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ARTICLES

**Diplomatic, Pedagogical and Scientific Activities
of Stepan Smal-Stotsky in Czechoslovakia in 1918–1938**

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The article analyzes the activities of famous Ukrainian scientist and public figure Stepan Smal-Stotsky during his emigration to Czechoslovakia in 1918–1938. It is noted that now S. Smal-Stotsky had become a diplomat for the first time as the ambassador of the Western Ukraine People's Republic in Prague. In cooperation with the Ukraine People's Republic (UPR) embassy, he managed to implement a number of events to promote Ukrainian aspirations. From 1921 to 1937, S. Smal-Stotsky taught the Ukrainian Language and Literature at the Ukrainian Free University in Prague. There had been a lot of success in this field, he managed to educate an entire galaxy of eminent scientists in linguistics. The article notes that S. Smal-Stotsky was more concerned in scientific terms with the issues of the origin of the Ukrainian language, literary studies of the works of Taras Shevchenko at that time. He initiated a number of discussions on the issues of Ukrainian spelling, the ancient period of Ukrainian history. S. Smal-Stotsky out a great deal of organizational and social work at that time. He initiated two Ukrainian research and scientific congresses in Prague and headed the Museum of the Liberation Struggle of Ukraine.

Key words: Smal-Stotsky; Czechoslovakia; Western Ukraine People's Republic; Ukrainian emigration; Ukrainian Free University

Introduction

Stepan Smal-Stotsky, a well-known Ukrainian scientist, politician, public and cultural figure, lived a long, eventful life. He was born on January 9, 1859 in Galicia. However, since the age of 19, he connected his life with Bukovyna, where he had studied and worked for more than 36 years and considered it his native land.

He did a lot to popularize the Ukrainian language, education, and culture. His scientific works are devoted to the issues of Ukrainian philology, the creative works of I. Kotliarevsky, Y. Fedkovych, I. Franko, T. Shevchenko. He was one of the generators of the introduction of phonetic spelling in the Ukrainian language and together with T. Gartner had become the creator of many terms of the Ukrainian language. He wrote one of the very first works on the history of Ukrainians in Bukovyna from the time of Kyivan Rus to the late 19th century, and in 1918, he became one of the 12 founding academicians of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences.

At the same time, S. Smal-Stotsky was an active politician, a member of the Austrian parliament and the Bukovyna Sejm, Deputy Regional Marszałek of Bukovyna. Dozens of Ukrainian cultural, educational, scientific, sports, and educational societies were founded in Bukovyna with his participation. He was rightly considered the leader of the Ukrainian national revival in Bukovina in the late 19th – early 20th century.

However, for the last twenty years of his life, S. Smal-Stotsky had been forced to live outside of his native Bukovyna, in Czechoslovakia. This article is dedicated to the mentioned period in the life of this outstanding figure.

It is worth noting that there is already a lot of works about the life and work of S. Smal-Stotsky¹. However, these works either did not mention anything at all

1 Botushanskyi V. (2010). *Stepan Smal-Stotskyy – vydatnyy diyach Bukovyny: shtrykhy do portreta (Stepan Smal-Stotsky – an Outstanding Figure of Bukovyna: Portrait Details)*. Chernivtsi: Yavorsky; Hutsulyak T. Prohnostychni pohlyady S. Smal-Stotskoho na ukraïnistyku v konteksti orhanizatsiyi ta zavdan slavistychnoyi nauky (S. Smal-Stotsky's Prognostic Views on Ukrainian Studies in the Context of the Organization and Tasks of Slavic Science). *Naukovyy visnyk Chernivetskoho universytetu (Sloyanska filolohiya)*. 2010. CH. 496/497. s. 3–9; Danlyenko V., Dobrzhanskyi O. (1996). Akademik Stepan Smal-Stotskyy: zhyttya i diyalnist (Academician Stepan Smal-Stotsky: Life and Activities). Kyiv; Chernivtsi, 207 s.; Dobrzhanskyi O. Stepan Smal-Stotskyy i yoho «Bukovynska Rus» (Stepan Smal-Stotsky and His «Bukovyna Rus»). *Zelena Bukovina*. 1996. CH. 3/4. s. 154–159; 1997. CH. 1. s. 154–159; Dobrzhanskyi O. Deyaki aspekty vzayemyn I. Franka ta S. Smal-Stotskoho (Some Aspects of Relationships between I. Franko and S. Smal-Stotskyi). *Pytannya istoriyi Ukrayiny*. 2006. T. 9. s. 89–94; Kravchenyuk O. Stepan Smal-Stotskyy i Vatroslav Yagich (Stepan Smal-Stotsky and Vatroslav Yagich). *Zbirnyk prats i materiyaliv na poshanu Hryhoriya Luzhnytskoho (1903–1910)*. Lviv; Nyu-York; 1996. s. 324–326; Tkach L. Akademik Stepan Smal-Stotskyy: do 150-richchya vid dnya narodzhennya (Academician Stepan Smal-Stotsky: Dedication the 150th Anniversary of

about the period of his life in Czechoslovakia, or only minor comments were made, mainly related to individual scientific publications. While in emigration, S. Smal-Stotsky did a lot both as a scientist and as an educationist. Also, during that period, he became a diplomat for the first time, representing the interests of the West Ukrainian People's Republic in Prague. Actually, S. Smal-Stotsky's arrival in the capital of Czechoslovakia was connected with diplomatic work.

At the Diplomatic Service

1918 was a turning point for many European countries. At this time, a number of independent states were formed on the ruins of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. On October 28, 1918, Czechoslovakia emerged. In November 1918, the formation of the West Ukrainian People's Republic was organizationally completed, which declared sovereignty over the Ukrainian ethnic lands of the former Austria-Hungary.

It was very important for the newly established Ukrainian state of former under-Austrian Ukrainians to receive the support of other states that emerged after the collapse of Austria-Hungary empire. Among them, perhaps the most important had high hopes for Czechoslovakia in the fight against Poland, given the difficult relations between Czechoslovakia and Poland on the issue of Teschen's affiliation. In December 1918, Ye. Petrushevych, ZUNR President, visited Prague where he met with Czechoslovak President T. Masaryk. It was decided at that meeting to open a diplomatic mission of the ZUNR in Prague. On December 19, S. Smal-Stotsky² was appointed head of the mission as an authoritative and well-known person to Czech politicians, especially former members of the Austrian parliament.

Although S. Smal-Stotsky had never been engaged in diplomatic work before, he accepted the new appointment with great enthusiasm. The first thing that the newly-made ambassador drew attention to was establishing friendly relations with political and public figures in Czechoslovakia and spreading information about Ukraine and the struggle of Ukrainians for their statehood.

It is worth noting that in late January 1919, the embassy of the Ukrainian People's Republic consisting of 6 people was also opened in Prague. Later, the

His Birth). *Dyvoslovo*. 2009. № 1. s. 33–39; Fedun M. Postat Stepana Smal-Stotskoho na tli ukrayins'koho zhyttya pershoyi polovyny KHKH st. (The Figure of Stepan Smal-Stotsky against the Background of Ukrainian Life in the Early 20th Century). *Dyvoslovo*. 2013. № 7/8. s. 66–70; *Miejsce Stefana Smal-Stockiego w slawistyce europejskiej* (2012) / pod redakcją Wiktorii Hojsak, Agaty Skurzewskiej. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego.

2 Smal-Stotsky S. Deshcho pro sebe samoho (Something about Myself). *Tsentrálny derzhavnyy istorychnyy arkhiv Ukrainy u L'vovi* (Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in Lviv (CSHAU in Lviv). Fond 348. Opys 1. Sprava 779. Arkush 85.

embassy expanded. Information and Press bureaux consisting of 4 people and 6 people, respectively, were also established³. Despite the fact that on January 22, 1919, the ZUNR and UPR were united into a single state, both embassies continued to operate independently. ZUNR ambassador S. Smal-Stotsky and UPR Ambassador M. Slavynskyi developed friendly relations and both embassies acted together representing the interests of Ukraine.

On August 19, 1919, the Ukrainian club was opened in Prague with the assistance of both embassies, headed by S. Smal-Stotsky and Deputy Attaché of the UPR mission V. Koroliv⁴. Under the leadership of S. Smal-Stotsky, the Ukrainian club organized Czech language courses for Ukrainians and the Ukrainian language for Czechs, as well as lectures, literary and art parties, and anniversary meetings were organized.

S. Smal-Stotsky worked closely with the Information Bureau of the UPR Embassy. Together they started publishing a series of books under the general title *Know Ukraine*. S. Smal-Stotsky published the pamphlets *Lviv Is the Heart of Western Ukraine*⁵ and *Prospects for Real Cooperation Between Czechoslovakia and Ukraine* in Czech and French in this series.⁶ He raised the issue of the struggle between Poles and Ukrainians for Lviv in the first pamphlet and noted that Ukrainians could not give up this city because it was the most important centre of Western Ukraine, without which the existence of the West Ukrainian People's Republic was impossible. The second booklet was dedicated to the prospects of cooperation between Czechoslovakia and Ukraine. S. Smal-Stotsky convincingly proved that both states had many common interests and this would contribute to the development of relations between both states in cultural, educational, economic and political spheres.

A favorable for Ukraine newspaper campaign was launched with the assistance of S. Smal-Stotsky and employees of the Information Bureau.

It is worth noting that Ukrainian emigration was growing rapidly in Czechoslovakia that time. As of 1921, it numbered about twenty thousand people. S. Smal-Stotsky, as the ZUNR ambassador, kept this issue in sight trying to provide the most favorable conditions for arrivals as much as possible and organized various assistance activities. To provide material and moral assistance to Ukrainian emigrants a charitable women's association was organized at the Ukrainian club, which held its events together with the Czech intelligentsia.

3 Tsentralnyy derzhavnyy arkhiv vyshchykh orhaniv vldy Ukrayiny (TSDAVOU) (Central State Archives of the Supreme Bodies of Power of Ukraine (CSASBPU). F. 3696. Op. 2. Spr. 395. ark. 23.

4 TSDAVOU. F. 3696. Op. 2. Spr. 203. 51 ark.

5 Smal-Stočkyj Š. (1919). *L'vov, srdce západní Ukrajiny*. Kyjiv-Praha: Čas.

6 Smal-Stočkyj Š. (1919) *Vyhličky pravé vzájemnosti Československa a Ukrajiny*. Kyjiv-Praha: Čas.

S. Smal-Stotsky reacted favorably to the Ukrainian student societies that emerged in Prague at that time. The episode with the organization of the 7th International Sokil Holiday in the capital of Czechoslovakia was indicative in this regard. A delegation from Lviv was unable to attend this meeting. Then S. Smal-Stotsky, at the suggestion of Galicians, organized a representative office of the Ukrainian Sokil [Falcon] Society in Prague and took an active part in the holiday himself⁷.

The ambassador did a lot to promote Ukrainian literature in Czechoslovakia. He contributed to the publication of T. Shevchenko's poem *Ivan Gus* (Heretic) in 1919 in Czech translation by František Rut Tichý, and wrote the introduction to it. The following year, Taras Shevchenko's works *Hamalia*, *Tarasova Nich* (Taras's Night), *Topolia* (Poplar), *Perebendya* were published in Prague, and S. Smal-Stotsky included a biography of Kobzar in that publication⁸. The same year, N. Kovalevska-Koroleva published the Czech-Ukrainian dictionary under the general editorship of S. Smal-Stotsky.

S. Smal-Stotsky headed the diplomatic mission of the ZUNR until September 9, 1921⁹, and after that he handed over his powers to a representative of the UPR, and for some time he worked as an adviser on a voluntary basis.

Teaching and Social Activities

While still ambassador of the ZUNR in April 1921, S. Smal-Stotsky actively supported the idea of a number of Ukrainian scientists to transfer the Ukrainian Free University (UFU) from Vienna to Prague. The leadership of the Czechoslovak Republic approved of this, the grand opening of the UFU in Prague with the participation of numerous representatives of the Czechoslovakia government, scientific societies and universities of Czechoslovakia, Ukrainian emigration and foreign guests took place on October 23, 1921¹⁰. As noted in the message of its leadership, "all the Ukrainian lands of Greater Ukraine, Prydniprianska Ukraine, Galicia, Transcarpathia, Bukovyna, Kuban, our fellow countrymen from the United States of America and Canada responded to this significant event... The huge participation of all circles of Czech society – the authorities, parliament, universities and citizenship – was the largest demonstration of the Czech-Ukrainian brotherhood of

7 Narizhnyy S. (1942). *Ukrayinska emihratsiya mizh dvoma svitovymy viynamy* (Ukrainian Emigration Between Two World Wars). Praha. s. 273.

8 Smal-Stotskyy S. T. Shevchenko (zhyttyepys) (T. Shevchenko (Biography)). *Shevchenko T. Hamaliya. Tarasova nich. Topolya, Perebendya*. Praha, 1920. s. 3–4.

9 Smal-Stotskyy S. *Deshcho pro sebe samoho* (Something about Myself). *Tsentrallyy derzhavnyy istorychnyy arkhiv Ukrayiny u Lvovi*. Fond 348, Opy 1, sprava 779. Arkush 85.

