchevski, in 1894 he was at once awarded a doctorate for his dissertation “Church and State in Geneva in the 16th century in the era of Calvinism”. Afterwards, he taught in Odessa and Moscow. Wipper did not accept the revolution and in 1924 he left for Riga, where until 1941 he was a professor at the University of Latvia. After the accession of the Baltic to the USSR in 1940, he received an invitation to return to Moscow. In 1943, he was ceremonially elected the Academician of the Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union. There was a rumor that I.V. Stalin appreciated his book on Ivan the Terrible, written back in 1922, which gave a positive assessment of the first Russian czar.²⁷ Long before the revolution, Wipper prepared a series of textbooks, which then were reprinted many times.²⁸ He was fascinated by the theory and practice of teaching the history, having published many articles on this topic before the revolution in the magazines like *Historical Review*, *Russian School* and *Educational Herald*. During the years of emigration, the professor was actively involved in the formation of the Russian school in Latvia. In 1919, the ethnic minorities of this Baltic republic, which included the Russians, received autonomy in organizing school affairs and the right to be taught in their native language. Special national departments were created under the Ministry of Education. Thereby, Russian schools were included in the state educational system and received support from the authorities.²⁹ Specially for the students of these schools, in 1925–1928 Whipper wrote a series of three history textbooks, each of which chronologically covered a particular period – Ancient times, Middle Ages, New History.³⁰

In his textbooks, the professor abandoned the linear interpretation of history. For him, it seemed beyond doubt that in the history of different nations and states there are periods of emergence, development, decline, downfall, and that similar phenomena tend to repeat in different eras. For example, he clearly noticed the modern echoes of civil wars in ancient Rome, tried to find in ancient history examples of the escalation of external military conflicts into inner civil discords. As early as 1923, Wipper published a collection of essays called *The Cycle of History*,

²⁷ Burdej, G. D. (1991). *Istoriik i vojna, 1941–1945*. Saratov: Izdatel'stvo SGU, pp. 46, 187, 189.

²⁸ Wipper, R. Ju. (1900). *Učebnik Drevnej istorii*. Moskva; Eadem (1903). *Učebnik istorii Srednich vekov*. Moskva; Eadem (1911). *Kratkij učebnik istorii Srednich vekov*. Moskva; Eadem (1912). *Kratkij učebnik Novoj istorii*. Moskva; Eadem (1914). *Drevnyaja Evropa i Vostok: učebnik dlja mladšich klassov gimnazij*. Moskva.

²⁹ Fejgmane, T. (2000). *Russkie v dovoennoj Latvii: na puti k integracii*. Riga, pp. 245–246.

³⁰ Wipper, R. Ju. (1925). *Učebnik istorii: Drevnost'*. Riga: Walters i Rapa (237 pp.); Eadem (1925). *Učebnik istorii: Srednie veka*. Riga: Walters i Rapa (290 pp.); Eadem (1928). *Učebnik istorii: Novoe vremja*. Riga (474 pp.).

in which he tried to explain his views³¹. These essays were written between 1917 and 1920 and reflected the author's desire to understand the events he went through: "I involuntarily wanted to distract myself from the immediate and direct experience, due to which the present seems to be the result of recent catastrophes, war and civil discord. On the contrary, in the very catastrophes I wanted to see the natural consequences of the fatal realities inherent in the previous culture, which we used to call the culture of the 19th century".³² He was frightened by the onslaught of unrestrained and uncontrollable technical progress, which in practice turned into improvement of destructive weapons; pressuring intolerance between different peoples, hypocrisy of the ruling classes, social exclusion, cruelty and belligerency, moral decline, ideological contradictions and, as a consequence of all this, the decline of culture. Wipper did not believe that the reason of this crisis was the First World War. In his opinion, it was only "an indicator and result of the collapse of the entire system of European life".³³ If we conclude the author's position to one thesis, then Wipper was a critic of "militant imperialism", the integral parts of which in his opinion were colonial conquests and industrialization.

Wipper's idea of the historical process unity was reflected in his understanding of the subject of Russian history. Perhaps, the main feature of his Latvian textbooks was that he included Russian history in the context of the world history. This approach was fundamentally new and not typical for pre-revolutionary educational narratives. Wipper, being a talented historian and thoughtful observer, could not help but realize the global nature of the upheavals that took place in his time, the very spirit of the era, which so clearly demonstrated the crisis of civilization for him. He tried to understand the Russia's place in these processes. Wipper's textbooks reflected the views of a person who survived the horrors of the First World War, revolution, exile and loss of faith in the irreversible progress of mankind. In his textbook on New History published in 1908 he wrote that one of the main features of modern times that distinguishes it from all previous eras is "rapid, unstoppable movement forward in all aspects of working life and especially the growing triumph of knowledge and intelligence".³⁴ Twenty years later, he was not so optimistic. In his textbook written during the emigration, he lavishly describes the merciless nature of the war, which plunged "cultural Europe" into the depths of barbarism: "Back in 1870, Germany announced that it was fighting

³¹ Wipper, R. Ju. (1923). *Krugovorot istorii*. Moskva – Berlin: Vozroždenie (202 pp.).

³² Ibid., pp. 5–6.

³³ Ibid., p. 17.

³⁴ Wipper R. Ju. (1908). *Učebnik Novoj istorii. 3-je izdanie*. Moskva: Tipografija tovarišestva I. N. Kušnerev i K°, p. 2.

only the French army, not the people. In the recent war, the opponents mercilessly took all provisions from the population of the occupied territories, and the population of these regions was reduced to the position of convict slaves, who performed the most difficult job of building fortifications for the victors. Vast expanses of the land were completely desolate, the best workers in all professions were killed or mutilated. The greatest possible harm was inflicted on the civilians: German submarines sank transatlantic steamers with thousands of civilian passengers on board, aeronauts dropped bombs over London and Paris".³⁵ However, many European intellectuals shared Wipper's apocalyptic attitude. While writing of the horrors of a war that clearly made him disillusioned with progress, Whipper was nevertheless extremely cautious in making predictions for the future of Europe and the world. It is difficult to say whether this silence was caused by a special understanding of history as a science of the past. Apparently, he cut off his narration in the textbook by stating the facts that the Versailles Conference was convened and the League of Nations was formed, which was supposed to forestall such conflicts in future. It is unlikely that in the late 1920s he could guess how soon and how rapidly the situation in the world would change, and how unexpectedly his own life would turn out.

In order to understand the causes of the crisis, one had to look closely into the past and try to find answers there. Such speculations resulted in Wipper's rather restrained, if not critical, perception of the Russian imperial project. Contrary to many of his predecessors, he expressed a decidedly positive attitude towards Ivan III and Ivan IV, supported the importance of their political, economic and military deeds, and at the same time criticized the Romanovs, and Peter the Great in particular. Creation of the Russian Empire was perceived by him, first of all, as a return to the European family of nations, as an opportunity to make up for lost time in science, culture, and arts during compulsory fight against nomadic Asia. However, at the same time, the Russian rulers embarked on the dangerous path of imperialist conquests and interference in international affairs, sometimes in spite of national interests.

Wipper faced a difficult task of how to explain to young readers the reasons for the death of the Russian Empire, and how to make sure that his explanation would not turn them away from their own past. Indeed, reflections on history often aroused negative perceptions in the children of immigrants. Speaking about the crisis, Wipper did not blame outside forces or revolutionaries with their machinations, but the inability of state power and the bureaucracy generated by it to rule a huge country effectively in a dynamically changing world. For these

³⁵ Wipper, R. Ju. (1928). *Učebnik istorii: Novoe vremja*, p. 451.

reasons, the Russian Empire at the turn of the XIX–XX centuries is described in his textbook as a country whose external power did not correspond to its inner state. Rapid development of capitalism and the breakdown of the traditional way of life set tasks that the old bureaucracy was unable to cope with. It followed from the textbook that the growth of revolutionary attitudes at the turn of the century was by no means an accident, but quite natural process. In general, Wipper is characterized by a largely sympathetic attitude towards Russian revolutionaries and an extraordinarily detailed description of political events in Russia at the beginning of the 20th century compared to other textbooks. He focused on the facts of brutal suppression by the authorities of any dissenting views. For this purpose, for example, he inserted into the textbook a story on how suppressors of the December armed uprising in Moscow in 1905 burned down the workers' quarters of the Presnya district and hanged the station employees on the Kazan railway, who they suspected to be sympathetic for the rebels.³⁶ To be fair, we must mention that he criticized the opposition as well, because of the discord in ranks of whose the First Russian Revolution did not fulfill its goals. While Shmurlo and Sukhotin briefly, in a nutshell outlined this period, Wipper presented the readers with a detailed picture filled with facts.

Difficult issues

The positivist approach, which prevailed in teaching of history, instilled in students a monolithic concept of the past, and the process of cognition itself was reduced to memorizing the facts available in the textbook. Emigrant textbooks did not completely break with this tradition. However, the emigrant school and education system developed under special conditions. Intellectual culture of the Russian emigration was formed in the borderland between different traditions and under the influence of crucial historical events.

Authors of almost all textbooks, without exception, faced difficulties in comprehending the modern times they were living in, and therefore tried to bypass the “difficult issues”. For example, Sukhotin made it plain that the most briefly in his textbook he mentioned the events of the last twenty years, since this period “has not yet become part of history and the objective assessment of this period is quit difficult to present”³⁷ Shmurlo was also careful in his assessments when reflecting on the causes of the revolution. On the pages of his textbook published in 1922, he wrote that only in future it would be possible to assess objectively the

³⁶ Ibid., pp. 437–438.

³⁷ Suchotin, L. M. (1927). *Učebnik russkoj istorii. Mladšij kurs. Č. 2*, p. 4.

causes of the events they were experiencing at that time. However, he nevertheless mentioned that the autocracy made a fatal mistake: it created a huge empire, but at the same time, it did nothing to contribute to the transformation of its subjects into citizens.³⁸

The textbooks contained a largely idealized image of the Russian past. However, this idealization did not mean reconciliation with pre-revolutionary political system, the opponents of which were many emigrants. The authors of the textbooks only tried to find ideal objects in the past, special “places of memory” that would brighten up the gloomy émigré everyday life. The imperial period was assessed as a time of missed, unrealized opportunities: constant rushing from reform to reaction, late abolition of serfdom, overlong absence of civil liberties, and belated introduction of parliamentary system of government.³⁹ At the same time, the very historical path of Russia was by no means considered a dead end by Shmurlo, Sukhotin and Wipper, they gave positive assessment to the imperial project, regardless of the views of a particular author. This approach is easy to explain, because even before the revolution, Russian expansionism “*was formed by competing philosophies, each of which represented a specific view of the fate of Russia as an empire*”.⁴⁰

The authors of the emigrant textbooks set themselves a difficult logical problem. In one way or another, they tried to fit the history of Russia into the context of general history, but at the same time, they wanted to emphasize the historical exceptionalism of their country. They denied the expansionist character of the Russian Empire, but welcomed its eastward expansion. They criticized the exploitative aspirations of Europeans, but often did not notice the national contradictions in their own country. Textbooks on Russian history engaged into controversy with the more critical worldview of many ordinary emigrants, especially common among children and young people. However, at the same time, they strove to “heal” young people from negative attitudes towards their own history and its bearers from the loss of Russian identity. It is clear that writing about the events of the recent past was not easy for the authors of textbooks, even from a personal, human point of view. Memories were too painful to bear. They evoked thoughts about the lost homeland and about the tragic events that they had to endure. On the one hand, there was an obvious desire to understand the roots of the historical upheavals that had taken place, and, on the other hand, memories of the recent past traumatized the soul and reopened the unhealed wounds.

³⁸ Šmurlo, E. F. (1922). *Istorija Rossii. 862–1917*, p. 552.

³⁹ Kovalev, M. V. (2014). Imperskaja ideja v učebnyh narrativach ruskoj emigracii 1920–1930-ch godov. *Istorija*, vol. 5, no. 4 (27). URL: <https://history.jes.su/s207987840000732-4-1/>

⁴⁰ Schimmelpenninck van der Oye, D. (2001). Ideologija imperii v Rossii imperskogo perioda. *Ab Imperio*, no. 1–2, p. 215.

Czechoslovaks and Poles in Royal Air Force During the Battle of Britain

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Binar, A. (2021). Czechoslovaks and Poles in Royal Air Force During the Battle of Britain. *Czech-Polish Historical and Pedagogical Journal*, 13/2021/1, 69–84.
<https://doi.org/10.5817/cphpj-2021-006>

The study deals with the involvement of foreign pilots in the Battle of Britain, both Czechoslovaks and Poles. Until now, there have been number of studies and monographies describing the formation and deployment of Czechoslovak and Pole pilots. Yet there has been no comparison of both sides. That is why this study focuses on a comparison of the legal status of Czechoslovak and Polish air force units, as well as their numbers, formations, and their structure. Using this approach, the aim is to answer in which aspects there were similarities and in which there were differences, thus, to set the phenomenon of Czechoslovak and Polish pilots in the RAF within a mutual context.

Key words: *Czechoslovak air force units; Polish air force units; Royal Air Force; Battle of Britain; 1940; Second World War*

During the Battle of Britain, the Royal Air Force (RAF) defeated the German Air Force (Luftwaffe). According to the British, the battle took place from July 10 to October 31, 1940.¹ In its course, there were not only pilots of the British Commonwealth who prevailed, but also fighter pilots from other nations, among whom the most significant numbers included Poles and Czechoslovaks. Their deployment, however, has been studied from a predominantly Czech(oslovak) and Polish point of view.

Both historiographies offer stories of their achievements, but in one important aspect the accounts are lacking. That aspect is analytic comparison,² which is why

¹ As mentioned below, since the Germans who initiated the battle were for a long time uncertain what to do, the beginning and the end of the battle varies. Germans, for example, consider the end of the battle to be on May 16, 1941.

² The research of Czechoslovak-Polish relations during the Second World War, including relations between armed forces is well established. The most comprehensive title represents: Friedl, J. (2005). *Na jedné frontě. Vztahy československé a polské armády za druhé světové války* [On the same Front. Relations of Czechoslovak and Polish Army during the Second World War]. Praha: ÚSD AV ČR.

the goal of this study is to present a generalized balance of their deployment, based strictly on facts. This approach especially benefits from the work of Polish historian Piotr M. Majewski.³

Since 1940, there have been number of publications, mostly by witnesses of these events that pertain to the involvement of Czechoslovak and Polish pilots in the Battle of Britain. However, a critical approach was unavailable for years.⁴ But the ‘magic’ year of 1989 was the key moment that enabled proper research on this topic without interpretations that conformed to the aims of the then communist regime.⁵

³ Majewski, P. M. (2004). *Nierozegrana kampania. Możliwości obronne Czechosłowacji jesienią 1938 roku* [The Unopened Campaign. Defence Abilities of Czechoslovakia in Autumn 1938]. Warszawa: Trio; Idem (2016). *Zmarnowana szansa? Możliwości obrony Czechosłowacji jesienią 1938 roku* [The Lost Chance. Abilities of Defence of Czechoslovakia in Autumn 1938]. Gdańsk: Muzeum II Wojny Światowej. The translation of this book into Czech language makes in fact its third, extended, issue: Idem (2018). *Bojovat, či ustoupit? Možnosti obrany Československa na podzim 1938* [To Fight or to Retreat? Abilities of Defence of Czechoslovakia in Autumn 1938]. Brno: Conditio Humana – Muzeum II Wojny Światowej.

⁴ Pertaining to sheer number of facts there are some older works that could be with critical approach used in present day, e.g.: Biegański, W. at al. (1981). *Polski czyn zbrojny w II Wojnie Światowej. Walki formacji Polskich na Zachodzie 1939–1945* [Polish Armed Resistance in the World War II. Deployment of Polish Formations in the West 1939–1945]. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Ministerstwa Obrony Narodowej; Iwanowski, W. (1976). *Z dziejów formacji polskich na Zachodzie 1939–1945* [From the History of Polish Formations in the West 1939–1945]. Warszawa: Ministerstwo Obrony Narodowej; Šmoldas, Z. (1987). *Českoslovenští letci v boji proti fašismu* [Czechoslovak Pilots in Combat against Fascism]. Praha: Naše vojsko.

⁵ In first place, there is number of synthesis on Polish exile army, for example: Peszke, M. A. (2013). *The Armed Forces of Poland in the West 1939–46. Strategic Concepts, Planning, Limited Success but no Victory!* Solihull: Helion & Company. Among titles devoted to Polish air force units see for example: Król, W. (1990). *Zarys działań polskiego lotnictwa w Wielkiej Brytanii 1940–1945* [Brief History of Polish Air Force in Great Britain 1940–1940]. Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Komunikacji i Łączności. The value of this books is due to fact that brings number of key pieces of information pertaining organization and deployment of Polish air force units. Rajlich, J. (1994). *310. stíhací peruť* [No. 310 Fighter Squadron]. Plzeň: Mustang; Rajlich, J. (2003). *Na nebi hrdého Albionu. Válečný deník československých letců ve službách britského letectva 1940–1945. 1. část, 1940* [On the Sky of Proud Albion. Military Journal of Czechoslovak Aviators in Service of British Air Force 1940–1945. Volume 1, 1940]. Praha: Ares – Naše vojsko; Rajlich, J. (2004). *Esá na obloze* [Aces on the Sky]. Praha: Naše vojsko; Sojda, G. – Śliżewski, G. – Hodyra, P. (2016). *Ci cholerni Polacy! Polskie Siły Powietrzne w bitwie o Anglię* [Those Damned Poles! Polish Air Force in the Battle of England]. Warszawa: Alma-Press. Other sources are quoted continuously.

This study benefits from both Czechoslovak and Polish historiography, since there were a number of texts pertaining to the deployment of Czechoslovaks and Poles in the Battle of Britain, although their choice could be only selective from the same characteristics belonging to archival resources.

The study is divided into six chapters, while the last one is a mutual comparison of main aspects, such as the legal framework of military deployment, the organisation of units and the results of their deployment in quantitative terms. The primary goal of this approach is to answer the question in which aspects the deployment of Czechoslovaks and Poles was unique and in which there were similarities. A final aim is to shed new light on the knowledge of their activities in which neither side is perceived as separated.

Battle of Britain

The Battle of Britain⁶ lasted, as indicated above, three and two thirds months and during its course underwent a number of changes. The key moment was July 16, 1940 when Adolf Hitler issued his Directive No. 16, i.e. an order to prepare invasion to the British Isles. Since there was indisputable superiority of the British Royal Navy over the Kriegsmarine (German Navy), the only option was to gain dominance in the air. That goal was not, however, expressed until August 1, 1940 in Directive No. 17.

By that time, the Luftwaffe in fact represented the most formidable air force in the world, combining two air fleets (Luftflotten) with nearly 2,700 airplanes against Britain, including nearly 950 fighter planes.

Britain, despite having fewer airplanes than Germans, totalling some 700 fighter planes, had its anti-aircraft system available, based on radar technology (so called Chain Home) and a highly effective organisation of its air defence command.

On the other hand, at the beginning of the battle, the Luftwaffe (German Air Force) lacked clear instructions on how to proceed. That is why its planes began attacking harbours on the southern English shoreline. But in a couple of weeks, Reichsmarschall Hermann Göring, the high commander of the German Air Force, ordered a reassessment of focus to defeat the Royal Air Force. During this phase of the battle that began on August 13, 1940, the Luftwaffe primarily assaulted

⁶ See e.g.: Cooper, M. (1981). *The German Air Force 1933-1945. An Anatomy of Failure*. New York: Jane's Publishing; Haining, Peter (2004). *Where the Eagle Landed. The Mystery of the German Invasion of Britain, 1940*. London: Robson Books; Lake, J. (2000). *The Battle of Britain*. Ontario: Prospero Books; Ray, J. P. (2003). *The Battle of Britain. Dowding and the First Victory, 1940*. London: Cassell.

British airports and bases and, later on, targeted the factories of the British aeronautics industry.

By the beginning of September, the German high command of the Luftwaffe, under influence of incorrect information that Royal Air Force was nearly defeated, decided once again to change its strategy. After September 7, 1940, the German planes would attack London in order to weaken the British will to resist. At the expense of civil inhabitants, the RAF and vital industrial complexes were protected against threat, enabling the restoration of full combat power for the British air forces. The Germans continued with this strategy until the end of 1940, although after October 31, 1940, the British ceased to consider Luftwaffe attacks as a serious menace and by that time the battle de facto ended.

Royal Air Force managed to shoot down more German planes than they lost. It is said that the RAF most likely lost 1,087 planes compared to 1,733 Luftwaffe losses. But sheer numbers fail to express the entire British victory. The most important aspect of the Battle of Britain was the fact that during its course, German advances were stopped for the first time and that the German High Command gave up their effort to defeat the British and dismissed its intention to invade the British Isles for good.

Formation of Czechoslovak RAF Units

At the same time that fights in the British sky reached their peak, Czechoslovak military units were formed in England, air force squadrons among them. The most important circumstances that enabled their existence were the evacuation of Czechoslovak armed forces from France, including pilots who served in the French Air Army (Armée de l'air). By August 15, 1940, there were more than 900 Czechoslovak pilots in the United Kingdom.⁷

A further aspect was the recognition of a Czechoslovak government-in-exile in July 1940. However, by that time Brits considered the Czechoslovak government to only be 'provisional'. Czechoslovak representatives had issues with legitimacy but managed to persuade the British that Czechoslovakia had not legally ceased to exist and Edvard Beneš was still its president, which allowed him to appoint a government. The Czechoslovak military agenda was organized by Gen. Jan Sergej Ingr, head of the Ministry of National Defence.

But the key institution was the Inspectorate of the Czechoslovak Air Force (Inspektorát československého letectva), established on July 12, 1940. Its chief was Gen. Karel Janoušek. Formally subordinate to the defence ministry, the inspectorate

⁷ Šmoldas, Z. (1987), p. 178.

was officially a department of the British Air Ministry. Its sphere of influence involved the administration and inspection of Czechoslovak RAF units, of course, but had no other operational authority.⁸

On October 25, 1940, a military agreement between Czechoslovakia and the United Kingdom was signed. While Czechoslovak ground forces, according to that treaty, were part of the Czechoslovak Armed Forces, air units had been assigned as an integral component of the Royal Air Force. That meant pilots as well as ground staff were members of the RAF and its Volunteer Reserve, but also recognized as members of the Czechoslovak Armed Forces. Principally, Czechoslovak squadrons should have been commanded by Czechoslovak officers, but provisionally its position needed to be 'doubled' until such time as the Czechoslovak commander was made sufficiently familiar with Royal Air Force procedures to assume sole control. According to the agreement, the main effort was to build one bomber and one fighter squadron 'as soon as possible.'⁹ However, it was redundant – or clearly apparent – because at the time the agreement was signed three squadrons already existed.

Two of them were subordinated to Fighter Command and one to Bomber Command. The first unit built was the No. 310 (Czechoslovak) Fighter Squadron that was formed near Cambridge, in Duxford on July 12, 1940. The respective order was issued on July 10, 1940. Because of language issues, the Czechoslovaks largely did not speak English, the unit had two commanders; one British and one Czechoslovak; those were S/Ldr (Squadron Leader) George Blackwood and Maj. Alexander Hess. Within a month, on August 17, 1940, the squadron was recognized as operational and on August 26, 1940 flew its first combat mission.¹⁰

The second unit was the No. 312 (Czechoslovak) Fighter Squadron that was established on September 5, 1940. The reason for delay in its formation, in contrast to No. 310 Squadron, was the fact that it was formed of pilots who previously served in Armée de l'Air and derived to the British Isles through a detour in North Africa. On October 2, 1940, the squadron was recognized as operational and six days later, flew its first combat mission. In the beginning of its formation it shared the same airport with No. 310 Squadron, but later was transferred to north-eastern England. Its commanders were S/Ldr Frank Tyson and Maj. Ján Ambruš, respectively.

⁸ Broft, M. (1988). *Vojenské dějiny Československa. IV. díl (1939-1945)* [Military History of Czechoslovakia. Volume IV (1939-1945)]. Praha: Naše vojsko, pp. 101–126.

⁹ Vojenský ústřední archiv-Vojenský historický archiv [Central Military Archives-Historical Military Archives], fund Československé letectvo-Velká Británie [Czechoslovak Air Force-Great Britain], box 112, inventory no. 213.

¹⁰ Rajlich, J. (1994), pp. 7–15.

Both fighter squadrons had the same organization, i.e. were formed of two flights of six planes each or of four flights of three planes – the organisation of all fighter squadrons was the same, including Polish units. Both squadrons were also equipped with Hawker ‘Hurricane’ fighter aircraft.

The third Czechoslovak unit was the No. 311 (Czechoslovak) Bomber Squadron, established on July 27, 1940 in Cosford in Middle England and later transferred to Honington in Eastern England. Its formation was under way much longer. This was due to fact that its training was more demanding and required rehearsals of both tactics and roles for each member of the six-man crews. Thus, its first combat mission was carried out on September 10, 1940. Its main weapon was the Vickers ‘Wellington’ medium bomber. Its commanders were W/Cdr (Wing Commander) J. F. Criffiths and Lt. Col. Karel Mareš (cover name Toman).¹¹

Formation of Polish RAF Units

The evolution of the Polish air forces in the United Kingdom underwent different course at their beginnings. First, Polish pilots had already arrived in the British Isles during December of 1939 and others followed in the next months. Since by that time Poles had endeavoured to build their own units within the French Air Force, the issue of their pilots in England was out of focus.¹² On June 11, 1940, the United Kingdom and Poland signed an agreement on the formation of a Polish air force; according to this document, there should have been two Polish units formed, but – despite Poles were all fighter pilots – to be bomber units, equipped with Fairey ‘Battle’ three-man light bombers. However, the fall of France and imminent German threat completely changed the situation.¹³

During June 1940, the Polish government-in-exile and president, Władysław Raczkiewicz, was evacuated from France to London. The primary figure of Polish authority was Władysław Sikorski, who held the multiple posts of Prime Minister, Minister of Military Affairs (Ministerstwo Spraw Wojskowych) and Commander-in-Chief of the Polish Armed Forces. Operational command belonged to the General Staff, with Col. Tadeusz Klimecki as its chief. Otherwise, the highest command authority of air forces was the Royal Air Force and its inspectorate (Inspektorat Polskich Sił Powietrznych) with Gen. Stanisław Ujejski at its head that was established on July 18 (nominally on August 5), 1940.¹⁴

¹¹ Idem (2003), pp. 66–91.

¹² See e.g.: Król, W. (1988). *Zarys działań polskiego lotnictwa we Francji 1940* [Brief History of Polish Air Force in France 1940]. Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Komunikacji i Łączności.

¹³ Biegański, W. at al. (1981), pp. 233–237; Sojda, G. – Śliżewski, G. – Hodyra, P. (2016), pp. 51–57.

¹⁴ Biegański, W. at al. (1981), pp. 211–216, 233–238; Iwanowski, W. (1976), pp. 91–93.

The Polish government had already gained recognition in France during September and October of 1939, meaning that at the moment of its arrival in London it was considered as the legal representative body of Poland, with all its prerogatives. It enabled, among other things, that the agreement between Poland and the United Kingdom was signed quite soon, on August 5, 1940. According to this agreement, Polish air units were formed, with their organization the same as the Czechoslovaks', i.e. all Polish air force members enlisted into the Royal Air Force Volunteer Reserve and all Polish units were integral parts of the RAF. Poles, however, made use of this agreement to renegotiate some norms of their previous air force treaty, e.g. Polish pilots were recognized also as member of Polis Air Force and were allowed to wear Polish insignia and decorations.¹⁵

Together, by the end of July 1940, Polish air forces were composed of nearly 6500 men, including more than 1200 officers.¹⁶ Following the previous endeavour to establish bomber units, the first Polish squadrons were assigned bomber tasks. No. 300 (Polish) Bomber Squadron was already established on July 1, 1940 in Bramcote in Nottinghamshire. But it took nearly two and a half months until that squadron became operational on September 12, 1940. Its first commander was Lt. Col. Waclaw Makowski and his RAF adviser there was W/Cdr K. P. Lewis.

No. 301 (Polish) Bomber Squadron was formed on July 24, 1940 mostly from pilots who had already arrived from France on April 1, 1940. No. 301 shared the same base in Bramcote with its 'sister' squadron. Its readiness for combat was declared on September 14, 1940. Lt. Col. Roman Rudkowski was appointed to be its commander and S/Ldr E. Skinner as his adviser. Both squadrons were aimed to be equipped with Vickers 'Wellington' bomber planes, which did not happen until November of 1940. That is why during the Battle of Britain Poles flew the Fairey 'Battle' they were already trained on.¹⁷

The first unit formed under subordination of the Fighter Command was the No. 302 (Polish) Fighter Squadron. Its commanders were Lt. Col. Mieczysław Mümler and S/Ldr William A. Satchell, respectively. The squadron was established by an order from July 10, 1940 (the same one that established the No. 310 Squadron)

¹⁵ Peszke, M. A. (2011). The British-Polish Agreement of August 1940. Its Antecedents, Significance, and Consequences. *The Journal of Slavic Military Studies* 24 (4), pp. 648–658; Stanisławska, S. (1965). *Sprawa polska w czasie drugiej wojny światowej na arenie międzynarodowej. Zbiór dokumentów* [Polish Case in International Relations in the Time of the Second World War. Collection of Documents]. Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, doc. no. 110, pp. 173–176.

¹⁶ Iwanowski, W. (1976), p. 95.

¹⁷ Król, W. (1990), pp. 160–164; Sojda, G. – Śliżewski, G. – Hodyra, P. (2016), pp. 104–113.

in Leconfield near Humber in Northern England, in North Yorkshire. The unit continued in the tradition of the Polish 3rd Fighter Squadron of the 3rd Air Regiment, both in its personnel and symbols. Finally, on August 15, 1940 the squadron became operational.¹⁸

Friday August 2, 1940 when group of Polish soldiers and officers arrived at Northolt, a suburb of London, is considered to be the beginning of the No. 303 (Polish) Fighter Squadron. However, its formation began earlier, on July 15, 1940 in Blackpool on the Lancashire coast in North West England. Its commanders were S/Ldr Ronald G. Kellett and Maj. Zdzisław Krasnodębski. The Polish commander, nevertheless, remained in command only for a short period of time and Lt. Witold Urbanowicz (also see below) became the newly appointed commander on September 7, 1940; but the letter was soon replaced by Lt. Zdzisław Henneberg. No. 303 Squadron carried on the tradition of the Polish 3rd Fighter Squadron of 1st Air Regiment. On the last day of August 1940, the squadron gained its operational ability.¹⁹ As well as Czechoslovak, both Polish fighter squadrons were equipped with Hawker 'Hurricane' fighter airplanes and shared the same organization.²⁰

During the Battle of Britain four other Polish units were formed. These were the No. 304 Bomber, No. 305 Bomber, No. 306 Fighter, No. 307 Night Fighter, and finally the No. 308 Fighter Squadron. However, none of them reached operational ability in time to directly participate in the battle.²¹

Czechoslovaks in Combat

Both Czechoslovak fighter squadrons were part of the No. 12 Group of Air Vice-Marshal Trafford Leigh-Mallory's Fighter Command, the operational command level that was responsible for the Midlands, Norfolk, Lincolnshire, and North Wales. The No. 310 Fighter Squadron was assigned to patrol and protect the air space of the neighbouring No. 11 Group in Southern England at times when their squadrons began combat. At these times, its airports and bases became vulnerable against air attack of Germans.

¹⁸ Król, W. (1990), pp. 41–44; Sojda, G. – Ślizewski, G. – Hodyra, P. (2016), pp. 84–93.

¹⁹ Król, W. (1990), pp. 56–59.

²⁰ Olson, L. – Cloud, S. (2003). *A Question of Honor. The Kościuszko Squadron. Forgotten Heroes of World War II*. New York: Knopf, pp. 74–108. The book is also available in Czech language, see: Olson, L. – Cloud, S. (2019). *Otázka cti. Kościuszkova peruf. Letci RAF za druhé světové války*. Praha: Euromedia Group, pp. 48–126.

²¹ Iwanowski, W. (1976), p. 108; Król, W. (1990), pp. 66–72, 165–168.

On September 1, 1940, the squadron was integrated into so called 'Bader Wing' (also known as 'Duxford Wing') named for its commander, S/Ldr Douglas Bader. The wing was an air force formation built from a couple of squadrons and by that time a newly established command level. As it was proven later, this innovation changed the way the RAF organised its forces.²² Except for Czechoslovaks in the wing, it was composed of the No. 242 Fighter and No. 19 Fighter Squadrons.²³

A week later, on September 7, 1940, the No. 310 Squadron took part in combat against a major Luftwaffe attack aimed at London. During dogfights, Czechoslovaks totalled eleven victories. But in addition to the No. 310 Squadron, all three units of the Bader Wing were exceptionally successful during the battle over London. This led to a decision to expand the wing and two other squadrons, the No. 611 Fighter and No. 302 (Polish) Fighter Squadrons (see below) were integrated.

The next major struggle for the London sky took place on September 15, 1940 and until now this event is commemorated as the Battle of Britain Day. By noon, all units of the Bader Wing took to the air and began to attack the Germans. Squadron Leader D. Bader decided that those squadrons equipped with Hawker 'Hurricane' should attack German bombers, while those with Supermarine 'Spitfire' fighters that had better manoeuvre capabilities would take on the fighters. The first wave was repulsed inflicting considerable losses upon the Germans. But soon after, another wave of attacking Luftwaffe planes followed.

Thus, the Bader Wing took off once again at about two p.m. Once in the battlefield, the planes of the No. 310 Squadron were attacked from above by German fighters and two of their planes were shot down. Later, Czechoslovaks managed to turn that unfavourable beginning of the battle. Together, they totalled thirteen air victories that included eight and half²⁴ German bombers and one Messerschmitt BF 109 fighter. The difference between number of victories and number of destroyed planes is result the fact that one kill was often claimed – rightfully – by more than one pilot.

During the following days and weeks, the Czechoslovak squadron took off a number of times, but no other combat was greater than that of September 15, 1940. By October 31, 1940, the No. 310 Fighter Squadron had carried out 938 combat take-offs with total number of 971 operational hours destroying 40 planes for certain and probably other eleven while six additional enemy planes were damaged. Squadron losses amounted to fifteen destroyed, ten damaged along with three pilots killed and seven injured.²⁵

²² Burns, M. G. (2002). *Bader. The Man and His Men*. London: Cassell, pp. 59–124; Ray, J. P. (2003), pp. 96–101.

²³ Rajlich, J. (1994), pp. 10–28.

²⁴ In situations when one kill was claimed by more pilots, each of them was acknowledge proportionally, i.e. one half, one third, etc.

²⁵ Rajlich, J. (1994), pp. 38–52.

The task of the second Czechoslovak fighter unit, the No. 312 Fighter Squadron, was to secure the air space over Liverpool, an important industry centre and communication junction in Western England. Since major combats during the Battle of Britain took place in Eastern and Southern England, its involvement was of a lower rate. Another influence was that the No. 312 Squadron was deployed in the final stages of the battle when the intensity of combat decreased. Together, the squadron carried out 85 combat missions during which they destroyed four and damaged five enemy planes.²⁶

The only Czechoslovak bomber squadron, No. 311, began its combat history on September 10, 1940 with an attack on the Brussels railway station. The next goal was Calais on September 21, 1940. Its base, however, was not Honington, but East Wretham, where the squadron was moved on September 16, 1940. Five days after the raid on Calais, the bomber squadron took part in an assault on Berlin. Nevertheless, during the return flight, the squadron suffered its first loss when one plane was forced to land in the Netherlands, then occupied by Germans. Soon the number of lost planes increased, especially high during a raid on Bremen on the night of October 16 and 17, 1940, when Czechoslovaks lost four of five bombers participating in that attack. The squadron was temporarily withdrawn. It also sealed its involvement in the Battle of Britain because its return to combat did not happen before December 9, 1940. Altogether, during 1940, the No. 311 Bomber Squadron flew 51 raids with an overall number of 250 operational hours, during which the squadron lost five planes and 27 crewmen.²⁷

Czechoslovaks, however, also served in other units of the Royal Air Force. Special recognition belongs to Sergeant Josef František who became one of the most honoured pilots of the Battle of Britain. He is also claimed both by Czechoslovak and Polish military history since he served in the No. 303 Polish Fighter Squadron. His service among Poles dates back to September 1939 when, among other Czechoslovaks, he was admitted into Polish Air Force. Before he lost his life on October 8, 1940, he numbered seventeen certain and one probable shoot down, being decorated with the Czechoslovak War Cross, Polish *Virtuti Militari* and the British Distinguished Flying Medal, etc.²⁸

²⁶ Ibidem, pp. 65–74.

²⁷ Ibidem, pp. 86–87.

²⁸ Fiedler, A. (1943). *Squadron 303. The Legendary Battle of Britain Fighter Squadron*. New York: Roy, pp. 110–119; Rajlich, J. (2010). *Josef František. Pokus o pravdivý příběh československého stíhače* [Josef František. Attempt to True Story of Czechoslovak Fighter]. Cheb: Svět křídel, pp. 168–294.

There was a number of Czechoslovaks in other RAF squadrons and many of them later became flying aces, i.e. pilots with five or more victories. In first place, there is Karel Kuttelwascher, the overall top Czechoslovak RAF pilot who scored eighteen kills. During the Battle of Britain, he served in the No. 1 Fighter Squadron along with Václav Jícha and Josef Dygrýn (cover name Ligotický), both flying aces. Other distinguished pilots served in the No. 111 Fighter Squadron, such as Otmar Kučera and Miloslav Mansfeld, or even changed ranks of more of them, like Václav Cukr serving in No. 310 Fighter, No. 43 Fighter and No. 243 Fighter Squadron. Their list is, however, much longer and contains 63 names.²⁹

Poles in Combat

Both Polish bomber squadrons were the first to be built but, as it was mentioned above, the process of their formation took more time. Thus, the first operational Polish unit became the No. 302 Fighter Squadron that saw its first combat mission on August 15, 1940. Its task was the defence of English air space from Hull to Scarborough in Middle England and the protection of convoys. Its first dogfight with German planes took place five days later resulting in a Polish victory. The combat intensity in the area was, however, lower than in Southern England.³⁰

Anyhow, shortly after that, the squadron was transferred to Duxford where it was needed. This meant that Poles fought together with Czechoslovaks in the ranks of the Bader Wing. The squadron remained part of this formation only from September 14 to 25, 1940 but managed to take part in defending against German attack on London on September 15, 1940. During their first take off shortly after noon, Poles counted eight sure and five probable kills without any loss. During a second sortie around 3.00 p.m. there were three sure and two probable destroyed German planes, although they sustained three losses. As part of recognition of its achievement a memorial was built in Duxford on the top of which there is a Hawker 'Hurricane' that was flown by Cpt. Tadeusz Chlopik.³¹

After its removal from the Bader Wing, the No. 303 Squadron transferred back to its 'home airport' in Leconfield. The next day, during a visit of English King George VI, the airport was attacked. Polish pilots immediately taking to the air, managed to shoot down eleven certain and probably one additional attacker. Finally, on October 11, 1940 the squadron was assigned to Northolt where took over the tasks of the No. 303 Squadron for the rest of the Battle of Britain.

²⁹ Idem (1994), pp. 96–98; Idem (2004), pp. 11–78.

³⁰ Iwanowski, W. (1976), p. 233–234.

³¹ Król, W. (1990), pp. 45–52; Sojda, G. – Śliżewski, G. – Hodyra, P. (2016), pp. 318–332.

Several fights took place on October 15, 1940. Poles destroyed two German planes, but their own losses were higher and consisted of two destroyed and two damaged 'Hurricanes' and one killed pilot. Another serious loss to the squadron was sustained on October 18, 1940. The planes took off despite bad weather conditions that claimed four planes and pilots. Luckily for the squadron, on the following days there was no-flight weather that protected Poles against further losses. During the Battle of Britain, No. 302 Squadron managed to certainly kill sixteen and probably ten German aircraft and damaged one more, while losing six pilots.³² During 1940, squadron carried out 923 take-offs with 1016 operational hours.³³

Combat history of the No. 303 (Polish) Fighter Squadron belongs to the most distinguished of the Second World War; it was also the only squadron of Czechoslovaks and Poles that began its combat history under No. 11 Group of Fighter Command. Even its first kill was unusual and took place during training flights on August 31, 1940, when Lt. Ludwik Paszkiewicz left his formation to shoot down Messerschmitt Me 110. Further air victories followed the same day, scoring six German fighter kills over Southern London. Two days later, thanks to Sgt. J. František, the squadron killed its first German bomber. After that, the squadron flew combat flights every day. On September 7, 1940 its pilots shot down fourteen German planes, losing two of their own. Four days later, when Germans carried out one of their most powerful assaults so far, another 17 of their planes went down.³⁴

Sunday, September 15, 1940 was also critical for the No. 303 Squadron which had its base in the close vicinity of London. During the day, the squadron flew a couple of times. Totally, Polish pilots managed to destroy sixteen German planes at a cost of three of their own 'Hurricanes'. A further demanding day was September 27, 1940 that resulted in 13 kills. Northolt, the squadron base, was in the exposed territory of Southern England, which was why it became the target of a bombing that took place on October 6, 1940. No. 303 Squadron had sustained considerable losses and needed time to rest. Soon after that, the squadron was sent to Leconfield where it replaced its 'sister' unit, the No. 302 Squadron.

³² Iwanowski, W. (1976), p. 238. There is also figure of 27 certain and 11 probable kills and two damaged planes on the cost of seven won pilots. Król, W. (1990), pp. 41–55.

³³ Iwanowski, W. (1976), p. 235; Król, W. (1990), pp. 41–55; Sojda, G. – Śliżewski, G. – Hodyra, P. (2016), pp. 343–388.

³⁴ Fiedler, A. (1943), pp. 95–103; Król, W. (1990), pp. 59–62; Sojda, G. – Śliżewski, G. – Hodyra, P. (2016), pp. 318–332.

Despite changing its position, even in Leconfield its airport was assaulted by Germans, this time on October 27, 1940, causing the loss of three 'Hurricanes'. In total, during the battle the pilots of the squadron certainly shot down 110 German planes, nine probably and damaged six others. Their own losses consisted of seven pilots killed and nine wounded. Thus, the No. 303 Squadron became the most effective RAF unit during the Battle of Britain.³⁵

During the night of September 14 to 15, 1940 the No. 300 (Polish) Bomber Squadron took off for its first combat flight. Its mission was to assault the landing boats of Germans berthed in Boulogne harbour on the English Channel. The No. 301 (Polish) Bomber Squadron took off with the same goal. In following days, both squadrons targeted landing boats and German units in Calais in Northern France and in Oostende in Belgium. Their first Vickers 'Wellington' planes had arrived on October 20, 1940 and Polish crews began retraining on the new planes. Till the end of 1940, both Polish bomber units lost eight crewmen.³⁶ During 1940, both squadrons carried out 97 missions totalling 368 operational hours.³⁷

A number of Poles also served in other RAF units. The list is far from complete, but the following pilots stand out. Lt. W. Urbanowicz, the most successful Polish pilot (second to Sgt J. František), with fifteen certain and one probable kills, was a member of the No. 303 Squadron, as well as the No. 145 Fighter Squadron and (unofficially) the No. 601 Squadron. Like J. František, he was awarded the Distinguished Flying Cross.³⁸

Sgt Antoni Głowacki served in the No. 501 Fighter Squadron, along with Lt. Stefan Witorzeń and 2nd Lt. Stanisław Skalski. Sgt Józef Jeka was a member of the No. 238 Fighter Squadron, while 2nd Lt. Bolesław Własnowolski served, one after another in the No. 32, No. 607 and finally in No. 213 Fighter Squadron. It is said that Poles served in all RAF units. Together there was 39 out of 79 Polish pilots with at least one air victory (including probable destruction and damage) who served in non-Polish RAF squadrons.³⁹ Their combined score is 77 half certain and 35 probable kills, along with 29 damaged German airplanes at the cost of 19 pilots.⁴⁰

³⁵ Iwanowski, W. (1976), pp. 235–238; Król, W. (1990), pp. 62–65; Sojda, G. – Śliżewski, G. – Hodyra, P. (2016), pp. 343–388.

³⁶ Iwanowski, W. (1976), p. 236; Król, W. (1990), pp. 162–163.

³⁷ Ibidem, p. 254.

³⁸ For W. Urbanowicz see: Olson, L. – Cloud, S. (2003), *passim*.

³⁹ Sojda, G. – Śliżewski, G. – Hodyra, P. (2016), pp. 691–692.

⁴⁰ Iwanowski, W. (1976), p. 238.

Balance

There are several aspects that must be compared to understand the course of events within Czechoslovak and Polish RAF units. First, there are raw numbers and chronology. In the summer of 1940, there were some 900 Czechoslovak and 6500 Polish air force members in the British Isles, so Poles outnumbered Czechoslovaks by a factor of seven.

During the Battle of Britain, Czechoslovaks built three operational squadrons and Poles four, regardless of those pilots serving in other RAF units. But those Poles had the 'upper hand' over Czechoslovaks as they managed to have their agreement in the beginning of August, while Czechoslovaks needed to wait until October 25. The same applies to the pace at which the squadrons were built. Polish units were established from July 1 to 24 (or to August 2), while the terms of origin of Czechoslovak squadrons varies from July 26 until September 5 (or to October 8). Nevertheless, those were Czechoslovaks who as first took off for combat on July 26, 1940. The Poles were forced to wait until August 15, 1940.

All this means that Polish squadrons fought within the legal base of an international agreement. Czechoslovaks fought without any such document until nearly the end of the Battle of Britain.

Out of all seven Czechoslovak and Polish squadrons, three of them served as bomber units. In this aspect there was an important difference between both nations. Czechoslovak bomber squadrons were equipped with Vickers 'Wellington' medium bombers, which meant that its missions were substantially long-range raids that flew over the European continent, mostly over Germany. The primary weapon of both Polish units was the Fairey 'Battle' light bomber. This affected their missions, which is why the goal of Polish assaults targeted the shore of English Channel, in France and in Belgium. Together, Czechoslovaks carried out 250 operational hours, Poles 368, in both cases during the entire year of 1940.

As to the combat of fighter units, originally three of four squadrons (Nos. 302, 310, 312) were subordinated to No. 12 Group of Fighter Command, while only No. 303 Squadron began its operation within No. 11 Group; later, it was replaced by No. 302 Squadron. This means that while Czechoslovak units fought during the Battle of Britain in less exposed areas, Poles were deployed into the core of the combat. It is especially evident when No. 312 Squadron is taken into account, whose area of responsibility was above Liverpool, far from the area the main combats took place.

Together, Czechoslovak pilots numbered 56 confirmed and fifteen probable kills and ten damaged planes, some 81 victories in total (including J. František's). Their own losses consisted of 26 planes and nine pilots killed outside of those wounded and captured. In sheer numbers it gives ratio of 6.2 German planes to one killed Czechoslovak (compare below).

Poles, on the other hand, scored together 203 certain, 35 probable and 36 damaged planes, numbering 274 and a half victories in total (including J. František's). The cost on the Polish side was 33 dead. That means that loss of one Polish pilot was redeemed with 6.2 German airplanes; the same ratio even in decimal place is stunning.⁴¹ In comparison, RAF stated that one airplane of their own could shoot down three Luftwaffe planes before being lost; despite different methodology – counting not planes but men – there is obvious higher success rate of Poles (and Czechoslovaks).⁴² These results, however, had their limits due to fact that they rely on official statistics of the RAF. Nevertheless, the same framework at least enables an overall conclusion.

The fact that Czechoslovaks and Poles surpassed their British colleagues had its reasons. First, Czechoslovak and Polish pilots were a little bit older than their British colleagues and far more experienced.⁴³ Previous to their deployment in British airplanes, they operated number of types of planes within their national air forces that had none or very little radio and radar support. They were also trained for close combat and paid little attention to the British tactical doctrine, especially its inefficient 'V' formations. Even more, Czechoslovaks as well as Poles fought against the Luftwaffe prior to the Battle of Britain in Poland in 1939 and in France in 1939 and 1940.⁴⁴

There is one other aspect that is not particularly obvious. While Polish RAF units carried the traditions of the Polish Air Force units that were destroyed during September 1939, Czechoslovak squadrons were in fact built 'on a greenfield side', i.e. without any succession of Czechoslovak units.

During the Battle of Britain, RAF pilots achieved 2700 officially recognized kills (actually, it was ca. 1700). However, measuring the share of Czechoslovaks and Poles the result is that each 50th kill belongs to Czechoslovaks and each 13th to Poles. Together, it is one tenth of the total RAF effort.

⁴¹ The other sources claim 29 dead Polish pilots giving ratio 7 vs. 1.

⁴² Ibidem, p. 238.

⁴³ Rajlich, J. (2003). Několik poznámek k některým mýtům o československém letectvu 1939–1945 [Several Notes to Selected Myths about Czechoslovak Air Force 1939–1945]. In *Československá armáda 1939–1945 (Plány a skutečnost)*. Praha: Ministerstvo obrany ČR – AVIS, p. 105.

⁴⁴ Compare, e.g.: Olson, L. – Cloud, S. (2003), pp. 127–148.

Conclusion

Situation of Czechoslovaks and Poles in the United Kingdom and within the ranks of Royal Air Force was different regarding their political and legal positions and their numbers during the Battle of Britain; Poles outnumbered the Czechoslovak by a factor of seven, but managed to form four operational squadrons while Czechoslovak had three of them. Poles were, however, more intensively involved in the battle, numbering nearly four times as many kills. But the most important aspect is their effectiveness. Statistically speaking, both Czechoslovak and Poles held the same ratio pertaining to kills vs. own losses. This means that the quality of crewmen of both nations and their success was equal and, due to number of reasons, exceeded the RAF average.

For further research it must be stressed that there were not only Czechoslovak and Polish squadrons of RAF deployed during the Battle of Britain but also those of other nations, including Dutch, and later also Belgian, French, Greek, Norwegian, and Yugoslavian. That is why only a more complete context and comparison could properly evaluate the Czechoslovak contribution for defence of the British Isles.

Paleographical Analysis of Scribes' Hands in the Boskovice Land Register inv. no. 44

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Sedláček, P. (2021). Paleographical Analysis of Scribes' Hands in the Boskovice Land Register inv. no. 44. *Czech-Polish Historical and Pedagogical Journal*, 13/2021/1, 85–95.

<https://doi.org/10.5817/cphpj-2021-007>

The study deals with the land register of the town of Boskovice, inventory no. 44 (1784–1790), from the paleographic point of view. It especially focuses on the handwriting identification of the scribes that participated in its functioning in the 18th century. In addition to elementary questions about determining the style of writing and the way of using abbreviations, it tries to observe possible integration of humanistic elements into neo-Gothic cursive (“Kurrent”).

Key words: *Town of Boskovice; land (municipal) registers; paleographic analysis; scribes; 18th century; Kurrent*

Preface

The presented study is a small probe into the world of writing activities in the office of the town of Boskovice, namely making protocols in land books (registers) during the 18th century.¹ It focuses on the 1784–1790 land register, consisting of 116 folios, deposited in the State District Archive in Blansko, in the Archive of the City of

¹ To the land registers of the town of Boskovice more e.g. Sedláček, P. (2015). Pozemkové knihy města Boskovice 1694–1786. In *Sborník prací Pedagogické fakulty Masarykovy univerzity, řada společenských věd* 29, no. 2, pp. 79–96. Generally to land registers: Tichý, A. (1931). *Pozemkový katastr a pozemkové knihy*. Praha: J. R. Vilímek (58 pp.). Chocholáč, B. (1993). O studiu pozemkových knih. In *Sborník prací filosofické fakulty brněnské univerzity, řada historická*, C 40, pp. 51–61. Chocholáč, B. (1993). Pozemkové knihy – neprávem opomíjený historický pramen. In K. Schelle, P. Průcha (eds.), *Historie a současnost veřejné správy*. In *Sborník příspěvků z vědecké konference*. Brno, pp. 8–11. Sedláček, P. (2019). *Soupis pozemkové*. In K. Schelle, J. Tauchen (eds.), *Encyklopedie českých právních dějin*. XV. svazek. Plzeň-Ostrava: Aleš Čeněk, s.r.o., pp. 24–26. More also Čechová, G. – Hladík, C. – Holl, I. – Radimský, J. – Volf, M. (1961). *Soupis starých pozemkových knih*. In *Archivní časopis* 11, pp. 6–16. Hanzal, J. (1964). *Současný stav a úkoly studia českých pozemkových knih*. In *Sborník archivních prací* 14, pp. 39–56. Polák, S. (1966). *Knihy pozemkové a knihy městské (Poznámka k diplomatické terminologii)*. *Archivní časopis* 16, pp. 208–215. More about the land registers of the Central Bohemian Region: Volf, M. (1966). *Výsledky soupisu gruntovních knih ve Středočeském kraji*. In *Sborník archivních prací* 16, pp. 50–127. The South Moravian Region is reflected by Štarha, I. (1967). *K soupisu pozemkových knih v Jihomoravském kraji*. In *Archivní časopis* 17, pp. 200–205.

Boskovice, under inventory number 44². This is the nineteenth book of that archive file.³ All the scribes who participated in the keeping of the land register will be introduced one by one.

The core of this study is a detailed paleographic analysis⁴ in which the individual scribes will be addressed elementary questions about the type of writing which is, however, due to the century when the source matter originated, almost exclusively German neo-Gothic cursive. But we will try to observe possible integration of humanistic writing, too. A natural part of the analysis is the research of abbreviations, i.e. their eventual development, frequency and occurrence. The peculiarities of manuscripts, individualization of scribing norms and other specifics of scribes' hands will be monitored in detail. For the plausibility of our conclusions in the field of paleography, it is necessary to take into account the possibility that the scribes may have worked in the office for many years, which opens up space for reflection on possible changes in their manuscript. However, the very distinction of scribes' hands is an ambiguous matter that requires a multi-sided view.

Office material of the 18th century no longer offers the possibility of observing the gradual integration of German variants into the Czech neo-Gothic cursive because the "archaic" neo-Gothic Bohemica already is a script of the past at that time, although sporadically (and rather at the beginning of the observed century) we can still see a few rounded elements of letters, typical of the Czech "neo-Gothic". However, the Neogotica Germanica fully gained a dominant position. Just marginal is the occurrence of humanistic script, it is only used in Latin language phrases and various legal terms.

Paleographical analysis

Just looking at the time span that the researched land register covers, it is obvious that the writing material is paper. Its more precise age and provenance can be deduced from watermarks (filigree)⁵ which appear in No. 44 register, too, but they were not the subject of our interest in this study.

² Státní okresní archiv Blansko (SOKA), Archiv města Boskovice, inv. no. 44.

³ Skutil, J. – Chalupa, L. (1973). Archiv města Boskovic 1463–1945 (1953). Katalog, inventář. Blansko: Okresní národní výbor, p. 14.

⁴ See a study on the paleographic analysis of another Boskovice land register, inventory no. 43: Sedláček, P. (2020). Paleografická analýza písařských rukou v pozemkové knize města Boskovice (1768-1784). In Sborník prací Pedagogické fakulty Masarykovy univerzity, řada společenských věd 34, no. 2, pp. 14–28.

⁵ Kašpar, J. (1987). Úvod do novověké latinské paleografie se zvláštním zřetelem k českým zemím, sv. I. Praha: Státní pedagogické nakladatelství, p. 22. A more detailed description of watermarks, e.g. Flodr, M. (1974). Filigranologie. Úvod do studia filigránů. Brno: Univerzita J. E. Purkyně (205 pp.).

Modern Age writing instruments were, of course, quills and ink, and cheap goose quills were used for ordinary writing. In the 18th century, it is quite common for fonts to be slanted, usually orthogonal, so it is obvious that the quills had obliquely cut points that were getting narrowed over time for cursive purposes. The development of the quill tips led to a decrease in the shaded font, however, by pressing on the writing instrument it was possible to increase the stroke.⁶ Until the beginning of the 19th century, each scribe made his own ink which certainly varied its quality. The most abundant ink in the researched book is dark black, i.e. oak gall ink, without metal admixture. In some of the records, however, we can observe faded, gray-colored ink which can be attributed to the age of the text. If iron is present in the ink, the text turns reddish, rusty or brown.⁷

In the territory north of the Alps, the neo-Gothic writing prevailed in modern times, and in the 18th century, when the researched land register was written, the German variant, Neogotica Germanica, already prevailed over the more rounded Czech neo-Gothic cursive. That Kurrent taking over the majority position is in harmony with the growing influence of the Habsburg office. The neo-Gothic semi-cursive, Kanzleischrift, only appears in some records as the heading or highlight font. However, we can also come across the so-called mixed script, combining elements of the humanistic style with the neo-Gothic style, so it is the neo-Gothic-humanistic cursive.⁸

A detailed paleographic analysis resulted in the distinguishing of six scribes' hands which influenced the functioning of the researched volume. A seventh hand only wrote a short note closing the register in 1850. It should be noted once again that the distinction of the scribes' hands is not unequivocal, it requires a multi-sided view. Differences in duct, module and weight may indicate a different scribe, but it is necessary to decide according to the degree of their representation.⁹ Also, we must take into account the fact that professional scribes knew and used different shape modifications for the same letter. In the analysis, we consider the duration of their action, too, because with increasing age, certain changes in manuscripts cannot be ruled out. The final appearance of the font is also affected by the cutting of the pen, its wear, the writing material itself, including the space on it, but it is logically also determined by the fatigue of the hand if it made more entries during the day. The situation when a scribe strictly adheres to the standardized pattern of individual letters brings the greatest difficulty in distinguishing the scribes' hands, as the space for the integration of individual features into the duct is considerably limited.

⁶ Kašpar, J. (1987), p. 25.

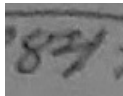
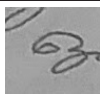
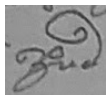
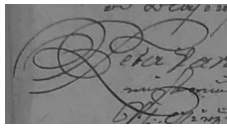
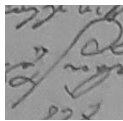
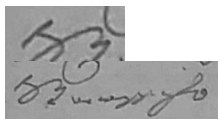
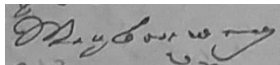
⁷ Ibid, p. 27.

⁸ Ibid, p. 47.

⁹ Pátková, H. (2008). Česká středověká paleografie. České Budějovice: Veduta, p. 45.

After the mentioned foreword, we are going to proceed to a thorough analysis of the scribes' hands participating in the functioning of the researched land register. For better clarity, the analysis of each of the scribes is preceded by a table summarizing the most important findings from the research of his writing.

Manus 2

Individuality of the hand	Record Year	Folio	Brief description of individuality
	1784	9v	Numeral eight has an open bow at the top and a small (sometimes functional) loop.
		1r	Minuscule «d» has an open bow and the stem is extended up to the ascender line where it twists.
		2r	
		1r	The effort to decorate the records is evident in the majuscule letter «L» the upper loop of which is richly decorated.
		2r	The tall «S» is twisted at the upper end of the stem.
		2r	A typical combination of letters «S» and «t» where the scribe completes the final arc at «S» and from there he begins the initial stroke «t».
		3r	«W» is written an almost identical way. Cf. the words «Starssih» and «Wegboroweg».

The writing activity of Manus 2 is abundant and its production reached the greatest intensity in the 1760s. In the researched book we are analyzing it through records from 1784. It is a neat and easy-to-read handwriting, the only obstacle in its decipherment can be thickening of lines or extension of tall letters or fall letters

and consequent interfering with letters in the neighboring lines. We can prove the production of this scribe in inventory numbers 40, 41, 42, 43 land registers, too.

Manus 2 uses abbreviations especially for the word “pán” /lord/ which is reduced to “P:” (sometimes supplemented by a sign in the shape of a vertical loop). A month name is often not written in full either, its abbreviated form is ended with a colon – e.g. “Sept:”¹⁰ – or its beginning is replaced with the corresponding numeral, e.g. “8bris”.¹¹ The scribe sometimes facilitates his work in dating formula where he replaces “Anno” with just the first letter, or omits one “n”. Another variant of this word is omitting all its consonants and leaving just the vowels “Ao”. Often abbreviated phrases include “Act: et int: ano et die ut supra”¹² the first part of which means “Actum et intabulatum anno...”. In some cases, Manus 2 superscribes suffixes, namely in dates, e.g. “27o 8bris”.¹³

Before embarking on the analysis of the duct of letters, the way of writing numerals is worth mentioning, too. They do not represent the ideal space for the identification of scribes’ hands, it is true, but a few favorite individual features can be observed here as well. As for number eight, we notice the upper bow open at the top and ending with a loop which might serve (and in a few cases it does) as a connection to the following numeral.

A researcher’s attention is at first glance caught by the way Manus 2 writes minuscular “d”. Its ductus does not allow continuous writing, namely connection to the right. Its form most closely resembles Kašpar II type.¹⁴ The bow is open and the stem is conspicuously extended to the ascender line where it twists into a snail shell shape. The same element can be observed in letter “z”. The majuscular “L” in the introductory dating shows an effort to decorate the records; it is accomplished by a richly decorated upper loop which often begins even below the baseline. The tall “s” has a simple ductus but we can notice the scribe’s liking for twisting the upper end of the stem, similar to the already analyzed minuscular “d”. Thanks to these elements, Manus 2 handwriting acquires its distinctive character. The combination of letters “S” and “t” is another example of the scribe’s specificity. The neo-Gothic shape majuscular “S” has a slender, vertically extended loop, with the ends twisting into arches.¹⁵ And we can see that letter “t” is immediately appended to the arch on the right, its initial stroke copying the end stroke of the majuscular “S”. This creates a unit that may – viewed individually – suggest today’s

¹⁰ SOKA Blansko, AM Boskovice, inv. no. 44, fol. 5v, 6r.

¹¹ SOKA Blansko, AM Boskovice, inv. no. 44, fol. 10r.

¹² Ibid.

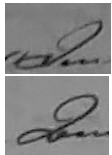
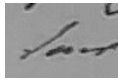

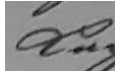
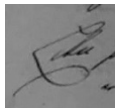

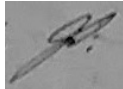
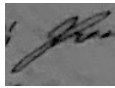
¹³ Ibid.

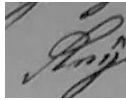
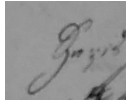
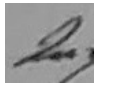

¹⁴ Kašpar, J. (1987), p. 55.

¹⁵ Ibid, p. 74.

written “N”. And it is quite interesting that Manus 2 writes majuscular “W” an almost identical way. When deciphering “St” or “W” individually, ie. without reading the rest of the word and without context, the resolution would be almost impossible. The only nuance is the length of the stroke which in letter “S” decreases towards the baseline after the completion of the loop and the subsequent arc led to the right and up. This stroke is shorter in the “S” and “t” binding, while it is slightly extended further down in majuscular “W”.

Manus 5

Individuality of the hand	Record year	Folio	Brief description of individuality
	1785	16v	Majuscular «A» resembles the Arabic numeral 2 in its form.
		20v	Minuscular «d» often looks, as a result of fast and cursory writing, just like an oblique line, possibly with an arc at the upper end.
	1784	16r	
	1785	16v	Letter «k» has an arcade-shaped arc at the top of the ascender line which smoothly passes to the right inclined stem, at the lower end of which is a functional loop.
		18v	The form of majuscular «L» resembles letter «C» which ends at both ends with loops in the opposite direction of writing.
		19r	
		15v	The stem of majuscular «P» is turned to the left at the upper end and a loop is formed at the lower end, it resembles a bag that smoothly passes into a thrust forming a bow.
		18v	

	1785	16v	Majuscular «R» is written in one stroke and attracts attention by a large kink in the middle of the stem.
		14v	Only in folio 14v, the loop forming majuscular «S» is accompanied by an arc leading to the lower zone.
		16v	The initial stroke of minuscular «t» resembles a roof (in other cases, rather an arc) connected to the upper end of the stem which is equipped with a functional kink at the base.
		20v	

Manus 5 represents a scribe whose production dates back to the 1780s and who usually wrote shorter records. His writing is rather cursory, not very easy to read, and at first glance it attracts attention by its noticeable inclination to the right, and in most cases, rather faded ink. The Manus 5 handwriting is so distinctive that when identifying scribe's hands, its typical features can be recognize even at a cursory glance, and the subsequent observation of the letters duct will confirm our original opinion. The production of that hand relates to land registers No. 40, 41, 42, 43 and 44 respectively. Through the length of its records, Manus 5 is not a scribe suitable for abbreviation research because he does not use many of them in the relatively short records. In general, we can say that he uses those mentioned above.

A specific feature of the examined scribe's handwriting is the majuscular "A" the shape of which strikingly resembles the Arabic numeral two. In addition to its form, it also attracts one's attention by a significant inclination to the right. It is a typical feature of Manus 5 and our analysis of further letters below will confirm that it is even more striking in many of those other cases. The minuscular "d" is based on its Kurrent form with a properly open arc in the middle zone (it means between the baseline and the headline),¹⁶ however, a modification of this form caused by fast writing can be seen quite often. The adjustment to the speed of writing is manifested by the fact that the scribe de facto forms only an oblique stem (often it is not even an arc) at the end of which he builds just a small loop that

¹⁶ Kašpar, J. (1987), p. 56.

merges with the stem or is not even tightened to the stem. So it basically is a kind of curve. Another proof that the Manus 5 font is considerably slanting to the right, with some letters slanting even more, is the minuscular “k”. Its form goes beyond all the types described by Jaroslav Kašpar. The ductus of that letter begins at the ascender line where an arc in the shape of arcade is constructed and it smoothly passes into an slanting stem at the lower end of which a functional loop is formed. The “k” formed in this way may remind us of the majuscular “C” II type,¹⁷ or majuscular letter “L”. The majuscular letter “L” is also an interesting duct in the Manus 5 handwriting. At first glance, it may again remind us of letter “C” which ends at both ends with loops leading the opposite direction of writing. In the case of majuscular “P”, in addition to the already mentioned slant, we also notice its duct. It is based on the humanistic form that Kašpar mentions under type VII.¹⁸ Nevertheless, it does not lose the typical Kurrent features, i.e. the stem leading from the ascender line to the lower zone and the connection of the bow from the right side, located to the upper and middle zone. Written by the examined scribe, the stem is turned to the left at its upper end and a loop is formed at the lower end which can be described as a bag that smoothly passes into a stroke forming a bow to the right of the stem – and that is making it similar to the just mentioned humanistic form. The majuscular “R” is written by Manus 5 in one stroke without a bag and with an arc at the base of the stem.¹⁹ The kink in the middle of the supporting pillar is very conspicuous. The entry in 14v folio is interesting in the title line with the word “Zápis”, or actually, “Sapis”. The scribe usually makes this word with letter “S” at the beginning, but in this case, an arc is led into the lower zone under the “S” forming loop and it turns to the left at its end. The letter made this way evokes the impression that he wanted to rewrite the originally made letter to “Z”. The shape of minuscular “t” is closest to the VIII type described by Jaroslav Kašpar.²⁰ The initial short oblique stroke, resembling “the roof” of the Arabic numeral one, or sometimes more in the shape of arc, is attached to the upper end of the stem. At its opposite end, a loop is constructed, often used as a link to the next letter.

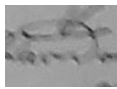
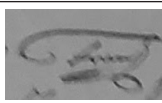
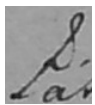
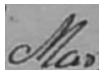
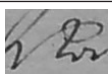
¹⁷ Cf. Kašpar, J. (1987), p. 68.

¹⁸ Ibid, p. 135.

¹⁹ Ibid, p. 111.

²⁰ Ibid, p. 100.

Manus 6

Individuality of the hand	Record year	Folio	Brief description of individuality
	1787	33r	The horizontally oriented loop of minuscular «d» points to the left and «roofs up» the previous letters.
			The majuscular «F» and «T» have a strongly written bar that connects to the stem base at the baseline.
			The majuscular «K» is conspicuous by a stroke in the shape of Arabic numeral eight from which a stem descends. The stem bottom ends with a loop/kink that can be used as a link to the following letter.
			The humanistic majuscular «M» is not stretched to the width. The middle stem does not reach the base line.
			The majuscular «R» is written without a bag and the arc at the base is broken. The large loop on the stem, located in its upper part, attracts attention.

The Manus 6 scribe belongs among those whose productive period falls into the 1780s. The records made by him are also short and their number is small. The writing is very cursory, untidy and relatively difficult to read in some passages, as various large loops disrupt the duct of other letters. The lines are led straight. The research of his handwriting is possible in land registers Nos. 41, 42 and 44. Like the previous scribe's hand, Manus 6 is not the most suitable scribe to research abbreviations, as the records made by him do not contain many of them for their short extent. In the researched book he only made one record.

In the specific writing of the researched scribe we first notice a large, horizontally oriented loop of letter «d», leading to the left and often reaching up to the beginning of the word that the minuscule occurs in or even exceeding it.²¹ The majuscular letters «F» and «T» are more likely based on humanistic script than neo-Gothic, and like today's forms of these letters, in case of Manus 6 they bear certain identical

²¹ See the table.

elements. At first glance, we notice a strongly written bar that sometimes connects to the stem base on the baseline. The majuscular “F” is written in two strokes, while the “T” in one which corresponds to IV type described by Jaroslav Kašpar.²² The majuscular “K” in the researched scribe’s production is written in a form that does not correspond to any of those described by Jaroslav Kašpar but it is identical with the form we can find in other Boskovice books, such as the chronicle by Antonín Johann Pardubský where that letter is written the same way by a scribe marked P7.²³ The ductus is interesting for its initial stroke, making a loop in the shape of Arabic numeral eight. A stem comes out of it, equipped with a kink at the base which can be used for quick connection to the next letter. The humanistic “M” corresponds in form to V. Kašpar’s shape²⁴, however, our scribe does not stretch it to the width and its middle stem does not reach down to the base line. The majuscular “R”, like in case of Manus 5, is written without a bag and with a broken arc at the base, and a large loop is constructed on the stem, but compared to the previous scribe’s hand, it is moved further to its upper part.

Result

The source material for the paleographic probe into the office material in the serf town of Boskovice in the 18th century was a land register, deposited to the State District Archive in Blansko, the Archives of the City of Boskovice, inventory No. 44. It covers the years 1784 to 1790 and counts 116 folios. A detailed analysis identified 3 scribes’ hands that participated in its keeping. The fourth scribe, who was reliably recognized but not included in the paleographic analysis for the purpose of the study, is an official who made a record in May 1850 of the closing of the researched book and its subsequent handover to the District Court.²⁵ The text thus reflects only those scribes who were active creators of its predestined content.

One of the key questions of our research was the integration of humanistic script into the German neo-Gothic cursive, holding in the 18th century the dominant position in the area north of the Alps including the Bohemian-Moravian territory. Humanistica cursiva or semicursiva is not surprising in Latin words and phrases, or in terms with a Latin basis but suffixes already corresponding to the national language, as it was very common in Central Europe.²⁶ However,

²² Kašpar, J. (1987), p. 136.

²³ Sedláček, P. (2014). *Paleografický rozbor kroniky Antonína Johanna Pardubského 1714–1858*. Masaryk University, Brno, pp. 37–38. (master’s diploma thesis)

²⁴ Kašpar, J. (1987), p. 134.

²⁵ More about e.g. Sedláček, P. (2019), pp. 24–26. Štarha, I. (1967), p. 201.

²⁶ Kašpar, J. (1987), p. 46.

we were primarily interested in the integration of humanistic elements into the Kurrent style. Some of the versions of majuscular “P” produced by Manus 5 are close to the humanistic form but their neo-Gothic features are preserved, i.e. the stem leading from the ascender line to the lower zone and with the bow attached from the right, reaching into the upper and middle zone. In some cases, however, the stem due to fast writing turns into a loop which evokes the appearance of the bag and thus the modern, contemporary form. In the case of Manus 6, the letters “F” and “T” are based on the humanistic script. In the researched land register, the hand marked with number 5 made most of the records, while fewest of them were made by Manus 6 – just one.

The performer research is a snippet of a more extensive paleographic study that will include other land registers from the same archival collection, too. The recognized scribes from other books will undergo detailed comparison the result of which will be an opportunity to trace the activities of scribes in Boskovic in a certain period of the 18th century, their workload, the individualization of standardized writing and possible changes in the handwriting on the timeline.

Civil Defence Subject Matter Education in the Former Czechoslovakia in the 1918–1939 Period

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Kavan, Š. – Oulehlová, A. (2021). Civil Defence Subject Matter Education in the Former Czechoslovakia in the 1918–1939 Period. *Czech-Polish Historical and Pedagogical Journal*, 13/2021/1, 96–115.

<https://doi.org/10.5817/cphpj-2021-008>

Activity of both the individual and the society has been directed towards creation of values essential for their life since ancient times, either for their protection against harmful impacts of natural and anthropogenic phenomena, or a combination thereof. The aim of the research presented in the article is to examine conditions and education development in the civil defence subject matter in the former Czechoslovakia in the 1918–1939 period. The performed research was carried out as a systematic study of socio-educational phenomena in order to obtain knowledge that describes and explains historical approach to civil defence education. The research part included a systematic process of gathering information, synthesizing the already existing knowledge and its structuring and sorting. A system approach to scientific literature research was used in order to obtain available information sources, published results as well as information from the field of education and civil defence education. The results show that the need for civil defence education was seen as an integral part of the education of a conscious, sturdy, disciplined and prepared citizen. Emphasis in school education and training was put mainly on moral awareness, physical fitness and civil defence training.

Key words: *Education; civil defence education; education system; training*

Education and training of the population for the consequences of war and proper behaviour in emergencies has always been and still is a current topic. The term civil defence education as a socio-educational phenomenon was related to war activity and has its roots in the past. The need and will to defend oneself, including the implementation of practical measures for defence and protection against attackers, has always existed long before the term itself reached the persons and institutions that filled the contents of civil defence education with a specific subject matter.¹

¹ Krátký, L. (1989). *Branná výchova II*. České Budějovice: Pedagogická fakulta v Č. Budějovicích. ISBN 80-7040-003-X.

Men have always faced the task of creating values and protecting them from harmful phenomena at the same time at various stages of human society development.^{2,3} Many years of development of civil defence education, civil defence and civil protection show that the subject matter represents a sensitive indicator of the society and its political development. Society always applied requirements for the civil defence readiness of the population apart from the armed forces when it was necessary to get prepared both politically and practically for the armed conflict. The interest of the society in the civil defence education had tendency to decline or was completely ousted from the social life as soon as the threat passed.

Historical experience shows that in the times prior the catastrophe and in the times of peace (especially in the post-war periods) there was always a certain rejection and opposition to dealing with civil defence education, civil defence and civil protection. Attention was not paid to addressing these issues during such periods.⁴ Society seems to be incorrigible due to historical development and does not want to perceive the efforts of personalities with a vision of the need to prepare necessary measures and principles of correct behaviour in emergencies and proactively and simultaneously implement an educational programme.^{5,6} It is the current threat that leads to an increased interest in education and readiness to cope with extreme situations that cause or may cause harm.

Civil defence education was understood both as the preparation of the population for the promotion of political goals by the armed forces, and an effective defence and protection against military aggression. The demands on the preparation

² Skedsmo, G. – Huber, S. G. (2018). Reliability, Validity and Fairness Key Issues in Assessing the Quality of Teaching, Instructional Leadership and School Practice. In *Educational Assessment Evaluation and Accountability*. Heidelberg: Springer Heidelberg. Volume 30, Issue 4, pp. 343–346. ISSN 1874-8597. DOI: 10.1007/s11092-018-9290-8.

³ Becker, S. M. (2000). Environmental disaster education at the university level: an integrative approach In *Safety Science*, Elsevier B.V., Vol. 35, Issues 1–3. ISSN 0925-7535. DOI: 10.1016/S0925-7535(00)00025-4.

⁴ Felten, P. – Linder, K. E. (2017). The means and ends of academic development in changing contexts. In *International Journal for Academic Development*. Volume 22. Issue 2, pp. 93–94. ISSN 1360144X. DOI: 10.1080/1360144X.2017.1305692.

⁵ David, A. (1995). Transformation of occupational health in the Czech Republic: Challenge for education and training In *Safety Science*, Elsevier B.V., Vol. 20, Issues 2–3, ISSN 0925-7535. DOI: 10.1016/0925-7535(95)00023-A.

⁶ Dušek, J. (2015). International Cooperation of Regional Authorities of the Czech Republic: History, Presence and Future. In *Conference Proceedings „18th International Colloquium on Regional Sciences“*. Brno: Masaryk University – Faculty of Economics and Administration. pp. 300–305. ISBN 978-80-210-7861-1. DOI: 10.5817/CZ.MUNI.P210-7861-2015-40. WOS: 000358536300040.

of the entire population for war situation used to increase in proportion to the development of military technology and scientific progress and their usage in the preparation and conduct of armed conflict. Development of civil defence training took place following two basic directions:⁷

- Civil defence training was used as preparation for an offensive war with the aim of militarizing the society. The threat of frequent military conflicts characteristic for the second half of the 19th century led to the formation of mass armies on the basis of compulsory conscription. At the same time, the leading state forces enforced faster and more thorough preparation of young men for military deployment. This trend often exceeded the army capabilities, which then demanded other institutions, especially schools to take over certain military training tasks. Physical education provided one of the opportunities to implement this requirement, which started to be introduced in public schools in most European countries during the 19th century. Military reasons prevailed over pedagogical and health reasons in introducing physical education into school curricula;
- Civil defence education based on the patriotic focus of education, promoted defensive character. The requirement for physical education and civil defence training was considered to be part of the comprehensive education and training of the society. Civil defence education is characterized by its purposeful, comprehensive and well-planned preparation of the entire population for the defence of the state.

Methodology

The aim of the research presented in the article was to examine the condition and the education development in the civil defence subject matter in the former Czechoslovakia in the 1918–1939 period. A framework research project was carried out by the authors in the preparatory phase to achieve this goal, which was based on a historical analysis of available documentation. The research into the conditions and development was based on a set of classified knowledge about the subject matter area of education in the 1918–1939 period as a process of creating knowledge according to certain methodological rules.⁸ A form of applied research was chosen, where specific issues in the field of civil defence education were addressed.

⁷ Krátký, L. (1989). *Branná výchova II*. České Budějovice: Pedagogická fakulta v Č. Budějovicích. ISBN 80-7040-003-X.

⁸ Reichel, J. (2009). *Kapitoly metodologie sociálních výzkumů*. Praha: Grada. ISBN 978-80-247-3006-6.

The performed analyses and evaluation of the acquired knowledge was focused on a certain element in natural conditions, which represented education in the subject matter of civil defence education in the former Czechoslovakia. A critical approach allowed to understand the topic in the contemporary contexts and create its comprehensive picture. The defined period was delimited by the establishment of Czechoslovakia in 1918 and the beginning of World War II in 1939, when the territory of Czechoslovakia was fragmented by the establishment of an independent Slovak State and the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia.

The performed research was carried out as a systematic study of socio-educational phenomena in order to obtain knowledge that describes and explains historical approach to civil defence education. The research part included a systematic process of gathering information, synthesizing existing knowledge and achieving increased knowledge.⁹ The aim was to obtain a unified insight into the subject of the study – the development of education in the subject matter of civil defence education in the former Czechoslovakia in the 1918–1939 period. On the one hand, the aim was to separate individual security issues, on the other hand, the individual areas were left as much as possible within the context of other areas. The research question was formulated as follows: “How was the education dealing with subject matter of the civil defence education in the former Czechoslovakia in the 1918–1939 period approached?”. The second research question was defined as follows: “What security issues and areas were reflected and taught within civil defence education?”.

A systemic approach to scientific literature research was used to achieve the goal and background data for the research question in order to obtain available information sources, published results and information from the field of education and civil defence education. Furthermore, the method of analysis and synthesis was used, i.e. the division of the whole into individual components and the connection of partial information into the whole and the description of the principles in interdependencies. This procedure was used in the analysis of historical information and their synthesis especially in the final part of the research. One of the methods for elaborating the goal of the research was deduction, i.e. the process of reasoning from premises, when a conclusion is reached on the basis of evidence. The procedure was applied in the processing of knowledge into the overall final part of the research.

⁹ Jensen, N. – Rice, A. – Soland, J. (2018). The Influence of Rapidly Guessed Item Responses on Teacher Value-Added Estimates: Implications for Policy and Practice. In *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis*. Sage Publications INC. Volume 40. Issue 2, pp. 267–284. DOI: 10.3102/0162373718759600.

Period prior 1918

In order to make the overview of the addressed issue more complex, the authors included in the article a reflection of the subject matter in the period prior 1918. The continuity and development of civil defence education in context seems to be more obvious. The emphasis on ideological and physical training of army subjects was also reflected in the requirement in the field of young generation upbringing in the field of education. Jacobite Louis-Michel Le Peletier (1760–1793) expressed in his proposal of children education the demand that all children should be brought up in national and republican ideas in the state-run education institutions and that their physical fitness should be developed. The Order on the Military Training of the Youth was issued in France as early as 1791.¹⁰

Fears of military conflicts, especially in the second half of the 19th century, led to the creation of an army based on compulsory conscription. Emphasis was placed on faster and more thorough preparation of young men for war deployment. This created a demand for other institutions, especially schools to carry out preparation of certain tasks. A suitable opportunity to meet these requirements was physical education, which used to be introduced into public schools in many European countries during the 19th century. The introduction of physical education in schools was not due pedagogical or health reasons, but due to civil defence education needs.¹¹

A new educational system of patriotic-military education began to form for the first time in history as the primary form of civil defence education in connection with the establishment of the mass army, and contained the main elements characterised as all-population and mass-scale with focus on physical and technical preparation for armed struggle. Society, and especially the ruling classes, were interested in the young generation, especially the male youth, and sought to obtain them for their purposes. Two basic directions in the development of youth training and education can be traced in civil defence education from the very beginning:

- School,
- Extracurricular.

Development of civil defence education in schools was initiated at the end of the 19th century, when the pressure of military authorities on schools increased, especially in Europe. Armies exercised pressure on young people to be acquainted with the military basics, took part in military exercises, to learn how to shoot, etc.

¹⁰ Reitmayer, L. (1985). *Teorie a praxe branné výchovy*. Praha: Naše vojsko.

¹¹ Reitmayer, L. (1981). *Úvod do studia obecné teorie branné výchovy*. Praha: Státní pedagogické nakladatelství Praha.

Such approach was introduced, for example, in France, where school battalions (*bataillons scolaires*) were established. Military exercise was performed in schools in Italy, England, Scandinavia, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Romania, Turkey and Japan. Militaristic approaches also had many opponents. Angelo Mosso (1846–1910), the Italian university professor was a strong critic of this approach, recommended that instead of military exercises, more attention in schools should be paid to modern physical education. The extracurricular form of civil defence education was performed both in the club activities of physical education organizations and in organizations applying new approaches to the youth.¹²

The form of pre-war education was carried out in Austria-Hungary, which also included the Czech Lands and Slovakia. The tendency towards pre-war education was one of the consequences of the defeats suffered by the imperial armies in 1859 in the war with Italy and in 1866 in the military conflict with Prussia. After these military defeats, Austrian officials and soldiers realized that their cause was not only lying in sufficient training and poor armament of the army, but in comparison with the Italian revolutionaries and Prussian soldiers mainly in general lower mental and physical level of the Austrian soldiers.¹³

The civil defence ability of the population was not initially the result of systematic and purposeful education, but a manifestation of resistance to oppression and helplessness. The first tendencies to introduce civil defence education in the Czech territory can be traced in the Sokol movement, where a large amount of population could gain physical fitness and at the same time moral and willpower qualities were formed and developed. The project of civil defence education by Miroslav Tyrš (1832–1884) and Jindřich Fügner (1822–1865), the co-founders of the Prague Sport Union, later Prague Sokol, was developed in detail and represented the first outline of civil defence educational theory. Tyrš formulated not only the goals and tasks of civil defence education, but also determined its means. He published his ideological article “Our task, direction and goal” in the Sokol journal.¹⁴ Sokol developed into one of the first national organizations with a spirit of civil defence. It is Tyrš who is considered to be both the founder of our national physical education movement, and a pioneer of Czech civil defence education. Its tradition begins and develops in his time and through his work. It is also necessary to perceive Sokol association activity as a targeted national revival and an opposition to the contemporary government arrangement, which resulted in a military patriotic mission.