10 TSDAVOU, f. 3859 *Ukrayinskyy vilnyy universytet u Prazi*, op. 1, spr. 139. ark. 42. op. 2. spr. 1. ark. 1–5.

historical significance to date”¹¹. So, a hundred years ago, thanks to the efforts of the Ukrainian public and with the support of the top leadership of Czechoslovakia, the most famous higher educational institution of Ukrainian emigration of the interwar period was opened in Prague.

The Academic Senate of Charles University in Prague allocated lecture halls for UFU in the premises of the Karolinum, Clementinum and the Natural History Institute.

S. Smal-Stotsky took an active part in its work from the very beginning of the Ukrainian university in the capital of the Czechoslovak Republic. He became a member of the University’s highest governing body, the Academic Senate. During the 1922–1923 academic year, he was dean, and the following year – pro-dean of the Faculty of Philosophy. For some time, he had also headed the commission on the preparation of university collections of research papers, the Society for assistance to Ukrainian scientists who found themselves in a difficult financial situation, and so on.

The objectives of the Ukrainian Free University were to teach Ukrainian youth the subjects from a wide range of knowledge in their native language, but with a special emphasis on Ukrainian Studies. It was supposed to train new scientific staff for higher educational institutions. 702 students enrolled at the university in the 1921–1922 academic year. It is interesting, among them were natives of Galicia, Bukovyna, Transcarpathia and the former sub-Russian Ukraine.

During his first year at the UFU, S. Smal-Stotsky taught the following courses: Ukrainian Language in the Family of Slavic Languages, History of Ukrainian Literature and Culture of the 16th–17th Centuries, and a workshop on Reading the Works of I. Franko and O. Kobylanska¹². Although the number of students at the university has been steadily decreasing in the 1920–1930s, financial conditions were not easy, and in terms of the teaching staff composition, the presence of scholars, it was undoubtedly the most authoritative and influential educational institution among such kind of Ukrainian institutions in emigration.

S. Smal-Stotsky, despite his respectable age, worked at the UFU until 1937. He was elected an Emeritus Professor of this university.

His lectures at the UFU were very popular. L. Lutsiv, who took his courses during 1921–1925, testified that although almost all students of philology of the UFU studied at the Czech Charles University at the same time, where they passed mandatory exams and doctorates, they still considered it necessary to constantly attend lectures of S. Smal-Stotsky. Emphasizing the erudition and high lecturing

11 Vidnyanskyi S. (1994). *Kulturno-osvitnya i naukova diyalnist ukrayinskoyi emihratsiyi v Chekho-Slovachchyni: Ukrayinskyy vilnyy universytet (1921–1945 rr.)*. (Cultural, Educational and Scientific Activities of Ukrainian Emigration in Czechoslovakia: Ukrainian Free University (1921–1945)). Kyiv, s. 23.

12 TSDAVOU. F. 3859. op. 1. spr. 139. ark. 65.

skills of the professor, he recalled that he had not read his remarks from worn-out cards written earlier and re-read several times, but gave fresh, new views on the basis of new scientific works and did not hide his satisfaction that scientists of other countries came in some controversial problems of Slavic studies to the very point that he justified in his scientific grammar¹³.

In addition to L. Lutsiv, we can also speak about K. Chekhovych, G. Luzhnytsky, M. Gnatyshak, K. Vagylevych, and O. Olzhych as some of the famous students of S. Smal-Stotsky of the Prague period. Ulas Samchuk recalled, "...our Mighty monumental rustic Prince at the Department of Prague University Stepan Smal-Stotsky is in his own way a poet, linguist, scientist, ambassador and Professor, my good fatherly friend, teacher and a benefactor..."¹⁴.

In addition to the UFU, S. Smal-Stotsky had taught Ukrainian for several years at the Czech High School of Trade (*Vysoká škola obchodní*)¹⁵ popularizing Ukrainian culture.

Being a socially active person, S. Smal-Stotsky took an active part in the work of many Ukrainian public organizations in Czechoslovakia. In particular, he was elected a full member of the Ukrainian History and Philology Society in Prague in 1923, the following year he became a founding member of the Ukrainian National Academic Committee, he was elected an honorary member of the Prosvita Society in Lviv in 1925, and in 1929, he became a full member of the respected Czech Scientific Institution – the Slavic Institute in Prague.

In the mid-1920s. S. Smal-Stotsky became one of those who initiated the convocation of the 1st Ukrainian Scientific Congress in Prague. At this Congress, which was held in 1926, he headed the linguistic section, spoke a lot, and took a lively part in discussions. In 1931, the Academic Committee decided to hold the 2nd Ukrainian Congress. S. Smal-Stotsky was elected a Chairman of the Organizing Committee of the Congress¹⁶. A lot of preparatory work was carried out under his leadership. The forum's charter, rules of procedure and program of meetings were drawn up and printed, invitations were sent out to individuals and institutions, funding issues were resolved, reports on Congress issues and the progress of preparations were published. A total of 14 meetings of the Organizational Committee were held during 1931 – early 1932.

13 Lutsiv L. Spohady pro akademika S. Smal-Stotskoho (Memoirs about Academician S. Smal-Stotsky). *Zapysky Naukovoh tovarystva im. T. Shevchenka*. 1960. T. 172. s. 20.

14 Samchuk U. Na bilomu koni (On a White Horse). *Dnipro*. 1993. № 2–3. s. 99.

15 Smal-Stotsky S. Deshcho pro sebe samoho (Something about Myself). *Tsentralnyy derzhavnyy istorychnyy arkhiv Ukrainy u Lvovi (TSDIAU u Lvovi) Fond 348. Opy 1. sprava 779. Arkush 86.*

16 *Druhyy Ukrainyskyy naukovyy zyzid u Prazi*. (1934) Praha, s. 4.

On March 20, 1932, the grand opening of the Congress took place, which was attended by more than 100 scientists from Berlin, Warsaw, Vienna, Frankfurt am Main, Krakow, Halle and other cities. This representative forum summed up the results of ten years of scientific work of the Ukrainian emigration and showed how much had been done, especially in the field of Ukrainian Studies. S. Smal-Stotsky, as chairman of the Congress Presidium, said at its closing, "In the sweet feelings of a good deed done, we can now calmly, with the greatest satisfaction, disperse and rejoice that each of us was a participant of the great, even historic event for the Ukrainian science"¹⁷.

Another event to which S. Smal-Stotsky dedicated a lot of efforts in emigration was the Museum of the Liberation Struggle of Ukraine Society. It was established on May 25, 1925, in Prague. S. Smal-Stotsky was a founding member of the society, and headed it in 1935. The museum was tasked with collecting and preserving written documents, eyewitness accounts, film and photographic materials, works of art, material memos about the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people, the struggle for statehood, and the formation of national consciousness. The 2nd Ukrainian Scientific Congress in Prague in a separate resolution confirmed that it had recognized the significant role of the museum, which should be the Central Museum and archival institution abroad¹⁸.

S. Smal-Stotsky made considerable efforts to organize a fundraiser for the purchase of a separate building for the museum. These efforts were successfully completed in 1938. For the needs of the Museum, the scientist donated most of his library (about 3 thousand volumes), many documents from his personal archive – letters, certificates of honorary membership, manuscripts of scientific articles, copies of historical documents, and so on.

Research Activities

S. Smal-Stotsky significantly intensified his research activities after the termination of his diplomatic ones. In Prague, he continued to deal with the issues that he had developed in the pre-war period. He actively collaborated with many scientific journals and, in particular, with one of the most authoritative journals in the field of Slavic Studies – *Slavia*, where he published a number of articles and reviews¹⁹.

17 Ibid. S. 121.

18 *Visty Muzeju Vyzvolnoyi Borotby Ukrayiny*. (1934). Praha, 1934. CH. 4. s. 7.

19 Stefan Smal Stockyj. Ukrajinska Academie Ved v Kijeve. *Slavia*. 1922. Ses. 2/3. s. 194; St. Smal-Stotskyy Diyalektolohichna klasyfikatsiya ukrayinskykh hovoriv Vs. Hantsova (Dialectological Classification of Ukrainian Dialects by V. Gantsov). *Slavia*. 1924. Ses. 3. s. 462–470,

His linguistic studies of that time were primarily dedicated to the issues of the origin of the Ukrainian language and the struggle with the theory of proto-Slavic (proto-Russian language), that is, the theory of the existence of a hypothetical unified language of the eastern Slavs, allegedly formed after the collapse of the proto-Slavic language, and later broke up into three languages: Ukrainian, Russian and Belorussian. He devoted a number of works to this issue, which usually caused heated discussions. In particular, in the work *Development of Views on the Family of Slavic Languages and Their Mutual Kinship*, published in 1925 (second edition, significantly expanded – in 1927)²⁰ he presented a thorough review of the history of research on the kinship of Slavic languages, the development of some of them, analyzing the achievements in this research of I. Dobrovsky, P. Shafaryk, O. Shakhmatov, V. Yagich and other recent publications at that time. S. Smal-Stotsky showed the complexity of this issue and once again stressed that the idea of O. Shakhmatova on the proto-Russian language was an artificial construction, the number of arguments in favor of which decreased with the development of comparative Slavic philology. A kind of testament of the academician was his last article on this topic *On the Issue of the East Slavic Proto-Language*, where he once again stressed his conviction that he had been right and stated, “There had never been any ‘proto-Russian language’, and all living Slavic languages, and Ukrainian, Russian and Belorussian between them, developed directly from the dialects of the proto-Slavic language”²¹.

While in emigration, S. Smal-Stotsky actively participated in the spelling polemics related to the development of a new spelling in Soviet Ukraine, which was supposed to become uniform for all Ukrainian lands. For the State Spelling Commission, he sent a detailed abstract, published several articles, in particular in the *Literaturno-Pravovyi Visnyk* (Literature and Scientific Bulletin), *Ukraina(Ukraine)*²². Most of all at that time he argued with academician A. Krymskyi, accusing the latter of

695–706.; S. Smal-Stotsky. Naukovyy zbirnyk Kharkivskoyi naukovo-doslidchoyi katedry istoriyi Ukrayiny (Kharkiv, 1924). *Slavia*. 1926. Ses. 1. s. 196–197; Stepan Smal Stotsky. Polyiski mishani hovory i polyiski dyfthonhy (Polesia Mixed Dialects and Polesia Diphthongs). *Slavia*. 1927. Ses. 1. s. 28–39.; 197.; Stepan Smal-Stotsky. «M”yahki» i «tverdi» holosivky (‘Soft’ and ‘Hard’ Voyelles). *Slavia*. 1929. Ses. 4. s. 825–836.

20 Smal-Stotsky S. (1927). *Rozvytok pohlyadiv na semyu slovyanskyx mov i yix vzayemne sporidnennyya* (Development of Views on the Family of Slavic Languages and Their Mutual Kinship). Praha. (*Druhe vydannyya, pereroblene i dopovnene*).

21 Smal-Stotsky S. Pytannya pro skhidnoslovyansku pramovu (On the Issue of the East Slavic Proto-Language). *Zapysky Naukovovoh Tovarystva im. Shevchenka*. Lviv, 1937. T. 155. s. 5.

22 Smal-Stotsky S. Pravopysna sprava (On Spelling). *Literaturno naukovyy visnyk*. Lviv, 1926. Kn. 7–8. s. 312–321; Smal-Stotsky S. Pravopysna sprava (On Spelling). *Ukrayina*. Kyiv, 1926. Kn. 4. s. 180–191.; Uvahy do proektu ukrayinskoho pravopysu (Attention on the Ukrainian Spelling Project). *Ukrayina*. Kyiv, 1927. Kn. 1–2. s. 230–239.

supporting Russification tendencies in spelling. He strongly insisted on separating spelling matters from what belongs to grammar, and, most importantly, he noted, “who depends on the fact that the Ukrainian literary language gets its true, fully corresponding to the Ukrainian spelling, he must first make every effort to free the Ukrainian spelling from the inappropriate habits entered from other spellings, foreign to the Ukrainian language. The Ukrainian language, having received the right of statehood and complete freedom of development, cannot continue to be shown in the world ‘in a patched caftan.’ It must finally dress up in its native, beautiful, well-sewn and well-fitting clothes”²³.

And yet, S. Smal-Stotsky was engaged in research on the creative work of T. Shevchenko that was the greatest pleasure at that time for him. S. Smal-Stotsky was rightly considered one of the best experts on this subject among scientists in emigration. He regularly spoke at the holidays dedicated to the anniversary of Taras Shevchenko, and as a rule, his reports opened solemn meetings. These speeches invariably aroused great interest of all those present. One of the eyewitnesses, Z. Mirna, left a mention of such speeches in the 1920s: “...prof. S. Smal-Stotsky made a report on the topic: *Shevchenko is a Singer of Independent Ukraine*. His report made a huge impression on the audience both with the content of the abstract and with an extraordinary ability to read expressively. But no less impressive was his imposing figure, the embodiment of great strength and the noble spirit that surrounded his face like a halo. This abstract was such a success that it was immediately published as a separate booklet, which was usually then given to those present at the Shevchenko holidays”²⁴.