¹² Reitmayer, L. (1985). *Teorie a praxe branné výchovy*. Praha: Naše vojsko.

¹³ Reitmayer, L. (1972). *Stručný nárys obecné teorie branné výchovy*. Praha: Státní pedagogické nakladatelství Praha.

¹⁴ Žižka, J. – Žlábek, J. (1989). *Od pódia ke Strahovu*. Praha: Olympia, 83 pp.

The contents of Sokol physical education activity consisted of comprehensive physical training and educational activities developed in the spirit of the traditions of the Czech nation. The training consisted of drill, floor exercise, and gymnastic apparatus exercises. Thus, speed, dexterity, endurance, strength, resistance to exertion and discomfort, which developed through Sokol trips, were practiced. The goal was the development of physical fitness and formation of moral and willpower qualities based on patriotism.

Austro-Hungarian period brought demand for the school reform, which took place in 1868–1869. The law introduced compulsory school attendance for children aged six to fourteen. Military officials had a strong influence on law-making and pushed ahead the school to develop not only intellectual but also the physical training of the young population in line with the needs of the military. Gradually, the mandatory care for the physical development of young people began to be implemented, which was carried out by a new subject – physical education. In the 1980s another demand began to be enforced for male schoolchildren to be effectively trained in exercises required for the tasks of the military service. Thus, the demand for military education of young people (military propaedeutics) arose in Austria-Hungary as the primary form of civil defence education, which was subsequently carried out for many decades. The requirement that the school physical education should be used as a preparation for military service was successfully more or less enforced. Exercises according to the valid training rules for infantry together with shooting were included in the curricula of both secondary schools and primary schools. The problem was caused by implementation, which required a physical-technical drill and the supportive approach of teachers, who, however, often supported a pacifist approach.¹⁵

During the course of the World War I, the Austrian and Hungarian authorities on schools increased. Education became more and more dependent on the Ministry of Military, which issued guidelines to speed up the training of male youth for their deployment to the front. In addition to saber fencing, shooting competitions were introduced to the secondary schools together with interpretations of war history and military basics, and in 1915 training was expanded by a regulation on the military training of secondary school youth with the direct participation and guidance of military officers, including the introduction of bayonet fencing. A paramilitary organization “Junobrana” was established in the Czech Lands. The Junobrana management fell to experienced physical education teachers, who had to organize marches with young people in military formations, perform exercises with weapons and practice in shooting.¹⁶

¹⁵ Reitmayer, L. (1985). *Teorie a praxe branné výchovy*. Praha: Naše vojsko.

¹⁶ KÁDNER, O. (1929). *Vývoj a dnešní soustava školství*. Praha: Sfinx – Janda.

However, the teaching requirements for pre-war education were not adequate to the age of the youth and the methods of conducting the training were often without any pedagogical basis. Young people learned many singularities without an internal connection with the overall focus of school education. The exercises were often entrusted to military personnel who had no pedagogical education and the practical training was carried out by uncultivated and undeveloped drill exercises.

Development of the civil defence education in the 1918–1938 period

Civil defence education concerned physical, mental and especially moral development. It was a harmony according to the ancient ideal “in a healthy body – a healthy spirit”. According to M. Tyrš, it was possible to express the defence potential of the nation in a similar way as the idea “in a strong body – a strong spirit”. Tyrš imagined quite specifically the real defence in both directions, which can be evidenced from his speeches as early as in 1871 (taken from the Magazine for Civic and Defence Education¹⁷): *“Only that nation can be called a perfectly defence prepared which proper physical exercises in all its society layers are developed with emphasis.”* It is possible to deduce the effort for general compulsory physical education from this statement. *“Self-confidence and resourcefulness that can help itself quickly, courage and forethought, endurance and resentment, simplicity, accuracy and toughness in the way and habits of life, reliability and punctuality of the mind to which the act and not the word applies, friendship sacrificial and enthusiastic, manful discipline self-submissive to the interests of the whole – these are the moral qualities which are cultivated and should be cultivated in our training grounds and on which the national military ability has rested and are resting everywhere.”* It was, in a sense, a prologue to the introduction of a system of moral education. Civics education together with physical education acquired new and more significant characteristics in the military conception. A brief expression of a quotation and mission for the educational system in the civil defence, physical and moral education can be embraced as health, strength and civic virtues.

The World War I (1914–1918) brought a new experience for the society and especially for all armies. The influence of the background on the morale of the population, the psychology of the soldier and his combat determination was so significant that it played a significant role in the course of operations and in the war as a whole. The background was only partially endangered by the direct attack of the aggressor in the World War I. The armed conflict was conducted in

¹⁷ Časopis pro občanskou nauku a brannou výchovu. 1936. ročník I. (XIII.), sešit 1.

a shallow zone. Population and material values were mostly affected only when the front moved. Evacuation in particular was sufficient to protect the population, sometimes the population survived the fighting in the cellars or in temporary shelters. The main actor in leading the strike at the background of the enemy was the Air Force, which was numerically weak, inefficient and had a limited range. The war affected the background mainly economically and also psychologically. With the technical and quantitative development of the Air Force, it was necessary to consider its use to destroy the civilian economic potential of the enemy. Simultaneously with the development of the Air Force, means of air attack were also developed. There was also an automatic reaction in the form of building a civilian anti-aircraft defence (CPO). The system focused on the self-help of the population in air attacks and was intended to help in eliminating the consequences of the attack and helping to cope with the psychological and moral fluctuations of the population in the background.

The new self-awareness of national independence and state sovereignty after the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy following the end of World War I was one of the main directions after the emergence of an independent Czechoslovak Republic in its establishment on October 28, 1918. One of the consequences of World War I in Czechoslovakia was the rise of pacifism which was an attitude rejecting war and violence and saw the possibility of a peaceful solution to international disputes under all circumstances. The idea of peace was the main idea of the post-war period. Education for peaceful thinking was to be cultivated since the young age, so that peace education could enter schools and that a general Peace Day should be introduced into schools.¹⁸

From the point of view of education, a strong emphasis was placed on education for statehood. Education for statehood and patriotism was seen in three main directions:¹⁹

- State propaganda in the form of proclamation and dissemination of ideas,
- Civil defence education,
- Political education.

The aim of this direction and education was love and devotion to the state, sense of state, understanding of its importance, awareness of the obligation to work for the state and make sacrifices to it, to contribute, according to individual possibilities, to its security and consolidation and to its successful external and

¹⁸ Wurmová, J. (1924). Ku dni 15. listopadu In *Časopis pro občanskou nauku a výchovu*. ročník I., sešit 9.

¹⁹ Krofta, K. (1935). *Výchova k státnosti. Výchova k brannosti, výchova politická, propaganda státu*. Praha: Masarykův lidovýchovní ústav.

internal development. The period after World War I, when the Czechoslovak Republic was perceived as a victorious nation, was also characterized by a certain security carelessness.²⁰ It was the direct danger and development in neighbouring Germany which forced the state to become more interested in civil defence education.

Act No. 2/1918 Coll., which established the highest Administrative Offices in the Czechoslovak State, as amended, established the Ministry of Education, which was entrusted with the responsibility for education. The decisive factor in the field of education was the adoption of Act No. 292/1920 Coll., which regulated the administration of education, as amended. This law fundamentally adapted the administration of education. The law stipulated that this administration belonged to the state, which administers it out through the Ministry of Education and National Enlightenment. One of the basic tasks was to build the education of the young state on new, national and democratic principles, as well as to unify the school system throughout the state territory.²¹

The education of the population to statehood was legally regulated in 1919 by Act No. 67/1919 Coll., On the organization of popular civic education courses.²² Thus, civic education became the subject of state and self-government care, see Section 3 *“The cost of organizing these courses is covered by contributions from cities, municipalities, ... and state subsidies.”* This law introduced a compulsory organization of civic education, however, participation in it remained voluntary. The task of public care for civic education was the education of citizens for the newly formed republic with a focus on the following areas:²³

- Civic education on the state system, explanation of the difference between the monarchy and the republic,
- Interpretation of economic issues of the state and municipalities,
- Historical development and independence of the Czechoslovak Republic,
- The importance of democracy,
- Social conditions,
- The moral foundations of the state, devotion to the whole, virtues and civic duties,
- The essence of healthcare,
- On physical education, etc.

²⁰ Pavlíčková, H. – Somr, M. (2016). Through wisdom to humaneness and democracy. Jan Amos Komenský and Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk In *Studia z teorii vychowania*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe CHAT, Tom VII: Nr. 3, (16), pp. 27–36. ISSN 2083-0998.

²¹ Morkes, F. (2002). *Kapitoly o školství, o ministerstvu a jeho představitelích. (Období let 1848–2001)*. Praha: Pedagogické muzeum J. A. Komenského v Praze, ISBN 80-9011461-9-8. Akt No. 67/1919.

²³ Matula, A. (1937). *Branná výchova mimo školu*. Svobodné učení selské.

From the point of view of the new state, introduction of civic education as a new subject seemed to be very important made by Act No. 226/1922 Coll., which amended and supplemented the Acts on primary and civic schools. An explicit presentation of civic education can be found among the compulsory subjects in Section 1, Paragraph 1: *“Compulsory subjects taught in general (folk) schools are: religion; civic education; reading and writing; language of instruction; mathematics with the knowledge on measuring forms, natural science, natural history, geography and history concentrating especially on the nation and home country; drawing; singing, handicrafts and physical education. Home economics can be introduced as a special subject. The regulation will control a role of school doctors in the physical education of pupils.”*²⁴

Education for statehood

In 1919, the foundations were laid for civic education and a network of public care bodies was created, which actively developed a rich activity. In 1935, there were a total of 651 district (city) enlightenment associations in Czechoslovakia. There was a total of 12,264 local enlightenment commissions, of which 9,697 were Czechoslovak, 2,090 German, 337 Carpathian, 72 Hungarian and 68 Polish. Educational efforts responded to the cultural and political needs of the citizens and the state. Social developments in Europe, especially the intensification of Nazi tendencies in the neighbouring Germany, led to expanding the education by civic defence education besides civic education itself. The tasks of self-defence, to which the education and training of the individual prepares, also include the joint defence of material and cultural goods and the health and life of citizens.²⁵ Education aimed at preparing citizens to be able to defend their state against potential enemies.

Civil defence education was to be mainly moral and physical. The Minister of National Defence B. Bradáč commented on the topic of civil defence education: *“From the moral point of view, we are obliged to realize the need to join forces of all citizenship to defend the homeland, to consider this defence a not only imposed by state but to fulfil it with love and bearing in mind that we are fulfilling the most holy law for the welfare of the homeland subordinating our personal interests to the whole.”*²⁶ Civil defence should not be focused solely on physical education and civil defence training. The fundamental direction of civil defence education was to make the inhabitants acquainted with the possibilities that they can use to defend

²⁴ Akt No. 226/1922 Sb.

²⁵ Matula, A. (1937). *Branná výchova mimo školu*. Svobodné učení selské.

²⁶ *Rukověť branné výchovy. Nižší stupeň*. (1937). Praha: Vědecký ústav vojenský.

both the state and themselves. The defence of peace and the promotion of international cooperation was gradually gaining importance. The great role model was T. G. Masaryk. The work of citizens for peace should have been perceived as a life and mind attitude.²⁷

Perceptions and ideas about the tasks of the state were gradually changing and evolving. The competence of the state was exhausted for a long time by the protection of the state integrity, its citizens and the state territory against external attacks. Creating and developing a legal order and care for security and order within the state was another task. Gradually, the activities of the state expanded in other directions. The state had to take care of providing the necessary resources to fulfil its tasks, it had to take care of the state economic development and the population, the infrastructure development and also better education of the population. One of the important places where civic and state-building virtues were introduced into life were schools.²⁸

Education for statehood, the so-called popular education, was aimed at creating an environment that every citizen, regardless of nationality, religion, political beliefs or social environment in which he lived, was physically and mentally able and willing with enthusiasm and faithfully to fulfil his civic duties and if necessary, defend the state and the democracy with weapons.²⁹ Although the basic direction was stated in various publications, the uniform plan was missing. There were certain directions, such as the Masaryk Institute of Popular Education, which required a unified plan for education for statehood. This requirement was directed at the government to introduce systematic state economic and civil defence education by organizing courses, seminars, and other attractive forms.

Citizenship education and education for statehood included mainly education for civil defence. Education of the population was intended to lead to the so-called civil defence of the nation, i.e. to the ability to maintain and defend an independent Czechoslovak state against all possible enemies both at home and abroad. Four basic areas were included in the civil defence education:³⁰

- a) Awareness: training related to the war. It was about training the population how to properly protect themselves from danger and attacks. The training could be organized only by experts in cooperation with, for example, the Czechoslovak Red Cross, doctors, firefighters, etc.

²⁷ Čapek, J. (1938). K úloze studentstva a mladých intelektuálů v boji o mír a mezinárodní spolupráci. In *Naše doba. Revue pro vědu, umění a život sociální*, Vol. 45. Praha: Jan Laichter.

²⁸ Novotný, O. J. (1927). Stát. In *Časopis pro občanskou nauku a výchovu*. Vol. IV., No. 8. Praha.

²⁹ Krofta, K. (1935). *Výchova k státnosti. Výchova k brannosti, výchova politická, propaganda státu*. Praha: Masarykův lidový ústav.

³⁰ Ibid., pp. 19–20.

- b) Public health care. This area was focused on supporting physical education in order to increase the physical fitness of the nation. It also took into account the fact that the nation's fitness presupposes care for public health as well as recreation of the population. It was perceived as both the care for both the body and mental health.
- c) Economic and moral power. Emphasis was placed on developing the character of citizens, strengthening solidarity and building good relations between various classes and layers of the nation.
- d) The civil defence of the nation itself. The focus in this area was on the nation's ability to live in a free state, to maintain and defend the state even against an attack, based on the bravery of the population. Bravery had to stem from patriotic feeling and love of the country.

The danger to the state was perceived in the evolving international situation. It was difficult to balance the necessary education for peace with the education for the civil defence. Education with an emphasis on preparation for peace had a strong justification in the first years of the newly formed Czechoslovak Republic. However, preparation for peace should not weaken the nation and the state. Two personalities of the Czech history, Petr Chelčický and Jan Žižka stood as a contrast.^{31,32} Chelčický held the view that evil should not be opposed and condemned the war. On the other hand, Žižka was an important Hussite military leader who promoted Jan Hus's idea of church reform by fighting. Skořepa commented on issues of education that pacifism as a teacher's attitude must be real. Emphasis was placed on preparing for peace, especially where there was a fear of war, where it was necessary to defend oneself to the extreme, so the fighting tendencies of young boys had to be reduced. It was based on the assumption that even a child must be able to defend himself. The fighting instinct should not only be suppressed, but also converted into morally tolerable forms, such as wrestling with the rules, a drowning person rescue, first aid in an accident, etc.³³

It is necessary to state that Czechoslovakia or rather the Czech lands were among the countries with the lowest number of illiterates regarding the issue of enlightenment and education. The number of illiterates just slightly exceeded 1% in Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia according to the statistics from 1930. The number of illiterates reached 6% in Slovakia and 21% in Carpathian Ruthenia. In general,

³¹ Skořepa, M. (1933). *Výchova pro stát* In *Časopis pro občanskou nauku a výchovu*. Vol. X., No. 4. Praha.

³² Polman, K. (1933). *Výchova pro míra obranu* In *Časopis pro občanskou nauku a výchovu*. Vol. X., No. 2.

³³ Skořepa, M. (1933). *Výchova pro stát*. In *Časopis pro občanskou nauku a výchovu*. Vol. X., No 4.

it was a total of 3.25% of the illiterate population. When compared to the data from 1921, the number of illiterates reached 3% in Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia, 13% in Slovakia and 44% in Carpathian Ruthenia. In total, it was 7.5% of the illiterate population.³⁴

Civil defence ability

The concept of training in the field of civil defence, respectively civil defence education in the interwar period defined by the years 1918–1938 was associated with the establishment of the Czechoslovak Republic in 1918 and the subsequent development of the republic and the international situation. A concept can be seen where the hierarchy of moral and educational values including humanity, statehood and nationality was emphasized. The realization and defence of these ideals were considered the duty of every person, nation and state. The Czechoslovak Republic had no tendency to engage in war activities, there were no causes or no territorial claims outside the set borders. The defence of borders, territories and populations was a fundamental goal in the education and training of the population.³⁵ The need was perceived from an early age to educate the future nation not to intensified militarism, but to honest civil defence education.³⁶

Civil defence ability was perceived primarily as the ability to defend against an attacking enemy. Emphasis was placed especially on increasing the civil defence level, when the whole nation and all citizens needed to be educated with this goal in mind. Civil defence education applied to all inhabitants of the state, military education only to those who would defend the state militarily. Military education was a special kind of civil defence education. It was well known that not only the army in the field has a decisive role in the defence of the state, but it also depends on agriculture and industry, on their performance and self-sufficiency.³⁷

Educating young people to increase civil defence ability during school education was primarily the task for schools. Subsequently, this obligation was transferred to sports associations, such as the Czech Sokol Association. Students were considered to be future possible men in the military service, so the idea of

³⁴ Beuve-Mery, H. (1937). *Výchova mládeže v Československu*. In *Naše doba. Revue pro vědu, umění a život sociální*. Vol. 44.

³⁵ Milič, B. (1935). *K výchově pro stát*. In *Časopis pro občanskou nauku a výchovu*. Vol. XII., No. 2.

³⁶ Krýsa, V. J. (1938). *Obrana civilního obyvatelstva proti leteckým útokům*. Praha: Československá grafická unie.

³⁷ Dolenský, J. (1929). *Branná výchova školní mládeže. I. díl (předmluva)*. České Budějovice: Společenská knihtiskárna.

civil defence education was promoted as early as in the schools. The idea was presented that in the interest of the state future, it was necessary to introduce civil defence education as a certain precursor to military service. The lack of love for the nation and the state was an obstacle to the proper performance of military service. As Dolenský stated, while safeguarding the existence of the state and undisturbed development, civil defence education and the army should be supported.³⁸ This attitude was based on the existence of wars in the world. It was necessary for the teacher to discuss this matter with the students and prepare them for such possibility. Civil defence training and special military training had to be the life manifestation of the nation in the times of peace. One of the goals of civil defence education at school was to educate young citizens of the Czechoslovak Republic in physical and moral bravery and endurance for a possible defensive war.

Exercises of physical and moral endurance, patience, modesty, self-exertion and devotion were considered appropriate preparation for military service. The greatest emphasis was placed on education for love of the nation, for the state and its representatives, for its people, national culture and others. During the lessons, students should have been encouraged to be aware of national pride in individual subjects, such as appropriate promotion of historical heroes as models of the struggle for freedom, the use of examples of courage and bravery from everyday life, the use of physics, chemistry and geography to point out the context. The idea that the idea of defence could penetrate all subjects was spread.^{39,40} Schools and other organizations were to shape young citizens, especially male, as conscious, high-principled and healthy men. It was obvious that the set goal could not be achieved in a short time horizon.⁴¹

In order to provide an appropriate degree of civil defence readiness of citizens during the enemy attack, already primary schools should educate the youth to increase their civil defence ability by the following means:

- Education to devoted love to nation and state,
- Education to physical and moral bravery,
- Education to a real insight (e.g. in humanism, pacifism and school of thoughts disorganizing society),
- Awareness of the importance of cultural, economic and military self-defence both on the personal and national level.

³⁸ Ibid., p. 9.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 13.

⁴⁰ Krofta, K. (1935). *Výchova k státnosti. Výchova k brannosti, výchova politická, propaganda státu*. Praha: Masarykův lidovýchovný ústav.

⁴¹ Soukup, F. A. (1932). *Školní výchovou k brannosti národa. Studie pedagogicko-didaktická*. Praha: Svaz československého důstojnictva.

The Minister of National Defence commented on the civil defence education of the population as follows: “*To cultivate wisely civil defence means to be prepared for the war. However, this does not mean to have just a ready and trained army. Today and in the future, this will mean that the whole nation must be prepared with all its moral and material resources.*”⁴² It is clear from the above-mentioned statement that civil defence education, formerly also called civil defence training or pre-military education, was not a separate issue or a problem. Civil defence education formed part of the overall effort to increase civil defence capacity of the state. It was not and could not be a goal, but only a means.

Focus on civil defence education

Civil defence education – was a training aimed primarily at awakening love to the homeland, nation, state and planting a sense of duty to them, to stimulate efforts for home security. The aim was to concentrate both mental and physical forces on defending the state.⁴³ Schools should put emphasis on deepening civil defence education in the broadest sense as well as military education. Civil defence education was clearly seen as a certain basis and first step towards military education. School education was intended to support the subsequent physical fitness of the army and its spirit. This laid the foundation for civil defence education of the whole nation since childhood. The basic idea was that advanced defence could turn war away or at least weaken its negative consequences.

The concept of civil defence education was perceived in two basic directions. It was civil defence education both military and cultural. Military approach to civil defence education was aimed at an offensive and combat military training. Cultural approach to civil defence education was a connection and direction towards the spiritual, physical and technical culture of the population in accordance with the needs of the state defence. This approach was preparing the population for moral virtues, mental and physical abilities and technical skills, which should bring benefits not only for life and activity during the war, but also for life and activity during the peace.⁴⁴ Civil defence training can therefore be described as the will and the ability to defend oneself, one's country and one's homeland.

⁴² Machník, F. – Melichar, V. (1936). *Brannost národa a střední škola*. Praha: Novina Praha, Vol. 2.

⁴³ Matula, A. (1937). *Branná výchova mimo školu*. Svobodné učení selské.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

- Civil defence education was divided into three basic components:⁴⁵
 - Moral and scientific;
 - Physical;
 - Military (pre-military).

The goals of physical education coincided with the goals and ideals of physical education in the above-mentioned concept of civil defence education. Civil defence education in terms of morality was a development of character to patriotism and to loyalty to the state and to humanity, and was associated with the teaching of state defence. Pre-military education was preparing men for military service, the military service itself was intended to maintain military training of the reservists at the appropriate level.

A safe nation was perceived as one that educated its population with the same care in creative activity, and at the same time in civil defence awareness. Civil defence education was a vital interest of the national as a whole itself, and its level was a measure of contemporary security.⁴⁶ Civil defence included a sense of responsibility, duty, order, discipline and at the same time it was an expression of the act of patriotism and civic solidarity. The aim was to support civil defence ability of the entire population, regardless of age or whether they were subject to military service.

The basis of civil defence education was seen as bringing young people out of narrow individualism and leading them to the realization that the state society is a necessary social form that can have no other purpose in a modern state than to increase the satisfaction (well-being) of its citizens. It was a principle to make the citizen realise that he is not an isolated individual, but a member of the community of the family, the state and will not perceive possible military service as a personal burden and harm to personal freedom. Discussions were carried out about the obligation of the military service during possible period of mobilization or the possibility of alternative activities. It should have been emphasized to the citizen that he has a homeland and a political home, which is the highest subject of his thinking and efforts. The idea of perfection in the form of society was highlighted. Each individual had to perceive his own duty towards the whole within an internally free society.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ Dolenský, J. (1937). *Příručka branné výchovy pro učitelstvo národních škol*. Praha: Státní nakladatelství.

⁴⁶ *Rukověť branné výchovy. Nižší stupeň*. (1937). Praha: Vědecký ústav vojenský.

⁴⁷ Soukup, F. A. (1932). *Školní výchovou k brannosti národa. Studie pedagogicko-didaktická*. Praha: Svaz československého důstojnictva.

Conclusion

The development of the Czechoslovak Republic after World War I was influenced by a period of great changes in the way of war conducting and as a result of the developments, especially the rise of A. Hitler to power in neighbouring Germany in 1933. The Czechoslovak state had to respond to the situation through the preparation of the citizens, from children, youth and the preparation of conscripts to building an army. The expansion of the possibility of war waging in addition to the ground form to the possibility of airborne – air pressure put pressure on the protection and defence of families, schools, government authorities, social organizations and institutions to take over certain part of responsibility for this education. One of the characteristic features of the political system of pre-Munich Czechoslovakia was its great fragmentation. This inconsistency was also reflected in physical education and civil defence organizations.⁴⁸

The need for civil defence education was seen as an integral part of the education of a conscious, capable, disciplined and prepared citizen. Training of the civilian population in the field of civil (anti-aircraft) defence, and in the above-mentioned examples especially in school education, was carried out in the context of general education and the situation of the Czechoslovak Republic in the interwar period. Emphasis in school education and upbringing was placed especially on:⁴⁹

- Moral sturdiness,
- Physical fitness,
- Civil defence education.

Culturally conceived civil defence education was important in expanding the education not only of pupils and students in schools, but also of the entire population. The goal of civil defence education was the service to the whole as an expression of a certain human and national community. Civil defence education can be seen as a supporting component in the ideological conception that led the individual citizen towards patriotism, civic solidarity and humanity. Civil defence education aspired to direct the citizen towards a democratically active person, a person with an interest in his community, social order and state system. The civil defence of the population ideally stemmed from the feelings of a man and from his free will to defend the state. This concept should also be taken into account in current approaches to security and defence education.

⁴⁸ Obdržálek, Z. (1997). *Branná výchova jako súčasť komunistickéj výchovy*. Bratislava: Slovenské pedagogické nakladateľstvo.

⁴⁹ Kalivoda, K. – Stýblová, B. – Valla, B. (1939). *10 branných vycházek. I., Pro hochy i dívky 6–7leté*, Praha: Nákladem česko-slovenské grafické Unie.

The aim of civil defence education was mainly to plant into young people the generally valid moral principles of a good citizen, respect and love for the state, cultural values and historical traditions. Civil defence was not to be a special goal, it was intended to stem from the overall civic education, from the national consciousness. The emphasis in civil defence education was mainly put on the mental side of a man. It was therefore an ideological content of teaching and education. Civil defence education can be described as moral and civic education, which built and provided moral foundations of civic virtues such as heroism, discipline and sociability, which were to prove themselves when the state was in danger. Such education was not limited to civic education, but permeated all subjects, especially elementary studies, homeland studies, history, geography.^{50,51}

In addition to developing their own civil defence ability, civil defence education was implemented in schools with the aim to achieve a healthy, well-developed, resilient and hardened body, to practice sharp-wittedness, attention, alertness in observation the surroundings and in the terrain. It was also about educating in discipline and being well organised particularly in the threat of war.⁵² The implementation of civil defence education took place in many subjects with the intention of supporting and strengthening the mental and moral resilience of students. Civil defence education was strongly promoted, however, most teachers had nor the opportunity nor the experience in civil defence education or attended special courses.⁵³ The fundamental direction of civil defence education was that everyone joining the army would come physically, mentally and morally well-prepared and well-educated by the means of civil defence education.⁵⁴

The issue of how to teach school children to act correctly under different circumstances was and has remained one of the most important issues of today and the past. A mere theoretical interpretation, though as more illustrative as

⁵⁰ Kavan, Š. – Pavličiková, H. – Felcan, M. – Brumarová, L. (2019). Vzdělávání a výchova v oblasti dopravní bezpečnosti. In *Mezinárodní kolokvium Safe and Secure Society 2019*. Sborník příspěvků. České Budějovice: Vysoká škola evropských a regionálních studií, pp. 28–34.

⁵¹ Pecháč, J. (1936). Dějepis a branná výchova. In *Časopis pro občanskou nauku a brannou výchovu*, Vol. I. (XIII.), No. 1. Praha: Státní nakladatelství.

⁵² Zhang, J. – Fu, J. – Hao, H. – Chen, N. – Kim, Y. (2018). Development of Safety Science in Chinese Higher Education. In *Safety Science*, Elsevier B. V., Vol. 106. ISSN 0925-7535. DOI: 10.1016/j.ssci.2018.02.034.

⁵³ Valla, B. (1937). Přípravy na další činnost v branné výchově. In *Časopis pro občanskou nauku a brannou výchovu* Vol. II. (XIV.), No 5. Praha: Státní nakladatelství.

⁵⁴ *Rukověť branné výchovy. Nižší stupeň.* (1937). Praha: Vědecký ústav vojenský.

possible, is insufficient.⁵⁵ It is necessary to explain where the danger lies and how to protect oneself, first by examples, then by imitating the situations with examples of right and wrong behaviour. It is necessary to enable students that what has been explained theoretically in the lessons, has also been practically practiced during the practical exercises, e.g. the principles of evacuation, individual improvised protection and sheltering. In this way, students gain not only knowledge, but above all valuable habits and a general overview of the principles of correct behaviour in the event of danger.

In general, the idea of achieving the ideal harmony of the soul in love, beauty, goodness and truth can be observed in the researched period of 1918–1939. However, everything in the world must be fought for, so even these virtues and qualities must be fought for, protected and defended. The best way of defence is the word, but that time was not convenient only for verbal defence. The idea of a sense of ideal was emphasized, as all movements in the history, whether early religious or later patriotic, when led by a strong idea, brought success and benefit to humanity. It was necessary to revive the idea of conscious love to the homeland, nation and state.⁵⁶ The moral value of civil defence education can be found in the perception of a paradigm in which an individual can move from egoism towards solidarity with the society in which he lives.

Reflections and research in the areas of civil defence education in the past were carried out mainly by the Departments of Civil Defence Education at the Faculties of Education. Their current absence limits the professional development in this area. Departments of Health Education or Social Studies can represent a partial substitute; however, safety issues are usually of a marginal interest in their curricula. The implementation of scientific research activities is a basic precondition for possible professional development and a high-quality contemporary approach to issues of education in the field of safety at universities preparing future teachers.

⁵⁵ Kavan, Š. (2020). *Ochrana člověka a společnosti – vývoj vzdělávání v bezpečnostních tématech*. Praha: Nakladatelství Lidových novin. ISBN 978-80-7422-753-0. DOI: 10.32725/zsf.2020.74227530.

⁵⁶ Rublič, J. (1935). *Obrana národa a státu podle vzoru přírody*. Chrudim: Nakladatelství zahradnické literatury.

The League of Zelená Hora and the Jagiellonian Candidacy for the Bohemian Throne

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Šander, M. (2021). The League of Zelená Hora and the Jagiellonian Candidacy for the Bohemian Throne. *Czech-Polish Historical and Pedagogical Journal*, 13/2021/1, 116–148. <https://doi.org/10.5817/cphpj-2021-009>

The study deals with the development and transformation of the attitudes of the power block of the Bohemian Catholic nobility of the so-called League of Zelená Hora towards the Jagiellonian candidacy for the Bohemian throne. It first offered the throne to the Jagiellonians itself and anticipated in return the military support of Poland in the war with the present King of Bohemia George of Poděbrady. Polish mediation in fact did save the League of Zelená Hora from defeat, but the League did not want to accept the Jagiellonian tactic of neutrality. Thanks to the Hungarian king Matthias Corvinus, it received military assistance, which led it to deny Polish claims by electing Corvinus as King of Bohemia in 1469. When King George began negotiations on Polish succession with the Krakow court, the League, on the other hand, tried to prevent Polish success by political means. After the election of Władysław II Jagiełło as Bohemian king, it did not recognise him, but was interested in a military confrontation and only after the pressure of Matthias Corvinus did it join the so-called War of the Three Kings with Władysław and his father Casimir IV. Nevertheless, it still preferred a diplomatic resolution of the dispute and peaceful coexistence with Władysław's party in Bohemia.

Keywords: Late Middle Ages; Central Europe; League of Zelená Hora; Polish king; Jagiellonians

The Polish dynasty of the Jagiellonians acceded to the Bohemian throne through the free election of Władysław II Jagiełło by the land diet on May 27, 1471. This happened mainly through the votes of the power supports of the previous king George of Poděbrady, who already in June 1469 had presented the proposal for Polish succession to the Bohemian estates.¹

¹ Heymann, G. F. (1965). *George of Bohemia: King of Heretics*. Princeton University Press, pp. 568–569; Macek, J. (1967). *Jiří z Poděbrad* [George of Poděbrady]. Praha, pp. 340–341 and Čornej, P. – Bartlová, M. (2007). *Velké dějiny zemí Koruny české VI. (1437–1526)* [Great History of the Lands of the Bohemian Crown (1437–1526)], Praha-Litomyšl, Paseka, p. 263. In more detail including the source base, see Footnote 53.

However, even earlier the opposition bloc of members of the high aristocracy active in 1465–1479, for whom the name the League of Zelená Hora was used in the historiography based on the name of its constitutive congress, had offered the Bohemian royal crown to the Polish ruler. The price for accession to the Bohemian throne was to be decisive military support in the war against precisely George of Poděbrady.

The League of Zelená Hora was comprised of the bishop of Wrocław Jošt of Rožmberk, Jan of Rožmberk (ruler of the Rosenberg family in 1457–1472), the supreme burgrave of Prague Zdeněk of Šternberk, the supreme court judge of the Kingdom of Bohemia Jan Zajíc of Házmburk, his brother Oldřich Zajíc of Házmburk, Bohuslav VII of Švamberk, Vilém of Ilburk, Jindřich the Elder of Plavno, Děpolt of Rýzmburk, Zdeněk's sons Jaroslav and Jan of Šternberk, Jindřich of Hradec, Burian of Gutštejn, Jindřich the Younger of Plavno, Linhart of Gutštejn and at Klenová and Dobrohost of Ronšperk. In addition to its political goals, the opposition bloc was also intertwined with an intricate network of kinship ties. It gradually added other nobles and even two important Bohemian royal cities – Pilsen and České Budějovice. Wrocław was considered an “associate member” with an autonomous position and later also the Olomouc bishop Protasius (Tas) of Boskovice and large Moravian towns joined this organisation.²

² On the circumstances of the creation of the League of Zelená Hora and the first years of its activity, see Markgraf, H. (1877). Die Bildung der katolischen Liga gegen Georg von Podiebrad. *Historische Zeitschrift* 38, pp. 42–82, 251–277 and Válka, J. (1984). Stavovství a krize českého státu ve druhé polovině 15. století [Estatism and the crisis of the Bohemian state in the first half of the 15th century], *Folia Historica Bohemica* 6, pp. 65–89. On the familial ties within the association, see Nohová, I. (2008) *Příbuzenské vztahy členů Zelenohorské jednoty* [The familial relations of the members of the League of Zelená Hora]. Praha; Šandera, M. (2016). Zelenohorská jednota. Stav poznání, otázky a úkoly [The League of Zelená Hora: State of the art, questions and tasks]. In: M. Šandera – Z. Beran a kol., *Poděbradská éra v zemích České koruny*. Praha, Lidové noviny, pp. 172–182 and pp. 270–276. The power of the League of Zelená Hora mainly lay in the castles and other strong points (Český Krumlov, Velešín, Helfenburk, Vimperk, Nové Hrady, Choustník, Lutová, Zvírotice, Vítkův Kámen, Zvíkov, Milčín, Rožmberk, Dívčí Kámen, Třeboň, Konopiště, Elfenburk, Český Šternberk, Lešno, Kostelec nad Sázavou, Roudnice nad Labem, Zelená Hora, Vitoraz, Kost, Chvatěruby, Hrubá Skála, Trosky, Budyně nad Ohří, Vřeštov, Navarov, Chvatěruby, Oltářík, Andělská Hora, Žerotín, Rabštejn, Frymburk, Kynžvart, Bečov, Bochov, Nový Hartenštejn, Jindřichův Hradec, Gutštejn, Nečtiny, Klenová, Horšovský Týn, Starý Herštejn, Ronšperk, Krašov, Libštejn, Zbiroh, Bechyně among others), where the Rožmberks, Šternberks and Házmburks had ca 60 % of the total number of castle fortifications. The second captain of the League of Zelená Hora Zdeněk of Šternberk was titled in the papers as “*najvyšší hauptmann prelátuov, kniežat, pánuov i obcí křesťanských v poslušensťvie Otce Svätého stojících slavné koruny České všech křesťanuov, kteříž jsou v poslušensťvie*”

The breadth of the promotional campaign and the effort to make its dispute with the king an international theme surpassed all of its predecessors (aristocratic groups appearing under the slogan “bonum commune” against the king), because they expected a strong foreign ally in an open conflict with King George.³

When in 1467 in Krakow the emissary of the captain of the League Zdeněk of Šternberk presented his plan of the Polish succession and argued with the willingness to recognise his claims to the Bohemian throne as the husband of the sister of the previous Bohemian king Ladislaus the Posthumous Elisabeth of Habsburg, it was already the third time in the course of the 15th century that the House of Jagiellonian had been offered the Crown of St Wenceslas. The representatives of the Hussites did so the first time in 1420–1421 to Casimir’s father, Wladyslaw. Paradoxically, Casimir himself had already been elected Bohemian king once; it took place again on the part of the Utraquists in May 1438 in Mělník, but the military campaign was then (not for the last time) conducted so lazily by the Polish side that the Polish prince did not assert himself against the son-in-law of the late Luxembourg, Sigismund Albrecht of Habsburg.⁴

The future leaders of the League of Zelená Hora had the opportunity to meet in person with Casimir IV at the time of the Głogów congress in May 1462, Zdeněk of Šternberk even two years earlier at the congress in Bytom. In Głogów, Šternberk even had the honorary mission to go out to meet and welcome Casimir IV on behalf of the Bohemian king. The Głogów congress made a large impression on the future representatives of the League and evoked a distorted imagination of the great military power of King Casimir.⁵

kostela římského v království českém a markrabství moravském” [the highest hauptmann of prelates, princes, lords and Christian communities in obedience to the Holy Father standing the famous Bohemian crown of all Christians who are in obedience to the Roman Church in the Bohemian Kingdom and the Moravian Margraviate] – SOKA Jihlava, fond: Archív města Jihlava, sign. 176.

³ On the correspondence with the emperor and the imperial feudality, see *Urkundliche Nachträge zur österreichische-deutsche Geschichte im Zeilater Kaiser Friedrich III.* (1892). A. Bachmann (Ed.), Wien. On the beginnings of the negotiations with the Hungarian king, see Kalous, A. (2007.) *Matyáš Korvín. Uherský a český král* [Matthias Corvinus: Hungarian and Bohemian king]. České Budějovice, Vedita, pp. 125–126. An overall assessment was presented by Šandera, M. (2016). *Zelenohorská jednota. Stav poznání, otázky a úkoly*, In: M. Šandera – Z. Beran, a kol., *Poděbradská éra v zemích České koruny*. Praha, Lidové noviny, pp. 172–182.

⁴ For a brief summary, see Čornej, P. – Bartlová, M. (2007), *Velké dějiny země Koruny české VI*. Praha – Litomyšl, Paseka, p. 409. Heck, R. (1964), *Tabor i kandidatura jagiellońska w Czechach (1438–1444)* [Tabor and the Jagiellonian candidacy in Bohemia (1438–1444)]. Wrocław, pp. 67–68. Šandera, M. (2011). *Hynce Ptáček z Pirkštejna*. Praha, Nakladatelství Vyšehrad, pp. 53–55.

The open conflict of the league of Bohemian Catholic lords with King George began in the summer of 1465, but the aim at first was not to achieve his fall but to avoid the succession of one of his sons (there was a fear that George would try to impose his election still during his lifetime). The Roman Curia could have been more straightforward, at the same time it was already driving King George as a heretic before its court and in its decrees depriving his subjects of his oath of allegiance. Rome did not hide its plan to overthrow him, for the first time the idea that Jagiellonian could replace George on the Czech throne was expressed in 1463 by Pope Pius II, albeit for the time being on the level of theoretical consideration.⁶ Casimir IV himself heard it from curial diplomats in 1466, thus a year earlier than the League of Zelená Hora. Already in May 1466 Pope Paul II asked King Casimir to support the Bohemian Catholic lords and the city of Pilsen in their conflict with King George.⁷ Bishop Rudolf of Rudesheim was sent to Toruń as a mediator of the peace between Poland and the Order of the Teutonic Knights with an order to table the Bohemian question as well at the Polish court.⁸ When the League of Zelená

⁵ On the January congress in Bytom *Joannis Dlugossii Annales seu Cronicae inclicti regni Poloniae – Jana Długosza Roczniki czyli korniki sławnego królewskiego polskiego. Księga dwunacta 1445–1461*, (2004) K. Baczkowski – M. Kowalczyk – K. Ożóg – C. Pirożyńska – D. Turkowska – J. Wyrozumski (red). Warszawa, Wydawnictwo naukowe PWN, p. 380 and on the November meeting, *ibid* (1860). *Fontes rerum Austriacarum XX, Urkundliche Beiträge zur Geschichte Böhmens und seiner Nachbärlander im Zeitalter Georgs von Podiebrad (1450–1471)* (1860). F. Palacký (Ed.). Wien, p. 236., *Codex diplomaticus regni Poloniae I* (1758). M. Dogiel (Ed.) Vilnae, p. 10. From the literature, see in more detail Heck, R. (1964). *Zjazd Głogowski* [Głogów Congress], Warszawa, Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, pp. 48–70. In contrast to the two-thousand-person retinue of King George, the Polish retinue was much more numerous, the preserved sources even number them at 5,000 horsemen. The agreement from Głogów in *Scriptores rerum Silesiacarum oder Sammlung schlesischer Geschichtschreiber* Bd. VIII (1873). H. Markgraf (Ed.), Breslau: Josef Max a. Comp., pp. 97–100.

⁶ See the recorded interview of Pius II with the Wrocław emissary Hans Weinrich – *Scriptores rerum Silesiacarum oder Sammlung schlesischer Geschichtschreiber. IX. Politische correspondenz Breslaus im Zeitalter Georgs von Podiebrad*, Bd.9. (1874). H. Markgraf (Ed.), Breslau, p. 7.

⁷ For the text of the pope's call, see *Ibid*, p. 168. Emperor Frederick III received the same letter.

⁸ On the Toruń peace and the mission of the bishop of Lavant Rudolf *Joannis Dlugossii Annales seu Cronicae inclicti regni Poloniae – Jana Długosza Roczniki czyli korniki sławnego królewskiego polskiego. Księga dwunacta 1462–1480* (2006). K. Baczkowski – M. Kowalczyk – K. Ożóg – C. Pirożyńska – D. Turkowska – J. Wyrozumski (Eds.), Warszawa, Wydawnictwo naukowe PWN, pp. 160–161. From the literature, Drabina, J. (1974), *Działalność dyplomatyczna legata apostolskiego Rudolfa z Rudesheim na Śląsku* [The diplomatic activity of the apostolic legate Rudolf of Rudesheim in Silesia], in: *Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis*

Hora in September of the same year through its plenipotentiary Dobrohost of Ronšperk presented to the representatives of the curia in Rome a plan for the succession of the Jagiellonians to the Bohemian throne, they then repeated their vision in fact.⁹

Poland as the leading contemporary European support of Catholicism does not correspond to the image of Poland in the late Middle Ages, although the loud propaganda of Zbigniew Oleśnicki's party tried to create the opposite impression, but the actual state was significantly different. Whereas in Lesser Poland, the influence of the clergy was stronger, in Greater Poland great sympathy was expressed with the Bohemian reformation, especially with the local nobility. Bohemian mercenaries on the Polish side also played their part in the thirteen-year war against the Teutonic Knights. Although it ended successfully for Poland, it had long-term consequences in military and financial exhaustion. Poland, therefore, had little support in the role of leader of the anti-Utraquist, anti-Bohemian crusade. To the credit of Casimir and his counsellors, they were well aware of this. It was mainly the Calixtine part of Bohemia and Moravia, which was led by old traditions from the years of the Hussite revolution to seeing possible allies in the Poles.¹⁰ A number

Nr. 195, *Historia* 23, pp. 205–28; *Peter Eschenloer Geschichte der Stadt Breslau*. Bd. 1 (2003). G. Roth (Ed), New York – München – Berlin Waxmann Münster, p. 567. On the diplomatic activities of Rudolf of Rüdesheim, bishop of Lavant and later Wrocław, see also Kalouse, A. (2010). *Plenitudo potestatis in patribus? Papežští legáti a nunciové ve střední Evropě na konci středověku (1450–1525)* [Plenitudo potestatis in patribus? Papal legates and nuncios in Central Europe at the end of the Middle Ages (1450–1525)], Brno, Matice moravská, pp. 201–213.

⁹ Papée, F. (1907). *Zabiegi o czeską koronę (1466–1471)* [Treatments on the Crown of Bohemia (1466–1471)]. *Studia i skicze z czasów Kazimiera Jagiellonczika*, Warszawa, p. 59 shifted this mission of Dobrohost to 1465, however, the view that was offered by Tobolka, Z. V. (1898). *Styky krále českého Jiřího z Poděbrad s králem polským Kazimírem* [Contacts of Bohemian King George of Poděbrady with Polish King Casimir]. Brno, pp. 11–12, seems more realistic. In 1465, the League of Zelená Hora, as it also says in its programme, see Státní oblastní archiv Třeboň, fond Historica Třeboň, sg. 1887, fol. 11r–20r, editorially *Archiv český čili staré písemné památky české i moravské IV*. (1846). F. Palacký (Ed.), Praha, V Komisi u Kronberga i Rívnáče, pp. 102–105, saw as its aim in the royal question to stop the election of Poděbrady's son and only radicalised over time. On the person of Dobrohost of Rošperk, see Jánský, J. (2013). *Dobrohostové z Ronšperka a na Poděžovicích, rod erbu berana* [The Dobrohosts of Ronšperk and at Poděžovice, family of the coat-of-arms of the ram], Domažlice, Nakladatelství Českého lesa, pp. 159, 163 and 165–166.

¹⁰ For an assessment of the position of Zbigniew Oleśnicki on the Bohemian question, see Urbánek, R. (1915). *České dějiny III.1, Věk poděbradský I* [Czech History III/1: The Age of Poděbrady I], Praha, Leichter, pp. 58–59. Koczerska, M. (2004). *Zbigniew Oleśnicki i Kościół*

of Polish priests expressed fears that Poland's intensive entry into Bohemian affairs would not result in the suppression of the Bohemian heresy, but on the contrary would lead to heresies spreading frighteningly in Poland as well.

Despite this, the Bohemian Catholic League now saw precisely the Polish king as the most natural ally against George, because Emperor Frederick III, the political protector of the League in 1465–1467, was not able to play the role of Sigismund of Luxembourg and stand at the head of a crusade against the Bohemian Utraquists. Both Zdeněk of Šternberk and Jan of Rožmberk knew the emperor personally, had properties in Austria as well and Šternberk even boasted of the title of imperial councillor. The Zelená Hora members tried to rely on the emperor's authority in legitimising their approach, as the association tried to give its so-far only proclamatory rebellion against the king, thanks to an educated lawyer Jan of Házmburk, the real brain of the League, the form of a legal dispute over the king's disregarded estates' privileges and the religious emphasis was until then only in the background.¹¹ Although there was rumours circulating in Bohemia about a conspiracy to replace King George with the emperor's son Maximilian, Šternberk and the Rožmberks knew well that the emperor was anything but a warrior.¹²

krakowski w czasach jego pontyfikatu (1432–1455), Warszawa. On the traditional view of Hussite Bohemia on Poles as a possible ally, see Heck, R. (1964). Tabor i kandidatura, p. 24 and esp. Šmahel, F. (1999). Husyckie pojecie wzajemności slowiańskiej i czesko-polskie [The Hussite concept of Slavic and Bohemian-Polish reciprocity], In *Polskie echa husytyzm. Materiały z konferencji naukowej, Kłodzko 27–28 wrzesnia 1996*, eds. S. Byłona – R. Gladkiewicz, Warszawa, pp. 9–19.

¹¹ On the congress in Jindřichův Hradec, Šternberk provocatively announced that the privilegia granted by the Bohemian king to the higher aristocracy are only valid if they are confirmed by the emperor, see Martinovský, I. (2007). Domnělý kodifikační pokus krále Jiřího [The alleged codification attempt of King George], In *Vladislavské zřízení zemské a navazující prameny (Svatováclavská smlouva a Zřízení o ručnicích)*. (2007). P. Kreuz – I. Martinovský (Eds.), Praha, pp. 30–32.

¹² A copy of Šternberk's letter to the emperor with the request that he clear him and his advisor Count Rohrbach from the accusation that they prepared a conspiracy with the aim of murdering King George and putting the emperor's son Maximilian on the Bohemian throne + the attached defence by Rohrbach is in SOA Třeboň, fond Historica, inv. Nr. 1492, sg. 1898 and inv. Nr. 2432–2434. The summary of the letter addressed to the Bohemian clergy and towns, where the emperor indicated that Šternberk could not have done anything with Jan of Rohrbach, because this man was on his order sent to Neuburg several days before Šternberk's arrival – *Regesten Kaiser Friedrichs*, Heft 26, (1982). H. Koller, Heinrich – P. J. Heinig – A. Niederstätter, Alois (Eds.), Wien p. 270, Nr. 633 and 634. On Šternberk's position in the imperial council, see Heinig, P. J. (1997). *Kaiser Friedrich III. Hof, Regierung und Politik*, T.1, Köln–Weimar–Wien, p. 427.

In the eyes of the League, a Habsburg was not to replace Poděbrady on the throne but a Jagiellonian. It was the first time in Czech history that the Bohemian crown was offered to the Jagiellonians by the domestic Catholics. The prize was to be open military aid against the heretic on the Bohemian throne, or directly taking over the leadership of the crusade.¹³ They had no idea that the Polish king did not intend to pay this price. Neither did the Roman Curia know, who had counted on him for this role.

The first direct attempt on the part of the League of Zelená Hora to contact Polish diplomats and present to them the offer of the Bohemian throne for the Polish king or his son took place in January 1467 in Wrocław. The Polish envoys Jan of Ostroróg and Wincenty Kielbasa, who stopped here on their way to Rome, heard this proposal from the representatives of the League in the presence of the legate Rudolf, and therefore did not reject it out of hand, but their answer was evasive, in any case it was the first proved attempt to pull specific Polish people into their game.¹⁴

In February 1467, the League sent Dobrohost of Ronšperk to Rome, this time already with the clear request for the Holy Father to appoint a new king for the Bohemians. In their eyes, the most suitable person is the Polish Jagiellonian, who has a claim to the throne through his wife and has his hands free to fight King George. The League presented to the representatives of the curia the plan of the succession of the Jagiellonians to the Bohemian throne. The pope promised that the Curia would fully safeguard their efforts.¹⁵

King George had already lost patience with the behaviour of the League of Zelená Hora, which had been trying to gain time for two years by pretending that its revolt was only a legal dispute over the sovereign's disregard of their estates' privileges. On 20 April, King George issued letters of defiance to all its representatives. War broke out. The rapid intervention of the royal troops surprised the Catholic lords. On May 2, 1467, the League of Zelená Hora in Jindřichův Hradec, which then fulfilled the role of the military centre of the resistance to George of Poděbrady, had a letter drawn up, in which it announced that it no longer intended to obey

¹³ It was symbolically declared directly in Wrocław, just like in 1420 1st crusade against the Hussites – *Peter Eschenloer. Geschichte der Stadt Breslau*. Bd. I (2003). G. Roth (Ed.), Münster : Waxmann, pp. 607–608.

¹⁴ Letter of the Wrocław city council to Pope Paul II from 17 January 1467, *Scriptores rerum Silesiacarum*. Bd.9. (1874), p. 217, Nr. 348.

¹⁵ *Scriptores rerum Silesiacarum oder Sammlung schlesischer Geschichtschreiber*. Bd.13. *Politische Correspondenz Breslaus im Zeitalter des Königs Matthias Corvinus Abt. 1 : 1469–1479*. (1874). H. Wendt – B. Kronthal, (Eds.), pp. 55. From the literature, see Tobolka, Z.V. (1898). *Styky krále českého Jiřího z Poděbrad s králem polským Kazimírem*, p.16 and Papée, F. (1907). *Zabíegi o czeską koronę*, p. 59.

the cursed heretic George and begged the Polish king to take it under his protection and defend the holy faith as well as the hereditary right of his wife Elizabeth and their sons to the Bohemian Crown.¹⁶

The first attempt of the League of Zelená Hora was truly badly timed and not even an appropriate form had been selected. King Casimir was then at the diet in Piotrkow. The envoy of the League just missed the departing emissary of King George Jan of Cimburk, who could leave Piotrkow satisfied. There is no danger to his master on the part of the Polish. In contrast, the messenger of the League (the sources have not even preserved his name) encountered an inauspicious reaction. The letter, which he submitted, impacted the king and his closest surrounding as unfortunately formulated if not confused.¹⁷ The envoy only received the response that the members of the royal council had already left the diet for their homes and without them the king would not resolve this affair. A very experienced man like Zdeněk of Šternberk, who himself had been at the head of several missions to foreign courts, could not expect that in such an important matter Casimir would make any binding statement based on a single envoy with a letter, but the beginning of the war had completely surprised the League of Zelená Hora, and instead of a representative message it truly could only send a request for help in the first days.

Another tactic of the League of Zelená Hora in relation to the Polish Question was tuned in Wrocław. The legate Rudolf of Rüdeseheim reassured Zdeněk of Šternberk and the other lords disappointed by the rebuff of their emissary in Piotrkow and acquainted them with the papal bull issued on 14 May in which Paul II empowered them to have Casimir IV elected and accepted as the Bohemian king.¹⁸

¹⁶ The text of the renewed regulation of the League was available to *Peter Eschenloer. Geschichte der Stadt Breslau*. Bd. 2 (2003). G. Roth (Ed.), Münster: Waxmann, pp. 605–607. For the declaration of hostility to Zdeněk of Šternberk on the part of King George, see *Království dvojího lidu* (1989). P. Čornej (Ed.) Praha, pp. 161–162, Nr. 73. The Polish translation of the letter from May 2, 1467 was printed by Miemczewicz, J. U. (1822). *Zbiór pamiętników historycznych o dawnéj Polsce z rękopismów, tudzież dzieł w różnych językach o Polsce wydanych oraz z listami oryginalnemi królów i znakomitych ludzi w kraju naszym* [A collection of historical diaries about old Poland from manuscripts, as well as works in different languages about Poland and also issued with original letters of kings and eminent people in our country] T.I; Warszawa, pp. 364–365.

¹⁷ According to the brief recapitulation presented by *Joannnis Dlugossii Annales seu Cronicae inclicti regni Poloniae* (2006), p. 196. The emissary in fact presented the letter from 2 May, not the document on Casimir's election in Jihlava. Papée, F. (1907). *Zabiegi o czeską koronę*, p. 67 doubted the actual act of the election with the comment that the preserved letter is dated with another day and issued in Jindřichův Hradec- for more, see Note 18.

¹⁸ The text of the papal bull from May 14, 1467 in *Scriptores rerum Silesiacarum*. B. 9. (1874), pp. 229–230, Nr. 361 and *Peter Eschenloer. Geschichte der Stadt Breslau*. Bd.2. (2003), pp. 646–647.

It is logical that it was only under this impression that the League of Zelená Hora proceeded to a more decisive and much more confident act. The new document, which was to be presented to the Polish monarch, was no longer just a request for protection of the Bohemian Catholic League. It announced that the league had elected Casimir Bohemian king. If he could not accept it himself, then the election applied to his eldest son, both on the condition that he provide it with military assistance and that he does so as soon as possible.¹⁹

The second attempt of the League to contact King Casimir and the Polish court with the offer of the Bohemian crown took place at the beginning of July. Surprisingly, once again none of the 6 aristocratic members of the league travelled to Krakow; they were fully occupied with the defence of their estates against Poděbrady's troops, during two months a third of their strongholds had been besieged. The Wrocław bishop Jošt undoubtedly represented a suitable person who had already been received with dignity with regard to his office, but was at that time fully engaged in the war campaign against the Silesian holdings of the Poděbrady family – Minsterberg and Frankenstein, the purpose of which was to lure royal troops away from besieged Bohemian castles. Moreover, he suffered from ever-increasing health problems. The captain of the league, Zdeněk of Šternberk, relied on papal diplomacy to carry out the main work. The parish priest of Jindřichův Hradec, Eliáš, was chosen, who already had experience from an important mission to the pope in the autumn of 1466. Eliáš first headed to Wrocław, where Councillor Lukáš Eisenreich and Canon Jan Hoffmann joined him.²⁰

¹⁹ Kiryk, F. (1967). *Jakub z Děbna*, p. 96 correctly states that it was only the July emissary that informed the Polish king of the election in Jihlava. Papée (1907), *Zabiegi o czeską koronę*, p. 67 doubted if the election in Jihlavě took place at all. He is right that Długosz evidently refers to the letter from 2 May issued in Jindřichův Hradec, but he is not the only one who informs on the act in Jihlava. Kaprinai, I. (1767), *Hungaria Diplomatica Temporibus Mathiae De Hunyad Regis Hungariae III*. Vindoboane, p. 591. Höfler, *Geschichtschreiber III*, p. 225, mentions the members of the mission and that they were to inform of Casimir's election as Bohemian king, the legate Rudolf also touches on that in a later report, *Scriptores rerum Silesiacarum*. Bd.13., p. 55. From the literature Tobolka, Z. V. (1898). *Styky krále českého*, p.18. However, it is a question why the letter from 2 May has been preserved and not the much more important June document.

²⁰ Eliáš was definitely not a common parish priest from a subject town, in 1463–1474 he was the administrator of the bishopric of Litomyšl, a doctor of theology, in 1466 the League of Zelená Hora sent him to Rome to Pope Paul II. He returned with better results than Dobrohost of Ronšperk had in the spring, mainly with the promise of financial aid for the Bohemian Catholic league. From 1463, he held the post of administrator of the Litomyšl bishopric, see Večeře, V. (2019) *Litomyšlské biskupství po roce 1421* [The Litomyšl Bishopric after 1421]. In *Studia Mediaevalia Bohemia* 10/2018, Nr. 1, pp. 27–28. *Peter Eschenloer*.

On July 8, they arrived in Krakow, and papal diplomacy in the form of Dean of Aachen, Petrus de Ercelens, and Franciscan Gabriel Rongoni of Verona, secured a more dignified reception for the envoy of the League than did its May predecessor. Moreover, parish priest Eliáš had with him a document sealed by all of the founding members of the League with a clear offer of the throne. The Polish monarch was called upon to accept the election as the Bohemian king for himself or on behalf of his sons.²¹

Casimir found himself in the same situation as his father Wladyslaw had been in 1421. He was also offered the Bohemian crown by people who had recently accepted another man as king. Wladyslaw then refused, because such an act, despite the political context, was not Christian and chivalrous in his eyes and he could provide the Polish nobility with an argument for a similar step in the future. He then told the Bohemian envoys that he would not create such a dangerous precedence.²² How did his son behave in the same position, but thanks to the attitude of the pope a slightly easier situation?

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- Geschichte der Stadt Breslau*. Bd.1 (2003), p. 530. In a later report from August 1471, which is a recapitulation in the affair of the dispute of the Jagellonians and Mathias Corvinus for the Bohemian throne, both mention as a member of the mission the legate Rudolf – *Scriptores rerum Silesiacarum* Bd. 13. *Politische Correspondenz Breslaus im Zeitalter des Königs Matthias Corvinus*. Abt. 1: 1469–1479 (1893). B. Kronthal – H. Wendt, Breslau, p. 55, Nr. 82. *Joannis Długossii Annales seu Cronicae inclicti regni Poloniae* (2006), p. 199 mentions the place but they did not come with parish priest Eliáš. Gabriele Rongoni of Verona accompanied by the names Lukáš Eisenreich and Dr. Jan Hoffmann of Wrocław, were in Krakow but with another mission. Palacký, F. (1921). *Dějiny národu českého v Čechách a v Moravě*. [The History of the Bohemian Nation in Bohemia and Moravia]. Praha, Nakladatel B. Kočí, p. 948. On the military campaign of the Silesians then against Münsterberg and Frankenštejn, see Peter Eschenloer. *Geschichte der Stadt Breslau*. Bd.2. (2003), pp. 614–619.
- ²¹ *Joannis Długossii Annales seu Cronicae inclicti regni Poloniae* (2006), p. 199. Papée, F. (1907) *Zabiegi o czeską koronę*, p. 67, believed that Długosz mistakenly listed the text of the letter from 2 May as proof of the election and drew the conclusion that the election in Jihlava never happened. However, Długosz does not name the specific date or place of the election. Precedence with an election outside the framework of a diet would already exist and paradoxically connected directly with the person of Casimir IV – he was thus declared Bohemian king in May 1438 at the Calixtine diet in Mělník – *Starší letopisové čeští* [Old Bohemian Annals], p. 109 and *Aeneae Silvii Historia Bohemica – Enea Silvio Historie česká* (1998). D. Martínková – A. Hadravová – J. Matl (Eds.), Praha, KLP-Koniasch Latin Press: Ústav pro klasická studia AV ČR: Nadace pro dějiny kultury ve střední Evropě, p. 178, from the literature in the most detail, see Urbánek, R. (1915). *České dějiny III. 1. Věk poděbradský I*, pp. 304–306.
- ²² On the offer of the throne to King Wladyslaw Jagellonian, see Šmahel, F. (1993). *Husitská revoluce III.*, Univerzita Karlova, pp. 48–49; Čornej, P. (2000) *Velké dějiny země Koruny české V. (1402–1437)*, Praha – Litomyšl, Paseka, pp. 266–267.

During his reign, the Polish king addressed the key question in relationship to the Bohemian Crown, whether in the spirit of his predecessors to strive for the revindication of Silesia (with partial success at the Głogów Congress) or to gain the Bohemian throne for his dynasty. The second option won, but the Polish court wanted to achieve this through diplomatic negotiations and an agreement with Poděbrady, not at the cost of an expensive war against him. Casimir IV therefore kindly accepted the message of the League of Zelená Hora, but he took a distinctly reserved stance on their proposal. He argued for the fatigue of Poland after the just-concluded protracted thirteen-year war with the Order of the Teutonic Knights. At the same time, the Roman Curia believed that by its contribution to the conclusion of the Peace of Toruń, it had freed the Polish monarch's hands for intervention in Bohemia. Not even calling the papal legate from Wrocław, whom the envoys quickly contacted with the warning that the negotiations were not going well, helped. Casimir's response to the Bohemian proposal was an example of the sophisticated diplomacy of the Polish court. The Polish king declared that the question of the possible acceptance of the Bohemian Crown would be postponed until the meeting of the general diet, which would only be convoked in the next year. In the meantime, he would send a message to Bohemia, which would work to end or at least interrupt the ongoing war and work on George of Poděbrady to submit to the pope.²³ Casimir thus left a free path in all directions and, above all, gained time before Bohemian conditions developed more clearly.

For the League of Zelená Hora, it was a very meagre result, especially Šternberk must have felt disappointed and humiliated, since he had been so sure of Polish military aid that he did not hesitate to use information about it as a means of pressure on the Bohemian Catholics who were still hesitating.²⁴

²³ On the offer of the Bohemian crown and the position of the Polish court on the Bohemian question, see Drabina, J. (1974). *Działalność apostolskiego legata Rudolfa z Rüdesheim na Śląsku* [The activities of the apostolic legate Rudolf from Rüdesheim in Silesia], in: *Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis, Historia XXIII*, Wrocław 1974, pp. 219–220. Gorski, K. (1987). *Dyplomacja polska czasów Kazimierza Jagiellonczyka 2. Lata konfliktów dyplomatycznych* [Polish diplomacy in the times of Casimir Jagiellonian 2: Years of diplomatic conflicts]. In *Kazimierz Jagiellończyk: Zbiór studiów o Polsce drugiej połowy XV wieku*, M. Biskup – K. Górski (red.): Warszawa, pp. 234–235. On Casimir's view of sovereign legitimacy, see Piotr Węcowski, P (2013). *Ze studiów nad ideologią polityczną Kazimierza Jagiellończyka: wątek pokoju i zgody w państwie* [From studies on the political ideology of Casimir Jagiellonian: The topic of peace and harmony in the state]. *Średniowiecze Polskie i Powszechnie* 5 (9), pp. 169–184.

²⁴ In the letter to Jan of Rožmberk, Šternberk did not even hesitate to claim that the Polish kings and his wife sent through his emissary a promise to the League of rapid aid in the form of 5,000 horsemen and if there was a good crop in Poland to ensure the army, even

The League did not, however, rely only on Poland and already from 1465 had sought a possible alliance even with the imperial princes. Practically at the same time that the emissary of the League turned to King Casimir in Jihlava with the request for an early military intervention against George of Poděbrady, the League sent Hilarius Litoměřický, Linhart of Gutštejn and Jan Kocovský with a request for aid to the diet, which had been convoked by Emperor Frederick in Nuremberg to discuss the war against the Turks. Nevertheless, the League fared even worse here than it had in Krakow, although it claimed that it was not fighting for personal gain, but for the protection of the Catholic Church and the faith, which was being oppressed and trampled by the heretical ruler and his officials. Therefore, the weight of the Polish card increased again.²⁵

Casimir IV kept his promise given to the League; two months after the Krakow discussions he truly sent a mission to Bohemia. At that time, twelve castles of the League had already fallen into Poděbrady's hands and a significant part of their holdings had suffered the raids of the king's faithful aristocrats and divisions from the royal towns. The northern component of the League – the people of Wrocław and their allies suffered a cruel defeat at Frankenštejn.²⁶ The Catholic League was facing defeat. In this situation, the Polish king really achieved more for it than the pope and Emperor Frederick III.

The selection of the Polish mission was very well thought out on the part of Casimir and his counsellors; they were not only leading aristocrats and experienced diplomats, but also directly people with contacts and experience with the Bohemian milieu. Only their names must have acted as a message to the Bohemian monarch, because at the head of the mission was Jakub of Dębno (rightly called the architect of Casimir's policy towards the southern neighbours by Polish historians)²⁷

Casimir himself would come with the main Polish forces – *Archiv český čili staré písemné památky české i moravské VII* [Ar] (1887). J. Kalousek (Ed.), Praha, Print of Dr. E. Grégr, p. 279, Nr. 131. It was a clear lie to scare Rožmberk, who left the League the previous year.

²⁵ *Des Heilligen Röhmisschen Reichs Teutscher Nation Reichs Tags Theatrum* (1718). J. J. Müller (Ed.), Jena, Verlag: Bielcke, pp. 260–290. On the appearance of the Bohemian delegation at the imperial diet in Nuremberg, see *Archiv český čili staré písemné památky české i moravské XX* (1902), F. Dvorský (Ed.) Praha, pp. 542–550, Nr. 1.

²⁶ On the defeat of the Wrocław troops at Frankenštejn – *Peter Eschenloer. Geschichte der Stadt Breslau*. Bd.2. (2003), pp. 656–658; *Starí letopisové čeští*, p. 165. Urbánek, R. (1926). *Husitský král*, Praha p. 212.

²⁷ On Jakub of Dębno, see mainly Feliks Kiryk F. (1967). *Jakub z Dębna na tle wewnętrznej i zagranicznej polityki Kazimierza Jagiellończyka* [Jakub of Dębno against the background of the internal and foreign policies of Casimir Jagiellonian]. Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków, wydawctwo polskiej akademii nauk. In March 1467 and in 1468 he was sent to Prague, in 1469 to Hungary, in 1470 to the emperor and in 1471 to the grandmaster. After his calling

and Stanislaw of Ostroróg, the Calixtine paladin (son of Sudiwoj of Ostroróg, who led the Polish army to Bohemia to aid the Calixtines against Albert of Habsburg in 1438). He knew George of Poděbrady personally; he had already led a mission to the Prague court in February 1462.²⁸ The mission also included the Krakow canon Jan Długosz, whose appointment was to be an considerate step towards the League.²⁹ Their retinue comprised 300 horsemen.

On October 19, the mission arrived in Prague and the very next day George provided them with an audience. The Polish king announced that he had been urged by the papal side to start a war against George, but that he had disobeyed the call and did not intend to do so in the future either, but he called on the Bohemian king to reconcile with the pope. The first step towards that according to Casimir was to be the conclusion of a ceasefire with those who disobeyed him at the pope's call, namely with the League of Zelená Hora (King George in his written response from October 26, literally stated that he was called by Casimir "to take an armistice with those who had betrayed us...". Out of respect for the King of Poland, he expressed his willingness to discuss this proposal as well, although he made it clear that he had strong reservations and doubts.³⁰

to the Bohemian throne in 1471, he found himself in the accompaniment of Władysław Jagiellonian in Prague. He was part of the delegation negotiating with the Hungarians in 1473 in Nysa and Opava in Silesia. See further Falkowski, W. (1992). *Elita władzy w Polsce za panowania Kazimierza Jagiellończyka (1447–1492)* [The power elite in Poland under the reign of Casimir Jagiellonian (1447–1492)]. Warszawa, pp. 86–87, 121–122.

²⁸ On Stanislaw of Ostroróg, see Antoni Gąsiorowski – Jerzy Topolski (red.). *Wielkopolski Słownik Biograficzny*. Warszawa-Poznań: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1981, pp. 539–540 and Gąsiorowski, A. (1971). Polscy gwaranci traktatów z Krzyżakami XIV–XV wieku [Polish guarantors of treaties with the Teutonic Knights of the 14th–15th centuries], In *Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie nr 2–3*, 1971, p. 259. On his position of the Calixtine Palatine, see *Codex epistolaris saeculi decimi quinti* (1896). A. Sokolowski – J. Szujski (Eds.), Kraków, p. 198. In February 1462, he led the delegation to Prague. From 1463, he was a member of the Polish delegation, which led the peace discussions with the Teutonic Knights and led them in September 1466 in Toruń until the end. In 1466, he was the guarantor of the Toruń Peace. After the end of the war, Ostroróg continued to play a significant role in Polish diplomacy.

²⁹ Długosz calls the appointment an obliging move towards the League of Zelená Hora, see Kiryk F. (1967) *Jakub z Dębna*, p. 97.

³⁰ For the answer of King George to the Polish emissaries from October 1467, see *Archiv český čili staré písemné památky české i moravské IV* (1846), F. Palacký (Ed.), Praha, pp. 147–150, č=Nr. 36, George exams the three main points of the Polish proposal in detail here, i.e., 1. rejection of the pope's request that Casimir act against George; 2. be reconciled with the pope. 3. end or at least interrupt the domestic war.

Now, the negotiations with the League of Zelená Hora awaited the Polish mission. The emissaries had to set out for Jihlava, where the leader of the League Zdeněk of Šternberk and his son-in-law and also creator of the initial programme of the League Jan Zajíc of Házmburk were waiting for them. They unequivocally rejected the demand to turn over the besieged castle of Šternberk, Konopiště (it was later proposed that the castle would be handed over to the Poles for the period of the ceasefire, thus a variation George himself had once tried in Hungary as a convention between Corvinus and his brothers at the castles Šariš and Rychnava); they were willing in their own interest to discuss the declaration of a ceasefire, but not for one year as proposed by King George but for a half-year – from St Martin's 1467 to St George's in 1468).³¹

The Polish plenipotentiaries proved their first valuable service to the League. Despite King George being very upset by Šternberk and Házmburk's response to his proposals, they convinced him after returning to Prague to agree at least to a short-term provisional ceasefire and provided the members of the Catholic League security safe conduct statements so they could convene at a new congress in Brzeg, Silesia. On 19 November 1467, thanks to the Polish mediation, a ceasefire was negotiated between the disputing sides from 25 November in Bohemia and from November 30, to January 25, 1468 in Moravia, Silesia, Lusatia and the Lusatian League. Fifteen members of the League of Zelená Hora confirmed with their signatures that they would faithfully maintain the ceasefire.³²

A crucial meeting in relation to the Polish candidacy and the League took place in Wrocław, which forced the site of the planned Catholic Congress to be there instead of the proposed Brzeg. On the eve of the congress, Jošt of Rožmberk died, the only one who could somewhat moderate the predatory Šternberk in his uncompromising attitude.³³ The key speech at the second Wrocław congress of the League was taken by the papal legate Rudolf of Rudesheim. The Curia did not

³¹ On the negotiations in Jihlava, see Papée, F. (1907). *Zabiegi o czeską koronę*, p. 77 and Kíryk, F. (1967). *Jakub z Debna*, pp. 98–99.

³² The text on the ceasefire, but with another date, is printed in the *Archiv český čili staré písemné památky české i moravské IV* (1846), pp. 160–162, Nr. 41. Original of the document NA Praha, *Archív České koruny*, sg. 1734.

³³ Drabina, J. (1984). *Rola argumentacji religijnej w walce politycznej w późnośredniowiecznym Wrocławiu* [The role of religious argumentation in the imaginative struggle in late-medieval Wrocław]. Kraków, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, p. 76. An overall evaluation of Jošt's activity was presented by IBID., (2012). *Droga biskupa Jodoka do niesławy* [The second bishop Jodok into infamy], In W. Iwańczak – D. Karczewski (red.), *Zwycięzy i przegrani w dziejach średniowiecznych i wczesnonowożytnych Czech i Polski*, Kraków, pp. 403–418.

intend for George to come out of the conflict with the League victorious. Rudolf's main task, therefore, was to prevent a conciliatory solution by any means possible. Despite some more considerate votes, Zdeněk of Šternberk fully supported him, and this it was decided. The League would not surrender to King George, but would resist even more resolutely. However, it was conditioned by military assistance from abroad. When the Polish emissaries Jakub of Dębno, Stanislav of Ostroróg and Jan Długosz arrived, they had to face persuasion and then the ever-increasing pressure to accept the Bohemian crown on behalf of their master. They objected that they were not authorized to do so, so they were called upon to at least declare that the Polish side would defend his son's succession and send him accompanied by one thousand riders to Wrocław.³⁴ It was no longer decisive military aid, but an effort to achieve the Polish military entry into the conflict with George of Poděbrady in the form of the thousand riders, although it would be rather symbolic in terms of strength. However, the Polish envoys adhered to the king's answer from July – he did not reject the offer of the Bohemian crown, but postponed it for discussion at the Polish general diet. The main task of the mission, however, was to achieve peace between the divided parties in Bohemia, but the League decided in Wrocław that it would accede only to a short truce and would continue the war until Poděbrady's overthrow. Such a position had already provoked an angry reaction from Jakub of Dębno and a demonstrative departure from the meeting hall, which Zdeněk of Šternberk reminded him of a year and a half later with great satisfaction (See Footnote 52).

The League of Zelená Hora was well aware that it could not succeed in the conflict with King George without substantial foreign military aid and nothing less could satisfy it. Although the Polish mission had saved it from a complete defeat and the Polish king had not rejected the offer of the Bohemian throne, only postponed it, the diplomatic answers of the Polish envoys already acted counterproductively. The fatal decision came not only in the position to George of Poděbrady, but also in the relation to Poland, in Wrocław. The Catholic lords came to the conclusion that Casimir IV could not be persuaded and would not join the war against George. On 29 December, the league sent a mission to the pope, which calculated the damages suffered by the individual lords "in defending the faith" and again asked for financial assistance.³⁵

³⁴ On the pressure on the Polish emissaries in Wrocław, see *Peter Eschenloer. Geschichte der Stadt Breslau*. Bd.2. (2003), p. 696. *Joannis Dlugossii Annales seu Cronicae inclicti regni Poloniae* (2006), p. 208. Papée, F. (1907), *Zabiegi o czeską koronę*, p. 79.

³⁵ On the congress in Wrocław and the letter of the League to the pope, where the costs suffered are tallied, see *Peter Eschenloer. Geschichte der Stadt Breslau*. Bd.2. (2003), pp. 698–700.

By King Casimir refusing to support the League of Zelená Hora militarily, he lost all value in their eyes. The Bohemian Crown which it gave was to be a reward for military support, but that had not been and evidently would not be provided, the League therefore no longer felt bound by their promise to the Poles and the argument of Jagiellonian legitimism no longer interested it. The altered position of the League had not been officially expressed to Poland and if it ever planned such a communication, then only when it had gained, or rather believed that it had gained a much more energetic ally.

The lords did not intend to wait on the Polish diet and under the influence of its secular protector so far, Emperor Frederick III, who did not want such a strengthening of the House of Jagiellonian, they first addressed Brandenburg and offered the Bohemian throne to the elector Frederick Hohenzollern, but his younger brother Albrecht Achilles, whose daughter Ursula had married Poděbrady's son Henry the year before, managed deftly to lead the elector away from this plan.³⁶ However, not even this side-tracked the League from its firm, albeit purposefully secret, decision to reject the plan for Polish succession.

The Polish envoys returned to Prague. Despite learning in Wrocław that Poděbrady's opponents were not really interested in a real peace, they completed their mission, at least by ensuring a short-term ceasefire. On January 25, 1468, in the name of their lord Casimir IV, they concluded a ceasefire between King George and the rebellious lords and prelates until 25 April.³⁷

After the failure with the Brandenburg elector, the League of Zelená Hora tried to draw a Hungarian card. When the new member of the league, Bishop of Olomouc Tas, successfully established his first contacts at the Hungarian court, Zdeněk of Šternberk met King Matyáš Korvín in Trnava in March 1468. The long-awaited help from abroad, without which part of the League (both Zajics

³⁶ On the contacting of the Brandenburgs, see *Codex diplomaticus Brandenburgensis III. Sammlung der Urkunden, Chroniken und sonstigen Geschichtsquellen für die Geschichte der Mark Brandenburg und ihrer Regenten* (1843). Riedel (ed.), Berlin, p. 454. On the roles of Albrecht Achilles in this affair, see Höfler, K. (1860) *Frankische Studien IV, Archiv für Kunde österreichischer Geschichtsquellen VII*, Bd. 25, Wien, pp. 42–43.

³⁷ The original of the letter is deposited in the NA Praha, fond: Archív České koruny, sg.1734. The labelling of George of Poděbrady with the title of king was seen by the Roman Curia as not respecting the papal decree on 23 December 1466. In contrast, Zdeněk of Šternberk insisted that he would be labelled in the text as the Supreme Burgrave of Prague, although King George removed him from this post in April 1467. The cities of Wrocław, Pilsen, Olomouc, Brno, Znojmo and Jihlava was also mentioned in the contract on the part of the Catholic league. From the literature, see on the assessment of this Polish mission Nowak, A. (2017). *Dzieje Polski. Tom 3. 1340–1468. Królestwo zwycięskiego orla*. Kraków, Biały Kruk, p. 431.

of Hasenburk and others) would clearly have remained in a ceasefire with George of Poděbrady, came from the Hungarian king.³⁸

On April 8, 1468, Matthias Corvinus declared himself the protector of all Catholics in the Bohemian Crown, thus assuming the role which the League had requested of King Casimir the year before. Yet not even then did the League declare that it no longer felt tied to the promise of the Bohemian throne to the House of Jagiellonian.³⁹

At the same time, King Matthias, still in April, announced to Casimir that he had accepted protectorship of the Catholics in the Bohemian Crown. Casimir could not officially object to this. Moreover, Corvinus's emissary Protasius (Tas) of Boskovice at an audience in Krakow announced that the Hungarian king did not plan to impede the succession of Casimir's sons in Bohemia. Tas could have given the impression that nothing had changed in the position of the Bohemian Catholic League and that the plan of Jagiellonian succession after Poděbrady was dethroned or dead persisted. It would not even be tactical in a situation where the Polish king warned Bishop Tas that he did not reject the offer of the Bohemian throne, but merely postponed it to discussion by the general diet. The Jagiellonian was even called upon to support Corvinus in his war against George (although it was not stated aloud, it was communicated subliminally, after all, he would be fighting for the inheritance of his sons). It was another attempt to drag the Polish king into the war. It was again unsuccessful, just like Corvinus's request for the hand of Casimir's daughter Hedwig.⁴⁰

³⁸ Prochaska, A. (1914). *Protazego biskupa poselstwo do Polski r. 1471* [Protasius the bishop's mission to Poland in 1471]. *Rozprawy Akademii Umiejętności*. Wydział Historyczno-Filozoficzny. t. 31, 1914, p. 2, even attributed Tas with the main credit in the alliance of the League of Zelená Hora with Corvinus.

³⁹ Corvinus's declaration as the defender of the Bohemian Catholics in *Scriptores rerum Silesiacarum IX*. (1874), p. 262 – Corvinus's manifest from April 1468, *ibid*. List Brněnské městské rady do Vratislavi [Letter of the Brno Town Council to Vratislaus] *Království dvojího lidu*, p. 176, Nr. 80: “*pan Matyáš, král uherský, nás, kteříž jsme byli římské stolice a Koruny české poslušnými poddanými, do své milostivé královské ochrany vzal a nám se zavázal, že nám podporu a pomoc, jaká mi jen bude možná, ráčí poskytnout*” [Lord Matthias, king of Hungary, took us, who were obedient subjects of the Roman throne and the Bohemian Crown, into his merciful royal protection and undertook to give us the support and aid as soon as possible].

⁴⁰ *Joannis Dlugossii Annales seu Cronicae inclicti regni Poloniae* (2006), pp. 218–219; *Peter Eschenloer. Geschichte der Stadt Breslau*. Bd. 2. (2003), p. 721 – it was meant to be Eschenloer. From the literature, see Prochaska, A. (1913), *Protazego biskupa poselstwo do Polski r. 1471*. Kraków, Nakładem Akademii umiejętności, p. 2. and Papeé, F. (1907), *Zabiegi o czeską koronę*, p. 86.

The House of Jagiellonian continued to build on neutrality, but the legate Rudolf of Rüdeshheim repeatedly complained in letters to Rome that the Poles, despite the pope having deposed and exiled George of Poděbrady from the church, continued to call him king and pay homage to him.⁴¹

As in the previous year, the Polish court offered its mediation in the Bohemian war. This time it was George of Poděbrady and not his opponents who urgently needed a truce. King Casimir sent the tested Jakub of Dębno and Stanislaw of Ostroróg on another mission, instead of Jan Długosz the castellan of Oświęcim. Mikołaj Skop was now installed. After a stop in Prague, they headed for Olomouc, where King Mathias and most of the founding members of the League of Zelená Hora were then. For the first time, it was openly confronted with the fact that in Matthias it had gained not only a protector but also a strict master. The members of the League heard very reprimanding words from Corvinus for the lack of military support in the war against the heretic George, only Šternberk passed the muster in Mathias's eyes. Corvinus rejected Poděbrady's proposal for Casimir IV to be appointed as the referee in the conflict between him and the Hungarian king, with the justification that he could not take such a commitment without the consent of the pope and the emperor. Immediately afterwards, both papal legates appeared, which conditioned Poděbrady's proposal for a ceasefire with handing over his crucial supports (Prague, Karlštejn, Klodzko, Hradiště, Špilberk) into the hands of the Catholic league, while the Polish envoys still had to commit that if Poděbrady did not fulfil this commitment, the Polish king and Mathias Corvinus would intervene militarily. The Poles vehemently rejected such a promise and left Olomouc, for which they earned a number of derisive remarks from Bishop Tas.⁴² It must have been clear to Casimir's skilful diplomats that the League of Zelená Hora was already completely under Corvinus's influence and could not be utilised in any way for Polish interests.

Nevertheless, Krakow was not prepared for what role the League of Zelená Hora would play in the question of taking control of the Bohemian throne the next year. A new Polish delegation, in which Jakub of Dębno again stood at the head,

⁴¹ The proof of that was also the formulation of the document on the conclusion of a ceasefire with the League of Zelená Hora, see Note 32. The letter of Lorenz Blumenau, plenipotentiary of the Order of the Teutonic Knights in Rome at his superiors in Malbork in the Royal Archive, printed in *Codex epistolaris III*, Nr. 112. Later, Paul II still blames King Casimir for forbidding the declaration of a crusade and also limited the appearance of his legate at the diet in Piotrkow, Papée, F. (1907), *Zabiegi o czeską koronę*, p. 86.