In Prague, S. Smal-Stotsky, as during the pre-war period, conducted research on Shevchenko studies in two directions. First, it was the interpretation of individual works. He published some articles on Shevchenko’s works *Velykyi Liokh* (Big Cellar), *Chyhyryn*, *Shevchenkove Poslaniye* (Shevchenko’s Message), *Varnak*, *Yakby Vy Znaly*, *Panychi* (If You Knew, Lords), *Dumy* (Thoughts), *Son* (Dream) and others. For an in-depth interpretation of Kobzar’s works, he thoroughly researched the text itself, analyzing the meaning of words, expressions, sentences, identifying thoughts that the poet embodied in images, descriptions and symbols. In addition, a comparison of the analyzed work with other ones written on the same topic or at the same time was used. Much attention was paid to the genesis and history of writing individual works.

23 Smal-Stotsky S. Pravopysna sprava (On Spelling). *Literaturno-naukovyy visnyk*. 1926. Kn. 7–8. s. 315.

24 Mirna Z. Spomyn pro bl. p. S.Smal-Stotskoho (Memories of Pious Mr. S. Smal-Stotsky). *Zhinocha dolya*. 1938. №. 20. s. 12.

In the interpretation of S. Smal-Stotsky, T. Shevchenko was a statesman who called for a selfless struggle for free, politically and culturally independent Ukraine, where every citizen would have an equal right (“without a bond slave and a master”).

Shevchenko was a patriot and he did not shadow Shevchenko – a great creator, artist of the word, artist in the broadest sense of the word, for Smal-Stotsky. S. Smal-Stotsky never stopped paying attention to the artistic values of Shevchenko’s works, the beauty of poetic images, the power of words, and the composition of works.

The second direction was the study of the rhythm of Shevchenko’s works, an attempt to trace the folk roots in his poetry, to reveal the relationship between the rhythm of Kobzar’s poems with folk songs and oral folk art.

S. Smal-Stotsky studied the works of T. Shevchenko until the last years of his life. In 1934, he published his best articles in a separate book under the title *T. Shevchenko, Interpretations*²⁵. However, even after that, hard work continued. The last article in this great series was published after the author’s death in 1939.²⁶ It was dedicated to some of T. Shevchenko’s end-of-life poems and was marked by the depth of analysis, the richness of thoughts, thus, it was an excellent result of great work over several decades.

Among the historical issues in the 1920 s, S. Smal-Stotsky was most interested in the ancient times in the history of Ukraine, the formation of Ukrainians as a separate people. Undoubtedly, this historical topic was close to him due to his philological search and struggle against the concept of the “proto-Russian” language. In 1928, in the Ukraine magazine under the title *Eastern Slavs*, he published a lengthy review of the work of the outstanding Czech historian L. Niederle *Slavic Antiquities. Origins and Beginnings of the Eastern Slavs*²⁷.

S. Smal-Stotsky highly appreciated this book, noting its thoroughness and richness of the sources used. At the same time, he strongly objected to certain provisions of L. Niederle. First of all, he focused on the issue of the territory of the oldest residence of Slavic tribes and defended the point of view that the Slavs were still in the 1st and 2nd centuries AD lived as one people between the Vistula River in the west and the Dnipro River in the east, bordered by Finnish tribes in the north, and

25 Smal-Stotsky S. (1934). T. Shevchenko, interpretatsiyi (T. Shevchenko, Interpretations). Varshava.

26 Smal-Stotsky S. Ostanniy rik Shevchenkovoyi poetychnoyi tvorchoosti (The Last Year of Shevchenko’s Poetic Creative Work). *Pratsi Ukrayinskoho Istoryko-Filolohichnoho tovarystva u Prazi*. Praha. 1939. T. 2. s. 1–11.

27 *Sxidni slovyany* (z pryvodu knyzhky «L. Niederle Slovanské starožitnosti. Původ a počátky Slovanů východních. Oddíl. Svazek IV. V Praze 1924») (Eastern Slavs (on the book “L. Niederle Slovanské starožitnosti”). Ukrajina. Kyiv, 1928. Kn. 3. s. 3–23.

reached the Dnister and Prut rivers in the south. He especially sharply objected to some ‘centers’, ‘cradles’ of the settlement of western, southern and eastern Slavs²⁸.

S. Smal-Stotsky concluded that the idea of settlement centers of the Slavs had its root in the unifying ideology of the 19th and 20th centuries and was not supported by anything. Here, he once again stressed that the ‘proto-Russian’ language as an expression of such unity also did not exist.

In the autumn of 1930, initiated by S. Smal-Stotsky, the Ukrainian Historical and Philological Society in Prague held a large discussion about M. Korduba’s article *The Most Important Moment in the History of Ukraine*, placed in the book of the 6th Literature and Scientific Bulletin for the same year. The Society met twice on this issue: on November 11 and 18, 1930. S. Smal-Stotsky was the main speaker. He sharply criticized the position of M. Korduba, who in his article defended the thesis that Kyivan Rus was an ‘all-Russian’ state, that in this state there was a process of uniting all the eastern Slavs into one cultural and national integrity, that is, into one ‘all-Russian’ nation according to M. Korduba. He was convinced that the Ukrainian nation began to form only in the 14th century as part of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. S. Smal-Stotsky consistently defended the thesis that a separate Ukrainian people lived in Kyivan Rus, and this state was Ukrainian, and the Great Russian nation was formed later – in the 13th–14th centuries from a mixture of Slavic and Finnish elements²⁹.

Doctors of sciences and professors S. Narizhnyi, P. Fedenko, K. Chekhov, M. Slavinskyi, S. Sheliukhin, V. Simovych and V. Shcherbakivskyi also took part in the discussion. Most of the speakers supported the position of S. Smal-Stotsky and supplemented it with significant arguments. The report on this discussion, by the resolution of the General Meeting of the Society, was published lithographically in a separate booklet under the title *Where the Russian Land Came from*³⁰. That publication, as well as the discussion itself, caused a wide response in the literature and even discussion in the media. Only during 1930 and early 1931, 21 publications appeared in magazines and newspapers in Lviv, Przemysl, and Prague. Famous Ukrainian historian O. Pritsak recalled that back in 1937, the discussion continued in the Lviv media. Regarding the essence of the discussion itself, he wrote, “Unfortunately, the discussion was held in the style of dogmatic disputes, without clarifying the common denominator (presentation of the definition of a nation) and

28 Ibid., p. 21.

29 Smal-Stotsky S. Nayvazhlyvishyy moment v istoriyi Ukrainy (The Most Important Moment in the History of Ukraine). *Literaturno-naukovyy visnyk*. 1931. Kn. 9. s. 797.

30 *Richne spravozdannya Ukrayinskoho Istorychno-Filolohichnoho Tovarystva u Prazi*. (1931). Praha, s. 6–8.

it did not convince prof. Korduba that his thesis was false³¹. Indeed, the debating parties could not come to any common point of view under such conditions. But the discussion of this issue was certainly productive because it attracted the attention of a wide range of scientists and all those who were not indifferent to the history of the Ukrainian people origin.

The linguistic, literary and historical works of S. Smal-Stotsky of the emigration period undoubtedly became the pinnacle of his scientific work, showed his academic integrity and desire for a comprehensive study of the issues that were researched.

Conclusion

Thus, the emigration period of S. Smal-Stotsky's life was extremely fruitful and active. At that time, he continued many things that he had begun to do in the pre-war period. But there were also many new things. He was involved into diplomatic activities for the first time. In the difficult conditions of post-war Europe, he represented the interests of the West Ukrainian People's Republic in Prague and, we can say with confidence, he coped with that task in the best possible way. He managed to do a lot to popularize the Ukrainian issue. The Czechoslovak community took his efforts kindly and supported many of his initiatives.

S. Smal-Stotsky continued his teaching career at the Ukrainian Free University in Prague. It had always been very important for every university professor that what they taught found its followers in order to develop students who would continue the teacher's work. And from this point of view, the work of S. Smal-Stotsky was not in vain. He could be proud of many of his students who were engaged in linguistics, studied the works of T. Shevchenko, did other research work, worked at higher educational institutions in many countries of Europe and North America.

Scientific research activities were characterized by consistency and thoroughness at that time. He did a lot to debunk the theory of the existence of the proto-East Slavic language, popularized the Ukrainian language through the publication of textbooks, and actively fought against Russification trends in Ukrainian spelling.

The pinnacle of his scientific work was the publication of research on the work of T. Shevchenko and the publication of the book – *T. Shevchenko. Interpretations*.

He became a kind of Living Legend of the Ukrainian national movement in emigration. Young generations were brought up on his dedication to Ukraine and the national idea. But even there, already in respectable age, he did everything he

31 Pritsak O. (1991). *Istoriiosofiya ta istoriografiiya Mykhayla Hrushevskoho* (Historiosophy and Historiography of Mykhailo Hrushevsky). Kyiv–Kembriidzh. s. 70.

could for the good of his Motherland, without stopping social activities, until the last days without ceasing to believe in a better future for his people.

S. Smal-Stotsky died on August 17, 1938, in Prague. According to his will, he was buried near his wife in Krakow.

Warsaw Period of Viktor Kosenko's Life (1898–1914): the Influence of a Multinational and Multicultural Environment

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Viktor Kosenko (1896–1938) was one of the brightest representatives of Ukrainian musical culture of the first half of the 20th century. He was a brilliant pianist, a genius composer, and an outstanding teacher. But the first twenty years of his biography are a “white spot”, a gap in modern musicology. There are almost no materials related to this time in his personal archive, as well as in the funds of the Composer's Memorial Apartment. So let's look for the reasons for the “mysterious disappearance” of the information about the artist's childhood and youth period. We will find the information in other sources and reconstruct this period of his biography, immerse ourselves in the atmosphere that surrounded the future composer during his stay in Warsaw, restore impressions and memories of his school life period, which could be reflected in his future work.

Key words: Viktor Kosenko's biography; Suvorov Warsaw Corps of Cadets; the reconstruction of a lifetime period

At the present stage of humanitarian knowledge development, historical and cultural explorations are becoming more and more relevant, with an emphasis on the processes of bringing foreign cultural heritage to the national tradition as well as on the processes of rethinking and transforming foreign ethnic influences into the formation of modern Ukrainian culture. In particular, some aspects and factual materials connected with the integration of a European educational tradition into the domestic pedagogical system are covered in the works of I. Dubrovina, K. Khorash and A. Karmazin.¹ It is also mentioned that Ukrainian, Russian and Polish musical

1 Dubrovina, I. – Khorash, K. – Karmazin, A. (2019). Enlightening Activity of the Volhynian Lyceum As an Example of Pedagogical Dedication. *Czech-Polish Historical and Pedagogical Journal*, 11/2, 108–118.

traditions² were combined in a portrait of an outstanding creative person. Similar contacts in the field of theater provoke the appearance of both individual articles³ and thorough monographs.⁴ In line with such trends, it would be interesting to consider another outstanding figure of Ukrainian musical art of the first half of the twentieth century. Upon closer examination, the first 20 years of Viktor Kosenko's life appear in the domestic musicology almost as a complete gap. There are almost no materials related to this time in his personal archive, as evidenced by the recently published catalog,⁵ as well as in the funds of the Composer's Memorial Apartment. However, Volodymyr Mudryk,⁶ a director of the Memorial Apartment, managed to reconstruct some details of the artist's study period. The leading sources of such biographical details are the memoirs of graduates of the Warsaw Corps of Cadets, published during the second half of the twentieth century in various publications by associations of former students of the Russian Cadet Corps in exile.

The statement about the formation of the composer "at the break of cultures and traditions" is not an exaggeration. The artist's childhood and youth coincided with the turbulent first two decades of the twentieth century. Two radically different historical epochs simultaneously determined his destiny and path. The social order and the usual way of life broke down in the Kosenko family: the beginning of the First World War put an end to possible plans for further studies with professors of the Warsaw Conservatory; turbulent socio-political events between 1910 and 1920 forced a graduate of the Petrograd Conservatory, a concertmaster of the Mariinsky Theatre, leave the capital and settle in the provincial town of Zhytomyr.

Artistic tendencies also underwent radical changes: the century "under the sign of Romanticism" was replaced by an era of bold creative experiments, aesthetic pluralism, and later—the most rigid ideological canons.

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- 2 Nazarenko, V. – Vilinsky, Yu. – Volosatykh, O. (2019). Vitold Malishevskiy u muzychnomu zhytti Ukrainy ta Polishchi. *Chasopys Natsionalnoi muzychnoi akademii Ukrainy imeni P. I. Chaikovskoho: naukovyi zhurnal*, No. 2 (43), 20–48.
 - 3 Volosatykh, O. (2018). Ukrainska tematyka v teatralnomu repertuari Pravoberezhnoi Ukrainy pershoi polovyny XIX stolittia. *National Academy of Managerial Staff of Culture and Arts Herald*, No. 3 (2018), 271–275.
 - 4 Garbuziuk, M. (2018). *Obraz Ukrainy u polskomu teatralnomu dyskursi XIX stolittia: stratehii ta formy reprezentatsii*. Lviv: Prostir-M.
 - 5 Ivanova, O. (2019). *Arkhiv V. S. Kosenka (1896–1938) u fondakh Instytutu rukopysu Natsionalnoi biblioteki Ukrainy imeni V. I. Vernadskoho : biohrafichne doslidzhennia; naukovyi katalog*. Kiev.
 - 6 Mudryk, V. (2016). Viktor Kosenko: shliakh vid kadeta do artysta (za materialamy onovlenoi ekspozytsii Muzeiu-kvartyry kompozytora. *Naukovyi visnyk Natsionalnoi muzychnoi akademii Ukrainy imeni P. I. Chaikovskoho*, Iss. 115 (Vol. 1), 8–30.

Another area of intersection of cultures and traditions is family traditions. The noble family of Ukrainian origin⁷ (all known personal documents of Viktor Kosenko and his brothers indicate their nationality as “Ukrainians”) tried to combine ethnic roots with everything that gave the position of a high-ranking personnel officer. The children got an excellent education at that time: Oleksandr was a graduate of the Faculty of Natural Sciences of Petrograd University, Maria graduated from the Warsaw Conservatory. But apparently the parents hoped for a continuation of the family tradition of a military career for their sons, so Semen and Viktor graduated from the Warsaw Cadet Corps. Despite civil training and education, Oleksandr managed to take part in the First World War and was seriously injured. The fate of Semen (November 4, 1889 – October 17, 1945) after graduating the cadet corps is unknown,⁸ but starting from May 1919 he served the Red Army, and most likely, he was a professional in applied economics or legislation and got awards. According to the memoirs of V. Kosenko’s relatives, Semen taught at Frunze Military Academy for a long time. It seems that Semen also felt the opposition of two worldviews – being a musically gifted person with a wonderful voice, but at the same time an enthusiastic philatelist: this “incredulous, silent, with big kind and always sad eyes” man in a uniform gave the impression of being bored by military service. However, he did not accept the offer to leave his military career and try to make a music one.⁹

Another worldview of the family is related to the cultivation of artistic traditions. Numerous memories demonstrate the fact that the pearls of classical music alternated with Ukrainian songs in Kosenko’s home music, and their leisure was revived by colorful folk humor. Modern researchers determine the deep, sometimes even subconscious, permeation of the composer’s musical language with folk intonations.¹⁰

At the same time, the history of the Kosenko family is closely connected with the Polish territory. Since 1898, in connection with their father’s duties, they lived in Warsaw, but apparently ten years earlier the family was in the Kingdom of Poland – both Viktor’s older brothers – Oleksandr (b. 1888) and Semen (b. 1889) – were

7 A father comes from Kherson Region; according to some sources, Leopolda Doroshevich, a mother, had a complex polyethnic background. (Shamayeva, K. (2016). From Viktor Kosenko’s archive. *Naukovyi visnyk NMAU*, Iss. 115 (Vol. 1), 60–61.)

8 The search for Viktor Kosenko’s family ties is complicated by the prevalence of the surname and, apparently, the presence of namesakes, whose biographies are erroneously combined in modern reference books.

9 Kanep, R. (1997). *Komentar do foto. Viktor Stepanovych Kosenko: pohliad z 90-kh rokiv*. Kiev, p. 33.

10 Kharitonova, D. (2019). *Riznovydy symboliky v ukrainskii instrumentalnii sonati XX stolittia*. Candidate (PhD) of art studies degree thesis, P. I. Tchaikovskyi National Music Academy of Ukraine, Kiev.

born in Novoradomsk, Petrokovsky province (now Radomsko, Radomsko district, Łódź voivodship).

All in all, it was the connection with Polish culture that later became the formal reason for Oleksandr's arrest and death. Volodymyr Yershov, a well-known researcher of Volhynia culture, notes: "For some time, Oleksandr Stepanovych Kosenko (1888–1937) worked as a lecturer of natural sciences at the institute. The teacher was accused of describing "the life of the USSR people" in his letters to his sister, who lived in Poland, and of "praising Polish culture" among children. According to the archives, this was enough for him to be arrested on September 17, 1937 for counter-revolutionary activities and to be shot on November 24, 1937."¹¹ The glorification of Polish culture, mentioned in the document, obviously refers to the memories of childhood period in Warsaw, which were suddenly mentioned at lessons and lectures he conducted, and which the Kosenko brothers were willing to tell about in a friendly circle.¹²

The composer himself was obviously aware that such a thing was not worth mentioning in Soviet Ukraine at the time, so in the document dated March 1934, he defined his own education at the conservatory as "a real vocational school"¹³.

But there was really something to remember. An extraordinary atmosphere prevailed in the Suvorov Warsaw Cadet Corps, where the future composer studied from 1907 to 1914. It was one of the most prestigious secondary schools for boys at that time. The level of education allowed¹⁴ graduates to continue their studies both in military schools and universities (including the Warsaw Polytechnic Institute, the Forest Institute), art schools and more. In addition to teaching specialized and general educational disciplines, much attention was paid to the formation of the general cultural and artistic worldview among students: the program included

11 Yershov, V. (2011). Represii proty vykladachiv Zhytomyrskoho pedinstytutu imeni Ivana Franka (1929–1941). *Reabilitovani istoriieiu. Zhytomyrska oblast. Knyha 5. Zhytomyr: Polissja*, p. 30.

12 «Kosenko told a lot about their Warsaw period of life, about their musical leisure and so-called "amateur" concerts, performances, jokes that flourished at their home on 18 Jerusalem Street. Gradually, all this was moved to Zhytomyr on 6 Dmytrivska Street» (Kanep, R. (1997). Komentar do foto. *Viktor Stepanovych Kosenko: pohliad z 90-kh rokiv*. Kiev, p. 31.)

13 Kosenko, V. (1939) *Avtobiohrafichni zapysky V. S. Kosenka. Radianska muzyka*. No. 5, p. 26.

14 The list of subjects according to the certificate: God's law, Russian (written, grammar and literature), French and German, arithmetic, algebra, geometry ("with algebra attached to geometry"), trigonometry, analytical geometry, natural history, physics, cosmography, geography, history, law, chemistry, drawing (Iz «Chernovoj tetradi» i iz arhiva objedinenija. (1956). *Suvorovy: sbornik*. Vol. 7. New York: Association of the Suvorov Cadet Corps, p. 35.)

choreography, singing, piano lessons, various additional classes, and also an issue of the magazine “Suvorovets” was published.¹⁵

The teacher of singing V. K. Pichugin,¹⁶ worked in the educational institution since the beginning of its existence. He is mentioned in the description of Lev Heine’s painting depicting a solemn prayer service on the occasion of the corps founding.¹⁷ Memoirists have repeatedly written about the wonderful cadet choir, which accompanied the services and celebrations, as well as participated in traditional graduation performances.

Student orchestras such as brass, balalaika and chamber also functioned. As Serhiy Dvigubsky mentioned, “The brass orchestra was the object of special attention on the part of authorities and enjoyed the exceptional, unchanging love of the cadets. Different indulgences were made to the musicians.”

The reader must not think that the conductor—the German Schene—had nothing to do with it, and that everyone chose his own instrument and played whatever he wanted. This essay is just an attempt to describe the musicians of the already formed orchestra. Schene was talented, although he was nervous and spoke bad Russian. In class, driven mad by a stupid student, he could break his wand on the lectern and even nervously snatch the instrument, hitting lightly the head... he blushed, bounced, squatted and led cadets to indescribable delight when he shouted: “This disgrace... this... this only the devil knows what it is”... But he did his best, and the corps brass orchestra played well for many years. And in 1916, when the corps moved from Warsaw to Moscow, it was recognized as the best orchestra of four corps: three Moscow and one Suvorov.¹⁸ Talented musicians among the cadets were also involved in celebrations and concerts as soloists, encouraged actively and strongly, including valuable gifts (expensive instruments, etc.).¹⁹

15 Mudryk, V. (2016). Viktor Kosenko: shliakh vid kadeta do artysta (za materialamy onovlenoi ekspozytzii Muzeiu-kvartyry kompozytora). *Naukovyi visnyk NMAU*, Iss. 115 (Vol. 1), p. 20.

16 The name and patronymic have not been established yet, the initials are presented according to the signed photo.

17 Vitte, N. (1954). V 3-hetazhnom bolshom, serom zdanii na Belvederskikh allejah pod No. 21 pomeshchalsja nash korpus (prodolzhenie). *Suvorovcy: sbornik*. Vol. 4. New York, p. 2.

18 Dvigubsky, S. (1952). Muzykanty. Iz «Obshchej tetradi». *Voennaja byl*. No. 1, March 1952. <http://lepassemilitaire.ru/muzykanty-iz-obshhej-tetradi-s-dvigubskij/>

19 Warsaw graduates mentioned that for a brilliant performance Zeifart, a cornetist, <directly in the text – Zeifart I, but obviously referring to Konstantin Zeifart> received a silver cornet from Grand Duke Constantine, and for the participation in the concert Viktor Kosenko was awarded a personal watch, given by the distinguished visitor (Mudryk, V. (2016). Viktor Kosenko: shliakh vid kadeta do artysta (za materialamy onovlenoi ekspozytzii Muzeiu-kvartyry kompozytora). *Naukovyi visnyk NMAU*, Iss. 115 (Vol. 1), p. 20.)

Lev Heine, a graduate of the St. Petersburg Academy of Arts, taught drawing techniques and the history of art to cadets: “The lessons in the drawing class at the end of the 2nd company were truly a holiday for all of us. Ljova was not demanding of his talented or incapable students—but he fascinated all students when he devoted a class hour to the history of art. He could vividly draw Egyptian temples, Ionian and Corinthian capitals, the Pantheon and the Temple of St. Petro on a blackboard.”²⁰

The training of students (in particular, their knowledge of the perspective laws, the ability to draw quite complex architectural forms from ²¹nature) was later praised by Nicholas Roerich who was a director of the School of the Society for the Encouragement of the Arts during 1906–1918, where Lev Lynevych, the memoirist, studied after graduating the Corps of Cadets.²²

But the conversation on the subject of painting could be brilliantly supported even by the corps priest and teacher of God’s laws—Grygoriy Modzalevsky. He was a man of bright and multifaceted personality and later his students reported on his work in one of the ministries of the newly created Ukrainian state in Kyiv.²³ It is clear that it is confusion due to the coincidence of the surnames (perhaps a distant kinship) of the corps priest and a prominent Ukrainian socio-cultural figure, who was a historian, an archivist, a genealogist and an art critic, Vadym Modzalevsky.

An exceptional position of the Warsaw Suvorov Corps was also emphasized by the ceremonial side of life, in particular by providing its own musical accompaniment. Only here the heroic polonaise by Osip (Józef) Kozlovsky, “Let the Thunder of Victory Rumble!”, which was once created on the occasion of one of the victories of a prominent commander, was performed during the festivities. The rest of the cadet corps used only military marches and signals, including the counter-march.

Representatives of different nationalities as well as their family environment associated with the corps also added a specific color to the atmosphere in which the future composer was formed as a personality. Communication with teachers and staff—who were the representatives of different nations and cultures—naturally

20 Piatibokov, A. (1954). 1907–1914–1920. *Suvorovcy: sbornik*. No. 4, p. 16.

21 In the memoirs of another student we found: “The building was located opposite Łazienki Royal Park, where we were sometimes taken by our tutor, instead of a gymnastics lesson. We rode in boats, or Lev Andreevich Heine, a teacher of drawing, taught us to draw small Łazienki palaces from nature” (N. G. (1974). *Malen'koe vospominanie iz dalekogo proshlogo. Suvorovcy: sbornik*. No. 24, p. 24.)

22 L. P. L. (1955). *Blizhajshij ugol. Suvorovcy: sbornik*. No. 5, p. 22.

23 Pismo «v redakciju» N. N. Strashkevicha. (1956). *Suvorovcy: sbornik*. No. 7, p. 37. However, in the next issue, another graduate denied the sensational information about Grygoriy Modzalevsky, reporting on his teaching philosophy and logic in 1919 at Poltava Seminary for Teachers.

encouraged a deeper learning of foreign languages. Semi-anecdotal mentions of memoirists about their poor command of Russian confirm this indirectly.

There were other interesting, in particular in the musical aspect, coincidences and meetings. Arthur Christian Korjus, the father of Miliza Korjus—Olena Muravyova's future student at the Lysenko Music and Drama Institute, a soloist of the Dumka choir and an Oscar nominee for her role in the film "The GreatWaltz", became a German teacher in 1911. In fact, Viktor Kosenko's fellow students remembered her as "the youngest lady" of the 1913 cadet ball—"a sweetie with a huge pink bow on her blond head."²⁴ Her siblings, Nina and Mykola, were also musically gifted. Nina became a violinist of the State Symphony Orchestra of the USSR. According to some reports, it was Arthur Korjus who taught his children how to play the violin.²⁵

A dance teacher Vikenty Slovatsky (in his students' memoirs—"Pan Slovatsky", which lets us suggest that he was Polish) had the fame of an unsurpassed mazurka performer in Warsaw at the time. "Our ball opened the winter season in Warsaw. It was almost the most brilliant ball. Many students longed for this ball. <...> both halls were brightly lit; the parquet was shining. In the White Hall, there was the Orchestra of the Lithuanian Lifeguard Regiment; in the gym—30 of the infantry Poltava regiment.²⁶ The halls were the largest in Warsaw. <...> Conductors directed the dances confidently. But Vikenty Jakovlevich Slovatsky, a dance teacher, kept an eye on everyone in the halls. And his "mazurka", with one of the best high school girl-student, who was giggling happily because she was in the first pair with Slovatsky, was watched by everyone with great pleasure."²⁷

On the group photo of the VIII issue (1913) you can still see the facial features of art teachers, Viktor Stepanovych communicated with. They are dancer Slovatsky, choirmaster Pichugin, conductor Schene.²⁸

A bright component of the life of the Warsaw Suvorov Cadet Corps were student (mostly with the participation of graduates) performances. The level of organization and attention to this artistic process is evidenced by the facts of construction of a large stationary stage in the gym, providing cadet actors with costumes from a professional state theater, and so on.