⁴² *Joannis Długossii Annales seu Cronicae inclicti regni Poloniae* (2006), p. 229. Emperor Frederick III was also informed on the Polish delegation and its proposals in Olomouc, see *Regesta imperii XIII, Heft 21*, (2006). E. Holtz (Ed.), Wien, n. 109.

was sent to Rome, but at the same time it was to enter the negotiations between King George and Matthias Corvinus, whose successes in the war until then were shaken by the debacle of the February campaign near Vilémov. In April 1469, the Poles again arrived in Olomouc, which had transformed into Corvinus's main base. King George then settled in Moravský Šternberk with a large entourage, and negotiations took place between the two monarchs on the possibilities of ending the military conflict. The leader of the Polish mission, on behalf of his lord Casimir IV, again offered the possibility of Jagiellonian mediation and warned both kings not to do anything against the interests of the Kingdom of Poland and its ruler. The Polish envoys not only contacted King Matthias, but also came to the meeting of the League of Zelená Hora. Here, they found out to their shock that the Bohemian Catholic lords no longer felt any obligations to the Jagiellonian dynasty and would freely elect a new king. There was a sharp exchange of views between Zdeněk of Šternberk and Jakub of Dębno. The leader of the Catholic league reminded the Polish aristocrat that they had once offered Casimir's plenipotentiaries exactly what they were now asking for and were turned away. It was nothing surprising, Šternberk had negotiated much more arrogantly a few days ago with Poděbrady's emissaries Petr Kdulinec of Ostroměř and Beneš of Weitmile.⁴³ In response, the indignant lord of Dębno warned George of Poděbrady that the Catholic league was preparing to elect a Bohemian anti-king, namely Matthias Corvinus.⁴⁴ In vain.

The League of Zelená Hora had already thanks to Zdeněk of Šternberk embarked on a path from which it did not see the opportunity to depart from. It was completely reluctant to sacrifice itself in the event of a reconciliation between King George and Matthias. In that case, the Poles would not help it militarily, and it was not interested in anything else at the moment.

On 3 May, Corvinus was declared King of Bohemia and the members of the League of Zelená Hora were appointed the supreme land officials. The Olomouc election was a double-cross not only for George of Poděbrady, but also for the Poles,

⁴³ On the stay and activities of the Polish emissaries in Olomouc, see Prochaska, A. (1913). *Królowie Kazimierz Jagiellończyk a Jerzy czeski* [King Casimir of Jagiellonian and the Bohemian George]. In *Przegląd Historyczny: dwumiesięcznik naukowy*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo DiG., Warszawa, pp. 142–144. On their meeting with the leaders of the League and the verbal confrontation of Zdeněk of Šternberk and Jakub of Dębno, see Kyrik, *Jakub z Dębno*, p. 82. Šternberk's negotiations with Poděbrady's emissaries – Palacký, F. (1921). *Dějiny národu českého v Čechách a v Moravě*, pp. 988–989.

⁴⁴ *Joannis Dlugossii Annales seu Cronicae inclicti regni Poloniae* (2006), p. 244. From the literature, see Palacký, F. (1921). *Dějiny národu českého v Čechách a v Moravě*, p. 991 and Kyrik, F. (1967). *Jakub z Debna*, p. 110. On the circumstances of the Olomouc election, see *Fontes rerum Austriacarum XX* (1860), pp. 580–584.

who had saved the League from a military defeat a year and a half ago. The Polish envoys (besides Jakub of Debno also the dean of Krakow Pawel of Główno) immediately expressed a strong protest against Corvinus's election and called it illegitimate. Then, without delay, they left Olomouc and hurried to complete their mission by visiting Rome and the pope, as entrusted to them. Now they had another difficult task - to prevent the Pope from confirming Corvinus' election. The chronicler Dlugosz did not forget to remind that was Olomouc subsequently struck by a great fire - as if God himself was angry at the betrayal of the House of Jagiellonian.⁴⁵

After an agreement with Matthias Corvinus, the League of Zelená Hora sent their own delegation to Krakow in June led by the freshly appointed Bohemian chancellor Jan Zajíc of Házmburk and the brother of the Olomouc bishop Dobeš of Boskovice. Jan Zajíc represented the more cultured face of the League, for years he worked as the supreme court judge and, unlike Šternberk, he had an abundance not only of eloquence, but also of tact. Now this dextrous lawyer was trying to assuage Polish outrage and was offering Corvinus's marriage to Polish Princess Hedwig.⁴⁶ He failed here, but the message was not received as harshly as might have been expected. If the depiction by Jan Dlugosz was faithful, the experienced politician and lawyer Jan Zajíc then allowed his emotions to overwhelm him and supposedly even cried when he was introduced to Casimir's handsome sons, whom he himself had denied the Bohemian throne by his participation at the Olomouc election.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ On Corvinus's election in Olomouc, see the letter of Kašpar Kobr to Wrocław in *Scriptores rerum Silesiacarum*. Bd. 13. (1893), pp. 3–4, Nr.5. From the literature Papée, F. (1907). *Zabiegi o czeską koronę*, p. 97; Urbánek, *Husitský král*, pp. 255–257; Heymann, G.F. *George of Bohemia*, pp. 524–533. On the fire in Olomouc, see *Joannnis Dlugossii Annales seu Cronicae inclicti regni Poloniae* (2006), p. 244. Although the curia welcomed with enormous joy that Matthias had seized the performance of a crusade against King George, it did not rush in any way with recognizing Corvinus - the papacy feared precisely the reaction of Poland. None of the European sovereigns recognised Corvinus's royal title in 1469.

⁴⁶ A comparison of Dlugosz's description of Zajíc's mission, see *Joannnis Dlugossii Annales seu Cronicae inclicti regni Poloniae* (2006), pp. 246–248, is offered by the description of *Peter Escheloer, Geschichte der Stadt Breslau II* (2003), p. 769. The question of the degree and motivation of the distortion in the works of both authors was dealt with by Urbánek, R. (1915). *České dějiny III. 1.*, p. 15. From the literature on this mission, see also Kalous, A. (2007) *Služba Boskovických u Matyáše Korvína* [The service of the Boskovice family at Matthias Corvinus], In *Sborník prací historických XXI, Acta Univesitatit Palackianae Olomucensis, Facultas philosophica, Historica 3*, pp. 89–91 and *ibid.*, (2007). *Matyáš Korvín. Uherský a český král* [Matthias Corvinus: Hungarian and Bohemian king]. České Budějovice, Veduta, p. 152.

⁴⁷ On the person of Jan Zajíc, see Martin Šandera, M. (2016). *Jan Zajíc z Házmburka. Tvůrce programu a hlavní diplomat Zelenohorské jednoty* [Jan Zajíc of Házmburk: Creator of the programme and main diplomat of the League of Zelená Hora], In *Východočeské listy historické 36*, pp. 21–42. P. Čornej - M. Bartlová (2007), *Velké dějiny země Koruny české VI*, p. 263.

Nevertheless, F. Papeé assessed the results of the mission as relatively successful, the envoys of the League prepared to depart Krakow with the encouraging awareness that Poland did not intend to act itself against Corvinus, nor support the heretic George militarily or financially. The turning point only came when the emissaries of King George arrived, who informed the Poles that the Bohemian diet had expressed consent for Prince Vladislaus to become Poděbrady's successor on the Bohemian throne. Házmburk was completely taken aback. According to Długosz, he expressed regret over the Olomouc election and advised the king himself to accept the Prague election, if George would place Prague and Karlštejn in the hands of the Poles as a guarantee of his promise. Such a proposal had its justification, the Poles would have the crown jewels in their power and the place of the coronation, but Zajíc knew very well that Poděbrady would never accept such a demand. Jan Długosz even put a very surprising statement in the mouth of the lord of Házmburk that perhaps his lord Matthias Corvinus would have given up on the Czech throne if the Polish king had met him in his demand for marriage to Princess Hedwig. However, this would have clearly surpassed the scope of his mission, and if it was not a pre-arranged tactic with King Matthias, it could even have been dangerous for Zajíc. However, the Polish monarch certainly did not intend to accommodate Corvinus in this matter. The mission thus failed on two key points – to make Poland look more favourably on the Olomouc election, and to reach an agreement on Matthias's marriage to Hedwig Jagiellonian.⁴⁸

After his return to his main Bohemian residence in Budyně nad Ohří, Jan Zajíc was besieged by the army of Poděbrady's son, Prince Henry, Duke of Münsterberg-Oels, and only with luck escaped captivity.⁴⁹ This was followed by a surprisingly successful campaign by Henry's army, which crushed the Lusatian near Zittau and then triumphantly extended itself through almost all of Silesia in September. Corvinus himself was defeated by Prince Henry near Uherské Hradiště in November 1469. Poděbrady's political weight suddenly increased. The vision of the Polish succession to the Bohemian throne took on new promising outlines.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ *Joannis Dlugossii Annales seu Cronicae inclicti regni Poloniae* (2006), s. 248. From the literature, see Papeé, F. (1907). *Zabiegi o czeską koronę*, p. 100.

⁴⁹ On the siege of Budyně, see Sedláček, A. (1999) *Hrady, zámky a tvrze království českého XIV*, Praha, Argo, p. 19.

⁵⁰ On Corvinus's defeat at Uherské Hradiště, see *Joannis Dlugossii Annales seu Cronicae inclicti regni Poloniae* (2006), pp. 253–254; Of the earlier Bohemian annals, see edd. Jaroslav Kašpar – Jaroslav Porák, synoptically Frankenberger, O.(1960). *Husitské válečnictví po Lipanech* [Hussite warcraft after Lipany], Praha, pp. 110–112.

The Polish court employed a new tactic. It pressured George of Poděbrady to transfer the reign to Prince Vladislaus still during his lifetime, but at the same time tried to force the rebellious Bohemian Catholic lords to put down their arms under threat of war with Poland. While the Polish military engagement did not occur, King Casimir continued to rely on diplomacy, but his emissaries energetically proclaimed the Jagiellonian claims to the Bohemian throne in Rome and in the affiliated lands of the Crown and before all of Matthias's supporters. Wrocław was the most shocked, which suddenly faced economic sanctions and even the threat of a military intervention on the part of Poland, namely at the time when the reports of Corvinus's defeat near Uherské Hradiště were coming in.⁵¹

The League of Zelená Hora became anxious. The future suddenly seemed quite uncertain; Poděbrady was not on his knees and they had made the Poles their enemies. It was felt also by the leader of the League himself, when he was confronted with Polish diplomats in a very interesting way in the summer of 1470. The new Polish delegation led by Jakub of Dębno and Stanislaw of Šidlovice asked Zdeněk of Šternberk as Corvinus's supreme captain in Bohemia for a security safe conduct on the way to Prague. They received it, but its wording infuriated them, because Šternberk conditioned the safe conduct with a commitment that the envoys would do nothing in Bohemia against his master Matthias Corvinus, whom he called the Bohemian king. From Šternberk's point of view, his actions were logical – he was bound by a loyalty oath to King Matthias, why he should make it easier for his enemies to unite against him (on the other hand, no hostility was officially declared between Corvinus and the Jagiellonians). The Polish envoys objected to this condition in the safe conduct in a letter dated 11 August in a field near Malenovice in Moravia, because they found King George here at the head of the army, with whom he was launching a new campaign against Corvinus. Absolutely characteristically they omitted in their complaint Corvinus's Bohemian royal title and reminded Zdeněk that he himself had recognized the son of their lord Casimir as the king of Bohemia two years ago. The tone of the letter was really sharp and far from diplomatic language (but with the intentions of the Polish court to speak vigorously with the rebellious Catholic aristocrats in order to warn or threaten – “And other Christian kings and princes know you as such, who rise up against peace and tranquillity in the Kingdom of Bohemia”). Šternberk defended himself against this with his own special arrogance and called the complaint of the Polish envoys unfounded. Namely, he addressed Jan of Dębno with the reminder that

⁵¹ On the Polish pressure, see Papée, F. (1907). *Zabiegi o czeską koronę*, p. 113. On the moods in Silesia, see *Peter Eschenloer: Geschichte der Stadt Breslau*. Bd. 2. (2003), p. 798.

it was he who, despite the urging of the Bohemian lords, the legate and the bishop of Olomouc, refused to clearly accept the offer of the Bohemian throne for his master and angrily left the negotiation hall. Zdeněk's letter expressed all the essential points by which the League justified the rejection of Jagiellonian succession. Corvinus had been elected in a free election of the representatives of the aristocracy, clergy and towns, fulfilling the mission of a true Christian king to suppress the Bohemian heresy and return the Bohemians to obedience to the Church. The only one who can make League change its position is the Holy Father in Rome.⁵²

The League of Zelená Hora, which had offered the House of Jagiellonian the Bohemian royal crown in 1466–1467, was now to find itself in the completely opposite role – as an organization that is working hard to prevent the Jagiellonians from acceding to the Bohemian throne.⁵³ It was well aware that if the Jagiellonians had been successfully brought to the Bohemian throne by Poděbrady's party, then the Utraquists would have maintained the positions they had acquired during the reign of George of Poděbrady for many years.

Two years before, Poland politically sbacked the League of Zelená Hora. Now Polish envoys called on it to maintain a ceasefire; otherwise, they threatened war. Silesian Catholics in particular began to lose heart, the Wrocław chronicler Eschenloer even wrote about a darkened sky, in which the only shining star remained Zdeněk of Šternberk.⁵⁴ However, the intensified political involvement of the Polish court in the Bohemian question also had its pitfalls. Šternberk had spies at the Prague court and was informed that Poděbrady and his close advisors were strongly upset by the new mission, in which Jakub of Dębno and Stanisław Szydłowiecki asked the Bohemian king to resign still during his life in favour of

⁵² On the Polish protest, see *Archiv český čili staré písemné památky české i moravské III* (1844), p. 578, Nr. 798. Šternberk's response from 16 August 1470 has been preserved in the court copy from the State Regional Archive Třeboň, fond: Historica Třeboň, inv. Nr. 2978, sg. 2408. The text of both documents is presented also by Peter Eschenloer. *Geschichte der Stadt Breslau*. Bd. 2. (2003), pp. 812–814 (letter of the Poles) and p. 817 response of Zdeněk of Šternberk. Kiryk, F. (1967), *Jakub z Dębna*, p. 123. labelled the letter "mocny w tonie, neirezadko pelen grózb..." [powerful in tone, not uncommonly full of threats].

⁵³ The mission of Jan Zajíc to Poland was not by far the only diplomatic activity of the League of Zelená Hora ater the Olomouc election, especially in relation to the imperial princes the propaganda campaign did not slow down and in a number of letters tendentially magnified the successes of Corvinus from Moravian battlefields – *Fontes rerum Austriacarum XX* (1860), pp. 635–637.

⁵⁴ On the Polish threats to Vratislav, see Peter Eschenloer. *Geschichte der Stadt Breslau*. Bd.2. (2003), s. 794–795. Papéé, F. (1907). *Zabiegi o czeską koronę*, p. 113. Grünhaagen, C. (1884). *Geschichte Slesiens I*, Gotha, pp. 93–4.

Vladislaus and consent to his coronation. The League attempted to take advantage of the temporary cooling of the relations between Krakow and Prague, affected also by the rejection of Vladislaus's marriage to Ludmila.⁵⁵

Zdeněk of Šternberk was very happy to provide his castle in Polná near the Bohemian-Moravian border for the meeting of Poděbrady's envoys. He himself, Jan Zajíc of Házmburk and Tas of Boskovice, as Corvinus's agents, did everything here so that the Polish prince would not sit on the Bohemian throne. They came up with much more accommodating proposals than the Poles, George could rule until the end of his life, his son would become the Margrave of Moravia, and in the future the possible path to his succession to the Bohemian throne would not be closed if Corvinus died without descendants.⁵⁶ When the land diet in Prague expressed willingness to deal with these proposals, the Polish court was frightened. It seemed that the existing tactic of neutrality and waiting until the Bohemian throne falls into the lap of the Jagiellonians without a fight, thus the plan pushed for years and the supreme diplomatic work of Jakub of Dębno, would be thwarted at the last moment.

The architect and creator himself was to save it: Jakub of Dębno was sent to Prague again to prevent the acceptance of Corvinus's proposals. The demand and pressure for Poděbrady's abdication in favour of Vladislaus had evidently had to be revoked. There is no certainty about what the Polish envoys promised at the St. Valentine's Land Diet in Prague. Fryderik Papeé believed that they had purposefully put into play the promise of Vladislaus's marriage to Poděbrady's daughter Ludmila. But the very suggestion that the Bohemian Diet at least wait with a decisive opinion until they see how the Polish mission came out, which was going to Rome to submit proposals for the pope's reconciliation with King George, impressed the Bohemian estates.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ On this mission, see Papéé, F. (1907). *Zabiegi o czeską koronę*, p.113 and Kiryk, F. (1967), *Jakub z Dębna*, p. 122. Macek, J. (1965) On the foreign policy of George of Poděbrady, In *Československý časopis historický* 13, pp. 37–43.

⁵⁶ The negotiations in Polná were subjected to a new analysis by Čornej, P. (2011). *Jednání v Polné (Kapitolka z dějin tzv. druhé husitské války)* [The negotiations in Polná: Chapter from the history of the so-called Second Hussite War]. *Světla a stíny husitství. (Události – osobnosti – texty – tradice). Výběr z úvah a studií*, Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, Praha, pp. 286–296.

⁵⁷ Papéé, F. (1907). *Zabiegi o czeską koronę*, p. 124. The possibility of a temporary concession in the question of Poděbrady's daughter is admitted also by Kiryk, F. (1967), *Jakub z Dębna*, pp. 124–125 and Tobolka, Z.V. *Styky krále českého s králem polským Kazimírem* [Contacts of the Bohemian King with the Polish King Casimir], p. 37.

The League of Zelená Hora did not twiddle its thumbs, after the premature death of King George (22 March 1471) Jan of Házmburk notified the Bohemian royal towns, tried to discourage them from the idea of the acceptance of the Polish prince as the new sovereign and lean towards recognition of Corvinus.⁵⁸

Zdeněk of Šternberk, Jan Zajíc of Házmburk, Jindřich of Hradec, Jan of Rožmberk and other representatives of the League tried to speak in Corvinus's favour even at the electoral diet in Kutná Hora. Šternberk even interfered several times in the speech of the bishop of Eger Jan, the main speaker of the Hungarian delegation, when he saw that the Hungarian prelate was not convincing the gathered Bohemian estates with his speech, but entirely in vain. The representatives of the League Zdeněk of Šternberk, Jan of Rožmberk and Jindřich of Hradec were the only ones, who did not vote for Prince Vladislaus. Paradoxically, the goal he had once called to realise had now been fulfilled. The heretic king was dead and a Catholic Pole was elected in his place. But it took place with the votes of the opponents of the League. A dream come true was suddenly a nightmare.⁵⁹

The threat of Polish military intervention arose before the Bohemian Catholics much more realistically than in 1470, they would no longer face not only the forces of an isolated "heretical" king, but also, as they feared, a massive military campaign of Poles, who, after an easy passage through weakened Silesia, nothing would stand in their way anymore of throwing themselves onto their estates. They had no idea that Poland was still weak financially.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ See the letters of Jan of Házmburk to the royal dowry towns – SOKA Hradec Králové, fond Archiv města Hradec Králové, inv. Nr. 39.

⁵⁹ *Joannis Dlugossii Annales seu Cronicae inclicti regni Poloniae* (2006), p. 282, which Jan of Házmburk paradoxically did not mention among those who did not vote for Vladislaus. See further *Codex epistolaris saeculi decimi quinti* (1896), pp. 250–251. From the Bohemian sources, see *Staré letopisy české z křížovnického rukopisu*, p. 282; Kapavíková, M. – Vaněk, L. *Volba Vladislava Jagellonského českým králem: Edice pamětního zápisu v kutnohorské knize sentencí z roku 1471* [The Election of Wladyslaw Jagiellonian as Bohemian King: Edition of the memorial entry in the Kutná Hora Book of Sentences from 1471]. Kutná Hora 1972. For the text of the electoral conditions sent to Krakow, see Zápis krále Vladislava stavům království Českého na své volení vydaný [Entry issued by King Wladyslaw to the estates of the Bohemian kingdom on his election] – *Archiv český čili staré písemné památky české i moravské IV* (1846), p. 454, Nr. 11. Macek, J. *Jagellonský věk v českých zemích I*, pp. 181–182, 185 and 226. The view from the Polish viewpoint was presented by Heck, R. (1972). *Elekcja Kutnohorska 1471 roku* [Election of Kutná Hora in 1471], In *Ślaski Kwartalnik Historyczny*, Sobótka 27, pp 198–199.

⁶⁰ Baczkowski, K. (1982). *Walka Jagiellonów z Maciejem Korwinem o koronę czeska* [The War of the Jagiellonians with Matthias Corvinus for the Bohemian Crown], p. 34.

After his first outburst of rage and forced anti-coronation in Jihlava (paradoxically in a town where according to Glugosz the League of Zelená Hora in May 1467 was to elect Casimir King of Bohemia in May 1467), Corvinus sobered up and tried to gain at least time in relation to Poland and delay a possible military confrontation. Even the League itself, after the spring hostile agitation, set a much more diplomatic tone in relation to Poland. Its representatives placed their hopes on a mission to the Polish in July 1471. It was led by the tested diplomat, Bishop Tas of Boskovice.⁶¹ He found the Polish royal court in Krakow; discussions were held there from 9 to 12 July. In addition to Corvinus's propositions, which included the traditional request for the hand of Polish Princess Hedwig and a proposal to refer the whole dispute to the pope, Bishop Tas interpreted on behalf of the League of Zelená Hora a request that Prince Vladislaus not expel the Catholic lords from their holdings when he enters Bohemia. The proposals did not meet with any understanding, Tas received the answer that Vladislaus is the rightful heir to the Bohemian throne and there is no reason why he should move towards any adjudication by the pope or any other authority in the matter of the Bohemian kingdom. The Jagiellonians were not interested in exiling the lords of the League of Zelená Hora from the land but wanted their obedience. Four years ago, Casimir IV through his mediation had negotiated a truce for them during a critical period, but they could not appreciate the gift and the Polish king has no obligation to guarantee them anything now.⁶² With reference to Vladislaus's election by the Bohemian land diet, the will of the majority of the Bohemians and the hereditary claims of the Jagiellonians to the Bohemian Crown, the Polish court invited or rather summoned the lords of the League of Zelená Hora to Vladislaus's Prague coronation.⁶³ Of course, none of them dared to do that.

⁶¹ The text of the proposals submitted in Krakow *Peter Eschenloer. Geschichte der Stadt Breslau. Bd.2. (2003), pp. 834–839. Codex epistolaris saeculi decimi quinti, I.2., (1876). J. Szujski (Ed.). Kraków, Wydawnictwo Komisji historycznej Akademii Umiejetności, pp. 252–256. See on this mission in detail Prochaska, A. (1913), *Protazego biskupa poselstvo do Polski r. 1471. Kraków 1913, pp.1–19*, which analysed in detail also the questions of the possible distortion of the content of Corvinus's proposals by the Wrocław chronicler. A synoptic summary of the course and results was presented by Baczkowski, K. (1982). *Walka*, pp. 41–43.*

⁶² The response of King Casimir given to Bishop Tas is in *Archiv český čili staré písemné památky české i moravské IV (1846), pp. 455–456 and Codex epistolaris saeculi decimi quinti, I.2 pp. 253–256.*

⁶³ *Peter Eschenloer. Geschichte der Stadt Breslau. Bd.2. (2003), p. 838. On that, see also Scriptores rerum Silesiacarum. Bd.14. Politische Correspondenz Breslaus im Zeitalter des Königs Matthias Corvinus. Abt. 2: 1479–1490 (1894). B. Kronthal – H. Wendt, (Eds.), Breslau, p. 4.*

There could even have been the first open confrontation of the League of Zelená Hora with Polish forces, Zdeněk of Šternberk and his armigers were with Corvínus's troops, which blocked Prince Vladislaus's peaceful journey to Bohemia through Moravian territory. However, there was no military clash, the Poles did not want to risk the complications that could mean the foiling of the coronation and chose a longer but safer route through Silesia and Kłodzko.⁶⁴

As soon as Vladislaus entered Bohemian soil in August, Zdeněk of Šternberk, along with many of Matthias's other supporters, declared war on him.⁶⁵ Paradoxically, the leader of the League of Zelená Hora at the same time used the services of Polish mercenaries. Casimir's ban on hiring soldiers against George of Poděbrady evidently was not sufficiently respected in Poland. Šternberk deployed the Polish garrison under the leadership of the Bohemian captain Jan Bílý in the town of České Budějovice. However, the Poles did not prove themselves here; the only rarely paid salary soon led them to stop distinguishing between the territory of Vladislaus's and Corvínus's supporters and to carry out raids on the nearby Rožmberk holdings. All of Matthias's supporters there were greatly relieved when the Polish mercenaries were withdrawn from there in 1472.⁶⁶

The League of Zelená Hora's fears of Poland were significantly tempered by the failure of the expedition of Vladislaus's younger brother Prince Casimir into Hungary. On January 18, 1472 Matthias Corvínus with malicious joy informed

⁶⁴ On the journey of the Poles through Kłodzko, see *Joannis Dlugossii Annales seu Cronicae inclicti regni Poloniae* (2006), p. 286. Also *Scriptores rerum Silesiacarum*. Bd. III. *Samuel Benjamin Klose's Darstellung der inneren Verhältnisse der Stadt Breslau vom Jahre 1458 bis zum Jahre 1526*. (1847). G. A. Stenzel (Ed). Breslau, p. 355. On Vladislaus's welcome in Kłodzko, see also Šmahel, F. (2009). Korunovační rituály, ceremonie a festivity české stavovské monarchie 1471–1526 [Coronation rituals, ceremonies and festivities of the Bohemian estates' monarchy, 1471–1526], in: *Colloquia medievalia Pragensia 12*, Praha 2009, p. 154. From the literature, see Backowski, K. (1982). *Walka*, p. 44.

⁶⁵ On the declaration of war by Šternberk and others, see *Joannis Dlugossii Annales seu Cronicae inclicti regni Poloniae* (2006), pp. 285–286. From the literature, see Kalous, A. (2007). *Matyáš Korvín*, p. 144.

⁶⁶ On 11 March 1471 Jan of Rožmberk literally wrote: "Poláci z Budějovic nekřesťansky hubie panstvie mé" [The Poles from Budějovice are destroying my estate in an unchristian way] *Archív český V*, pp. 313–314, Nr. 4. He complained to Jan Bílý that upon entry to Trhové Sviny his soldiers did not only take drink but also "took what they could carry". For Markvart's letter to the Krumlov burgrave from 24 May 1471, see *Archív český čili staré písemné památky české i moravské V* (1846), pp. 322–323, Nr. 17. „Poláci na panstvie tvého pána opěť picovati a lidem tvého pána škoditi budú“ [Poles on the estate of your lord will disturb the peace again and harm the people of your lord].

Zdeněk of Šternberk on the debacle of the Polish army near Nitra.⁶⁷ The League was able to find confirmation here that it really had chosen correctly when it turned away from the Jagiellonian candidacy in 1468.

However, the league was in no hurry for offensive actions on Bohemian territory, and the temporary occupation of Kolín and Nymburk by Corvinus's troops took place without its contribution.⁶⁸ České Budějovice was subject to its influence, it also had support in Pilsen, there was also the powerful Cheb and plenty of castles in South and Western Bohemia. Itself, it remained at the defence of its own holdings and preferred purely regional interests. The young King Vladislaus had no desire or means to begin a lengthy and costly siege of their strongholds.⁶⁹

It suited the League of Zelená Hora that the dispute between Corvinus and Vladislaus ever more moved to the field of diplomacy. During the negotiations between the Polish, Hungarian and Bohemian sides in Nysa and Opava, the League played only an insignificant role and was pushed by Corvinus to an increasingly subordinate position, although the text of the Treaty of Nysa included the signature of Dobrohost of Ronšperk.⁷⁰ It did not move beyond the request of the pope's

⁶⁷ Psaní česká krále Matyáše, *Archiv český čili staré písemné památky české i moravské VI*, (1872), p. 49, Nr. 7 – „Také milý pane Zdeňku píšeme, že jak sme živý, nikdy jsme hlupějších, lenivějších, opilejších nestatečnějších a putanějších neviděli, jako sú páni Polané byli. A tuto ceduli přečta, věřimeť, že třikrát na jedné noze pro nás pokočíš“ [Dear Lord Zdeněk, we also write that as we are alive, we have never seen stupider, lazier, more drunken, less brave and more wandering, than the lords of the Poles were. And when you read this sign, we believe that you will jump for us three times on one leg]. From the literature, an apt outline of this campaign was given by Baczkowski, K. (2014). *Między czeskim utrakwizmem a rzymską ortodoksią czyli walka Jagiellonów z Maciejem Korwinem o koronę czeską w latach 1471–1479* [Between Bohemian Utraquism and Roman Orthodoxy, i.e. the fight between the Jagiellonians and Matthias Corvinus for the Bohemian crown in 1471–1479], Oświęcim, pp. 59–70.

⁶⁸ The source for the siege of Kolín and Nymburk is *Joannis Dlugossii Annales seu Cronicae inclicti regni Poloniae* (2006), p. 316. From the literature Palacký (1921), *Dějiny národu českého*, p. 1042; Vorel, P. (1999). *Páni z Pernštejna*, Rybka Publishers, pp. 67–68. Vávra, J. (2014). *Dějiny královského města Kolína nad Labem do roku 1618* [The History of the Royal Town of Kolín nad Labem till 1618]. Praha, Argo, p. 86.

⁶⁹ Šandera, M. (2020). The Bohemian Royal Towns (Pilsen, České Budějovice, Cheb) under the Power of Matthias Corvinus. In *Mesto a dejiny*, 9/1, Košice, pp. 6–44.

⁷⁰ The text of the resolution of the Nysa congress is in the *Archiv český čili staré písemné památky české i moravské IV* (1846), pp. 460–465, Nr. 14. Biskup, M. – Górski, K. (1987). *Kazimierz Jagiellonczyk. Zbiór studiów o Polsce drugiej połowy XV wieku* [Casimir Jagiellonian: A collection of studies on Poland in the second half of the 15th century]. Warszawa, Wydawnictwo Naukowe, p. 239. See on the Opava congress the relation of Jošt (Jobst) of Einsidle to the Margrave of Brandenburg Albrecht Achilles – *Urkundliche Nachträge zur österreichische-deutsche Geschichte im Zeitalter Kaiser Friedrich III.* (1892), pp. 209–210,

arbitration role. It had already denied the emperor a similar role, although it had once happily derived legitimacy from him for its secular resistance to King George. Although it outwardly rejected Vladislaus's right to be Bohemian king and had to obey Corvinus's orders, in reality it preferred to seek a peaceful form of coexistence with the Jagiellonian party in Bohemia and did not threaten the Jagiellonian and his followers in their dominant positions in the centre and east of the land. Both parties took part in the administration of the kingdom, and Zdeněk of Šternberk and Jan Zajíc of Házmburk also worked regularly next to the son of the dead heretical king, Prince Henry in the established offices of land directors, who were to oversee the enforcement of law and the peaceful settlement of disputes between the two parties.⁷¹

It is no wonder that at the courts of Corvinus's opponents the idea germinated to seek precisely in the lords of the League of Zelená Hora the possible changeable link in Corvinus's power on the territory of the Bohemian Crown. It was not easy, despite several rifts between Corvinus and Zdeněk of Šternberk the League was still subject to Matthias and did not see a sufficient motivation to change its orientation. Nevertheless, the example of the former founding member of the League, Burian of Gutštejn, showed that even on the Jagiellonian side, even a former opponent of Poděbrady can make a career and make a significant profit in terms of property.⁷²

At the turn of 1473 and 1474, the international situation began to change to Corvinus's disadvantage – the old plan for a coalition of the Jagiellonians and the emperor against Matthias Corvinus truly received outlines.⁷³ With the awareness

Nr. 198. From the narrative sources, see mainly *Joannis Dlugossii Annales seu Cronicae inclicti regni Poloniae* (2006), pp. 300–302. On the position of the land directors and correctors, see Pelant, J. (1981). *České zemské sněmy v letech 1471–1500* [Bohemian Land Diets in 1471–1500]. In: *Sborník archivních prací* 31, p. 346.

⁷¹ For the minutes of the Benešov Diet, see *Archiv český čili staré písemné památky české i moravské IV* (1846), p. 472, Nr. 18, here also the decree on the institution of the land directors.

⁷² On Burian of Gutštejn in Wladyslaw's services, see Macek, J. (2001). *Jagellonský věk v českých zemích 1.2*. [The Jagiellonian Age in the Czech Lands 1:2], pp. 227, 248 – Wladyslaw i.a. confirmed to Burian also the holding of the castle in Tachov, although he lacked any legal prerequisite to it. – Sedláček, A. (1998). *Hrady, zámky a tvrze Království českého 13* [Castles, Manors and Strongholds of the Bohemian Kingdom 13], Praha, Argo, pp. 102–103.

⁷³ In Nuremberg on 11 March 1474, Frederick III concluded with King Wladyslaw a union against Matthias Corvinus – *Regesten Kaiser Friedrichs III.*, Heft 27, (2012). S. Dünnebeil – D. Luger (Eds.) Böhlau-Wien-Weimar-Köln, Nr. 226 and on 13 March the emperor then concluded a similar agreement also with his father Casimir. The Polish king promised to deploy the army against Corvinus on the Feast of St John the Baptist (24 June) and to personally stay with the army at least until (25 July). On the emperor's position towards Matthias's efforts for the Bohemian throne, see Krieger, K. F. (1994), *Die Habsburger im*

of the Polish court, the emperor on September 17, 1474 in a letter from Augsburg called on “dear loyal to us and the Empire” Zdeněk of Šternberk, Jan of Házmburk, Jan of Hradec, Bohuslav of Šternberk, Jindřich the Younger of Plavno, Děpolt of Rýmberk and Dobrohost of Ronšperk to in the interest of the Empire subject themselves to the elected and coronated King Vladislaus in the Bohemian Crown, which is the most important Electorate.⁷⁴ He failed, the lords for the moment dared to openly fall to Corvinus.

In the autumn, the war of the so-called three kings broke out, which meant a situation for members of the League of Zelená Hora in which they had not yet been. Since 1471 they had been at war with Casimir's son Vladislaus, but except for partial clashes over castles, it was a rather formal war, moreover interrupted by repeated ceasefires, but now it meant being at war with the Polish king, with a man whose diplomatic mission in 1467 had saved it from military catastrophe. The lords of The League of Zelená Hora still tried to avert the war at the last minute and negotiate a new truce. Šternberk again provided Polna for the negotiations with the representatives of Vladislaus's party. They did not dare to accept the proposal of his diplomats that the League leave Corvinus and recognise the young Jagiellonian as their king, and he would not accept their demand for maintaining a ceasefire. When the negotiations failed, the leaders of the League had no option but to again bet on Matthias Corvinus. Šternberk and another four more closely unnamed representatives of the league accompanied by military troops joined his army at Nysa in Silesia.⁷⁵

In September 1474 Zdeněk of Šternberk appeared as Corvinus's envoy before the Polish king at his camp near Czenstochowa. For the first time since the Głogów congress, he stood face to face with the man, whom he had called in letters and the mouths of his emissaries to the throne in 1467.⁷⁶ Zdeněk, in the times of King

Mittelalter: Von Rudolf I. bis Friedrich III., Stuttgart–Berlin–Köln, pp. 183–192. Koller, H. (2005). *Kaiser Friedrich III.*, Darmstadt 2005, p. 211; Nehring, K. (1975), Matthias Corvinus, p. 57.

⁷⁴ The emperor's Augsburg call – copy of the letter at SOkA Cheb, AM Cheb, kartón 4, fasc. 4 B 70/26, in an edition *Regesten Kaiser Friedrichs III.* Heft 26, (2012), p. 297, Nr. 676 and *Urkundliche Nachträge zur österreichisch-deutschen Geschichte im Zeitalter Friedrich III* (1892), p. 283, Nr. 266.

⁷⁵ The attempt for a ceasefire in Polná, Šternberk in Nysa – *Peter Eschenloer. Geschichte der Stadt Breslau.* Bd.2. (2003), p. 943 – Palacký, F. (1921), *Dějiny národu českého*, p. 1048.

⁷⁶ On the negotiations at Czeštochowa, see *Peter Eschenloer. Geschichte der Stadt Breslau.* Bd.2. (2003), p. 946 and *Joannis Dlugossii Annales seu Cronicae inclicti regni Poloniae* (2006), p. 353. From the literature on that, see Baczkowski, (1982). *Walka*, p. 104 and 108. Palacký, F. (1921) *Dějiny národu českého*, p. 946.

George a fanatic supporter of war, now proposed peace. However, it is still a question whether Corvinus's envoys really submitted a proposal at the time that their lord would give up the Czech lands if Casimir IV was willing to give him his daughter as his wife. This would mean that Šternberk and his companions would be handed over to King Vladislaus and, paradoxically, the plan of the League from 1467 would be fulfilled. Nevertheless, the proposal for Corvinus's marriage to Princess Hedwig was undoubtedly presented. When Corvinus's Bohemian envoys failed, they proposed at least an extension of the armistice once agreed in Opava, but Casimir IV rejected even that.

The leaders of the League of Zelená Hora took advantage of the course of the war, in which the combined Bohemian-Polish Jagiellonian army gradually completely wasted its overwhelming numerical superiority, and offered themselves in the role of intermediaries.⁷⁷

How paradoxically things had turned around! In 1467, the representatives of the Polish king brokered an armistice between the League of Zelená Hora and King George, now it was the League who sought to take on the role of mediators between Corvinus and the Jagiellonians. And relatively successfully. Although the League of Zelená Hora did not appear as a specific entity in the proposal for an armistice, its leader Zdeněk of Šternberk was explicitly mentioned in the concluded peace agreement.⁷⁸ The result of the war was a great success for Corvinus under the given balance of power, but it benefited the Bohemian Catholics even more.

The League of Zelená Hora observed the subsequent three-year ceasefire; after all, it contributed to their own interests.⁷⁹ Paradoxically, at its end, the League

⁷⁷ Peter Eschenloer: *Geschichte der Stadt Breslau*. Bd. 2. (2003), p. 971. *Scriptores rerum silesiacarum*. Bd. 13, *Politische Correspondenz Breslaus im Zeitalter des Königs Matthias Corvinus, 1. Abt. 1469–1479*, pp. 166–175, č. 217. Grünhagen, C. (*Geschichte Schlesiens I*, pp. 336 and 337). The Polish military campaign in Silesia was evaluated quite critically by K. Baczkowski, K. (1985). *Walka Jagiellonów z Maciejem Korwinem o koronę czeską w latach 1471–1479*, Kraków, pp. 107–121. Kalous, A. Matyáš Korvín, pp. 151–152. Surprisingly briefly on the war of the three kings are Dušan Uhlíř et al., (2012), *Slezsko v dějinách českého státu I* [Silesia in the History of the Bohemian State I], Praha, Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, p. 397. They reduced the strength of the Polish army here to a mere five number listed in the earlier literature.

⁷⁸ The text of the peace agreement is presented by Peter Eschenloer: *Geschichte der Stadt Breslau*. Bd.2. (2003), pp. 963–972, Zdeněk on p. 966, Article 8, and p. 968, Nr. 15.

⁷⁹ Corvin respected the Wrocław Contract, subsequently the Prague and Brno Agreements, but refused to ratify them with a call to the necessity for papal consent – see Tomek, V. V. (1879). *Dějepis města Prahy VII*, Praha, pp. 329–331, 340 and 343. In fact, they were, however, observed. On the overall assessment of the effort of “part of the realistically thinking Catholic estate” to find a form of peaceful coexistence with Wladyslaw's party, see Macek, J. (2001). *Jagellonský věk v českých zemích 2.*, Praha, Academia, p. 366.

ended up in a private war not with King Vladislaus, but with its former protector, Emperor Frederick III. Zdeněk from Šternberk did not live to see its end.⁸⁰

His successor at the head of the League Bohuslav of Švamberk tried to defend his right to independent action against Corvinus. Despite the king's instructions, he concluded a peace with the emperor and opposed the new deployment of Hungarian garrisons in southern and western Bohemia. He was therefore lured to a meeting in České Budějovice, captured and taken to a Hungarian prison.⁸¹ Cheb soon joined the side of Vladislaus and the majority of the lordly members of the League did not obey Corvinus's order to begin open war against the young Jagiellonian. Some already stood in clear opposition – Zdislav of Šternberk had clearly defied Mathias's commands, Jan of Švamberk and his uncle Hynek had already openly negotiated an alliance with King Vladislaus.⁸²

⁸⁰ For a copy of Švamberk's feud letter to the emperor, see SOA Třeboň, inv. Nr. 3574, sg. 2931. For information on when Šternberk started his battle against the emperor, see the letter of the reeve from Trhové Sviny to the burgrave of Krumlov from 24 September 1476 with the warning that Zdeněk of Šternberk was moving with his army to Austria and could cause significant damage in the township – Archív český IX (1889), p. 173, Nr. 818. Bohuslav of Švamberk was told of Zdeněk's death by Jindřich the Younger of Plavno, *ibid.*, inv. Nr. 3602 sg. 1957c. On the same see also Corvinus's letter to Jindřich of Rožmberk in *Archív český VI* (1872), p. 54, Nr. 14. On his death and deposition in the parish church of St Nicholas, see SOkA České Budějovice, AMČB, Liber memorabilium decanatus Budvicensus I, f. 127 b. On the overall assessment of Zdeněk's person, see Macek, J. (2001). *Jagellonský věk v českých zemích 2.*, pp. 366–368.