24 Piatibokov, A. (1954). 1907–1914–1920. *Suvorovcy: sbornik*. Vol. 4, p. 16.

25 Korius, N. (1955). XIII vypusk – rokovoj i poslednij. *Suvorovcy: sbornik*. No. 5, p. 17.

26 Another memoirist clarifies that one of the military orchestras that played during the ball was a string orchestra (in the White Hall) and the other was a brass one. (Politansky, A. (1974). *Suvorovskij kadetskij korpus. Kadetskaja pereklichka: periodicheskij zhurnal Objedinenija Kadet Rossijskih Kadetskih korpusov za rubezhom*. No. 36. New York, SCC, p. 111.)

27 Vitte, N. (1953). Poslednij korpusnoj prazdnik v Varshave. I. X. 1913. *Suvorovcy: sbornik*. No. 2, p. 6.

28 The photo can be found at <https://www.flickr.com/photos/ruscadet/7222635738/>, but the image is pretty damaged, so the article does not provide it.

The tradition was apparently started by the first issue, at least in the memoirs of Konstantin Globa-Mykhailenko we found: “Back to 1904 or 1905, when he was in VI or VII class, “The Government Inspector” by Gogol was put on by cadets. The costumes were brought to us from the theater. As far as I remember, female roles were also played by cadets.”²⁹

It is not known whether the initial initiative for the performances came directly from the young actors or was proposed “from above.” The theatrical idea found fertile ground and flourished, transforming into a source of bright pages of memories: later an amateur drama group was formed, rehearsals and performances of which also took place on the stage in the gym, teachers and educators arranged their own performances as well...³⁰ And the boys from the junior classes were really into theater. Creating their own illusory unusual world, reliably separated from the usual everyday life, even with the help of two blankets on a wire, became the most exciting activity for them.³¹

Along with artistic activities, attending concerts and the theater was an unforgettable page of years of study for the cadets. They were real theater-goers, both in organized groups and in a family circle during the weekend. Brilliant concerts and theatrical life of Warsaw at the break of the century deserve special coverage, so we will not touch on it in this research. It should be noted that the cadets of the first company (grades 6 and 7) also had the opportunity to attend performances, including operas.³²

One cannot ignore a musical component of Viktor Kosenko’s Warsaw environment outside the Corps walls—Józef Judycki and Aleksander Michałowski, his teachers from the Warsaw Conservatory. Michałowski, an outstanding interpreter and editor of Chopin’s works, one of the inspirational founders of the International Competition for Pianists named after him, could not help but pass on to his student his artistic love for the world of Polish music genius. Through Kosenko’s mediation, certain principles were laid down by Michałowski and they obviously influenced the formation of the national tradition of Chopin’s repertoire interpretation. To confirm this, we can mention an unforgettable impression which Viktor Kosenko made on listeners while performing Chopin’s repertoire. Abram Lufer (1905–1948), a well-known pianist and a soloist of Kyiv Philharmonic, consulted Viktor Kosenko while

29 Iz pisma K. A. Globa-Mihajlenko. (1957). *Suvorovcy: sbornik*. No. 8, p. 27.

30 Piatibokov, A. (1954). 1907–1914–1920. *Suvorovcy: sbornik*. No. 4, p. 19.

31 Linevich, L. (1955). Nat Pinkerton. *Suvorovcy: sbornik*. No. 6, pp. 19–20.

32 “It was completely free. I remember Baklanov’s tour that week; I saw “The Devil” and “Rigoletto” instead of my evening classes. I didn’t miss a single performance of The Alexandrinsky Theatre (Piatibokov, A. (1956). Shtyk. The 1st company. Journal «Suvorovets». *Suvorovtsy: collection of articles*. Vol. 7, p. 32–33.)

preparing to participate in the Second Chopin Competition (1932), and later he won one of the prizes there.³³ In this context, the comparison of the phenomenon of two creative personalities—Kosenko and Chopin—looks very typical.³⁴

The multinational and multicultural environment of the earliest Warsaw period of Viktor Kosenko's life probably left its mark on the artist. Being at the intersection of cultures and traditions—military and artistic environments with inherent worldviews, the change of artistic and socio-political orientations beyond the XIX and XX centuries, presence of several national traditions in everyday life (officially declared Russian, Warsaw urban culture, preservation of Ukrainian origins in the family circle, a diverse environment of teachers and student fellows, etc.), and in the end—a unique phenomenon of “Russian” educational institution in the formally and administratively annexed Polish territory, the institution with an educational paradigm of forming attitudes to these areas and culture as to “the native ones”—all these could not help but influence the growth of the creative composer's personality that was Europeanized and opened to other cultures. Yes, it would be too naive and superficial to explain the brightness of Viktor Kosenko's mazurkas and to mention about his admiration for Vikenty Slovatsky's brilliant dancing skills. However, the tracing of multilevel and multi-vector influences on the formation of creative ideas and their further concretization looks like a promising area for further studies of the artist's work.

33 Ilnytska, M. (2016). Koryfei polskoi shopenistyky – Aleksandr Mikhalovskiy. *Naukovyi visnyk NMAU*, Iss. 115 (Vol. 1), pp. 220–226.

34 Komenda, O. (2020). *Universalna tvorchcha osobystist v ukrainskii muzychnii kulturi*. Thesis for the Habilitation of the Degree of Doctor in Art Studies, P. I. Tchaikovsky National Music Academy of Ukraine, Kyiv, p. 266.

The Changing Role of Women from the mid-19th Century to the Present Day: an Analysis of German History Textbooks from a Gender Perspective¹

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The article presents the findings of a study that conducted a content analysis of German history textbooks for upper secondary schools, investigating gender aspects of the educational content. The analysis focused primarily on the presentation of the historical evolution of women's roles from the mid-19th century to the present day. The study draws on previous research of history teaching materials comparing the content of history textbooks in Austria, Britain, France, Germany and Switzerland. The methodology is anchored in recent literature, and includes a qualitative analysis based on a set of predetermined criteria. The findings of the analysis indicate that German textbooks devote substantial coverage to the history of women's emancipation; the textbooks contain separate chapters focusing on the gender dimension, including the struggle for women's suffrage, women's war efforts during the two world wars, the status of women in the Weimar Republic, Nazi Germany and post-1945, and questions of everyday life. The didactic elements of the texts are also well-elaborated (methodological passages, the use of didactic media, interpretation of historical sources, project-based teaching).

Key words: *History didactics; German history textbooks; gender dimension; content analysis*

Introduction—the gender dimension of education with a focus on school history teaching

The gender dimension of education currently represents an important area of pedagogical theory and research. It is a complex interdisciplinary phenomenon encompassing elements from cultural anthropology, sociology, history, psychology and

1 The study was created with the financial support of the project Reflection of National and European Identity in the New Millennium (NAETINEM), Erasmus + project No. 2019-1-CZ01-KA203-061227.

pedagogy.² Scholars have analyzed various aspects of the relationship between gender and schools, including the process of gender socialization and the formation of gender identity, gender-sensitive pedagogical communication and pedagogical evaluation, the negative consequences of the predominance of women among teaching staff, and gender correctness in educational media (mainly textbooks). In view of the nature of school subjects belonging to the humanities and social sciences (history, civic studies, basic aspects of social sciences, mother-tongue and foreign-language teaching, social geography), it is these subjects above all whose concept and content are affected by gender issues; the study presented in this article therefore focused on the gender dimension of history textbooks.

The concept of women's history as viewed by history didactics has evolved over the course of time in conjunction with developments in historiography and the historical sciences as a whole. At the end of the 1960 s the dominant approach involved the "additive" concept, which attempted to break free from the traditional view of history as a primarily male domain, expanding the coverage of major historical events to include the actions of famous women who made important contributions to the development of society. Two decades later, historiography had shifted its focus to historical sources that had previously been viewed as relatively marginal (such as diaries, autobiographies and photographs), and besides exploring political events historians also conducted thorough investigations of individual social phenomena and processes. It was not until later that modern feminist historiography in the true sense of the word emerged; in this approach, scholars conduct qualitative and quantitative research into a broad spectrum of gender-related topics.³

Overall, it is possible to state that the emergence of the gender dimension as a major concern in history didactics—and in research focusing on gender issues in history teaching—has been a relatively slow and gradual process, which has unfolded over almost five decades. This development began with the expansion of textbooks' coverage to include information about famous women, and it then continued with the modification of previous schematic interpretations, ultimately evolving into today's approach which presents topics related to women's history in a comprehensive and systematic manner. The roots of this modern approach reach back to the mid-1970 s, when scholars pointed out the striking absence of factual data on women's history, the reinforcement in history teaching of stereotypical presentations of women's roles (e.g. as mothers or housewives), and the largely negative depiction of

2 Krebs, U. – Forster, J. (eds.) (2007). „Sie und Er“ *interdisziplinär. Aktuelle Themen interdisziplinär*. Bd 1, Berlin: LIT Verlag Berlin.

3 Kohser-Spohn, Ch. (2005). Die Kategorie Geschlecht in der Geschichtswissenschaft und in der Geschichtsdidaktik in Deutschland. Rückblick und Ausblick. *Internationale Schulbuchforschung*, Heft 2, pp. 157–158.

women who did not conform with these traditional gender roles – who were shown as traitors to their country, dissolute individuals, or mere substitutes for brave men at decisive historical moments.⁴

Nowadays, didactics (especially outside the Czech Republic) is characterized by a strong focus on the gender dimension of school history teaching. This reflects the fact that the previous narrow and one-sided view of history has now become obsolete, as well as the increased emphasis on the history of everyday life, the history of marginalized groups, intercultural education in the broadest sense (which also encompasses gender emancipation), and the history of the family.⁵

1. Research of textbooks from the gender perspective and its methodology

Recent years have seen an upsurge of scholarly interest in the normative aspects of gender in textbooks, i.e. the issue of gender correctness. When the Czech Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports grants approval for the use of a textbook (or prolongs an existing approval), the factors taken into consideration during the evaluation process include gender correctness, which is assessed according to a set of evaluative criteria. The approval process is universally applied to all textbooks regardless of their subject matter, so the evaluative criteria are applied to textbooks from various subjects. The key criteria are these:⁶

1. selection of teaching content,
2. depiction of men and women in the teaching material,
3. accompanying illustrations,
4. explanatory examples and learning tasks,
5. how male and female students are addressed,
6. linguistic description.

The principles for updating and implementing the methodology for textbook assessment are set out in the Ministry's *Gender Equality Support Plan for the Period 2021–2024*.⁷

4 Borries, B. (1975). Frauen in Schulgeschichtsbüchern – zum Problem der Benachteiligung von Mädchen im Unterricht. *Westermanns Pädagogische Beiträge*, Heft 11, p. 603.

5 Popp, S. (2007). Frauen als Spezialfall der Geschichte? Geschichtsdidaktische Probleme der Gestaltung von Frauengeschichte in aktuellen Schulbüchern. In „*Sie und Er*“ *interdisziplinär. Aktuelle Themen interdisziplinär*. op. cit., pp. 239–271.

6 Valdřová, J. – Smetáčková-Moravcová, I. – Knotková-Čapková, B. (2004). *Příručka pro posuzování genderové korektnosti učebnic*. Praha: MŠMT, pp. 27–28.

7 *Plán podpory rovnosti mužů a žen Ministerstva školství, mládeže tělovýchovy na léta 2021–2024*. Accessible at: <https://www.msmt.cz/ministerstvo/plan-podpory-rovnosti-zen-a-muzu-msmt-2021-2024> [retrieved 20 April 2021].

The currently applicable assessment criteria have been expanded and used as a basis for investigation by several empirical studies. For example, Eva Niklesová and (later) Sandra Bonková applied the principles to German language and civic studies textbooks, adding a further eight criteria that are specific to these particular subjects. These new criteria include the image of women's and men's professional lives, family life and household duties, depictions of partnership, the occurrence of generalizing statements about the sexes, descriptions of women's and men's appearance, characteristic qualities attributed to women and men, the presentation of leisure activities, and the depiction of famous people from various fields of activity.⁸

Analyses of textbook texts from the Czech Republic have so far appeared primarily in university graduation theses. They have focused mainly on Czech-language⁹ and foreign-language¹⁰ textbooks designed for various levels in the education system.

The first research on gender aspects of history textbooks was conducted in Germany. For example, Alexandra Bauer analyzed both quantitative and qualitative aspects of teaching texts, focusing on the presence and inclusion of chapters on the history of women, dominant social roles of women and men, the absence (or inaccurate presentation) of information related to the gender dimension, the predominant depiction of the characteristics and behaviour of women in history, the depiction of preferred family models, the inclusion of learning tasks encouraging discussion and thinking about personal experience, the dominant concept of history as the history of men and their actions, possibilities for self-identification by girls and boys, continuity and discontinuity in gender roles, and linguistic distinctions concerning men and women.¹¹

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- 8 Bonková, S. (2014). *Komparativní analýza současných učebnic občanské výchovy z genderového hlediska*. Master's thesis (supervisor Labischová, D.). Ostrava: Pedagogická fakulta Ostravské univerzity; Niklesová, E. (2007). Edukační materiály a korektnost (genderové hledisko). In Bína, D. – Niklesová, E. *Hledání nových cest v didaktice slohu a literární výchovy*. České Budějovice, pp. 52–59.
 - 9 Rázlová, P. (2018). *Gender v učebnicích českého jazyka pro první stupeň základních škol*. Bachelor thesis (supervisor B. Junková). České Budějovice: Filozofická fakulta Jihočeské univerzity v Českých Budějovicích; Vyroubal, P. (2011). *Gender v jazyce a učebnici*. Bachelor thesis (supervisor K. Ondrášková). Masarykova univerzita: Pedagogická fakulta.
 - 10 Ječmínková, A. (2014). *Evaluace vybraných jazykových učebnic z pohledu genderu a mizení příkladů podporujících konzervativní hodnoty*. Master's thesis (supervisor R. Švaříček). Masarykova univerzita: Filozofická fakulta; Klimentová, A. (2007). *Obraz genderu ve vybraných učebnicích němčiny na základní škole*. Master's thesis (supervisor J. Valdřová). České Budějovice: Pedagogická fakulta Jihočeské univerzity v Českých Budějovicích.
 - 11 Bauer, A. (2005). *Frauen und Mädchen in Geschichtsschulbüchern für Hauptschulen aus den letzten Jahren. Eine empirische Untersuchung*. Diplomarbeit (Prüfer B. Borries), Hamburg: Universität Hamburg, pp. 30–33.

Blažena Gracová has focused on Czech history textbooks. She has conducted a chronological analysis of textbooks covering different periods of history from the Middle Ages to the present day, focusing on the passages related to the life stories, actions and/or artistic achievements of famous women, the overall conception of selected topics, and the interpretative level of the texts.¹²

The criteria first presented by Alexandra Bauer have been further modified and applied in qualitative analyses of history textbooks from Austria, Britain, France and Switzerland, exploring the occurrence of separate chapters devoted to gender issues, the depiction of gender roles, the selection of examples, the presentation of the lives and work of important female figures, the presentation of historical continuity and change (the conception of the development of women's emancipation as a process in the broad sense), and the quality of the didactic presentation of gender issues (comparative approaches, problem-based teaching, research-based activities).¹³

The study presented here draws on previous empirical research. Its aim was to identify the main gender-related features of German history textbooks, to determine the predominant forms in which women's history is presented, and to compare German textbooks with their counterparts from other countries (Austria, Britain, France, Switzerland).

The analysis focused on 19 separate textbooks¹⁴ from 12 series of publications designated for use at upper secondary level (allgemeinbildende höhere Schule),

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- 12 Gracová, B. (2015). Nowe ujęcie tematyki genderowej w najnowszych czeskich podręcznikach historii. In *Kobieta i mężczyzna – dwa światy, jedna przestrzeń*. Warszawa: DiG, pp. 631–639; Gracová, B. (2010). Ženská tematika na stránkách nejnovějších českých učebnic dějepisu. In *Žena jako subjekt a objekt dějepisného vyučování*. Ústí nad Labem: Univerzita Jana Evangelisty Purkyně, pp. 27–38; Gracová, B. (2006). Ženská tematika v současných českých dějepisných učebnicích. In Vaculík, J. – Němec, J. (eds.) *Problematika sociálních skupin ve výuce společenských věd*. Brno: Masarykova univerzita, pp. 144–151.
- 13 Labischová, D. (2015). Analiza genderowa brytyjskich i niemieckich podręczników historii. In *Kobieta i mężczyzna – dwa światy, jedna przestrzeń*. Warszawa: DiG, pp. 641–650; Labischová, D. (2015). Dějiny ženské emancipace v rakouských učebnicích dějepisu. *CIVILIA: Odborná revue pro didaktiku společenských věd*. 6/2, pp. 4–20; Labischová, D. (2015). Genderová dimenze zahraničních učebnic dějepisu: obsahová analýza edukačního média. *Sborník prací Pedagogické fakulty Masarykovy univerzity, řada společenských věd*, 29/1, pp. 95–110.
- 14 Andrae, U. (2013). *Entdecken und Verstehen 2. Differenzierende Ausgabe*. Berlin: Cornelsen; Berger, v. d. Heide, T. (2014). *Entdecken und Verstehen 3. Differenzierende Ausgabe*. Berlin: Cornelsen; Brokemper, P. – Köster, E. – Potente, D. (2013). *Geschichte Real 3*. Berlin: Cornelsen; Brückner, D. – Focke, H. (2011). *Das waren Zeiten 3. Deutschland, Europa und die Welt von 1871 bis zur Gegenwart*. Bamberg: C. C. Bruckners Verlag; Brückner, D. – Focke, H. (2010). *Das waren Zeiten 4. Deutschland, Europa und die Welt von 1871 bis zur Gegenwart*. Bamberg: C. C. Bruckners Verlag; Christoffer, S. (2013). *Zeitreise 3*. Stuttgart – Leipzig: Ernst Klett Verlag; Christoffer, S. (2013). *Zeitreise 4*. Stuttgart – Leipzig: Ernst Klett Verlag; Egner, A.

which were published to reflect the different education systems in the German federal states. The selected textbooks covered the period from the end of the 19th century up to the present day.¹⁵

The study is structured chronologically, comprising separate subsections each covering a different period of history: the period up to 1918, the 1920, the Nazi era, and the period from 1945 to the present day. The methodological basis for the study was qualitative content analysis,¹⁶ guided by a set of eight predetermined criteria:

1. selection of gender-related topics,
2. presentation of the lives and works of important female figures,
3. presentation of the everyday lives and social status of women,
4. emphasis on personal stories,
5. work with textual and iconographic sources,
6. elements facilitating learning (learning tasks),
7. didactic methods for activation (dialogic methods, dramatization, problem-based learning, creative activities, inquiry-based learning, project-based learning),
8. presentation of historical topics from a present-day perspective.

2. Gender dimensions of present-day German history textbooks for upper secondary level

2.1 The period up to 1918

In terms of content, three topics are of central importance for this period of history. The first is the relatively lengthy process by which women strove to achieve equality,

(2011). *Zeit für Geschichte 12. Vom Europa der Nachkriegszeit zur Welt des 21. Jahrhunderts*. Braunschweig: Schroedel; Funken, W. – Koltrowitz, B. (2006). *Geschichte plus 8. Gymnasium. Ausgabe Sachsen*. Berlin: Cornelsen; Funken, W. – Koltrowitz, B. (2009). *Geschichte plus 9. Gymnasium. Ausgabe Sachsen*. Berlin: Cornelsen; Funken, W. – Koltrowitz, B. (2009). *Geschichte plus 10. Gymnasium. Ausgabe Sachsen*. Berlin: Cornelsen; Geus, E. (2011). *Horizonte 9. Geschichte Realschule Bayern*. Braunschweig: Westermann; Lendzian, H. J. (2010). *Zeiten und Menschen 1*. Paderborn: Schöningh Verlag; Osburg, F. – Klose, D. (2006). *Expedition Geschichte 4, Klasse 8*. Berlin: Diesterweg; Osburg, F. (2007). *Expedition Geschichte 5, Klasse 9*. Berlin: Diesterweg; Osburg, F. (2008). *Expedition Geschichte 6, Klasse 10*. Berlin: Diesterweg; Rauh, R. – Jäger, W. (2011). *Grundwissen Geschichte. Sekundarstufe II*. Berlin: Cornelsen; Regenhardt, H.-O. (2014). *Forum Geschichte 9. Vom Imperialismus bis zur Gegenwart*. Berlin: Cornelsen; Simianer, N. (2011). *Von...bis. Band 3*. Paderborn: Schöningh Verlag.

15 The selection of books was determined by their availability in the collections of the *Georg-Eckert-Institut/Leibnitz-Institut für internationale Schulbuchforschung* in Braunschweig, Germany.

16 Gavora, P. (2000). *Úvod do pedagogického výzkumu*. Brno: Paido, p. 117.

symbolized particularly by the struggle for women's suffrage. The second is the social status of women at the turn of the 20th century and their changing gender roles. The third topic concerns the lives of women who were involved in the war effort during the First World War.

The liberal concept of civil liberties for women is accentuated in the chapters of the textbooks covering the period from the March 1848 revolution onwards. In the textbook *Zeiten und Menschen 1*, students have at their disposal excerpts from six written sources presenting a multi-perspective view of women's emancipation. Their task is to engage in group work in order to evaluate which ideas about women's political and social role emerged during the 1848 revolution and to assess the extent to which these ideas reflect the limits of emancipation that were determined by the society of the time.

The activities of feminists and suffragettes are presented e.g. in the publication *Von...bis 3*. Here students are led to understand these emancipatory efforts via stories of three "brave" female figures belonging to the bourgeois or proletarian movements – Luise Otto-Peters, Helene Lange and Clara Zetkin. The students are tasked with identifying the similarities and differences between these women's political goals, explaining the relevance of the topic for present-day society, and studying current German legislation to assess whether these goals have been achieved.¹⁷ Some of the other textbooks also present these three figures in the form of brief biographical accounts (usually accompanied by portrait photographs).¹⁸

Most of the analyzed textbooks also present a timeline of the political steps which culminated in the legalization of women's suffrage. They mention the gradual emergence of an organized movement (the establishment of various women's associations from the 1880 s onwards), its split into conservative and socialist wings, the admission of women to full secondary education (1892) and to higher education (after 1900), the legalization of women's suffrage (1918), and the constitutional codification of women's equality with men in the constitution of the Weimar Republic (1919). The authors also mention the demands made as part of International Women's Day, noting that in many respects these demands still remain relevant today. To illustrate women's struggle for emancipation, the textbooks use iconographic sources such as political posters.¹⁹

Most of the textbooks devote considerable attention to the critical evaluation of events, encouraging students to form their open opinions via learning tasks with

17 Simianer, N. (2011). *Von...bis. Band 3*, op. cit., p. 167.

18 Brückner, D. – Focke, H. (2011). *Das waren Zeiten 3*, op. cit., p. 28; Brückner, D. – Focke, H. (2010). *Das waren Zeiten 4*, op. cit., p. 26; Funken, W. – Koltrowitz, B. (2006). *Geschichte plus 8*, op. cit., pp. 70–71; Christoffer, S. (2013). *Zeitreise 3*, op. cit., p. 122.

19 Ibidem.

varying degrees of cognitive difficulty, interpreting historical sources demonstrating the strong opposition to the emancipation movement in the society of the era, evaluating the irrational arguments that were raised against emancipation and women's suffrage, and formulating counter-arguments against stereotypical generalizations and clichés. Both iconographic and textual sources are used for didactic purposes; these include caricatures mocking women's "ridiculous dreams" of their future social status, quotes from the 1900 Civil Code, or the opinions of contemporary authority figures (such as scientists or doctors) concerning women's allegedly lower intelligence, emotional instability, and predetermined traditional role as housewives.²⁰

The social status of women during the era of industrialization around the turn of the 20th century is characterized in terms of gender-determined roles in the family and in everyday life, as well as in terms of women's access to education, their professional position and working conditions. Changes in family life are explained with regard to urbanization, migration to cities, and the housing conditions endured by the lower strata of society (who lived in small, unhygienic, unventilated and damp rooms without running water or sewers, typically inhabited by a large family together with lodgers). Working-class living conditions are documented in the form of photographs and contemporary descriptions (e.g. by doctors).²¹ Here the textbooks tend to take a comparative approach, contrasting the workers' cramped and squalid living conditions with the spacious, clean and well-equipped homes of the bourgeoisie.²²

When presenting the lives of working-class families from the poorer strata of society, the textbooks generally state that women were forced to work in factories in order to provide for their families, as well as noting the lack of gender equality inherent in the fact that women received substantially lower wages than men for the same work, meaning that widows in particular frequently lived below the poverty line. The authors also describe the harsh working conditions and long working hours, which ranged between 11 and 16 hours per day – in addition to which married women also had to take care of their children and run the household. This situation is presented using source material, such as contemporary news reports, statistical data showing the proportion of women working in various industries, the different wages paid to men and women, and caricatures depicting women's double burden (both employment and the household) or showing the working day from a woman's perspective. The textbooks also point out that a person's profession was strongly determined by their social origins, as well as explaining how practices at

20 Osburg, F. – Klose, D. (2006). *Expedition Geschichte* 4, op. cit., p. 16; Brückner, D. – Focke, H. (2011). *Das waren Zeiten* 3, op. cit., p. 29.

21 Rauh, R. – Jäger, W. (2011). *Grundwissen Geschichte*, p. 102; Andrae, U. (2013). *Entdecken und Verstehen* 2, p. 112.