⁸¹ On 7 January 1478, King Matthias wrote to Bohuslav of Švamberk to reject the conciliatory solution with the emperor: „*Protož takovým přivoliti se nám nezdá a nehodí a ty k nim také nesvoluj*” [Therefore it does not seem to us to suit such and is not proper, and you do not agree to them either] – *Archiv český čili staré písemné památky české i moravské VI* (1872), p. 58, Nr. 20. On the arrest of Bohuslav, see the letter of the Strakonice grand prior Jan from 1 February 1478, in which he expressed sadness over the arrest of his father to Hynek of Švamberk – SOA Třeboň, inv. Nr. 3731, sg. 3081. Corvinus accused the arrested Bohuslav of resistance to his orders and hindering him Hungarian armigers not only from entering his castles but also Budějovice and Pilsen. Bohuslav rejected the charges and also refused the demand that he pay 40,000 Hungarian guildens for his release – see Corvinus's letter to the member of the League of Zelená Hora Dobrohost of Ronšperk – „*A jakož nám píšeš o pána ze Švamberka, věz, že jsme ho nejali bez dobrých důvodů, jakož pak dnes jeho před soudem viniti máme a s ním se sūditi*” [And as you write to us about the lord of Švamberk, know that we did not arrest him without good reasons, just as today we are to blame him in court and to judge him.] – The writings of the Hungarian king Matthias Corvinus in 1469 to 1487 published in the Czech language in AČ VI, p. 60, Nr. 22.

⁸² On the emperor's recognition of Wladyslaw Jagiellonian as the Bohemian king and elector of the Holy Roman Empire *Regesten Kaiser Friedrichs III.* Heft 23, (2007). P. J. Heinig (Ed.) Böhlau-Wien-Weimar-Köln, p. 380, Nr. 650 and the subsequent declaration of hostility on

The Peace of Olomouc brought the League an unexpectedly favourable result of the Jagiellonian war with Matthias Corvinus for the Bohemian Crown. Although Matthias gained all the affiliated lands, he could not establish himself in Bohemia and the whole kingdom fell to his Jagiellonian adversary.⁸³ The lords of the League of Zelená Hora were not punished for their eight-year resistance against the Jagiellonians, and the peace, on the contrary, returned all their lost castles. In September 1479, Jan Zajíc of Házmburk again met with Vladislaus Jagiellonian, but this time together with Jindřich of Hradec and Vok of Rožmberk he knelt as before his Bohemian king. The former lords of the League of Zelená Hora did not give up their political claims even under Vladislaus's reign; on the contrary, they regained their places at the land court, and some of them even became members of the royal council. What King George had denied them, they achieved with King Vladislaus. Paradoxically, the success of the Jagiellonian candidacy brought the fulfilment of most of their secular demands, with which they had once begun their resistance against George of Poděbrady.⁸⁴

the part of Matthias Corvinus, see *Magyar diplomáciai emlékek Mátyás király korából 1458–1490* [Hungarian diplomatic memorials from the time of King Matthias 1458–1490], 4 vols. (1877). Ed. I. Nagy – A. B. Nyáry (Eds.), p. 357, Nr. 245. K. Nehring, *Matthias Corvinus*, pp. 84–86. Opll, F. (1995). *Nachrichten aus dem mittelalterlichen Wien. Zeitgenossen berichten*, p. 206f. Bohuslav of Švamberk and Dobrohost of Ronšperk concluded a ceasefire with the supporters of King Wladyslaw Lev of Rožmitál, Beneš of Kolovraty and Jan of Roupov, see *Archiv český čili staré písemné památky české i moravské V* (1862). F. Palacký (Ed.), Praha, pp. 373–374, Nr. 9.

⁸³ For the text of the Olomouc agreements, see *Lehns und Besitzurkunden Schlesiens und seiner einzelnen Fürstenthümer im Mittelalter I*. (1881). C. Grünhagen – H. Markgraf (Eds.), Leipzig, pp. 21–29. On the release of Matthias's subjects from their obligations, see *Archiv Koruny české VI*, p. 123.

⁸⁴ The minutes of the St Wenceslas Diet of 1479 in *Archiv český čili staré písemné památky české i moravské IV* (1846), pp. 496–502. From the literature, see Baczkowski, K. (1981). *Walka Jagiellonow*, p. 199. Macek, J. (2001). *Jagellonský věk v českých zemích 1.2.*, p. 330. Wladyslaw's royal council seated the following: Jindřich of Hradec, Jan Zajíc of Házmburk, Burian of Guštejna, Půta of Rýzmburk and at Švihov, Lihhart of Gutštejn, Jindřich of Plavno and Mareš of Švamberk.

Education System in Subcarpathian Rus during Interwar Period in the Estimates of the Rusyn Politicians and Public Figures¹

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Shevchenko, K. – Bogatko, A. (2021). Education System in Subcarpathian Rus during Interwar Period in the Estimates of the Rusyn Politicians and Public Figures. *Czech-Polish Historical and Pedagogical Journal*, 13/2021/1, 149–156.

<https://doi.org/10.5817/cphpj-2021-010>

The article analyzes origins and further development of the education system in Subcarpathian Rus after the incorporation of that region into Czechoslovak republic in 1919 as well as the attitudes of the Rusyn politicians and public figures towards various aspects of school system in Subcarpathian Rus. Since during 1920-ties the school system in Subcarpathian region reflected the policy of “soft ukrainization” of the local Rusyn population pursued by Prague administration in cultural sphere, it aroused growing criticism from Russophile part of Rusyn public and political spectrum while the representatives of Ukrainian movement in Subcarpathian region insisted on more resolute pro-Ukrainian policy in the field of education. Rise of the political and cultural confrontation between the Russophile and Ukrainian intelligentsia of the Carpathian Rusyns became one of the important reasons for the destabilization of the situation in that region in the late 1930s.

Key words: *Carpathian Rusyns; Subcarpathian Rus; education; school policy; language issue*

The end of the First World War and the collapse of Austria-Hungary meant a radical change in the history of the Carpathian Rusyns. Incorporation of Rusyn-populated lands south of the Carpathian Mountains into a newly-born Czechoslovak state during 1919 was legally fixed by St. Germaine treaty signed on September 10, 1919. According to articles 10 and 11 of St. Germaine treaty, Czechoslovakia committed itself to providing broad autonomy for Subcarpathian Rus, which had to be “compatible with the unity of the Czechoslovak state... The autonomous territory

¹ This paper was written thanks to a fellowship funded by the Richard Pipes Laboratory at the Institute of Political Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences.

was to have its own governor and an elected diet with legislative functions in specific areas.”² However, extremely complicated international situation and unstable internal conditions in Subcarpathian area right after the First World War prevented Prague from introducing autonomy in that region. Since local diet, which had to decide questions of local importance including language and education system was not elected, central authorities in Prague had to solve those issues in the easternmost province of their country. This task proved to be quite complicated since Subcarpathian region was marked by high degree of ethnic and confessional diversity. In addition, broad masses of the local indigenous Eastern-Slavonic population – Carpathian Rusyns – mostly lacked full-fledged national self-consciousness and were just at the initial stage of shaping their modern national identity. At the same time, significant part of the local Rusyn intelligentsia shared traditional Russophile ideas considering local people a part of a “triune Russian people consisting of Great Russians, Little Russians and White Russians”.³ The situation in Subcarpathian region was further complicated by the influx of Ukrainian emigrants from neighboring Galicia, which contributed to the spread of Ukrainian identity among the local Rusyn population. Ukrainian national activists viewed Carpathian Rusyns as potential Ukrainians who “lacked Ukrainian national identity”⁴ and as an object of their “kulturtraeger” activities.

General Statute for Subcarpathian Rus, adopted by Czechoslovak government on November 18, 1919, provided for the introduction of the “folk language” into the field of education and public sphere. Leading Czech scholars in the field of Slavonic Studies considered Subcarpathian Eastern Slavonic population and local dialects an ethnographic part of Ukrainians and Ukrainian language.⁵ Taking this consideration into account, Czech scholars including Professor Lubomir Niederle during their session on December 4, 1919 recommended using in educational sphere in Subcarpathian Rus the “Ukrainian language with etymological alphabet as the language of instruction”.⁶

² Magocsi, P. R. (2005). Treaty of St. Germaine. In P. R. Magocsi, I. Pop (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of Rusyn History and Culture. Revised and Expanded Edition*, University of Toronto Press, p. 497.

³ Shevchenko, K. (2011). *Slavjanskaja Atlantida. Karpatskaja Rus i Rusiny v XIX – pervoj polovine XX veka*. Moskva, p. 64.

⁴ Motyka, G. – Stryjek, T. – Zajączkowski, M. (2020). *Międzynarodowe aspekty akcji „Wisła”*. Warszawa: Instytut Studiów Politycznych Polskiej Akademii Nauk, p. 75.

⁵ Shevchenko, K. (2009). Kulturní a národnostní politika Prahy v Podkarpatské Rusi v 1920 letech. In Koporová K. (ed.), *Studium Carpato-Ruthenorum 2009*. Prešov: Ústav rusínskeho jazyka a kultúry Prešovskej univerzity v Prešove, p. 43.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

It should be noticed that this view was in line with the recommendations of engineer Jaromír Nečas, an activist of the Czech Social Democratic Party and a well-known political publicist who worked for some time in the administration of the first governor of Subcarpathian Rus G. Zhatkovych. In his reports from Subcarpathian Rus to Presidential Office in Prague in November 1919 Jaromír Nečas repeatedly criticized the representatives of the Russophile camp in Subcarpathian Rus for their “Russian chauvinism”, latent pro-Hungarian feelings and “forcible imposing the Russian literary language on the population” and recommended to rely on “local direction”, to pursue a policy of “benevolent neutrality” to Ukrainians and “to refrain from introducing literary Russian language into the schools and administrative bodies in Subcarpathian Rus.”⁷ In his brochure “Hungarian Rus and Czech Journalism” published in Uzhhorod city in 1919, Nečas explicitly called for support of pro-Ukrainian cultural policy in Subcarpathian Rus arguing that only Ukrainians demonstrated pro-Czechoslovak sentiments.⁸ Similar approach was shared by other high-ranking Czech officials.⁹ As a result, the first Vice-Governor of Subcarpathian Rus Petr Ehrenfeld, who played a key role in organizing educational policy in that region, received a direct instruction from the Czechoslovak government to support Ukrainian orientation in the sphere of culture and education.¹⁰

From the very beginning, organization of educational process in Subcarpathian Rus was marked by obvious administration support of the Ukrainian orientation. Among the authors of the textbooks for primary and secondary schools in Subcarpathian region approved by Czech administration were Ukrainian Philologist from Galicia Dr. Volodymyr Birčak, representative of the local Ukrainian movement Greek Catholic priest Avgustyn Vološyn and Galician-Ukrainian Philologist and cultural activist Dr. Ivan Pankevyč. According to the recommendations of Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, “Grammar Guide” for local schools in Subcarpathian Rus prepared by Pankevyč in 1922 and introduced into local school system as obligatory manual by the Head of School Department Josef Pešek, used traditional for Rusyn cultural tradition etymological alphabet. At the same time, Pankevyč’s “Grammar” was focused on the norms of the Ukrainian literary

⁷ Archiv Kanceláře prezidenta republiky (AKPR), f. Kancelář prezidenta republiky, inv. č. 26, sign. PR I/26, karton 1, Zpráva ing. J. Nečase o poměrech na Podkarpatské Rusi.

⁸ Nečas, J. (1919). *Uherská Rus a česká žurnalistika*. Užhorod, p. 5.

⁹ Shevchenko, K. (2020). Situation in Subcarpathian Rus in 1919 as Reported by the Czech Officials. In *Czech – Polish Historical and Pedagogical Journal*, volume 12, 1, pp. 87–88.

¹⁰ Archiv Ústavu T.G. Masaryka (AÚTGM), f. T.G. Masaryk, Podkarpatská Rus 1923, 22b, cardbord 403.

language and, as a matter of fact, prepared the local population for the gradual transition to the Ukrainian literary language. It should also be noticed that Pankevych's "Grammar" was based on the dialects of the Eastern regions of Subcarpathian Rus (Verkhovyna region), which were closest to the Ukrainian language of Eastern Galicia.¹¹

Being a consistent supporter of the transition of the Rusyns to the Ukrainian literary language, Pankevych, nevertheless, was well aware of the impossibility of its immediate introduction in Subcarpathian Rus. Therefore, his "Grammar", published in 1922, was a compromise that combined the Galician-Ukrainian grammatical basis with the traditional etymological writing and local Carpathian dialectisms. It is noteworthy that in the subsequent editions of his "Grammar" in 1927 and 1936 Pankevych, keeping the traditional Rusyn spelling, purposefully got rid of the Carpathian-Rusyn dialectisms, consistently introducing more and more elements of the Ukrainian literary language.¹² At the same time, the Russophile grammar of Sabov, the true author of which was the Russian émigré A. Grigoriev, created in opposition to Pankevych's Ukrainianophile grammar, was rejected by the Czechoslovak authorities until 1936 as a textbook for local schools, contrary to the opinion of the majority of Rusyn teachers and the public who spoke for the Russian language of instruction and for the Russian grammars.

From the very beginning the representatives of the Russophile part of Rusyn intelligentsia expressed its dissatisfaction with the linguistic policy of the Czech administration in Subcarpathian Rus and repeatedly stated that, in their view, there was nothing in common between Rusyn dialects of Subcarpathian region and the Ukrainian language of Galicia.¹³ School manuals prepared by the Ukrainian philologists and introduced into local school system by the Czech administration in Subcarpathian Rus were sharply criticized by the local Rusyn teachers during the whole interwar period. The printed organ of the Rusyn diaspora in the USA "Amerikansky Russky Vestnik" criticized the educational policy of the Czech administration in Subcarpathian region emphasizing that "nobody on our lands knew the Ukrainian language and the Ukrainian grammar... Pešek and Pankevych

¹¹ Kushko, N. (2007). Literaturni standarty rusynskoi movy: istorychnyj kontekst i suchasna sytuacija. In A. Plišková (ed.) *Jazyková kultúra a jazyková norma v rusínskom jazyku*. Prešov, p. 40.

¹² Magocsi, P. R. (1978). *The Shaping of a National Identity. Subcarpathian Rus, 1848–1948*. Harvard University Press, p. 139.

¹³ Gerovskij, A. (1977). Borba cheshskogo pravitelstva s russkim jazykom. In *Putyami istorii. Obsherusskoe nacionalnoe, dukhovnoe i kulturnoe edinstvo na osnovanii dannykh nauki i zhizni*. Tom II. New York, p. 93–97.

introduced this language into our lands...¹⁴ An official printed organ of the Society of Teachers of Subcarpathian Rus “Narodna shkola” repeatedly criticized the school manuals prepared by Pankevych and recommended the Czech government “to stop mutilating our language”.¹⁵

In their active and quite emotional polemic against introduction of the Ukrainian language into the school system of Subcarpathian Rus, the Russophile part of the Rusyn intelligentsia appealed to the traditional cultural heritage of the Carpathian Rusyns. Thus, one of the Rusyn cultural activists Igor Gusnaj stressed long-term existence of “our own Carpathian-Russian language tradition” and stated that “we had and we do have our own Carpathian-Russian literary language... Carpathian-Russian intelligentsia without any exceptions shared the idea of cultural unity with the rest of the Russian people... Literary language of Pushkin, Gogol and Turgenev also belongs to Carpathian-Russians”.¹⁶ Arguing that the Russian literary language should be used in Subcarpathian schools for local Rusyns as the major language of instruction, Gusnaj appealed to the linguistic situation in Germany and Western European countries. In words of Gusnaj, school children in Saxony or Bavaria do not study the local dialects, but the literary German language, which is seriously different from the spoken dialects in various German regions.¹⁷

In addition to teaching schoolchildren in the Ukrainian cultural direction, local school administration sought to exert a pro-Ukrainian influence on Rusyn teachers. In early 1923 school administration of Subcarpathian Rus started publishing a cultural and pedagogical journal “Podkarpatska Rus”, which was funded from the state budget. One of the leading pro-Ukrainian activists in the region Dr. Ivan Pankevych was appointed chief editor of that magazine. Various historical, linguistic and ethnographic materials published in this magazine for the local teachers consistently promoted the idea of Ukrainian ethnic and linguistic nature of the local Rusyn population. Thus, in one of his articles published in that magazine, Dr. Ivan Pankevych interpreted local Rusyn dialects as dialects of the Ukrainian language and consistently used the terms “Subcarpathian Rusyns” and “Ukrainians” as synonyms in order to popularize the ethnic name “Ukrainian”, which then was almost unfamiliar among local Rusyns.¹⁸

¹⁴ *Amerikansky Russky Viestnik* (1922), Homestead, PA, 31 marta, № 14, p. 1–2.

¹⁵ *Narodna Shkola* (1924), 30 sentyabrya, № 7, p. 2.

¹⁶ Gusnaj, I. (1921). *Jazykovej vopros v Podkarpatskoj Rusi*. Prešov: Knigopechatnja Sv. Nikolaja, p. 3–4.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 20.

¹⁸ *Podkarpatska Rus. Chasopis prysvyachena dlyz poznanya rodnoho kraju* (1923), № 1, p. 24.

Another quite acute problem that constantly aroused criticism of the Rusyn intelligentsia was the personnel policy of the Czech administration in the education system of Subcarpathian Rus. Since old Hungarian officials and teachers were not considered by Prague as politically loyal to Czechoslovak state and since local Russophiles were suspected of pro-Hungarian sentiments, the Czech administration in Subcarpathian Rus decided to rely on the Ukrainian teachers in the field of education. In the fall of 1919, the Czechoslovak government initiated the practice of using Ukrainian Galician emigrants as teachers in primary schools of Subcarpathian Rus including the servicemen of Ukrainian Galician Army, which after unsuccessful war between Poland and Western Ukrainian Republic had to emigrate to Czechoslovakia.¹⁹

Supported by the Czech Administration of Subcarpathian Rus the process of employing Ukrainian emigrants in Czechoslovakia as teachers in Subcarpathian primary schools and gymnasiums developed successfully till late 1930-ties and resulted in the strengthening of Ukrainian identity and Ukrainian cultural orientation in Subcarpathian Rus, which aroused negative reaction among local Russophile intelligentsia. Native of Galicia and one of the teachers of gymnasium in Subcarpathian city of Beregovo V. Pačovskij stated that Rusyn education in Subcarpathian Rus was oriented on neighboring Galicia and that emigrants from Galicia, supported by Czech administration, played an important role in shaping education system in Subcarpathian Rus.²⁰ According to a contemporary and witness to those events, real situation in Subcarpathian schools and gymnasiums during the interwar period was rather chaotic. Cultural and national orientation of individual educational institutions was dependent on their leadership and teaching staff. Thus, Ukrainian teachers dominated in the gymnasiums in Beregovo and Uzhhorod cities. Director of Uzhhorod gymnasium, native of Galicia Aliskevych, „held this position for 15 years and during this period of time he managed to completely Ukrainize this educational institution“.²¹ It should be noticed that the leading representative of Ukrainian cultural movement in the region, Dr. Ivan Pankevych was also professor of the gymnasium in Uzhhorod. In addition, two Greek Catholic Pedagogical men's and women's seminaries in Uzhhorod supported

¹⁹ Shevchenko, K. (2009). Kulturní a národnostní politika Prahy v Podkarpatské Rusi v 1920 letech. In Koporová, K. (ed.), *Studium Carpato-Ruthenorum 2009*. Prešov: Ústav rusínskeho jazyka a kultúry Prešovskej univerzity v Prešove, p. 52.

²⁰ Ibidem, p. 52–53.

²¹ Gerovskij, A. (1977). Borba cheshskogo pravitelstva s russkim jazykom. In *Putyami istorii. Obshcherrusskoe nacionalnoe, dukhovnoe i kulturnoe edinstvo na osnovanii dannykh nauki i zhizni*. Tom II. New York, p. 95–96.

by the Czech administration used Ukrainian as major language of instruction and played very important role in promoting Ukrainian identity and culture among the local Rusyn population. At the same time, gymnasium in Mukachevo was controlled by local Russophiles. Situation in numerous primary schools throughout the Subcarpathian region was even more dependent on national and cultural orientation of concrete teachers.

After being appointed the second governor of Subcarpathian Rus in the fall of 1923, Anton Beskyd, a representative of local Russophiles, tried to end the Ministry of Education's monopoly on personnel decisions in the field of education, in the first place in terms of appointing school teachers.²² However, his attempts ended in vain and the Ministry of Education in Prague, controlled by the representatives of Social-Democratic party, continued the generally pro-Ukrainian personnel policy in Subcarpathian Rus.

Rusyn press of Russophile orientation in Subcarpathian Rus repeatedly expressed dissatisfaction with the personnel policy of central authorities in education sphere and criticized what it perceived as the domination of Ukrainians in the local school system. Thus, one of leading Russophile newspapers in February 1934 wrote with irony that Ukrainian newspapers in Lvov were publishing information about 412 teacher vacancies in Subcarpathian schools urging Galician Ukrainians to take teachers' positions in Subcarpathian Rus.²³ Subcarpathian Russophiles demanded "to free our schools and institutions from Ukrainian emigrants and transfer these places to the Carpathian Rusyns".²⁴ Leading newspaper of Rusyn Diaspora in North America "Amerikansky Russky Viestnik" from the very beginning was also negative about educational policy of Prague in Subcarpathian Rus, voicing strong criticism for what it perceived as "soft Ukrainization" of Rusyns in local school system.²⁵ At the same time, Ukrainophile part of Rusyn intelligentsia and Ukrainian press in Subcarpathian region were generally positive about the cultural and educational policy of the Czech administration in Subcarpathian Rus especially during 1920-ties.²⁶

Overall, the school policy of the Czech administration in Subcarpathian Rus had rather ambiguous consequences for Carpathian Rusyns. On the one hand, an active educational policy on the part of the state has led to a significant increase in the educational level of the local population. While in 1900 in the framework

²² AÚTGM, f. T. G. Masaryk, Podkarpatská Rus 1926–1931, 22d, cardboard 403.

²³ *Karpatorusskij Golos* (1934), 8 fevralja, № 483, p. 1–2.

²⁴ *Karpatorusskij Golos* (1934), 14 marta, № 510, p. 2.

²⁵ *Amerikansky Russky Viestnik* (1919), Homestead, PA, 16 oktobra, № 40, p. 1.

²⁶ *Svoboda* (1930), 21 oktobra, № 40, p. 1.

of Hungary the illiteracy among the Rusyns was about 70%, then by 1930 the illiteracy rate dropped drastically to 42%.²⁷ On the other hand, the administrative support of the Ukrainian direction in the educational field, especially noticeable in the 1920s, led to the strengthening of Ukrainian identity among the population and to the rise of the political and cultural confrontation between the Russophile and Ukrainian intelligentsia of the Carpathian Rusyns. This circumstance became one of the important reasons for the destabilization of the situation in this region in the late 1930s.

²⁷ Magocsi, P. R. (2015). *With Their Backs to the Mountains. A History of Carpathian Rus' and Carpatho-Rusyns*. Budapest – New York: CEU Press, p. 205.

Comparison of the documentaries and its use in the teaching of history¹

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Polubňáková, P. (2021). Comparison of the documentaries and its use in teaching history. *Czech-Polish Historical and Pedagogical Journal*, 13/2021/1, 157–172.

<https://doi.org/10.5817/cphpj-2021-011>

The aim of the presented study is to compare two documentaries that deal with the same personality – Klement Gottwald – President of the Czechoslovak Republic in the years 1948–1953. Based on selected films we want to analyse how the current social situation, state regime, results stemming from history knowledge and current history education are reflected in their content. For this reason, we chose a documentary from the Descendants and Ancestors series called Klement Gottwald made in 1986, as well as a documentary from the Red Presidents series called Unified in Fear – Klement Gottwald in 2018, since the aim was to compare images published before and after 1989.² At the same time, we look at the issue from a didactic point of view, when we present specific possibilities of using the comparison of documentary films in history teaching. At the beginning, we briefly define what a documentary is. Next, we introduce the personality of Klement Gottwald from the point of view of modern historiography, and for an overview we name and briefly inform about some documentary films that were made about him. Subsequently, we focus on the basic data for the selected images and then we move on to the comparison itself, where we focus among other things, on pointing out the influence of communist propaganda. In this section we focus on specific common or different features of both documents and analyse them in detail. Finally, we offer several alternatives for the application of the comparison of documentary films in educational practice.

Key words: *Klement Gottwald; documentary film; communism; comparison*

¹ This study was created within the grant task VEGA 1/0711/19 *Historical science and the modern school system in Slovakia – the theory of historical cognition in the changes of Slovak history education of the 19th – 20th century.*

² This is a great, major change bringing milestone, since back then, the Gentle Revolution happened in our country, which resulted in the abolition of the communist regime in Czechoslovakia and the subsequent emergence of two independent and democratic states – the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic in 1993.

In history, film has indisputable advantages, since it intensifies the atmosphere of the time more intensely than interpretation, describes past events in a comprehensive way, affects emotions, develops empathy and its analysis allows us to observe minority groups or the position of women in the past. Not only can it evoke the climate of a given period, it can also be used effectively in problem or project teaching or in creating own document, which encourages students' creativity or teamwork.³

Based on the didactic processing, the film generally develops students' skills such as critical thinking, communication skills or independent perception of historical events. The undeniable benefit of this medium is its popularity, motivational effect, audio-visual appeal, authenticity, support of productive skills (writing, speaking), as well as practicing the ability to understand what is heard and seen.⁴

As far as documentaries are concerned, they have a "big impact on students in terms of popularity, trust and learning."⁵ As it incorporates authentic period photographs, comments or maps, it evokes an impression of immediacy and concreteness. It is basically created for educational purposes, usually without obvious artistic ambitions as an information source for the depicted time. Of course, it must be criticized.⁶ The limits of the use of documentary films at lessons are time consuming, insufficient space in the curriculum, greater demands on the teacher, the need to consider psychological suitability of the film or possible insufficient technical equipment of schools.

Creators of documentaries related to history usually use very similar techniques in their production. They often reveal the same basic elements as commentary, witness statements or archival materials seemingly "directly" capturing past events. At the same time, however, there is a difference in the case of a production whose way of narration claims historical objectivity or, on the contrary, the purpose of the film is to offer an individual subjective view and thus only one of the possible versions.⁷ Documentary films dealing with the past reality are usually the most

³ Labishová, D. – Gracová, B. (2008). *Příručka ke studiu didaktiky dějepisu*. Ostrava: Ostravská univerzita, p. 122.

⁴ Čapek, R. (2015). *Moderní didaktika. Lexikon výukových a hodnoticích metod*. Praha: Grada, p. 84.

⁵ Kratochvíl, V. (2008). *Dokumentární film ako školský historický obrazový prameň. Metodické podnety*. Prešov: Vydavateľstvo Michala Vaška, p. 9–14.

⁶ Labishová, D. - Gracová, B. (2008). *Příručka ke studiu didaktiky dějepisu*. Ostrava: Ostravská univerzita, p. 122.

⁷ Ferencuhová, M. (2009). *Odložený čas. Filmové pramene, historiografia, dokumentárny film*. Bratislava: Slovenský filmový ústav, Vysoká škola múzických umení, p. 99.

accurate and objective representation of history, but it must not be forgotten that they also contain significant traces of the time of their origin. In their analysis, it is therefore necessary to take into account two temporal levels: the one that the film seeks to reconstruct and then the one in which the film was made and at the same time, simultaneously allowing it to speak about past events from a distance and knowing what followed.⁸

In general, history documentaries appear to be slightly ambivalent. On one hand, they try to be as close as possible to reality and, as already mentioned, they usually try to reconstruct it with the help of a lot of archival materials, to comment on the testimonies of witnesses or the testimonies of experts. On the other hand, it is obvious that the method of selection and assembly of archival images is influenced by current ideas about the past event, testimonies reflect the current state of memory (a memory that can be changed compared to the original experience) and expert comments are only an image of the current the state of knowledge of the past, even if they describe archival images in the present tense. In historical documentaries, there is usually a special mixture of several lines, where archival materials capture and supposedly “preserve” the past event in its presence, but at the same time their presentation within the document is the result of a completely different period.⁹

Nowadays, documentaries are a very useful and effective educational tool for history teaching. Especially, those related to the history of the 20th century are one of the important sources of primary historical evidence. However, a necessary role is played by the teacher, who must carefully assess the documentary before using it in class. Furthermore, he firstly has to point out, that it is not enough to watch the film thoughtlessly, but it is essential to realize, that it can offer us various interpretations, which need to be analysed in detail and from all sides after watching it.¹⁰ When working with a film, the most practically important phase is debriefing with students. It is the phase of feedback and reflection about what was seen.

In connection with the above-mentioned facts, it is precisely the role of a teacher to encourage students to critically evaluate other aspects in addition to the image and content of the audio commentary, and thus assess the documentary film from several perspectives. These are, for example, facts about the conditions under which the film was made, who created it and why, what audience was it

⁸ Ferenčuhová, M. (2004). Medzi históriou a mýtom. Aktuality, dokumentárne filmy a „hraná fikcia“. In P. Kopal (Ed.), *Film a dejiny*, Praha: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, p. 50.

⁹ Ibidem., pp. 50–51.

¹⁰ Stuchlíková, I. – Janík, T. (2015). *Oborové didaktiky: vývoj – stav – perspektivy*. Brno: Masarykova univerzita, p. 302.

intended for or what is its purpose.¹¹ To illustrate, in the case of Czechoslovak documentaries from the second half of the 20th century, it should not be forgotten that during the communist regime, film and history themselves served as tools of ideological manipulation. Therefore, we should not be surprised by the fact that serious research into the relationship between these two phenomena did not enjoy official support at the time.¹² For this reason, the teacher must always draw students' attention to a possible subjective vision of reality or introduction in the discussion of a documentary film from this problematic period. For example, they should consider whether the commentary on it is objective at all and if it is only one-sided, in what way.¹³

In the subsequent comparison and analysis of the two documentaries, we will take into account the principle of multi-perspectivity and thus looking at historical events from several perspectives.¹⁴ Both films deal with the same issue and the same historical period, but they were made in different eras and therefore present very disparate contents. This process depends on the gradual realization that the record of the past can be interpreted in different ways, and it is necessary to be able to evaluate and analyse these multiple interpretations. It is the multi-perspective approach that allows us not to perceive history as something static and unchanging.¹⁵ Good historians should not even be satisfied with just one perspective of a historical problem, but they have to combine many (sometimes competing) versions of the story in order to compile the most objective interpretation possible. The value of multi-perspectivity lies in the understanding that there is no single interpretation of a historical event and the truth about it can only be reconstructed on the basis of the contradiction of these ways of looking at it. The application of such a complex approach also increases the probability of weakening prejudices or stereotypes, which are still found in didactic-historical texts. At the same time, they are closer to generally accepted scientific practices in historiography.¹⁶

¹¹ Stradling, R. (2002). *Vyučovanie európskej histórie 20. storočia*. Bratislava: Metodické centrum mesta Bratislavy, p. 187.

¹² Kopal, P. (2004). Úvod. In P. Kopal (Ed.), *Film a dejiny*, Praha: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, p. 9

¹³ Stradling, R. (2002). *Vyučovanie európskej histórie 20. storočia*. Bratislava: Metodické centrum mesta Bratislavy, p. 187.

¹⁴ Stradling, R. (2007). *Multiperspektíva v dejepisnom vzdelávaní. Príručka pre učiteľov*. Bratislava: Metodicko-pedagogické centrum, p. 9.

¹⁵ Labishová, D. – Gracová, B. (2008). *Príručka ke štúdiu didaktiky dejepisu*. Ostrava: Ostravská univerzita, p. 28.

¹⁶ Kratochvíl, V. (2019). *Metafora stromu ako model didaktiky dejepisu k predpokladom výučby*. Bratislava: Raabe, pp. 106–110.

We chose the personality of Klement Gottwald due to his controversial life and above all, political career, which had two sides. His rise was primarily due to the political abilities he fatefully connected with the communist movement, his own party, at first acting only as an admirer of the Soviet Union, but then turning into an obedient, zealous and unconditional advocate or executor of his power interests. Gottwald's authority in the party gradually grew, until it finally turned into its unbreakable symbol, worshiped even after his death throughout the communist regime, with an effort to artificially keep it in society. On the other hand, his path and especially his position at the height of power, was accompanied by human suffering, cruel treatment of opponents, unjust and fabricated trials associated with political assassinations, loss of hope, ideals, or the collapse of many life plans. This was caused by the state apparatus, in the construction of which Klement Gottwald clearly participated, as he was its highest representative and leader. Only after the fall of this system did it turn into a condemned and damned symbol of horror, while rightly taking the leading position among the culprits and the main constructors of the regime. He strongly intervened in the development of Czech and Slovak society and determined its forty-year future with long-term negative consequences.¹⁷

There were several documentaries about Klement Gottwald in Czechoslovak production before 1989. For example, we will present a short documentary from 1953 called *Klement Gottwald*, which was a memorial portrait of his life and work.¹⁸ *Klement Gottwald died* from 1953 was reaction to the president's death.¹⁹ In 1986, a Slovak film about Gottwald's relationship with Slovakia and his contribution to solving questions about the mutual coexistence of Czechs and Slovaks was made, entitled *Klement Gottwald and Slovakia*.²⁰

A major breakthrough in 1989 also brought an end to the building of the cult of personality in the case of Klement Gottwald and therefore the disproportionate exaggeration of his qualities or merits. This enabled the documentary *Klement Gottwald – an attempt at a portrait* to be made in 1991. It could already mention things that the general public did not even know about the president.²¹

¹⁷ Kaplan, K. (2009). *Kronika komunistického Československa. Klement Gottwald a Rudolf Slánský*. Brno: Barrister & Principal, p. 7.

¹⁸ <https://www.csfd.cz/film/814352-klement-gottwald/komentare/> [on-line] [cit. 2020-05-06].

¹⁹ <https://www.csfd.cz/film/330306-zemrel-klement-gottwald/komentare/> [on-line] [cit. 2020-05-06].

²⁰ Růžička, D. (2012). Gottwald byl pro nás zkouškou dospělosti. In K. Feigelson – P. Kopal (Eds.), *Film a dějiny* 3. Praha: Ústav pro studium totalitních režimů, 537.

²¹ <https://www.csfd.cz/film/296348-klement-g-pokus-o-portret/komentare/> [on-line] [cit. 2020-05-06].

As for the period before 1989, for the purposes of the study, we chose a documentary about Klement Gottwald, which was broadcast live by Czechoslovak television on November 20, 1986 at a ceremonial meeting at the National Theatre. It was presented on the occasion of the celebrations of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia concerning the 90th anniversary of the birth of their “*great revolutionary leader and leading statesman*” Klement Gottwald, with the participation of the then President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic Gustav Husák.²²

The image comes from the series *Descendants and Ancestors*. It was a free cycle of feature-length documentaries from the 1970s and 1980s, which had twenty parts. Behind him was the Czech production company Krátký film Praha, capturing Czechoslovak history from 1918 until the end of the 1980s. As Ján Jirka, the program director of the Czechoslovak Film Society, rightly stated, the given cycle is *remarkable both thematically and with its zigzagging before the ideological control at the time and, conversely, the later effort to adapt to changing political conditions in 1989. It is a document in itself: it describes not only state-building and alternating regimes, but at the same time testifies to censorship, authorial self-control and, last but not least, changes in the social perspective of history, where one cliché often alternates with another.*²³

The screenplay for the documentary film about Klement Gottwald was written by its directors – Drahošlav Holub and Karel Maršálek, who also worked on other films from this series. Of course, they approached the topic as expected at the time of its creation.²⁴ After looking at it, we can really confirm that it is a tendentious document, supporting the mentioned cult of personality, which we will demonstrate on certain examples below.

For comparison, we chose a documentary about Gottwald, which was broadcast on *Czech Television* on February 23, 2018. It is the latest work of its kind, which concerns a given personality, while also coming from a series of several documentaries. *The Red Presidents* series represents five Czechoslovak presidents from Klement Gottwald, through Antonín Zápotocký, Antonín Novotný, Ludvík Svoboda to Gustav Husák, gradually ruling during the hegemony of one party in the years 1948–1989. Their personal as well as political story is presented exclusively by shots. This stems from the fact that the director Roman Vávra aimed to evoke

²² Růžička, D. (2012). Gottwald byl pro nás zkouškou dospělosti. In K. Feigelson, P. Kopal (Eds.), *Film a dějiny 3*. Praha : Ústav pro studium totalitních režimů, 536.

²³ Potomci a předkové (2014). <https://www.mediar.cz/kinosvet-vraci-na-obrazovku-serial-potomci-a-predkove/> [on-line] [cit. 2020-05-06].

²⁴ <https://www.csfd.cz/film/286144-klement-gottwald/komentare/> [on-line] [cit. 2020-05-06].

the most authentic feeling of the time that the individual parts deal with.²⁵ In 2019, Petr Buchta and his team won the *Ferdinand Vaňek Award* for Contribution to the Development of Civil Society for the awarding of the annual Trilobit Awards from the Czech Film and Television Association for this documentary series. The jury was impressed that they proved the existence of the importance of serious documentary production, as well as independent public service media.²⁶

There is only a slight difference in footage between *Klement Gottwald* and *The Unified in Fear – Klement Gottwald*, which allows us to make a more accurate comparison. While the former has 61 minutes, the latter lasts only 9 minutes less. In both cases, these are documentaries that rely entirely on available archival material. Apart from photographs, these are mainly audio and video recordings. The statements of witnesses or historians or other experts are completely absent. Last but not least, the comments accompanying the two documentaries have always been very closely linked to the image.

Klement Gottwald's documentary begins with a quote from the president and a look at his portrait: "My body, the machine that works, dies, dissolves into atoms, but the value of my work remains here. All I need to know is that I, an insignificant, nameless worker, helped build the magnificent building of truth that humanity has built since prehistoric times. And every stone I have helped with my work to bring to this building is immortal." In the first part (1896–1921), the film reveals Gottwald's childhood in Moravian countryside, with an emphasis on his hard-working mother, who worked in the field "from sun to sun." The following are mentions of a strike by workers from 1905, as well as a preview of a T-shirt with the slogan *Proletarians of all countries, unite!*²⁷

According to the filmmakers, a turning point in Gottwald's life was his departure to Vienna, where a numerous Czech minority lived, whose pillar was the proletariat. Klement Gottwald himself also became a carpenter here. At that time, he was already fully interested in socialist literature, the history of revolutionary struggles, he read the works of Tolstoy, later Marx or Lenin.²⁸

The first world war, in which Gottwald also took part, is also shown here. The film condemns the conflict as a "struggle for imperialist interests" and the "most revolutionary event" associated with it is the Great October Revolution, which "heralds new emerging certainties."²⁹

²⁵ Rudí prezidenti. <https://www.ceskatelevize.cz/porady/11687481655-rudi-prezidenti/> [on-line] [cit. 2020-05-06].

²⁶ <https://www.omeiach.com/filmy/14811-hlavnu-cenu-trilobit-ziskal-dokument-cechoslovaci-v-gulagu-video> [on-line] [cit. 2020-05-06].

²⁷ Holub, D. – Maršálek, K. (1986). *Potomci a předkové: Klement Gottwald*. 0–3 min.

²⁸ *Ibidem.*, 3–4 min.

²⁹ *Ibidem.*, 5–7 min.

In this part, we also follow Gottwald's career growth, when he gradually profiled himself as a member of the Marxist wing of the Social Democrats. The documentary highlights how devotedly he travelled around the country, in an effort to gain as many party members as possible for the idea of joining the Communist International, and consequently became an active spokesman for the labour movement. There is also a description of the disputes between the left and right wing within the social democracy, which culminated in the end of the establishment of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. The commentator clearly condemned the subsequent attack by the right-wingers, when the police occupied the Prague People's House, the seat of the left-wingers and the Red Law editorial office. This provoked a general strike of workers, which resulted in several casualties. However, Gottwald's dream of joining the Communist International eventually became a reality, and the documentary demonstrated this fact with shots of the first Spartakiad, naming it a demonstration of the strength of the communist movement.³⁰

In the second part (1921–1932) the film continues the description of Gottwald's revolutionary struggle. After the 1925 elections, when the Communists won "*extraordinary second place*" as the "*only party fighting for the interests of the workers*", it began to form its Bolshevik core, which reached the point that after the fifth Congress of the Communist Party he became the party's general secretary and member of parliament. In all this came the well-known economic crisis, which showed only the "*temporary stabilization of capitalism*". It resulted in enormous unemployment and strikes by the proletariat, subject to terror by the bourgeois state apparatus. Gottwald, on the other hand, is perceived here as a selfless hero standing with the ordinary people, who, despite all his merits, is persecuted by his opponents, he is even imprisoned in Pankrác for nineteen days.³¹

In both sequences, we do not find any resemblance from the content page to the newer documentary film *The United in Fear – Klement Gottwald*. This is because the stories of Gottwald's beginnings based on work and learning a craft or the "singing" of his original activities in the struggle for the working class in the spirit of Bolshevism belong to the mass product of a certain period, environment and ideology.

On the other hand, the documentary *United in Fear – Klement Gottwald* initially skips the forty years of the president's life and begins to present events only in 1936, when Gottwald was in Moscow with his family for two years, where he went after being arrested at home. Unlike the second film, the viewer will also

³⁰ Ibidem., 8–12 min.