22 *Ibidem*, p. 113.

the time different from present-day practices – part-time work was unknown, and bourgeois women usually gave up their jobs once they were married. A key element here is the presentation of historical topics from a present-day perspective, including references to the wage inequality between women and men which persists to this day.²³

Almost all the German textbooks include two-page subchapters devoted to the patriotic attitudes of women during the First World War. They emphasize the changes brought by the war, especially in the domain of work; women had to replace men in industries that had previously been male preserves (munitions factories, engineering and agriculture). The textbooks also emphasize women's war efforts "on the home front", as they bravely coped alone with the demands of both employment and their families while their husbands were away fighting at the front. The authors point out certain positive consequences of this role, as women gained access to professions that had previously been off-limits to them, received higher wages than previously (as attested by statistical data), and gained greater acceptance as active participants in political life (having been granted suffrage) as well as greater self-confidence. Iconographic sources include photographs and historical postcards. Students are encouraged to take a comparative approach (contrasting wartime life at the front and at home), to develop empathy for the everyday anxieties that women had to cope with, and to critically evaluate the influence of the war on women's emancipation.²⁴

2.2 The 1920s

The social changes that occurred during the 1920s and their influence on conceptions of gender roles are dealt with by the analyzed textbooks mainly in separate chapters – either focusing on the "golden twenties" (*die goldene Zwanziger*) or on the emergence of "the modern woman" (*die neue Frau*) in inter-war society.

The period of economic growth experienced by the Weimar Republic up until the beginning of the Great Depression in 1929 is presented as an era that brought huge progress in the fields of civil rights, social security, culture (theatre, magazines, gramophone records, radio, cinema), housing, sport, and leisure activities. The investigated textbooks primarily trace how these social changes affected women and men alike (the emergence of a culture of gardening at urban allotments, hiking

23 Christoffer, S. (2013). *Zeitreise* 3, op. cit., p. 122–123; Simianer, N. (2011). *Von...bis. Band 3*, op. cit., p. 136–137.

24 Brokemper, P. – Köster, E. – Potente, D. (2013). *Geschichte Real* 3, op. cit., p. 23; Brückner, D. – Focke, H. (2011). *Das waren Zeiten* 3, op. cit., p. 68; Osburg, F. – Klose, D. (2006). *Expedition Geschichte* 4, op. cit., p. 37; Regenhardt, H.-O. (2014). *Forum Geschichte* 9, op. cit., p. 28–29; Simianer, N. (2011). *Von...bis. Band 3*, op. cit., p. 197; Funken, W. – Koltowitz, B. (2006). *Geschichte plus* 8, op. cit., p. 117.

and scouting-type activities, the proliferation of weekend cottages, the popularity of theatres e.g. in Berlin,²⁵ though they also indicate changes that affected women in particular, especially via photographs (women on motorcycles or at campsites).²⁶

Women's emancipation during the inter-war period is explained as a natural consequence of the First World War, when women proved that they were able to function fully and effectively in professions that had previously been considered typically male domains. The authors of the textbook *Horizonte 9* state that in 1925, one-third of all employees were women, who were relatively self-sufficient at least until they married. However, it is also emphasized that the new lifestyle only affected a minority of women (mainly those living in large cities), and that most of these women could not afford to be financially self-sufficient – although they did attempt to embrace elements of the new lifestyle as far as they were able. The authors' main focus is on everyday life. Women wanted to look like film stars, and they spent their leisure time playing sports, going to bars and cafés, smoking cigarettes and drinking alcohol, preferring modern short-cut hairstyles such as the bob (*Bubikopf*) and wearing short skirts, trousers and suits. They enjoyed going out in the evenings, wearing plenty of makeup as well as headbands and several necklaces. The authors point out that 1920s fashion remains iconic among stylists even today, but that the conservative elements of contemporary society were shocked by its provocative nature and rejection of conventional norms.²⁷

Among the typical female professions mentioned in the textbooks are administrative positions in factories or offices. The authors also note how the emergence of new household appliances such as vacuum cleaners, refrigerators and washing machines helped to ease the burden of household chores in more prosperous families, as well as pointing out that only a small minority of men were willing to help with the housework.²⁸

The textbooks also trace women's contribution to culture – especially cinema and literature. Well-known figures featured in the texts include the actress Marlene Dietrich, the Expressionist writer Vicki Baum, the avant-garde filmmaker Leni Riefenstahl, and the poet Else Lasker-Schüler.²⁹

A wide range of historical sources are used to illustrate the new social status of women during the 1920s. Among the textual sources are descriptions of modern women by the social scientist Erich Fromm or accounts by contemporary women

25 Andrae, U. (2013). *Entdecken und Verstehen 2*, op. cit., p. 229.

26 Brokemper, P. – Köster, E. – Potente, D. (2013). *Geschichte Real 3*, op. cit., p. 56.

27 Geus, E. (2011). *Horizonte 9*, op. cit., p. 109; Funken, W. – Koltrowitz, B. (2009). *Geschichte plus 9*, op. cit., p. 65.

28 Brokemper, P. – Köster, E. – Potente, D. (2013). *Geschichte Real 3*, op. cit., p. 56.

29 Funken, W. – Koltrowitz, B. (2009). *Geschichte plus 9*, op. cit., p. 66.

describing a normal working day (in an office or a factory) or evaluating what they had gained from their secondary education (the knowledge that women had been significant participants in history).³⁰

The textbooks also present a substantial selection of iconographic sources (mainly photographs and posters) documenting 1920 s fashion and women's new-found self-confidence, as well as the most frequent female professions (telephone operators, typists) and well-known works of art (the film *The Blue Angel*).³¹ Occasionally the texts include tables of statistical data presenting the proportion of women employed in various industries over the course of time, from the second half of the 19th century up to the present day.³²

The learning tasks in the textbooks focus mainly on comparing various contemporary photographs and posters,³³ creative activities such as making posters depicting women's and men's fashions or giving presentations on the changing role of women in the Weimar Republic,³⁴ as well as tasks requiring deeper thought, such as identifying which taboos were broken in the famous film *The Blue Angel* starring Marlene Dietrich.³⁵

2.3 The Nazi era

The era of the Third Reich is one of the central topics covered by German textbooks of modern history, which devote very substantial attention to it. The texts not only trace the political developments of the time, detailing Hitler's gradual rise to power, but they also focus on various aspects of society, including everyday life under the Nazis. Separate chapters are devoted to the state's ideological control over education and youth activities, as well as Nazi propaganda promoting the regime's fundamental concept of the family—which emphasized the traditional role of women (mothers) managing the household.

30 Brokemper, P. – Köster, E. – Potente, D. (2013). *Geschichte Real 3*, op. cit., p. 56; Osburg, F. – Klose, D. (2006). *Expedition Geschichte 4*, op. cit., p. 85; Regenhardt, H.-O. (2014). *Forum Geschichte 9*, op. cit., p. 77.

31 Geus, E. (2011). *Horizonte 9*, op. cit., p. 109; Andrae, U. (2013). *Entdecken und Verstehen 2*, op. cit., p. 229; Brokemper, P. – Köster, E. – Potente, D. (2013). *Geschichte Real 3*, op. cit., p. 56; Christoffer, S. (2013). *Zeitreise 4*, op. cit., p. 31; Andrae, U. (2013). *Entdecken und Verstehen 2*, op. cit., p. 217.

32 Regenhardt, H.-O. (2014). *Forum Geschichte 9*, op. cit., p. 77; Funken, W. – Koltrowitz, B. (2009). *Geschichte plus 9*, op. cit., p. 65.

33 Funken, W. – Koltrowitz, B. (2009). *Geschichte plus 9*, op. cit., p. 65.

34 Geus, E. (2011). *Horizonte 9*, op. cit., p. 109; Brokemper, P. – Köster, E. – Potente, D. (2013). *Geschichte Real 3*, op. cit., p. 56.

35 Christoffer, S. (2013). *Zeitreise 4*, op. cit., p. 66.

The Nazi state's close control over youth activities from an early age, and the model roles it envisioned for women, is presented e.g. in a diagram clearly depicting the progression from membership of the *Jungvolk* (age 10–14) to the *Bund Deutscher Mädel* (Union of German Girls, age 14–18), the Women's Labour Service (age 18–21), women's role as housewives and mothers (age 21–35) and as maintainers of the German people (age 35–45), and their membership in the *Frauenschaft* (the National Socialist Women's League, from age 45). Students are tasked with explaining how the Nazis maintained control over the entire nation from early childhood onwards.³⁶

Particular attention is paid to the education system in Nazi Germany, and historical sources are also used. One textbook cites a ministerial order issued in 1933 which defines the main tasks of schools, i.e. instilling in their students humility, patriotism, loyalty, strong will and determination, respect for authority ("individuals are nothing, the state is everything");³⁷ other sources include a citation from one of Hitler's political speeches concerning the need to teach schoolchildren the German way of thinking and acting, or authentic memoirs by former members of the *Bund Deutscher Mädel* speaking both about the enjoyable times they spent with their friends and also about their role as "implementers of orders." The state's manipulation of schoolchildren is exemplified with examples of physical attacks on Jewish classmates or pressure exerted by students on a teacher who refused to give the Nazi salute.³⁸ The predetermined future roles that were assigned to girls are illustrated with a list of compulsory school subjects, which included household duties, handcrafts, infant care, and racial biology; before being admitted to the next level of the education system, girls had to pass an examination in household duties, and only 10% of girls were allowed to continue their studies in higher education.³⁹

The iconographic sources depicting education and youth activities in the Third Reich mainly include photographs and posters, such as a propaganda poster bearing the slogan *Auch du gehörst dem Führer* ("You Too Belong to the Führer", 1936) or a photograph of members of the *Bund Deutscher Mädel* celebrating Hitler's birthday.⁴⁰

The Nazi ideal of women occupies a central place in the textbooks' presentation of this era. The textbooks list the attributes that women were expected to embody. For example, there is a citation from the historian Ursula Böhm, who in 1986 wrote that women under the Nazis were expected to be blonde and blue-eyed, non-smokers, wearing no makeup, interested in cooking, baking and knitting, attending courses on

36 Osburg, F. – Klose, D. (2006). *Expedition Geschichte 4*, op. cit., p. 96.

37 Brokemper, P. – Köster, E. – Potente, D. (2013). *Geschichte Real 3*, op. cit., p. 84.

38 Ibidem, pp. 83–84; Osburg, F. – Klose, D. (2006). *Expedition Geschichte 4*, op. cit., p. 130.

39 Berger, v. d. Heide, T. (2014). *Entdecken und Verstehen 3*, op. cit., p. 31.

40 Brokemper, P. – Köster, E. – Potente, D. (2013). *Geschichte Real 3*, op. cit., pp. 83–84; Osburg, F. – Klose, D. (2006). *Expedition Geschichte 4*, op. cit., p. 130.

folk dancing and infant care, members of the official women's organizations, boosting the morale of their husbands at the front by regularly sending them letters, and understanding that their children would die in battle for their fatherland.⁴¹ Other attributes that the Nazis considered typical of women were a willingness to give up their jobs in order to focus on managing the household, frugality, and childbearing (women were awarded the *Ehrenkreuz*—"Cross of Honour"—if they bore four or more children).⁴² It is also pointed out that large families were entitled to receive state-backed loans at competitive rates of interest.⁴³

Using historical sources, students are tasked with identifying "ideal women" from matrimonial advertisements in newspapers, developing their empathy by interpreting personal memoirs, comparing photographs and posters depicting typical women of the Weimar Republic and the Third Reich, and explaining the role of women based on photographs of mothers with prams and women with multiple children.⁴⁴

The textbooks also incorporate various learning tasks. Students are asked to explain why Mothers' Day or the Cross of Honour (*Ehrenkreuz*) were introduced,⁴⁵ to decide and argue whether women under the Nazi regime were more victims or active participants,⁴⁶ to compare the image of women under the Nazis and in the present day, to write an article for the school magazine about the role of women in the Third Reich,⁴⁷ or to explain why the *Bund Deutscher Mädel* was popularly nicknamed *Bald Deutsche Mutter* ("soon [to be] German mothers").⁴⁸

Some of the textbooks also give details about the bravery of women who helped to hide Jews from the Nazi authorities—including the heroic deeds of two women from Göttingen, Meta Kamp-Steinmann and Hedwig Gehrke, who in 2005 were awarded the title "Righteous Among the Nations" by Israel.⁴⁹

2.4 From 1945 to the present day

The authors of German history textbooks consider it important to address the different paths of historical development taken in both parts of the divided Germany up to the fall of the Berlin Wall. Students are encouraged to compare the situation

41 Brokemper, P. – Köster, E. – Potente, D. (2013). *Geschichte Real 3*, op. cit., p. 83–84.

42 Ibidem, p. 85.

43 Berger, v. d. Heide, T. (2014). *Entdecken und Verstehen 3*, op. cit., p. 30.

44 Regenhardt, H.-O. (2014). *Forum Geschichte 9*, op. cit., pp. 114–115; Christoffer, S. (2013). *Zeitreise 4*, op. cit., p. 64.

45 Ibidem.

46 Regenhardt, H.-O. (2014). *Forum Geschichte 9*, op. cit., p. 115.

47 Berger, v. d. Heide, T. (2014). *Entdecken und Verstehen 3*, op. cit., p. 30.

48 Osburg, F. – Klose, D. (2006). *Expedition Geschichte 4*, op. cit., p. 131.

49 Berger, v. d. Heide, T. (2014). *Entdecken und Verstehen 3*, op. cit., pp. 62–63.

of women in West Germany and East Germany and to identify similarities and differences.