³¹ Ibidem., 15–21 min.

get to know his loved ones, his wife Marta and daughter (also Marta) or his close friend, Rudolf Slánský. In the first minutes, a significant change can be seen compared to the silence of unpleasant facts in the previous film, as the commentator speaks openly about the great political purges and trials under Stalin in the Soviet capital, as well as the atmosphere of fear spreading from there to Czechoslovakia.³²

Both documentaries intersect at the theme of Gottwald's escape to Moscow. However, in the 1986 film, the USSR is described only in a positive sense as the only state not affected by the economic crisis. The Soviet Union became a mighty industrial power fighting for democracy, with communism already widespread in one-sixth of the world.³³

The Unified One in Fear – Klement Gottwald completely omits the theme of the Second World War, which is an important part of the film *Klement Gottwald*. In it, we meet the efforts of the creators to portray Gottwald as a great fighter against Nazism, oppressed by his opponents, who gave way to Hitler. He was the one who took the risk when he made dangerous trips to the border areas of Czechoslovakia and Germany, where he agitated against fascism. In addition, the authors pointed out the “retreat, weakness, indecision and anti-communism of the Western powers” or their inability to stand up to Hitler. On the contrary, the Soviet Union was praised for recognizing Beneš's Czechoslovak government in exile in London and never taking into account the Munich Agreement.³⁴

While the documentary from the 1980s focuses primarily on Gottwald, *the Unified in Fear – Klement Gottwald* provides much more space for his wife and closest collaborators or other personalities. We also learn about the marriage of Gottwald's daughter to the Minister of Justice, Alexei Čepiček, who is described as “a ruthless careerist, self-proclaimed authoritarian and architect of the new judiciary”. The commentator notes on Václav Kopecký in a similarly unflattering way. He is called a fanatic, contributing to personal tragedies by providing the NKVD with reports of uncomfortable people. He is similar to Ján Masaryk, and as a democratic politician and a symbol of the First Czechoslovakia, he condemns him for helping to legalize totalitarian practices.³⁵ The only close colleague who was mentioned in more detail in both films is Ján Šverma.

Among other things, the claims about Gottwald as an international authority with regard to his relations with Stalin are disproved. In fact, he was not a favourite leader of USSR, only he himself created such an impression of importance in society,

³² Vávra, R. (2018). *Rudí prezidenti: Sjednotitel ve strachu – Klement Gottwald*. 0–1 min.

³³ Holub, D. – Maršálek, K. (1986). *Potomci a předkové: Klement Gottwald*. 23–24 min.

³⁴ Ibidem., 29–45 min.

³⁵ Vávra, R. (2018). *Rudí prezidenti: Sjednotitel ve strachu – Klement Gottwald*. 4–34 min.

since Stalin argued about more important matters only with Edvard Beneš. He even described the Czechoslovak communists as “*simple, without a view and straightforward*”, which allegedly Gottwald must have known about.³⁶ According to the authors of the second film, however, he was an important authority (an example of this is that he led a Communist Party delegation to the 7th Congress of the Comintern). He had high political qualities, talent and mastered the art of a mature politician.³⁷

In any case, after the Second World War, Gottwald managed to negotiate a new government in Moscow, in which the Communists gained important positions. The agreement was enshrined in the Košice government program, but the opposition was expelled from the National Front, only four political parties could operate in Slovakia, and social policy, nationalization and foreign policy aimed at Moscow were promised. The prime minister was Zdeněk Fierlinger, whom the commentator described as “*an obedient puppet in the hands of the communists*”, Slánský became secretary general and Gottwald chairman of the party. This is followed by a shot of Gottwald “*happily and possessively smiling*” after returning to Prague, when he managed what he wanted.³⁸

On the contrary, the documentary *Klement Gottwald* Košice celebrates the government program with enthusiasm. The Communist Party and the workers, who will play a leading role in the state, should have the decisive say. According to the commentator, only the Communist Party can be the leader of the nation. It is “*popular, has a clean slate and active or sacrificial fighters*”.³⁹

After the elections in 1946, Gottwald was given the task of forming a government by Beneš. As soon as he succeeded, he began to occupy the people’s courts with his supporters, removing Democrats from the police and the army, and establishing workers’ militias under the party. Emphasis is placed on one of the main problems of Gottwald’s rule, namely his “butler-like” obedience to the USSR. This was also shown in the Marshall Plan, in which Czechoslovakia was initially interested, but after meeting Stalin, everything was different and the help was refused.⁴⁰

However, for obvious reasons, the second film did not devote a second of time to this Gottwald governmental behaviour, vassal approach to the Soviets or the European Recovery Plan. Rather, only the negative factors of otherwise favourable development were mentioned here, namely the Truman doctrine, which was

³⁶ Ibidem., 5–6 min.

³⁷ Holub, D. – Maršálek, K. (1986). *Potomci a předkové: Klement Gottwald*. 6–28 min.

³⁸ Vávra, R. (2018). *Rudí prezidenti: Sjednotitel ve strachu – Klement Gottwald*. 1–3 min.

³⁹ Holub, D. – Maršálek, K. (1986). *Potomci a předkové: Klement Gottwald*. 48–50 min.

⁴⁰ Vávra, R. (2018): *Rudí prezidenti: Sjednotitel ve strachu – Klement Gottwald*. 9–13 min.

directed against communism. According to the film, it was an “*American nuclear blackmail*” that encouraged the domestic right to seek the return of property to industrialists.⁴¹

However, on the topic of February 1948, the two documents intersect again. The 2018 film approaches these events in the sense that it asks itself whether it was a coup or a take-over. Obviously, it was a clear consequence of post-war developments and weak democratic politicians. Overall, it was not a constitutional procedure, and Beneš did not even have to sign the known resignations of fourteen (originally twelve) ministers, but he could rather call early elections, appoint a new prime minister or a caretaker government. In the end, however, he resigned, thus enabling the monopoly power of the communists, their total domination of society and the firm inclusion of the state in the Soviet bloc. However, it is also true that he was under unconstitutional pressure from working and armed militias in the streets, while the army was also on the side of the Communists.⁴² Overall, Beneš gets more space in this document than in *Klement Gottwald*, where it is mentioned only very marginally. Here we also learn about his rejection of the new constitution and after giving a farewell speech in 1948, he died a few months later.⁴³

Of course, a documentary from the 1980s described the February events from a different perspective. It saw them as an important part of the class struggle between socialism and capitalism, which led to the transition of the national and democratic revolution to the socialist revolution. The vitality and validity of Leninism and Marxism were thus shown. At the beginning there was a conspiracy (today we know that it is fictitious), taking place in Slovakia, after which the ministers of non-communist parties resigned. The Democratic Party has lost a majority in the Board of Commissioners exercising executive power. The Communists subsequently organized a manifesto in Prague, at which Gottwald made a speech based on Lenin's words. They demanded that the government be supplemented with new people, trade unions also sided with them, and finally the determination of the communists or the pressure of the streets of the workers led to the acceptance of the resignation of “*treacherous ministers*”. The onslaught of the bourgeoisie was consequently repulsed and the path to socialism opened.⁴⁴

Klement Gottwald is slowly coming to an end since the February coup and he completely ignores the events of the 1950s. In the end, only the foreshadowing of Gottwald's speech after he became president and power definitely fell into the hands

⁴¹ Holub, D. – Maršálek, K. (1986). *Potomci a předkové: Klement Gottwald*. 53–54 min.

⁴² Vávra, R. (2018): *Rudí prezidenti: Sjednotitel ve strachu – Klement Gottwald*. 9–13 min.

⁴³ Ibidem., 25–26 min.

⁴⁴ Holub, D. – Maršálek, K. (1986). *Potomci a předkové: Klement Gottwald*. 26–28 min.

of the working class. In the last minutes, we also see footage from his funeral in 1953, accompanied by the words that Gottwald's death meant "*an enormous loss for the Czechoslovak people*". The commentary also includes a summary of its contribution to the republic. According to him, the image of the then socialist Czechoslovakia was the fulfilment of the presidential ideas, for which he fought all the time. He forever made a significant contribution to the party's history by helping to form the Communist Party, fighting the bourgeoisie and fascism, creating a people's democratic state, "*taking care*" of the victorious February, standing at the beginning of building socialism or establishing a solid foundation of friendship with the USSR.⁴⁵

So, we can say that where the first document ends, the second begins. The film *The United in Fear – Klement Gottwald* pays the greatest attention to the events after the February coup. Initially, he draws attention to the growing cult of personality, when streets or squares began to be named after Gottwald. Gradually, the commentator gets to the point of the 1980s documentary and, among other things, the purges, when uncomfortable people were fired, democratic politicians ended up in prison and many soldiers also ended up because of their experience of serving their homeland in the West. We also see footage from the funeral of the already mentioned Ján Masaryk, which is marked as a symbolic peak, proving "*the helplessness of democracy and communist expansion*". The result of the above repression was an increase in the number of emigrants. In this context, the authors of the documentary provide Gottwald's statement, which is to say that he did not even deal with the problem: "*They are old grandfathers, we would have to pay them pensions, what are they good for? Let them go, for example, to Tramtaría.*"⁴⁶

An interesting fact is the depiction of Klement Gottwald as an alcoholic, which is again information that the viewer does not find out from the previously analysed documentary. So, for the first time, we learn that the president barely stood on his feet even in public meetings, and we even hear quotes from witnesses to such incidents. In addition, there are other information from his privacy and from living with his wife, who did not always find it easy due to his aggressive behaviour.⁴⁷

Unlike *Klement Gottwald*, the documentary does not avoid describing the problems that the president had with himself. Although he received servants, high salaries, luxury housing or bodyguards in the new office, he gradually fell into political and personal isolation, began to appear less in public, closed in on himself and made decisions only on the basis of Slánský and Soviet advisers. He even suffered from anxiety over fears that the leadership of the USSR did not trust him,

⁴⁵ Ibidem., 26–28 min.

⁴⁶ Vávra, R. (2018): *Rudí prezidenti: Sjednotitel ve strachu – Klement Gottwald*. 19–20 min.

⁴⁷ Ibidem., 22–27 min.

and his condition worsened after he discovered wiretapping in his apartment. Because of this, he was reluctant to travel to the Soviet Union, so he met only twice with Stalin during his presidency.⁴⁸

The Unifier in Fear – Klement Gottwald also reveals Gottwald's deliberate lies and shifts of opinion in the 1950s, whether in terms of a change of opinion on the kolkhozes, when, despite promises not to introduce them, we were collectivized according to the Soviet model. He also "turned" in his attitude to freedom of religion and began to initiate persecution in this area. In connection with this, the story of the priest Josef Toufar, who was supposed to become a victim of the first ecclesiastical trial, but died before the consequences of brutal torture, is presented in more detail, to which Gottwald reacted with anger. Instead, the confiscation of monasteries, the arrest of priests and the severance of diplomatic relations with the Vatican began in full swing.⁴⁹

An important part of this documentary are the processes with Milada Horáková et al. or Rudolf Slánský, which are not even mentioned in the film *Klement Gottwald*. The film presents archival footage directly from the court, as well as the confessions of both accused. As for the trial of the opposition politician and her group, the commentator calls it "*farce and massive propaganda with Russian advisers behind the scenes*". It resulted in four death sentences. Unfortunately, despite protests from abroad, the president did not pardon Milada Horáková.⁵⁰

Despite his relationship with Rudolf Slánský, Gottwald did what the Soviet advisers told him in this case, even after initial hesitation, and was convinced that the allegations were adequate. At that time, about fifty communist officials were arrested, and the president defended this by an anti-state conspiracy within the party. Slánský thus found out first-hand how ŠTB produces criminals – they charged him, for example, with the murder of Šverma or treason.⁵¹

Apart from these two important processes, others are no longer mentioned in the slide. As the documentary draws to a close, it deals with the death of Stalin, whom Gottwald mourned and also attended his funeral in March 1953. He died a few days later, unlike the film from the eighties, in addition to footage of a massive and ostentatious farewell to the president, we will also get acquainted with the cause of his death. He died at the age of fifty-seven of a heart attack and liver cirrhosis. The spies allegedly said at the time that "*he was faithful to Stalin beyond the grave*". The analysed film *Klement Gottwald* itself is a clear proof of this.⁵²

⁴⁸ Ibidem., 31–42 min.

⁴⁹ Ibidem., 35–40 min.

⁵⁰ Ibidem., 40–41 min.

⁵¹ Ibidem., 43–46 min.

⁵² Ibidem., 47–50 min.

Shortly afterwards, Marta Gottwald, who succumbed to uterine cancer, suffered the same fate. The documentary *The Unity in Fear – Klement Gottwald* ends with a shot of a laughing Gottwald on the train, accompanied by a quote from his wife: “Our grandchildren and their children will be cursed by people one day”.⁵³

Overall, we can say that the selected documentaries had common features, especially in terms of formalities (for example, the use of only archival footage, in some cases the same, such as Gottwald’s speech after the adoption of the Košice government program or after gaining the office of president). As for the content, we generally found quite a number of differences in terms of script. We managed to mention the most important ones of them in this study.

Whereas, for example, many events in connection with the union of Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union were taken by the creators of *the United in fear – Klement Gottwald* as one of the phenomena that negatively affected our history, on the other hand in *Klement Gottwald* they indicated that it was a significant success. The reason for this is that after the Communist Party finally seized power in February 1948, the documentary film came under the control of state administration and the relevant ideology. Double censorship was introduced, the preventive one, which checked the suitability of the themes and screenplays and finally, deciding on the permission of already finished films.⁵⁴ The 1986 documentary was thus apparently purposefully created in the spirit of propaganda and was determined by the opinions of the author and the institution that created it.

Klement Gottwald was created for the purpose of popularizing one person, so the commentary on it contained a large number of celebratory pathos, without mentioning a single weakness, negative feature, mistake or shortcoming of this Czechoslovak president or the regime itself. On the contrary, the film from the Red Presidents series managed to look at this personality and the political system of that time almost thirty years after the loosening of conditions, with a clear view and without concealing unfavourable facts. It consequently offers the viewer a much more comprehensive and holistic look at either Klement Gottwald or the time.

The practical use of comparison in the analysis of documentary films directly in the teaching of history can be made through various engaging exercises. Such an activity requires training and precision to make it more efficient and automated. The teacher can use various auxiliary tools, especially in the form of worksheets.

⁵³ Ibidem., 50–51 min.

⁵⁴ Slivka, M. (2003). „Podvratná kamera“ slovenských dokumentárnych filmov. In H. J. Schlegel (Ed.), *Podvratná kamera. Jiná realita v dokumentárním filmu střední a východní Evropy*. Praha: Malá skála, p. 237.

One way is for teachers to prepare comparison tables, in which students write information while watching the document, followed by a discussion. Another possibility is that after watching the sequences from the films, they will independently create a mind map recording the development in them. An interesting idea is also the creation of a film poster, in which students summarize the essence of both documentaries graphically, which also compares them. Similarly, creating a comic book from a particular scene in both films could be a useful creative tool. The teacher can add a cameraman to the scheme to emphasize the perspective of the creators. For the time being, students would add conversations, thoughts or feelings of the characters to the bubbles and clouds near them, and thus space would also be given to display the differences between the images.⁵⁵

More specifically, we can illustrate the comparative analysis that can be used to teach history in the case of *Klement Gottwald* (1986) and *The United in Fear – Klement Gottwald* (2018). After watching the two documentaries, the teacher selects suitable passages for comparison and then cuts them into one video (maximum length 20 minutes), which he plays in class. The aim is for students to be able to point out the facts that testify to the ideological manipulation in the film *Klement Gottwald*. The shots from the second film, in which propaganda is no longer present, will help them in this. The demonstrations will focus on students recognizing how different individual images depict the same phenomena, such as the February coup in 1948, relations between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union, Gottwald's contribution to Czechoslovakia, and so on. It is the search for these differences that will be the initial analytical step, which should later lead to further findings. While watching the video, students will use the tool for comparison, the already mentioned comparison table, which will be created by the teacher. In the first column, they will make notes on the film, which was made before 1989, and in the second, what was made after 1989. At the same time, they will have listed in the lines events that they should notice when watching the edited material. After the video, it is didactically important for the teacher to give the students enough time to write in the table what they did not manage to catch. Subsequently, during the discussion, the teacher will follow up on this analysis with questions focusing students' attention on how the image of the perfect Gottwald in the film *Klement Gottwald* was constructed and what was the basis of his criticism in the next film, *The Unifier in Fear – Klement Gottwald*. For example, he might ask: Why was the 1986 monster trial, which took place in Czechoslovakia in the 1950s, omitted?

⁵⁵ Činátl, K. – Pinkas, J. (2014). *Dějiny ve filmu. Film ve výuce dějepisu*. Praha: Ústav pro studium totalitních režimů, p. 55.

Who is the greatest enemy of socialism in a given documentary and why? What was the purpose of the film at that time and how does it affect the viewer today? Which personalities were presented positively or negatively in the 2018 film, and why? What was Gottwald's greatest criticism of The Unified in Fear – Klement Gottwald? In the context of these and similar questions, comparative analysis will reach a deeper meaning and students will gradually move from description to interpretation of facts.

In addition, it would be appropriate for students to compare the comments of the documentaries about Klement Gottwald. In the 1986 film, we observed a characteristic bias and subjectivity, while in the 21st century documentary we perceived the predominance of a neutral commentary with elements of criticism. After giving the pupils appropriate excerpts from the two films in order for them to realize this difference, the teacher could further develop the discussion on propaganda or the comparison of regimes. Alternatively, the students are divided into groups as part of the didactic game, each of which draws a different event in connection with Gottwald (his childhood, election as president, relationship with Stalin, etc.). The task of each team will be to come up with two own comments on the event, which must correspond to the atmosphere of the films Klement Gottwald and The Unified in Fear – Klement Gottwald, and then present it in class. They practically try out the role of a commentator living in the time of communism and vice versa, at present, the deeper they are immersed in the issue the better they understand the difference between regimes.

Based on the above facts, we can argue that the comparison of documentary films before and after 1989 is a promise of effective work with a variety of perspectives, while introducing students to the communist regime more illustratively than just a strict explanation in the textbook. The use of documentaries then reflects the current orientation of history and thus the need to work with multimedia technologies in teaching.

An Outline of the Teaching Profession in the History of the Polish Nation

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Kuźniewska, H. Z. (2021). An Outline of the Teaching Profession in the History of the Polish Nation (Zarys zawodu nauczyciela w dziejach narodupolskiego). *Czech-Polish Historical and Pedagogical Journal*, 13/2021/1, 173–188.
<https://doi.org/10.5817/cphpj-2021-012>

The teaching profession is one of the oldest in the history of mankind and plays a very important role in society. A teacher's education and duties varied throughout history. In Poland, the process of shaping the teaching profession began with the establishment of the first parish schools in the 11th century. Since then, both the schools and the teacher were fully subordinate to the Church. The teaching profession developed slowly from the time of obtaining qualifications in parish schools until the present day, when education can be acquired in teacher training colleges or universities.

Key words: *teacher; education; Church; school; university.*

While studying the history of mankind, in every century, we come across the profession of a teacher. Even in prehistoric times, the young generation, by observing the older, more experienced members of their tribe, imitated their deeds, thus gaining some preparation for their own group life. The teacher's profession was also performed by tribal leaders and priests.¹ Hence, the teaching profession is one of the oldest ones in the world and plays a very important role in society. As you can see, in each epoch, depending on various needs, society created its own image of a teacher. When it comes to European civilization, the first patterns can be found in the writings of Plato, Aristotle and Quintilian.²

Young people were put into different jobs depending on gender. The boys learned all male jobs: hunting, cultivating the land, participating in wars. Girls, under the care of their mothers, were preparing to play the role of wife, mother and housewife.³

¹ Virchow, R. (1875). *Pierwotne ludy Europy*, Wyd. Bookseller Publishing Company, pp. 23–45.

² Królikowska, A. – Topij-Stempińska, B. (2014). Wizerunek nauczyciela we współczesnym społeczeństwie polskim, *Elementary education in theory and practice*, No. 1, Kraków: Akademia Ignatianum, p. 31.

³ Kurdybacha, Ł. (1965). *Historia wychowania*. Tom. I, Warszawa: PWN, pp. 584–589.

In Poland, the process of shaping the teaching profession began with the establishment of parish schools in the 11th century. Education was then completely subordinated to the Church.⁴

After the adoption of baptism by the Polish prince Mieszko I (922 or 954–992),⁵ one of the most important tasks of the newly emerging Polish state was the organization of the church and the construction of monasteries in the main towns. The monks and priests found refuge there and remained financially supported by the prince.

Over the first two centuries, clergy interested in a quick church career came to Poland. Unfortunately, due to the lack of knowledge of the language, the clergy could not devote themselves to the evangelization of the young Polish state. Thus, the main church positions were not filled by Poles until the 12th century. At that time, there was a shortage of educated people of Polish origin who would educate new candidates for the clergy.⁶

In the thirteenth century, the monastic movement of the Dominicans and Franciscans developed in Europe. According to the teachings of the Council of Lateran IV (1215), bishops who could not cope with their pastoral duties in the diocese were obliged to form groups of qualified monks who would teach the faithful in the churches. This situation forced the monasteries to also become schools where educated teachers, apart from elementary disciplines, also taught theology. All the monks were obliged to attend such classes with their prior.⁷ The Lateran Council of 1179 imposed the obligation to establish cathedral schools, and the maintenance of them was secured with the income of the Church. To supervise the education in his diocese, each bishop appointed a special officer called a scholastic who, apart from supervising the school entrusted to him, also issued a permit to run it. Only candidates for the clergy could study in these schools, and secular people could also receive education, but only with the support of high church figures.⁸

The first cathedral school in Poland was established in Krakow at Wawel. In the third quarter of the 12th century, the scholastic Amileusz, who would later be a teacher of the young Wincenty Kadłubek, became the head of it. Later, after completing his studies at the University of Bologna or Paris (perhaps he studied

⁴ Wołoszyn, S. (2003). *Oświata i wychowanie w epoce średniowiecza*. In *Pedagogika*, vol. I, Warszawa: PWN, pp. 91–189.

⁵ Arnold, St. (1968). *Słownik biograficzny historii powszechnej do XVII stulecia*, Warszawa, p. 323.

⁶ Kiryk, F. (1986). *Nauk przemożnych perła*. Kraków 1986: NAW, pp. 15–16.

⁷ Ibid, p. 17.

⁸ Litak, S. (2004). *Historia wychowania. Do wielkiej Rewolucji Francuskiej*, Tom. I. Kraków: WAM, p. 188.

at both universities), Kadłubek himself returned to Krakow, where he headed the cathedral school at Wawel in Krakow for 10 years until the death of the Polish king Kazimierz the Just (1138–1194) (1138–1194, 240–241) in 1194.⁹

Another cathedral school, this time in Gniezno, is associated with another important figure, i.e. with Jakub from Żnin. He was a doctor of canon law decrees, a church dignitary and archbishop of Gniezno, who lived during the reign of the Polish prince Bolesław the Wrymouth. In the mid-12th century, probably MA Colbert together with MA Stefan from Poznań developed the function of the school's rector.¹⁰

At the next cathedral school established in Wrocław, at the beginning of the 13th century, the following teachers appear in the chronicles: Marcin in 1203–1210 and Idzi in 1213–1223. Auxiliary teachers were also mentioned here, but their names were not given. Also at the beginning of the 13th century, the title of “professor iuris” or lecturer in canon law appeared for the first time in this cathedral school in Krakow, and in collegiate schools there were lecturers' titles such as: scholastic, master and his assistant sub-master. Of course, in the Middle Ages, most school teachers did not have the necessary education, and their professional statute was not yet defined by any special regulations. At that time, there was no educated teaching professional group that would have a sense of its own social and professional distinctiveness.¹¹

Despite some activity of cathedral or collegiate schools in Poland, the education of the then clergy was not satisfactory. It is known that in 1320 many priests in Poland did not graduate from any schools.¹²

According to the arrangements of the Third Lateran Councils (1179) and IV (1215), bishops were obliged to establish both cathedral and collegiate schools, as well as grammar or parish schools for children and youth from the secular state.

Swietłana Szczygielska wrote about teachers in Polish parish schools: “*teachers in rural schools were mainly church organists and servants, while in cities they were often university educated – baccalaureates, less often – masters. In monastery and cathedral schools, teachers had to be theologians and know canon law. Along with the heyday of the Krakow Academy, founded by Casimir III the Great in 1364, the level of teachers' education increased.*”¹³

⁹ Kiryk, F. (1986). *Op. cit.*, p. 13

¹⁰ *Ibid*, p. 19.

¹¹ Szczygielska, S. (2003). *Historia wychowania*, Szczecin: Pedagogium, p. 30

¹² Kiryk, F. (1986). *Op. cit.*, p. 19.

¹³ Szczygielska, S. (2003). *Historia wychowania*, Szczecin: Pedagogium, p. 53.

Over time, getting an education changed a bit as universities began to emerge in Europe. They became the first teacher training centers. The baccalaureates who left the university walls had completed the department of secondary liberal arts of the lower or higher degree as masters of the atrium.¹⁴

However, in the Middle Ages, most of those who studied at universities did not hold any title upon leaving its walls. It is known that in the 15th century only a fourth of students received the above-mentioned bachelor's degree, and the fifth had a doctoral degree.¹⁵

Teacher education in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and even until the first half of the fifteenth century, was very low. Throughout the Middle Ages, the problem of teaching staff in Poland was not solved. During the Middle Ages, teachers did not belong to any estate, even though society as a whole was divided into such classes. The teachers were people who were often itinerant, of secular origin, or mostly clergy, who did not have a good education or property.¹⁶

In 1408, a synod regarding teacher training was held in Kraków. It criticized the very low level of education, especially of those teachers who worked in villages and small towns.¹⁷ There were also criticisms for the rapid quantitative expansion of schools rather than caring about their level. At that time, the number of schools grew rapidly, and the level of education was very low.¹⁸

The situation started to change a bit during the 15th century. It was then that teachers' qualifications were improved at universities and other schools. More attention was paid to the title of teacher, which, in order to be able to teach, should have the above-mentioned master's degree or at least a bachelor's degree. Only in rural schools a teacher who did not have higher professional qualifications could still teach.¹⁹

The village teacher was first and foremost a servant of the Church, subject to the parish priest and then the dean and bishop. Usually, the parish priest would bring in a candidate who fulfilled duties in the parish school. A teacher in such a school was called the chancellor or master. Most often, the teacher also performed

¹⁴ Smołalski, A. (1997). *Wizje nauczyciela w polskiej myśli pedagogicznej do 1939 roku*. Opole: Uniwersitet Opolski, p. 33.

¹⁵ Kiryk, F. (1986). *Op. cit.*, p. 53.

¹⁶ Smołalski, A. (1997). *Wizje nauczyciela w polskiej myśli pedagogicznej do 1939 roku*. Opole: Uniwersitet Opolski, p. 30.

¹⁷ Możdżeń, S. I. (1993). *Zarys historii wychowania (cz. II – wiek XIX – do 1918 roku)*, Kielce: Wyd. Pedagogical ZNP, p. 160.

¹⁸ Kurdybacha, Ł. (1965). *Historia wychowania*. Tom. I, Warszawa: PWN, p. 17.

¹⁹ Możdżeń, S. I. (1993). *Zarys historii wychowania (cz. II – wiek XIX – do 1918 roku)*, Kielce: Wyd. Pedagogical ZNP, p. 105.

the duties of an organist or writer of the city council.²⁰ Wealthy parishes could afford a bachelor's teacher with a lower university degree.²¹ Due to their difficult financial conditions, some parishes could only afford to employ former students who, for various life reasons, could not complete their studies. However, most of the teachers employed in parish schools were pupils of the same schools in which they later found employment. It even happened that, due to the lack of a teacher in a rural parish school, a more talented craftsman or even an intelligent peasant was employed for this position, who had also graduated from this school earlier.²²

The level of parish rural schools was very low. The teacher only taught writing and reading, little Latin grammar, church singing, and altar boys. The parish priest required knowledge of the Polish language, religiosity and impeccable moral attitude from each newly admitted teacher, moreover, the teacher was obliged to submit a valid declaration of faith to his parish priest, discuss working conditions with his employer and then took up the school. It was important to have a righteous teacher who would best be celibate. The teacher assuming a position at the school was called *scholiregi*, i.e. rector. According to the custom of the time, each teacher had to wear a long clerical dress, tonsure, and could not grow a beard, although he was under no obligation to belong to the clergy. All school employees were subject to the bishop's jurisdiction.²³

Each teacher was required to attend daily services with the choir of his students. Moreover, it served as a sacristan and bell ringer.²⁴ Due to the insufficient income from the profession, the teacher had to take up additional classes as a church clerk, cantor, organist or parish priest, sometimes he worked as a city writer or clerk. More than once, he was employed as a teacher of children in private homes.²⁵

The teacher's salary depended on the local conditions in which he was found, so from 28 to 5 fines. At that time, the carpenter was earning 24 fines.²⁶ The teachers of the clergy had a better situation in material terms because they received the benefits, i.e. various Church goods. However, each teacher was completely dependent on the clerical authorities.²⁷

²⁰ Kiryk, F. (1986). *Op. cit.*, p. 25.

²¹ Kurdybacha, Ł. (1965). *Historia wychowania*. Tom. I, Warszawa: PWN, p. 438.

²² Możdżeń, S. I. (1993). *Zarys historii wychowania (cz. II – wiek XIX – do 1918 roku)*, Kielce: Wyd. Pedagogical ZNP, p. 105.

²³ Kurdybacha, Ł. (1965). *Historia wychowania*. Tom. I, Warszawa: PWN, pp. 348–349.

²⁴ Możdżeń, S. I. (1993). *Zarys historii wychowania (cz. II – wiek XIX – do 1918 roku)*, Kielce: Wyd. Pedagogical ZNP, p. 105.

²⁵ Mazur, P. (2012). *Zarys historii szkoły*, Kielce-Myślenice: WSETiNS Kielce, p. 37.

²⁶ Możdżeń, S. I. (1993). *Zarys historii wychowania (cz. II – wiek XIX – do 1918 roku)*, Kielce: Wyd. Pedagogical ZNP, pp. 104–105.

²⁷ Skoczek, J. (1965). *Rozwój szkolnictwa w Polsce średniowiecznej*. In *Historia Wychowania*, vol. I, Warszawa: PWN, p. 184.

The medieval teacher did not have an established curriculum. He taught his disciples what he had learned. Knowledge was passed on by the teacher according to a specific method that was passed down from generation to generation. The trivium (grammar, rhetoric, dialectics) and quadrivium (arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, music) programs were in force to a greater or lesser extent. Latin grammar and the moral principles were taught. In addition, religion and church singing were taught in each school.²⁸

The medieval period is the time of the teacher's power over the student. A student's knowledge depended only on the education of his teacher. The teacher was called a dominus, and each of his students was treated as a subject who should obey. The will of the teacher was the will of the student, and defying his master was considered a sin.²⁹

There was rigor and fear in the schools. The trademark of every medieval teacher was a rod. The students were very often punished. It was believed then that strict treatment of students was the best educational motivation.³⁰

In the Middle Ages, however, there was no single name for the teaching profession. In the 15th century in Poland, the following terms existed in Małopolska: *rector scholae*, *rector scholarum*, *magister scholae*, *preceptor*, *minister ecclesiae*, *moderator*, *bachelor*, *director*.³¹ The term *rector scholae* always referred to the head of the school.³²

In the areas of Warmia, Greater Poland and the Sądecki region, the teacher was referred to as *scholasticus*, *magister scholae*, *ludirector*.³³ In the lands of Silesia, the names for the teacher were as follows: *scriba*, *scholaris*, *scholarcha*, *ludirector*, *ludimagister*, *ludimoderator*, *rector scholae*, *rybaldus*, *pedagogus*, *minister ecclesia*, *kirchenschreiber*, *Schreiber*. The names *scholaris* and *scholarch* defined teachers of Polish origin, while the names *scriba*, *Schroeiber*, and *kirchenschreiber* defined the Germans.³⁴

²⁸ Kürbis, B. (2001). *Na progach historii. O świadectwach do dziejów kultury Polski średniowiecznej*, vol. II, Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, p. 184.

²⁹ Legowicz, J. (1975). *O nauczycielu. Filozofia nauczania i wychowania*, Warszawa: PWN, p. 17.

³⁰ Litak, S. (2004). *Historia wychowania. Do wielkiej Rewolucji Francuskiej*, Tom. I. Kraków: WAM, pp. 73–74.

³¹ Karbowski, A. (1898–1903). *Dzieje wychowania i szkół w Polsce*, vol. I–II, Sankt Petersburg: SPIU, p. 167.

³² Ryś, J. (1995). *Szkolnictwo parafialne w miastach małopolskich w XV w.*, Warszawa: Wyd. IHN PAN, p. 29.

³³ Kopiczko, A. (1993). *Ustrój i organizacja diecezji warmińskiej w latach 1525–1772*, Olsztyn: KBN, p. 209.

³⁴ Ostrowski, W. (1971). *Wiejskie szkolnictwo parafialne na Śląsku w drugiej połowie XVII w. w świetle wizytacji kościelnych*, Wrocław: Zakład Narodowym. Ossoliński, p. 48.

Although learning in the Middle Ages was rather not one of the most enjoyable activities undertaken by students, and the teacher was associated more with the torturer than with someone close and friendly, the medieval teacher brought some pedagogical values in the field of institutional integration of teaching and upbringing, and his authority was consolidated in the following centuries.³⁵

A teacher in Poland in the period of revival

The thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were a time when Europe began to strive to change the school system and education. At that time, attention was also paid to the child and his education. It was important to educate the student and train him/her to be a good Christian.³⁶

It was important to awaken the students' ambition and willingness to learn about the achievements of antiquity. People started to pay attention to a more gentle and understanding treatment of a child by their teacher.³⁷ The duty of the teacher was to educate the student to a moral life, and not only to educate him.³⁸ The teacher was to treat the student as his son, know his psyche, advantages and disadvantages, be with him, become a role model for him.³⁹

The education of teachers in Poland was noted by the ynod of piotrków in 1510. It recommended teachers to complete appropriate studies confirmed by an appropriate examination. In parish schools, there were still baccalaureates, masters and even doctors of philosophy.⁴⁰

In Poland, the first university was established in Krakow in 1364 by the Polish king Casimir the Great (1333–1370).⁴¹ In the Kingdom of Poland, the clergy constituted the intellectual elite of the state.⁴² The university was a corporation

³⁵ Wołoszyn-Spirka, W. (2001). *W poszukiwaniu realistycznych podstaw moralnego postępowania nauczyciela*, Bydgoszcz: Wydawnictwo Akademia Bydgoskaim. Kazimierza Wielkiego, p. 90.

³⁶ Delumeau, J. (2015). *Cywilizacja odrodzenia*. Warszawa: Aletheia, p. 317.

³⁷ Możdżeń, S. I. (1993). *Zarys historii wychowania (cz. II – wiek XIX – do 1918 roku)*, Kielce: Wyd. Pedagogical ZNP, p. 119.

³⁸ Delumeau, J. (2015). *Op. cit.*, p. 327.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Możdżeń, S. I. (1993). *Zarys historii wychowania (cz. II – wiek XIX – do 1918 roku)*, Kielce: Wyd. Pedagogical ZNP, p. 168.

⁴¹ Vetulani, A. (1970). *Początki najstarszych wszechnic środkowo – europejskich*, Wrocław-Kraków: Zakład Narodowym. Ossoliński, p. 69.

⁴² Ożóg, K. (1995). *Intelektualiści w służbie Królestwa Polskiego w latach 1306–1382*. Uniwersytet Jagielloński, p. 56.

consisting of professors (*masters, magistri*) and scholars (*scholares, students*).⁴³ The professors lectured in Latin here. Latin was the language of instruction, so knowledge was then available to everyone. Everyone could study at the university, regardless of their origin.⁴⁴ Along with the flourishing of the Krakow Academy, the level of teachers' education increased.⁴⁵

After many years, in order to raise the social rank of the professors of the Krakow Academy, in 1535 the king of Poland, Zygmunt I, granted the lecturers working there all the rights and privileges that belonged to the nobility, i.e. the right to acquire and possess landed goods and use all freedoms, honors and privileges. The right of nobility was inherited and, by order of King Zygmunt, it was to be respected by his successors.⁴⁶

Not all students graduated from university. Many, having only completed basic education, sought work in rural schools. A teacher working in rural parish nurseries was still completely dependent on his parish priest, who paid him a salary but also forced him to do work on his farm. The teacher's income was, however, very low all the time, and amounted to half the salary of a cook working in the parsonage of the parish priest.⁴⁷ Only the financial situation of the professors of the Krakow Academy changed only thanks to the Polish king Zygmunt I, the Old. He has granted privileges or nominations to professors of this university; hence, the prestige and dignity of the teaching profession. Academy professors were treated on an equal footing with senators and deputies, and high school teachers were equated with terrestrial officials. The salary of a professor at the Krakow Academy ranged from 3,000 to 6,000 Polish zlotys.⁴⁸

More attention began to be paid to the teacher's behavior towards the student. His duty was to help the student, pay attention to his living conditions, educate and teach him, be a model to follow. He was not allowed to punish, but to make efforts to reward each achievement of his pupil as often as possible.⁴⁹

⁴³ Sondel, J. (1991). *Nadanie szlachectwa profesorom Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego przez Zygmunta I*, Universitas, p. 238.

⁴⁴ Ibid, p. 121.

⁴⁵ Szczygielska, S. (2003). *Historia wychowania*, Szczecin: Pedagogium, p. 53.

⁴⁶ Sondel, J. (1991). *Op. cit.*, p. 111–129.

⁴⁷ Baszkiewicz, J. (1963). *Młodość uniwersytetu*. Warszawa: Biblioteka Wiedzy Historycznej, pp. 168–169.

⁴⁸ Buczek, K. (2004). *Zawód nauczycielski w ujęciu Hugona Kołłątaja*. In *Historia–Społeczeństwo–Edukacja*, Warszawa: Szkoła Humanistyczna im Gieysztor, Instytut Historii Nauki, pp. 199–202.

⁴⁹ Ibid, pp. 203–204.

The Czech Brethren played a special role in the field of school practice. Here, Jan Amos Komeński (1592–1670), teacher and rector of the gymnasium in Leszno Wielkopolski, played a significant role in the development of the concept of teacher education. He created the theory of lifelong education. He believed that a person who wants to be a teacher should have many skills that would encourage the student to work and gain knowledge. His work, *Pampaedia*, contains a number of duties and obligations concerning teachers: “*in order to teach young people, a teacher must be carefully selected, of no less wisdom and reliability than priests or politicians, and even more qualified, because here the foundations for the education of these dignitaries should be laid*”.⁵⁰

Many eminent personalities also spoke and wrote about the good education of teachers, incl. Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski, who in his work *On the Improvement of the Republic of Poland* claimed that only a perfect teacher is able to instill true virtues in his students (Magiera, 2006). According to him, the teaching profession was one of the most important.⁵¹ He even demanded that this profession be privileged as it was due to kings and bishops.⁵²

Another outstanding pedagogue and humanist, Erazm Gliczner (1535–1603).⁵³ He was the author of the first pedagogical book published in Polish, “*A Book on Upbringing Children*” (1558). He drew the attention of parents who gave their children to bad and incompetent teachers. According to him, the teacher should be understanding, religious, well-educated for the child, not suffering from addictions, especially drunkenness.⁵⁴ He recommended educating children in cities, where it was easier to find a good teacher, and advised parents not to spare money for their education. He set an example here for the Germans who did not spare their money on children’s education.⁵⁵

The Jesuits played a huge role in preparing teachers for their profession. It was a typical school order.⁵⁶ In Jesuit schools, teaching was taught in the mother

⁵⁰ Comenius, J. A. (1973). *Pampaedia*. Wrocław-Gdańsk: Ossolineum, pp. 110–111.

⁵¹ Korolko, M. (1978). *Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski, Humanista, pisarz*, Warszawa: Ossolineum, pp. 10–16.

⁵² Fudali, R. (2005). *Role społeczne nauczycieli. Od roli heroicznej do roli chimerycznej*, In *Edukacja-szkoła-nauczyciele. Promowanie rozwoju dziecka*. Kraków: Akademia Pedagogiczna, pp. 227–231.

⁵³ Żoładź-Strzelczyk D. (2003). Gliczner Skrzetuski Erazm. In *Encyklopedia pedagogiczna XXI wieku*, Tom. 2, Warszawa: ŻAK Wydawnictwo Akademickie, pp. 46–47.

⁵⁴ Możdżeń, S. I. (1993). *Op. cit.*, p. 133.

⁵⁵ Kot, S. (2010). *Historia wychowania od starożytnej Grecji do połowy wieku XVIII*, vol. I, Warszawa: ŻAK Wydawnictwo Akademickie, p. 255.

⁵⁶ *Ibid*, p. 230.

tongue, and lay people were also allowed to study.⁵⁷ Candidates for teachers who graduated from the Jesuit school were very well prepared for their role.⁵⁸

The teacher in the time of rebirth

The eighteenth century was called the “*pedagogical age*”. Knowledge was communicated in an understandable way. The teacher not only passed on knowledge, but tried to show students the way of healthy principles. For the student, he became someone close to whom the student could trust.⁵⁹ However, this was not the case everywhere, because in many places the rules of decent treatment of the student were lacking for a long time.

In many towns, both urban and rural, there was a shortage of buildings intended for lessons with students. Those that were intended for this task were not well suited to such an important task. Often these were places near the parish rectory, in the barn, stables, church belfry, the parish priest’s inn and even in the cemetery. Of course, these places, apart from the tavern, were often neglected, damaged and unheated. Children did not always sit on benches, they were often missing, hence, they sat on the threshing floor.⁶⁰

Thanks to better education, the teacher lived modestly but prosperously. Due to the number of teaching hours not yet established at that time, the teacher could earn some extra money as a church cantor (singer) in a church. He could also work in various professions, such as shoemaking or tailoring and trading. Work and learning with children took place only in winter then, because in summer and autumn the children had to work on their parents’ farms.⁶¹

Unfortunately, the way students were treated during classes did not change in many places in Poland. Some teachers, especially those who had no better education and were unfamiliar with moral principles, often treated their students cruelly. Severe corporal punishments were often used, such as beating with rods or thick thongs, they were forced to kneel in a corner, standing motionless for several hours.⁶²

⁵⁷ Ziółkowski, P. (2016). *Pedeutologia. Zarys problematyki*, Bydgoszcz: Uniwersytet Ekonomiczny, pp. 15–19.

⁵⁸ Magiera, E. (2006). Historyczne konteksty edukacji nauczyciela jutra. In *Nauczyciel jutra*, Toruń: Wyd. A. Marszałek, pp. 14–15.

⁵⁹ Legowicz, J. (1975). *O nauczycielu. Filozofia nauczania i wychowania*, Warszawa: PWN, p. 19.

⁶⁰ Litak, S. (2004). *Historia wychowania. Do wielkiej Rewolucji Francuskiej*, Tom. I. Kraków: WAM, pp. 167, 169–170.

⁶¹ Reboul-Scherrer, F. (2001). *Nauczyciel*. In *Człowiek romantyzmu*, Warszawa: Świat Książki, pp. 149.

⁶² Berdecka, A. – Turnau, I. (1969). *Życie codzienne w Warszawie okresu oświecenia*. Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, p. 193.

The first reform of education in Poland was undertaken by Stanisław Konarski, the provincial of the Piarist order (1700–1773). He developed the first in Poland and one of the first in the world teaching pragmatics. He presented his laws in the work titled “Regulations on Apostolic Visitation for the Polish Province of Pious Schools”.⁶³ According to Konarski, teachers should be involved in their work, educated, and educate their students to be good patriots.⁶⁴ For him, the general and theoretical education of teachers was the most important. According to his findings, a teacher should complete eight-year studies preparing him for teaching at school. The next stage was his self-education and pedagogical studies. According to Konarski, every teacher should be diligent in carrying out their duties, punctual, understanding for students and composed. His knowledge should go beyond the taught subject.⁶⁵ He forbade punishing students with beatings. He allowed the punishment of beating only when it was necessary for serious offenses and only with the consent of the prefect, i.e. the school headmaster.⁶⁶

The National Education Commission established on October 14, 1773 by the Polish king Stanisław August Poniatowski played a very important role in creating the concept of teacher training. It was the first state and supreme school authority. The funds for its activity came from the property of the Jesuit order taken over by the state. The National Education Commission was created by the first professional union in Europe associating professors and teachers of secondary schools.⁶⁷ The acts of the Commission established the teaching state, known as the academic state. In addition, the organizational foundations of teacher education were defined. Teachers were made independent of government bodies, acted freely under the Act, and teachers’ salaries and pensions were established. The teacher’s behavior towards the student is also specified, so the teacher should be understanding towards the student regardless of his or her background, gentle and should have knowledge and reason. The first teacher training seminars were established in: Kraków, Vilnius, Kielce and Łowicz. The studies lasted four years.

The professors were already allowed to marry. At schools, they were required to wear gowns or cassocks. The weekly working time of a teacher was 20–22 hours per week.⁶⁸

⁶³ Kuźmia, J. (2008). *Nauka o szkole. Studium monograficzne. Zarys koncepcji*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Impuls, p. 84.

⁶⁴ Magiera, E. (2006). Historyczne konteksty edukacji nauczyciela jutra. In *Nauczyciel jutra*, Toruń: Wyd. A. Marszałek, pp. 14–15.

⁶⁵ Ziółkowski, P. (2016). *Pedeutologia. Zarys problematyki*, Bydgoszcz: Uniwersitet Ekonomiczny, p. 15.

⁶⁶ Kot, S. (2010). *Historia wychowania od starożytnej Grecji do połowy wieku XVIII*, vol. I, Warszawa: ŻAK Wydawnictwo Akademickie, p. 313.

⁶⁷ Ziółkowski, P. (2016). *Pedeutologia. Zarys problematyki*, Bydgoszcz: Uniwersitet Ekonomiczny.

In the Duchy of Warsaw, the Teachers' Institute in Poznań played a very important role in educating teachers. Józef Jeziorowski (1767–1856) was the rector of the university at that time. He was one of the first Polish educators who got acquainted with the methods of Pestalozzi's work. The curriculum at this institution was the most modern in Europe.⁶⁹

In the territories annexed by Prussia, teachers were educated in teachers' seminaries for three years. The teacher was fully under the authority of the pastor of his employer. He did not receive a salary from the Government or a pastor, but lived off the fees charged to the parents of the children he taught. It was the duty of every teacher to complete the teachers' seminar in Berlin or, if it was impossible, to pass the appropriate exam and conduct one trial lesson with the children. At that time, not all teachers were understanding towards their students, many of them were able to abuse their pupils.⁷⁰

In the lands taken by Prussia, EwarystEstkowski founded the Pedagogical Society and the monthly "Szkoła Polska". He made efforts to introduce the history of pedagogy into teacher education programs. The Pedagogical Society tried to raise the level of teacher education.⁷¹

In the Austrian partition, the Austrian Court Commission for Studies dealt with the education level of teachers and their material life. The teachers were educated in three-year teachers' seminars. The seminars were looked after by the National School Council.⁷²

All the established teacher training seminars provided education at a level close to secondary – these were vocational and pedagogical secondary schools. However, they did not give entitlement to further university education. Future teachers learned about pedagogy, psychology, didactics, Latin, geography, history, nature, all subjects taught in elementary schools, and were also required to teach their pupils certain professions: construction, agriculture, trade.⁷³ University graduates, on the other hand, could work in secondary schools.⁷⁴

⁶⁸ Reboul-Scherrer, F. (2001). *Nauczyciel*. In *Człowiek romantyzmu*, Warszawa: Świat Książki, pp. 148.

⁶⁹ Korzeniowska, W. (2011). *Mysł pedagogiczna na przestrzeni wieków. Chronologiczny słownik biograficzny*, Kraków: Oficyna Wydawnicza „Impuls”, pp. 119–120.

⁷⁰ Kurdybacha, Ł. (1965). *Historia wychowania*. Tom. I, Warszawa: PWN, p. 31.

⁷¹ Ziółkowski, P. (2016). *Pedeutologia. Zarys problematyki*, Bydgoszcz: Uniwersytet Ekonomiczny, p. 16.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Kurdybacha, Ł. (1965). *Historia wychowania*. Tom. I, Warszawa: PWN, p. 32.

⁷⁴ Wołoszyn, S. (2003). *Oświata i wychowanie w epoce średniowiecza*. In *Pedagogika*, vol. I, Warszawa: PWN, pp. 91–189.

A teacher during World War I and in free Poland in 1918

The nineteenth century brought new organizational forms and programs for schools. In Poland, the education of teaching staff developed best in the Duchy of Poznań. Here, at the request of the Public Education Chamber, Józef Jeziorowski (1767–1856), the founder and rector of the Teachers' Institute in Poznań, prepared a "Project for a temporary instruction for teachers at the end of the good performance of their office". Like Stanisław Konarski, paid attention to the reliable fulfillment of duties. According to Jeziorowski, a teacher should be diligent, hard-working, honest, patient and have a good education.⁷⁵

Candidates for teachers graduated from teacher training seminars which were secondary vocational schools. They learned about didactics and psychology, gymnastics, playing an instrument, drawing and various practical activities. Graduates of folk schools were the students of these seminars. Teachers who wanted to work in secondary schools (junior high schools) had to graduate from universities.⁷⁶

The position of the teacher at that time changed for the better. On November 21, 1918, after the end of World War I and Poland gaining independence, the first manifesto of the Polish Government was issued. The first minister of education, Ksawery Prauss, issued a regulation that stabilized the work of a teacher with a rate of 30 hours a week.⁷⁷ The teacher, apart from his work at school, could not do anything else due to the seriousness of his profession. After working out years at school, he received a retirement pension.⁷⁸

In 1919, *the Decree on the Education of Elementary School Teachers* was established, and it established teachers' seminaries. They were necessary because there was a shortage of teachers after Poland regained independence. Candidates for teachers were admitted to the created seminars after graduating from a 7-year primary school.⁷⁹ Graduates of the seminary were temporarily employed as a teacher in a primary school, where after 2 years he passed the exam and became a teacher.⁸⁰

⁷⁵ Winiarz, A. (2009). Geneza i rozwój zainteresowań zwozem nauczyciela w kręgu cywilizacji europejskiej. In *Zawód nauczyciela, powołanie, pasja*, Lublin: Wyd. UMCS, pp. 44–56.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Michalski, S. (1982). *Dzieje szkolnictwa i oświaty na polskiej wsi do 1918 r.*, Warszawa: Wyd. People's Publishing Cooperative.

⁷⁸ Wołoszyn, S. (2003). Oświata i wychowanie w epoce średniowiecza. In *Pedagogika*, vol. I, Warszawa: PWN, p. 443.

⁷⁹ Mazur, P. (2004). *Op. cit.*, p. 124.

⁸⁰ Ziółkowski, P. (2016). *Pedeutologia. Zarys problematyki*, Bydgoszcz: Uniwersitet Ekonomiczny, pp. 22–23.

In addition to teacher training seminars, the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Public Education organized State Teachers' Courses. For general secondary school graduates it was one year of courses, and for young people with completed sixth grade of secondary school – 2 years of courses. In this way, the professional education of teachers was raised.⁸¹

In the interwar period, according to the state system of teacher education, each candidate for a secondary school teacher had to graduate from a university, and to work in a primary school one had to graduate from a teacher training college.⁸²

Despite many efforts, there was still a shortage of educated teachers in Poland. To increase their number, substitute plants, the so-called State Teacher Training Courses in which teachers were educated. Later, they were changed to the Higher Teacher Courses.⁸³

In 1930, an outstanding Polish teacher, Maria Grzegorzewska, founded the State Teachers' Institute, where young teachers could supplement their qualifications. The curriculum of these studies included such subjects as: pedagogy, philosophy, psychology, sociology, law, economics, social hygiene, and ethics.⁸⁴

Shortly before the outbreak of World War II, teachers' seminars were closed and in their place three-year pedagogical secondary schools were established, where education lasted two or three years.⁸⁵

The teacher's tasks included shaping a patriotic attitude in his pupil, trying to educate a good Pole and a man. Moreover, the teacher should be active in his environment and take an active part in public life.⁸⁶ Unfortunately, the developing education in Poland was interrupted by the Second World War 1939–1945.

After the outbreak of World War II, the main goal in all the occupied countries was devoted to education, which was limited or brutally liquidated.⁸⁷ For ideological reasons, Polish teachers were removed from work or arrested and murdered.⁸⁸ The occupier waged a cruel fight with the Polish intelligence. As Hitler himself

⁸¹ Mazur, P. (2004). *Op. cit.*, p. 123–124.

⁸² Magiera, E. (2006). Historyczne konteksty edukacji nauczyciela jutra. In *Nauczyciel jutra*, Toruń: Wyd. A. Marszałek, pp. 14–15.

⁸³ Ziółkowski, P. (2016). *Op. cit.*, p. 16.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁶ Mazur, P. (2004). *Op. cit.*, pp. 138–142.

⁸⁷ Krasuski, J. (1994) Walka o szkolnictwo i oświatę w okupowanych krajach europejskich w okresie II wojny światowej. *Studia Pedagogiczne*, Tom. 9, Kielce, p. 42.

⁸⁸ Koźmian, D. *Pedagogika i szkolnictwo w Polsce w toku przemian po drugiej wojnie światowej*. In *Historia wychowania*, Poznań: WAM, p. 123.

claimed: *Poles should be kept in stupidity and ignorance.*⁸⁹ Hence, secret education began in Poland. After the outbreak of World War II, Polish teachers of all levels of education began teaching underground. The first forms and organizational seeds of secret teaching were created through joint initiatives of young people and teachers. The activity of teachers at that time was certainly full of heroism, as it was threatened with severe repressions, including the death penalty.⁹⁰ This state of affairs continued until the end of the war.

A teacher from 1945 to the present day

After the end of World War II, there was a drastic shortage of teachers in Poland. Hence, in 1945, 4-year pedagogical secondary schools were organized for future teachers of primary education, and from 1957, 5-year pedagogical secondary schools were established. They all functioned until 1970.⁹¹ From 1954, a different type of school was established, namely a teacher training school, but these also ceased their activity after 1965, and in their place, teachers were educated at the Higher Teachers' Schools. In 1973–1974, they were transformed into higher education schools or branches of universities.⁹²

Until 1990, teachers could study in schools at the secondary and incomplete tertiary level, but they were also abolished, and in their place 3-year public and non-public teacher training colleges were established. Since 2003, these colleges have been transformed into higher vocational schools.⁹³

Teacher who currently works in a contemporary Polish school must be thoroughly educated both in an interdisciplinary and innovative spirit. It is his duty to listen to the student, encourage him to do research, advise him and arouse his curiosity. Well-planned work is required of the teacher, activating students, noticing and emphasizing their abilities and achievements. The teacher should give a sense of security.⁹⁴

⁸⁹ Chrobaczyński, J. (2000). *Tajna szkoła w okupowanym Krakowie 1939–1945*. Krakow: Wydawnictwo Literary.

⁹⁰ Czekański, R. (2015). *Tajna Organizacja Nauczycielska (TON), jej zadania i wpływ na kształtowanie się konspiracyjnego szkolnictwa w Polskim Państwie Podziemnym*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Platan, p. 21.

⁹¹ Magiera, E. (2006). Historyczne konteksty edukacji nauczyciela jutra. In *Nauczyciel jutra*, Toruń: Wyd. A. Marszałek, pp. 14–15.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Ziółkowski, P. (2016). *Pedeutologia. Zarys problematyki*, Bydgoszcz: Uniwersytet Ekonomiczny, pp. 23–24.

⁹⁴ Kwaśnica, R. (2006). Wprowadzenie do myślenia o nauczycielu. In *Pedagogika*. Tom. III, Warszawa: PWN, pp. 298–301.

In our time, the requirements for a teacher are increasing, so preparation for this profession must be careful. The basic condition is his professional education and continuous improvement of his profession.⁹⁵

Currently, teachers are educated at universities, 5-year MA and 3-year vocational (BA) higher education schools and can continue their education at 2-year supplementary studies.⁹⁶

Modern times have brought a new perspective on the teaching profession through psychology. The scope of empirical knowledge about the teacher, his personality, talent and educational abilities was expanded. The teacher is required to be passionate and driven about ones profession, be able to approach the student individually and take into account students' interests and abilities. Moreover, the teacher should constantly improve oneself, because this profession is a real mission.⁹⁷

⁹⁵ Szuman, S. (1947). *Talent pedagogiczny*, Katowice: Wyd. Nawrocki.

⁹⁶ Ibid. pp. 123–124.

⁹⁷ Banach, Cz. (2004). Nauczyciel. In *Encyklopedia pedagogiczna XXI. stulecia*. Tom. III, Warszawa, ŻAK, 548.

On the Need for Practical Knowledge of Slavic Languages¹, or Pre-War Polish Language Textbooks for the Czechs²

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Rusin Dybalka, R. (2021). On the Need for Practical Knowledge of Slavic Languages, or Pre-War Polish Language Textbooks for the Czechs. *Czech-Polish Historical and Pedagogical Journal*, 13/2021/1, 189–199.

<https://doi.org/10.5817/cphpj-2021-013>

The paper presents an excerpt from the ongoing research of the beginnings of teaching Polish in Czechia. Its main focus is to analyse two textbooks for learning Polish by Iza Šaunová, designed for Czech students and published in the 1930s. The first one is called Polština pro každého (Prague 1930), the second – Mluvnice jazyka polského (Prague 1934), written by Šaunová together with a great Polish Slavicist, T. Lehr-Splawiński. The paper discusses both the structure of analysed publications, the contents, as well as applied teaching methods. Presented textbooks and their authors thus provide insight not only into the history of teaching Polish in Czechia, but also into the Czech and Polish relations in the pre-war times.

Keywords: Polish language in the Czech Republic; textbooks for learning Polish; Iza Šaunová

The history of teaching Polish in Czechia has two basic dimensions that mutually affect one another. The first one is the interest in the language resulting, in the simplest of terms, from the Czech and Polish proximity. The proximity here refers not only to the origins of both languages, but also to all social, cultural, historical and economic aspects related therewith. The second dimension is of an institutional nature and relates to the fact that Polish was included in the official curriculum. Naturally the Zaolzie region has always been at the forefront here, as this is where the legendary Juliusz Słowacki Polish Grammar School was founded in the town

¹ An excerpt from the introduction by the editor, M. Weingart to the textbook: Lehr-Splawiński, T. – Šaunová, I. (1934). *Mluvnice jazyka polského*. Praha: Vesmír, p. 1.

² The paper herein was prepared as part of the grant funded project: Czech University Polish Studies before 1939 (from polonophilia to systematic research on the history of the Polish language and literature), The Czech Science Foundation, No. 19-09017S.

of Orłowa in 1909, and after 1918 there were as many as 101 primary and 5 secondary schools with Polish as the medium of instruction³ here. In 1923 they were joined by the first Institute of the Polish Language and Literature at the Charles University in Prague, which has been operating continually for almost 100 years now.

The history of teaching Polish in Czechia has been documented by a number of dedicated publications, where textbooks play the crucial role. The first textbook ever was written by D. A. Špachta⁴ and was first published in 1837. It was the first book from a larger series of publications in numbers that today might come as a surprise. The paper herein will study two such textbooks⁵ that were published roughly at the same time (in the 1930s), and which also share the author, namely Iza Šaunová. The first one is called *Polština pro každého*,⁶ published in Prague in 1930, the second – *Mluvnice jazyka polského*,⁷ which came out 4 years later, is the result of common endeavours of Šaunová and a great Polish Slavist, T. Lehr-Splawiński.⁸

One-woman institution

Izydora Šaunová, née Horowicz (12 February 1896 – 26 May 1960)⁹ was very well known in the pre-war Czech and Polish circles, where she remained active for more than 40 years. A Pole born and raised in Lviv, who came to Prague in 1919 for

³ For more on the topic of teaching Polish in the Zaolzie region see e.g.: Macura, J. (1998). *Z dziejów szkolnictwa polskiego na Zaolziu*. Czeski Cieszyń: Towarzystwo Nauczycieli Polskich w Republice Czeskiej.

⁴ Špachta, D. A. (1837). *Pokus Čecha o naučení se počátkům gramatiky jazyka polského, který s vlastenci svými sdílí Dominik Špachta, farář v Kolči*. Praha: Wáclaw Špinka.

⁵ Materials presented in this paper are a fragment of a more extensive research of Polish textbooks for Czech students published until 1939. See also: Rusin Dybalska, R. (2020). “Polish for everyone”. A few notes on the oldest textbooks for learners of Polish in the Czech Republic. *Annales UMCS sectio N Educatio Nova*, 5, pp. 427–440.

⁶ Šaunová, I. (1930). *Polština pro každého*. Praha: Masarykův Lidovýhonný Ústav.

⁷ Lehr-Splawiński, T. – Šaunová, I. (1934). *Mluvnice jazyka polského*. Praha: Vesmír.

⁸ These are not all Polish language textbooks published by Šaunová. Due to the project timeframe the following publications have been excluded from the analysis: Šaunová, I. (1958). *Jazyk polský. Příručka pro vysoké školy*. Praha: Státní pedagogické nakladatelství.

⁹ For more on the topic see also e.g.: Benešová, M. – Rusin Dybalska, R. – Zakopalová, L. (2013). *90 let pražské polonistiky – dějiny a současnost / 90 lat praskiej polonistyki – historia i współczesność*. Praha: Univerzita Karlova, pp. 140–142; Ubrańczyk, S. (1960). Šp. Iza Saunova. *Język polski*, 4 (40), pp. 306–08; Baron, R. (2013). *Ambasadorowie wzajemnego zrozumienia. Niedocenieni twórcy pomostów między polską i czeską kulturą (XIX–XXI w.)*, Toruń: Adam Marszałek, pp. 176–182.

personal reasons. She followed her husband, Josef Šaun, who just like his wife was an associate of the Academic Association of the Friends of Poland (AKPP). In Prague Šaunová completed her German studies that she had commenced in Lviv and defended her doctoral thesis in Slavonic studies on German influence on the literary work of Adam Mickiewicz. She used her knowledge and command of German and Polish languages¹⁰ in her editorial, proofreading, translation and, most of all, in her popularizing and teaching work. Before she began her over 20-year-long career as an associate professor at the Institute of Polish Studies at the Charles University in Prague in 1930, she used to teach in secondary schools in Prague and on courses of Polish organized by AKPP.

Both her students and her associates considered her to be an excellent teacher of Polish. Apart from the textbooks discussed or mentioned herein, she penned various compositions for reading practice in Polish¹¹, she worked with authors of Polish–Czech dictionaries (J. Fuhrich,¹² E. Votoček¹³) and published entries in the *Ottův slovník naučný encyclopaedia*.¹⁴ The latter tackled not only education, but also modern Polish cultural life, because Iza Šaunova was, first and foremost, an activist. She used to organize trips, visits of guests from Poland, to help Poles, also financially, thus earning a title of a non-designated ambassador of the Polish culture. Her life and her work in the area of Polish and Czech affairs is best summarized in the words of a great Polish linguist, professor S. Ubrańczyk: *After her death it will not be easy to find a person who would represent such neat combination of exquisite intelligence, education, practical competence, active kindness and love for the Polish culture*.¹⁵

¹⁰ In 1953 Šaunová became an assistant professor and a teacher of Czech as a foreign language at the Institute of the Czech Language, General Linguistics and Phonetics at the Charles University, which only proves that her command of Czech was equal to her command of Polish and German.

¹¹ Beringer, A. – Šaunová, I. – Zpěvak, F. (1929). *Čítanka srbskochorvatských, ruských a polských textů*, Praha: Státní nakladatelství v Praze.

¹² Fuhrich, J. (1925). *Diferenční slovník polsko-český*. Praha: J. Fuhrich.

¹³ The Polish - Czech dictionary was submitted for publication in print in 1939, however the war made the printing impossible.

¹⁴ A Czech popular encyclopaedia published from 1888 till 1908. It was published by a bookseller, Jan Otto. After his death the project continued from 1930 until 1943 (*Ottův slovník naučný nové doby*).

¹⁵ Ubrańczyk, S. (1960). Šp. Iza Saunova. op.cit. p.308.

Polština pro každého

The first analysed textbook is very special – it is a teach-yourself companion for systematic self-study for students who are supervised and guided by the author. The publication came as one of the volumes in the series of printed correspondence courses *Domácí učení* (English: *Study at home*). It consists of 45 units with two introductions. The first one was written by Marian Szykowski.¹⁶ Professor Szykowski discusses not only the advantages of the practical command of Polish, but also encourages readers to consider studying at the first Institute of Polish Studies in Czechia, arguing that the textbook developed by an author with such extensive teaching experience might be helpful in getting accepted for the studies. The second introduction was written by the author. She starts with a short presentation of the Polish language and lists the advantages of having a good command of Polish, but she mainly introduces her publication and explains how to work with it for best results. According to the author, the textbook will not be enough to master the language, however, it can serve as a solid basis for further efforts in this area. The practical nature of the information it presents allows the student to learn the informal language, but also to study the reality of everyday life in Poland and Polish geography. Finally, the author recommends specific study methods, which include copying and inflecting new vocabulary, writing and reading aloud, completing recommended exercises in writing. She believes it is good to listen to Polish radio broadcasts and to consult a Polish friend in the matters of correct pronunciation.

The grammar is presented here according to the parts of speech. The author discusses most extensively the verb (17 units: 4, 7, 10, 23–33, 36–37, 39), the noun is the second most thoroughly covered part of speech (7 units: 6, 8–9, 11–14) while the numerals come in third (4 units: 5, 20–22). Pronouns, prepositions, adjectives and adverbs are all discussed in two units each (18–19; 43–44; 15–16 and 34–35 respectively). The last two parts of speech are additionally presented in a single, common unit about comparing (unit 17). The final discussed part of speech, namely the interjection, was covered as part of another unit dedicated to verbs (unit 30). The author devoted first three opening units to the topic of Polish phonetics (pronunciation, spelling, stress). In the final part of the book there is a set of 3 units

¹⁶ Marian Szykowski (1883–1952) – a literature theorist, scholar researching Czech and Polish literary influence, the first professor of the Institute of Polish Language and Literature at the Charles University in Prague, for more on the topic see also: Baron. R. (2019). *Misja życia. Praski polonista Marian Szykowski (1883–1952) a idea polsko-czeskiego zbliżenia na polu kultury*. Warszawa-Praga: IH PAN – Historický ústav.

(unit 40 to 42) discussing syntax. It is however worth mentioning that notes on this topic are available also in other units as extra input (e.g. unit 19, 34, 36, 38, 45). The final unit 45 is different in nature. It is dedicated to private and work correspondence with additional relevant information about Polish spelling and writing rules (e.g. capitalisation, small letters, word division).

According to the rule adopted and declared in the introduction, the theory is presented from the practical perspective, which is reflected on many levels. The first such lever, and the most obvious one, is when she adds practice work to introduced rules. In the beginning there are some exercises on correct pronunciation, supported by the transcription of more challenging words, followed by copying, inflecting, filling in correct forms and memorizing activities. From unit 2 on there is also translation practice available. From the very beginning all activities are adapted to the needs of the Czech speaking audience. More challenging words are translated, similarities (false friends) are highlighted, there are also lists of vocabulary items that can prove problematic for various reasons. Another level of linguistic practicality is reflected in how the presented content is combined. For example, the discussion of cardinal and ordinal numbers is included in the same unit as principles for telling time and age, while a set of reading activities on Polish geography is preceded by notes on conjugation of verbs *iść* (to go) and *jechać* (to drive, ride, go). The last example refers to yet another level, namely the overall design of grammar instructions. As mentioned above, the author starts with pronunciation rules. They are followed by the verb *być* (to be) and cardinal and ordinal numbers. The subsequent section deals with nouns however, it is interrupted three times with information about selected verbs (the already mentioned *iść* and *jechać*) or groups of verbs (verbs ending with *-ać* or *-ić/-yć*). Next come adjectives, pronouns and numerals, and only then the section on conjugation is presented, only this time it also includes detailed explanation of formation and division into classes. The section dedicated to verbs discusses questions regarding adverbs and conjunctions as well. The next level of practicality is demonstrated by the fact that the book is meant for self-study, and thus there is a bulk of extra revision activities that the student is supposed to send to his or her teacher as homework. Five sets of such exercises can be found in units 9, 18, 27, 36 and 45 respectively. Sets of 5 exercises are designed for revision and consolidation of covered topics.

There is a special concern about the student that permeates the practice material. The author is curious about the progress in the study process – *Do you remember to palatalize your consonants before “i”?* – and gives some practical advice – *Remember to pronounce each syllable accurately!* – or motivates the students to further study – *Groups of consonants are difficult to pronounce, but if you pay attention to the pronunciation of each individual consonant, you will see that*

*although it seems strange, yet it is not too difficult for the tongue.*¹⁷ She builds her authority also by introducing notes to accompany the instruction, some of which are even marked as important. The last identified level contributing to the practical nature of the discussed publication are the non-linguistic materials included therein. The author shares with her students not only the secrets and intricacies of the Polish language, but also reveals Poland to the them, showing many places that in her eyes are worth knowing. These include such cities as Cracow, Warsaw, Gdynia, Lodz, Lviv or Vilnius, but also specific places, such as the Poznań Zoo or the Central Institute for Physical Education in Bielany (Warsaw). She takes the students for some real-life tours – to the hair-dresser's, travel agent's, to see a tailor or buy some cold cuts with the help of two guides, naturally a Pole and a Czech, Tadeusz from Poznań and Josef from Prague respectively. In this part the textbook offers extra poems, proverbs, aphorisms, jokes and songs, including the Polish national anthem.

Mluvnice jazyka polského

The second of the discussed textbooks was prepared by I. Šaunová in cooperation with a great Polish linguist and Slavist, T. Lehr-Splawiński.¹⁸ But the scale of the Prague–Cracow, or rather Charles University–Jagiellonian University partnership was much larger. Its institutional framework was set by both universities, but the mutual contacts played an equally important role here. The co-author of the discussed textbook is a perfect example here. The diverse and broad academic interests of Lehr-Splawiński included also the Czech language that he discussed extensively in his numerous papers and publications.¹⁹ He was also a member of

¹⁷ All examples taken from page 10.

¹⁸ Tadeusz Lehr-Splawiński (1891–1965) – a linguist, Slavist, professor, dean and the chancellor of the Jagiellonian University in Cracow. He was also an associate professor at the Poznań University and John Casimir University in Lviv. He studied Slavonic languages and Indo-European linguistics. The author of approx. 400 papers in dialectology, etymology, comparative grammar of Slavonic languages, history of the Polish language, onomastics, as well as university textbooks and dictionaries. The founder and member of many Polish and international scholar societies (e.g. PAU, PAN, Slavonic Institute in Prague, Learned Society in Lviv). For more on the topic see also e.g.: Urbańczyk, S. (1972). Lehr-Splawiński. In: E. Rostworowski (ed.), *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy Im. Ossolińskich, XVII, p. 6–8.

¹⁹ See e.g.: Lehr-Splawiński, T. – Piwarski K. – Wojciechowski, Z. (1947). *Polska-Czechy. Dziesięć wieków sąsiedztwa*, Katowice-Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Instytutu Śląskiego; Lehr-Splawiński, T. (1950). *Gramatyka języka czeskiego*, Wrocław-Warszawa: Książnica-Atlas; Lehr-Splawiński, T. – Stieber, Z. (1957). *Gramatyka historyczna języka czeskiego*. Warszawa: PWN.

the Slavonic Institute (Slovanský ústav) and the Royal Bohemian Society of Sciences (Královská česká vědecká společnost). For his services to the development of Czech and Polish cooperation he received the Commander's Cross of the Czechoslovak Order of the White Lion in 1929, while the Charles University celebrated his work by awarding him the *honoris causa* doctorate.²⁰

The examined textbook is one of the two foreign language versions²¹ of the book titled *Gramatyka języka polskiego (Polish grammar)*,²² published in 1927 and written by T. Lehr-Spławiński and R. Kubiński.²³ The book was well received by linguists who appreciated its practical approach and the student-friendly presentation of the content. It had 7 editions altogether. And the very fact that it was published also in other languages confirms not only its popularity, but also bears witness to its value. When compared to the original, the Czech version maintained the same structure of contents, the authors often used the same examples and compositions. However, after a more detailed study it becomes evident that the book was carefully customized to the needs of the Czech audience, which most probably is the doing of Šaunová.

The book was published as the first title in the series of *Practical Guides to Slavonic Languages*.²⁴ In his preface, the series editor Miloš Weingart²⁵ reflects on the undeniable need for the practical knowledge of Slavonic languages and the lack of teaching materials to fulfil this need. At the same time, he provides a clear definition of the basic notions applied in the methodological framework. Each book is to be developed independently and introduce the language in comparison with Czech, while the basic structure will always include grammar rules, because without internalizing them it is impossible to learn any language, even your mother

²⁰ For more on the topic see also Zaręba, A. (1966). Tadeusz Lehr-Spławiński jako badacz języków słowiańskich. *Zeszyty Naukowe Wyższej Szkoły Pedagogicznej w Katowicach, Prace Językoznawcze*. III (31), pp. 151–164.

²¹ The second language version, Lithuanian, was published in cooperation with H. Szwejkowska in 1935 in Kaunas.

²² Lehr-Spławiński, T. – Kubiński, R. (1927). *Gramatyka języka polskiego. Podręcznik szkolny. Z 19 rycinami w tekście, tablicą i mapą narzeczy*. Lwów–Warszawa–Kraków: Wydawnictwo Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich.

²³ Roman Kubiński (1886–1957) – a Polish studies scholar, director and teacher in secondary schools in Warsaw, ministerial instructor on readers and recommended readings for secondary schools.

²⁴ Next announced publications that were to follow in the newly launched series included books for the study of Russian, Serbo-Croatian, Bulgarian and Ukrainian.

²⁵ Miloš Weingart (1890–1939) – a professor of Slavonic comparative linguistics and Old Slavonic at the Comenius University in Bratislava and the Charles University in Prague.

tongue. The second short foreword presents the textbook itself. It includes profiles of the authors and main differences between Czech and Polish languages that may prove to be challenging for the reader. It also states that the book is designed not only for future university students of languages, and thus the authors deliberately limit the specialised information about history or etymology of the Polish language. For those who want to dig a little deeper, a list of 25 Czech-Polish and Polish-German dictionaries is provided at the end of the foreword for reference.

The content was divided into three main sections: *I. Głosownia* (English: *On Phonics*), *II. Nauka o wyrazach* (English: *On Words*), *III. Wiadomości ze składni* (English: *On Syntax*). Each section presents the content in the format of a lecture. Only in section I, reading activities based on 5 selected literary works can be found.²⁶ The differences between sections are immediately clear when one compares their length. The section dedicated to the phonetic features of the language is the shortest and includes merely 10 pages with activities (pp.7 to 17). It provides instruction on pronunciation and notation of all Polish sounds, the stress and sound alterations. Syntax is covered on 17 pages (pp. 80 to 97). It begins with the discussion of elements of sentence construction, namely the subject, predicate, object, attribute, adverbial (discussion and usage examples), prepositions taking one, two or three case forms, coordinating and subordinate conjunctions plus two parts of speech, i.e. the interjection and the particle (functional word). The final part is dedicated to formation of subordinate clauses. The section 'On words' is the longest, as consists of 61 pages (pp. 18–79) divided into two parts: 'Word formation' and 'Inflection'. The first part begins with a short introduction of basic terms, such as *root*, *prefix*, *affix*, *simple words and compounds* followed by the presentation according to speech parts. Authors discuss suffixes used to form nouns, adjectives, pronouns, numerals, verbs and adverbs. The last paragraph covers the topic of prefixes. Inflection notes start in the unit on declension. It begins with the discussion of the noun (overview of forms, inflection patterns, two for each gender, the remains of dual forms, pluralia tantum, inflection of words of foreign origin), followed by the adjective (overview of forms, inflection patterns, comparisons), the pronoun (inflection of personal and generic pronouns) and numerals (inflection of cardinal, ordinal numbers, notes on other types of numerals). In the next part dedicated to the conjugation the verb is presented as follows: stem of the verb, singular (simple) forms, impersonal forms, complex forms, conjugation patterns (active and passive voice, all tenses, moods and conditionals, participles), athematic verbs.²⁷ At the end of the book

²⁶ All texts are available in original and transcribed.

²⁷ The overview of the verb division into conjugation groups is also available in a table added as an insert to the book.

the student will find a list of 63 verbs that can be especially challenging for Czechs together with selected, more difficult forms.

Despite initial provisos, sometimes the instruction that concentrates, as suggested, on the literary language, is enhanced with notes on the informal language or with some fun facts from the history or etymology. *There are some adjectives which in the 1 case have zero suffix forms, e.g. wesół, additionally to the form "wesoly". These are old nominal forms inflected according to the noun pattern; Informal language uses only 3rd person forms.* At every turn the student is confronted with comparisons to Czech – ś, ź;²⁸ *these two consonants are pronounced similarly to the Czech š, ž, but softer; In Polish like in Czech there are many nouns that have only the plural form, e.g. dzieje, więzy, nożyce).*

The final fourth section of the textbook presents reading compositions consisting of fragments of 7 literary works. Each fragment includes a short profile of the author together with some more challenging vocabulary items. As it is noted in the introduction, the works by E. Orzeszkowa, H. Sienkiewicz, S. Żeromski, or W.S. Reymont are by no means a representative selection, but were included in order to demonstrate specific linguistic notions.

Presented publications make an intriguing study material for a number of reasons. Theoretically each is dedicated to the same audience, namely Czechs, secondary school or university students who want to learn Polish. And the Czech-orientation is clear through and through. It originates from and is based on the differences between Polish and Czech, discussed to a greater or lesser extent, and is further reflected by ubiquitous references to the Czech language, translation of more challenging vocabulary items or the transcription of problematic words, by notes on topics that are difficult for Czechs, sometimes presented in separate paragraphs.

Each of the discussed books highlights their practical dimension. It is much clearer in the first case, as the self-study format leaves more room for manoeuvre. The content is divided into sections, units, revision exercises, homework assignments which are all meant to motivate students to work systematically supervised as a rule by the teacher, which essentially means they should get some feedback on their efforts. The layout of the book is not only coherent, and theory aptly combined with practice, but also it supports proper focus and motivation of the student, and tries to make the grammatical topics more attractive by adding real life information about the country whose language the student wants to learn. This awareness of

²⁸ op. cit. p. 7.

the importance of the context is definitely the result of the extensive teaching experience of the author and demonstrates her attempts to break with the predominant teaching methodology of her times.

The practical dimension in the second analysed textbook is best seen in the selection of the content which, according to the authors may prove to be most useful for (a) a foreigner, (b) a Czech. It becomes clear at first sight that grammar rules play the key role here, which is of course in line with the adopted rationale and format. The layout of the content is designed as an open format, where from the very beginning inquisitive students receive tips and instruments for further self-study efforts. These can be anything from specific recommended readings to notes skilfully added to the lecture or presented as footnotes. Every choice is always a question of compromise and not all suggested solutions seem obvious. In this specific case, according to the grammar-translation teaching method applied at the time, it is pronunciation topics that got brushed off.²⁹ The section on syntax also raises some reservations. The *notes* as the title already suggests include a paragraph on interjections and particles, while the discussion of compound and complex sentences is divided into two separate notes: the subordinate clause is presented in a separate paragraph, while coordinate clauses are included in the discussion of coordinating conjunctions only as examples. The presentation of content in both examined textbooks makes them complementary with each other and thus they can be approached as elements of one whole, which is actually suggested by the author in one of her prefaces.

The textbooks in question are appealing from the obvious historical point of view. In terms of historical value of the grammar content the second title is definitely more interesting. For example, in the most extensive section dealing, as the title suggests, with words, the content on word formation is presented based on a number of key notions. The basic division is made according to suffixes typical for individual speech parts. In case of the noun, however, they are presented not according to individual morphological categories, but according to gender. The discussion of inflection of adjectives includes additionally the phenomenon of mixing case endings of the instrumental and locative case in masculine and neuter genders (*prostym* or *prostem*, *wielkim* or *wielkiem*). In the discussion of inflecting verbs, on the other hand, the authors identify two conjugations (stem-changing in the 1st person singular to *-ę*, and with unchanged stem – 1st person singular to *-m*), divided into two classes depending on the ending of the stem. Each class consists of two clusters: a common root and a different root cluster, further broken down

²⁹ It is worth noting however that in the first of the two analysed publications the content is presented in a much greater detail.

into groups depending on the ending in the future tense from 1 to 5. This complex hierarchy is simplified to a single level in the self-study companion, where the author presents conjugation patterns for verbs by introducing 6 classes depending on the ending of the root in the infinitive and present tense. Both publications mention also the past perfect tense forms with the suggestion that they are not widely used any more. As far as moods are concerned, there are 4 identified in the books, namely the indicative, conditional, imperative and indefinite, i.e. the infinitive.

In both textbooks examples of old linguistic terminology can be found. The authors e.g. apply the term *rodzaj żeńsko-rzeczowy* (niemęskoosobowy) for the non-masculine gender, *przedmiot* (dopełnienie) for object, *przyrostek fleksyjny* (końcówka) for ending or *zdanie poboczne* (podrzędne) for the subordinate clause. In some cases, both terms are used which is the harbinger of the imminent switch to only one of them, e.g.: *partykuły – wyrazki* (for particles), *okolicznik – określenie przysłówkowe* (for adverbial modifiers). As far as adverbial modifiers are concerned, the authors identify merely 6 types thereof, namely of time, place, manner, reason, purpose, degree.

But it is not only the terminology that changes. So do the culture-specific realities, which means that some presented situations, e.g. the dialogue *W wędliniarni* (In a deli shop, unit 44) or sightseeing in Polish cities of that time, such as Lviv (unit 41) or Vilnius (unit 44) become a real treat not only from the linguistic point of view.

As it was already mentioned in the introduction, the two analysed publications are merely two representatives of the larger series of textbooks, dictionaries or grammar companions that were dedicated to the study of Polish in the discussed period. They unarguably demonstrate the popularity of the language and are a proof of its popularisation in various forms. As the discussed cases show, presentation of specific topics was not only based on and stemmed from the personal experience of the authors or their scholar contacts, but also from Polish publications. And thus, the discussed textbooks become an intriguing study material both from the perspective of the Polish language teaching history in Czechia and the perspective of mutual Czech and Polish relations.

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AUTHOR GUIDELINES

The Czech-polish Historical and Pedagogical Journal is an international academic journal edited by the Faculty of Education of Masaryk University. Articles must be written in English. Editorial correspondence should be sent electronically to the Deputy editor at lunerova@ped.muni.cz.

The articles are anonymously reviewed by two reviewers and based on the evaluation the editorial board gives the articles into press. The editorial board announces the results of the review process to the author in the shortest possible time.

Sample Instructions for Authors on References

1. Book

a. Book (one author) *Format:*

Author. (Year of publication). *Book title*. Place of publication: Publisher.

Example:

Vaculík, J. (2014). *Reemigrace a repatriace Čechů a Slováků po první světové válce*. Brno: Masarykova univerzita.

b. Book (two or more authors)

Format:

Author1, Author2 & Author3. (Year of publication). *Book title*. Place of publication: Publisher.

Example:

Čapka, F. – Slezák, L. – Vaculík, J. (2005). *Nové osídlení pohraničí českých zemí*. Brno: CERM.

c. Book chapter or article in an edited book

Format:

Author(s) of chapter. (Year of publication). Chapter title. In Editors of the book (Eds.), *Book title* (Chapter page range). Place of publication: Publisher.

Example:

Dmytruk, S. (2013). Čechy na pívdní Ukrajině. In L. Muchina, J. Vaculík (Eds.) *Istoriya čechiv v Ukrajině*, Kijiv: Česká nacionalna rada Ukrajině, 316–365.

2. Article

Journal Article (one author)

Format

Author. (Year of publication). Article title. *Journal Title*. *Volume* (issue).

Example:

Štěpánek, K. (2011). History of Silesia in 17th–20th Centuries and Current Textbooks of History. *Czech-Polish Historical and Pedagogical Journal* 3/1, 13–18.

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Website (information for authors, content of current issues):
<http://www.ped.muni.cz/cphjournal>

CZECH-POLISH HISTORICAL AND PEDAGOGICAL JOURNAL

Volume 13/2021/1

Published: bi-annually

Publishers's Address

Masaryk University

Žerotínovo nám. 617/9, 602 00 Brno, Czech Republic

Bus. ID: 00216224

Data of Issue: 30. 6. 2021

ISSN 1803-6546 print

ISSN 2336-1654 on-line

MK ČR E 19444

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