The years in the immediate aftermath of the Second World War are characterized as a period of rebuilding a shattered country. Women who (for a minimal wage and food stamps) cleared the rubble from Germany's bombed cities were known as *Trümmerfrauen*. The textbooks accentuate the personal stories and memoirs of women who lived through this time. They also make use of photographs, for example as part of learning tasks that encourage students to empathize with these heroic women (e.g. by writing diary entries describing the thoughts and emotions of the women in the photographs). The textbooks also note that the *Graue Panther* political party fought for the rights of the *Trümmerfrauen*, and that in 1987 legislation was passed to pay these women a lifetime pension.⁵⁰

All the analyzed textbooks state that equality between women and men was legally guaranteed in both West and East Germany, but that the reality was in fact somewhat different, and that women found it difficult to combine employment with their household duties, child care and caring for elderly relatives. West German society is characterized as more traditional from a gender perspective—especially in the 1950s and the first half of the 1960s, when married women generally remained at home, had relatively large numbers of children, were subordinate to their husbands, and could only be employed with their husbands' consent. However, the civil unrest of 1968 sparked the development of a feminist movement in West Germany, where the emancipation process reached its full intensity from the 1970s. Women campaigned for the legalization of abortion (until 1974 abortion carried a sentence of imprisonment under West German criminal law); from 1977 onwards it became legally possible for children to have their mother's surname; and in the 1980s quotas were introduced mandating that West German political parties, associations and public organizations should prioritize a woman over a man if both had the same qualifications.⁵¹

The textbooks inform students that the East German regime considered employment among women to be a core tenet of society, and that especially in the 1950s this emphasis was closely bound up with efforts to revitalize the country's war-ravaged economy. The authors describe the state's social policies: women were paid for a year after the birth of a child (the so-called *Babyjahr*); interest-free loans were offered to young families to help furnish their homes; and there was a network of preschools for the youngest children. Examples of women's disadvantaged position in society include their lower wages (by 25–30 percent), men's unwillingness to help

50 Osburg, F. (2007). *Expedition Geschichte 5*, op. cit., pp. 14–15.

51 Ibidem; Funken, W. – Koltrowitz, B. (2009). *Geschichte plus 10*, op. cit., pp. 84–85; Brückner, D. – Focke, H. (2011). *Das waren Zeiten 3*, op. cit., pp. 300–301.

with housework, and the under-representation of women in politics (for example, in 1988 the GDR had only one woman serving in the cabinet—Margot Honecker, the education minister).⁵²

The comparison of life in East and West Germany also encompasses topics of youth and sexuality. Students learn that young people in the GDR married at an earlier age, and that between the 1950s and the 1980s the divorce rate rose from 15% to 50%.⁵³ Attitudes to sexuality were more liberal in the GDR than in West Germany. In the East, sexuality was viewed as a natural matter: there was no legal distinction between the children of married and unmarried parents, nudism was widely practiced, but pornography and prostitution were illegal. By contrast, West German advertising was more sexualized. Homosexuality was viewed as problematic in both East and West Germany, but in the GDR Section 175 of the Criminal Code (outlawing homosexuality) was repealed at the end of the 1950s, whereas in West Germany homosexuality remained criminalized until 1994.⁵⁴

The historical sources in the textbooks make considerable use of statistical data, presented in graphs and tables. Students analyze the proportion of employed women in East and West Germany between 1950 and 1986, compare the proportion of women in selected professions during the 1970s (university professors, school directors, members of corporate management boards, judges—the proportion was 20% higher in West Germany than in the East), compare the proportion of women among parliamentary deputies in both states,⁵⁵ and compare the numbers of children in creches, preschools and after-school groups (75% higher in the GDR than in West Germany).⁵⁶

Iconographic sources include primarily photographs of manual workers, joyful “builders of socialism” in East Germany, children in creches, on posters and on magazine covers (one image that recurs in several textbooks is a cover of the West German magazine *Stern* from 1971, showing women who had terminated their pregnancies).⁵⁷

The learning tasks are based mainly on comparison; students are asked to compare photographs or statistical data, and historical topics are often viewed from a present-day perspective—for example, students have to find information on the current proportion of women in federal and state-level assemblies,⁵⁸ discuss the

52 Ibidem.

53 Brokemper, P. – Köster, E. – Potente, D. (2013). *Geschichte Real 3*, op. cit., p. 163.

54 Osburg, F. (2007). *Expedition Geschichte 5*, op. cit., p. 21.

55 The *Bundestag* in the Federal Republic of Germany and the *Volkskammer* in the German Democratic Republic.

56 Ibidem; Funken, W. – Koltrowitz, B. (2009). *Geschichte plus 10*, op. cit., p. 84.

57 Ibidem; Brückner, D. – Focke, H. (2011). *Das waren Zeiten 3*, op. cit., p. 300.

58 Ibidem.

advantages and disadvantages of quotas, find information about the regulation of abortions in the GDR,⁵⁹ or summarize how women's position in society has changed during the past four decades.⁶⁰

3 Conclusion: Comparison with the gender dimension in textbooks from other countries

A comparison of the German history textbooks with findings from previous studies of textbooks in four other countries (Austria, Britain, France, Switzerland) focusing on the gender dimension of history teaching materials⁶¹ reveals that textbooks in all five countries devote substantial attention to the topic of women in history. Textbooks from all the countries incorporate separate chapters (each consisting of between one and three pages of text) to the role of women in various historical eras. The authors are motivated by an attempt to break out of the traditional concepts of history teaching which were based solely on presenting chronological series of political events, mainly determined by the actions of powerful men. There is an emphasis on cross-cutting themes incorporating key aspects of social history and the history of the family, young people, education, employment, leisure, fashion and lifestyle.

Textbooks from each country accentuate specific historical topics that form an important part of that country's historical tradition, which are presented in a national context. The British textbooks thus devote considerable attention to the protests and other activities of the suffragettes, who strove to legalize suffrage for women in the early 20th century, as well as focusing on the feminist movement in the 1960s and 1970s as part of a global phenomenon which also incorporated other emancipation movements (such as the civil rights movement in the USA and its struggle against racial segregation). The French textbooks contain much information on mass civil disobedience and demonstrations supporting women's rights, and probably more than the texts from any other country they focus on the activities of important female figures from various areas of life (scientists, politicians, doctors, artists, sportswomen). The Swiss textbooks reflect the specific features of Switzerland's history; women were granted the vote at different times in different cantons, and this development arrived relatively late (in the second half of the 20th century). The textbooks from neighbouring Austria are probably closest in their conception to the German textbooks; a prominent feature of them is their presentation of gender

59 Funken, W. – Koltrowitz, B. (2009). *Geschichte plus 10*, op. cit., p. 85.

60 Osburg, F. (2007). *Expedition Geschichte 5*, op. cit., p. 21.

61 Labischová, D. (2015). *Dějiny ženské emancipace v rakouských učebnicích dějepisu*, op. cit.; Labischová, D. (2015). *Genderová dimenze zahraničních učebnic dějepisu*, op. cit.

aspects of historical topics from a present-day perspective. This is a consequence of one specific feature of Austria's education system, the integrated school subject *Geschichte und Sozialkunde/Politische Bildung*, which incorporates history and civic studies into a single entity. The German textbooks devote considerable attention to the role played by women (mothers) in the Third Reich, as well as to a comparison of the different development of gender roles in both states of the divided Germany after the Second World War.

The key themes in all the analyzed textbooks are the struggle for women's suffrage, the presentation of major figures from the feminist movement who were active in the individual countries, everyday life in the First World War (when women had to replace men in typically male professions), changes in lifestyle during the 1920s, and changes in the family after 1945 (e.g. the crisis of the family that was reflected in rising divorce rates, the legalization of abortion, the rising numbers of women studying in higher education, the double burden of women who had to combine employment with household duties, etc.).

In terms of the didactic presentation of gender-related topics, there is an emphasis on personal stories revealing aspects of everyday life and developing empathy with women who lived during a particular historical period. The authors of the analyzed textbooks place considerable emphasis on research-based tasks and work with various historical sources. Particularly the British textbooks incorporate a well-elaborated didactic apparatus which provides a structured framework for the analysis and interpretation of sources as part of various learning tasks. Work with sources receives the least emphasis in the Swiss textbooks. The German textbooks contain textual and iconographic sources which are integrated into questions and learning tasks, but in comparison with the British textbooks the potential of these sources is less thoroughly exploited.

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

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

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

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

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

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

journalism aside, his life and work were first described by Karel Škába, a Pilsen secondary school teacher and theatre critic, in a publication issued by the Pilsen Municipal Historical Museum². Hora is also mentioned in Felix's *Literární Plzeň v obryse*.³ At the beginning of the 1950 s, Milada Suchá,⁴ an employee of the State Research Library in Pilsen, offered a detailed analysis of Hora's Czech-Polish correspondence. Later, on the occasion of his jubilee, Hora was briefly commemorated by Miloslav Bělohávek⁵ and Hana Dobrá,⁶ archivists of the city of Pilsen. Concise information concerning Hora is available on the servers of the libraries in Pilsen and Kladno, as well as in the Internet encyclopedia Wikipedia.⁷ Apart from Suchá's text, which represents a good scholarly study, along with a contribution by the author of this article in the Czech-Polish anthology *Podzwonne dla granic*,⁸ the above sources consist mostly of potted biographies with a basic overview of Hora's work. It is somewhat surprising that Hora's detailed handwritten autobiography, which positively calls out for scholarly probing, has remained untapped.⁹ This autobiography serves as the main source for the current article, whose aim is to recall the commendable activities of a forgotten Pilsen Polonophile. Hora diligently presents to the Czech reader a whole series of Polish works: he introduced their authors both in print and at public lectures, and, moreover, provided readers with a dictionary and a neatly structured Polish grammar. He even invited anyone interested to participate in free Polish language courses, which he himself organised and personally led. While many influential politicians of the 19th century would invoke Slavic reciprocity and brotherhood at popular gatherings or in the press, the unassuming Hora was tirelessly creating it and fulfilling it with specific activities. This article also recalls

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

After completing his studies, Hora worked briefly in 1863 and 1864 as a teacher at Petr Bílka’s educational institution in Vienna, after which he obtained a position as a substitute and then full-time teacher at the Pilsen Realschule. He joined this newly opened and long-awaited institution at the start of the 1864–1865 school year,¹¹ teaching mathematics, descriptive geometry, drawing and pencraft. He compensated for the natural and technical orientation of his subjects by continuing his literary activity, especially poetry and drama, mostly creating topical declamatory verse or unpretentious farces, often adaptations. He soon became a well-known local man of letters and patriotic educator.

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

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

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

12 A particular target of Schiebl’s criticism, including in print, was the comedy *Petrolej v Kvasovicích*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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- pro nižší školy reálné. Sešit 1, Obrazce přímočárné.* Plzeň: J. M. Zíka; Hora F. A. (1866). *Vzorky k měřickému kreslení pro nižší školy reálné. Sešit 2, Obrazce křivočárné.* Plzeň: J. M. Zíka.
- 16 Močník F. (1875). *Dra Frant. ryt. Močníka Arithmetika i algebra pro vyšší třídy škol středních.* Překlad František Alois Hora. Praha: Nákladem B. Tempského.
- 17 Hora F. A. (1874). *Besední kytice: sbírka deklamací vážných i žertovných pro obojí pohlaví.* Praha: Fr. A. Urbánek.
- 18 Štěpánek, J. N. – Hora, F. A. (ed) (1876). *Divadelní ochotník: repertorium soukromých divadel. Nové sbírky svazek 112.* Praha: Nákladem knihkupectví Mikuláše a Knappa.
- 19 Hora F. A. (1878). O špatných překladech v literatuře české. *Plzeňské listy*, vol. 4.
- 20 Suchá M. (1953) Písemné styky profesora F. A. Hory s Poláky. *Slavia* 22/2–3, p. 322.
- 21 AMP, fond LP 10/31, Korespondence Grabowski.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

PARTICULARITIES:

The Culture and Education of the Czechs in Eastern (Soviet) Volhynia during 1921–1941

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The implementation of the “socialist cultural revolution” was part of the Bolshevik monopoly of power. This “revolution” was intended to elevate the overall cultural standard of the population, particularly in the countryside. The Bolshevik regime established a Czechoslovak section at the Governorate Department of People’s Education in Žytomyr to manage cultural work among the Volhynia Czechs, which established a reading room where the Bolshevik press and Marxist literature could be studied, as well as singing, drama, natural science and atheistic groups. The Czechs endeavoured to revive their cultural activities that had been interrupted by the events of war at their settlements. The best results were achieved by amateur dramatics.

Key words: Czechs; USSR; Volhynia; 1921–1941

The cultural elevation of Czech villages occurred particularly after the First Convention of Czech Teachers in Kiev in 1927. Teachers established drama, choir and recital groups everywhere, and organised libraries and brass bands. There were fire brigades and insurance societies in every town and village. Some farmers subscribed to agricultural magazines from the Czechoslovak Republic, enabling them to apply new agricultural techniques on their farms, particularly in hop cultivation.

The Bolshevik regime also endeavoured to publish Czech newspapers. The first was *Kronika (Chronicle)* in 1921, which was meant to come out as the magazine of the Czech Office of the Volhynia Governorate Committee of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of Ukraine, though only two editions were published.

This attempt was followed by the publication of the newspaper *Volyňská Pravda (Volhynia Truth)*, again as an organ of the Bolshevik Party. The first edition, edited by the Czech communist Jaroslav Petrlík, came out in September 1921. An insufficient readership following the division of Volhynia between Poland and the USSR

and the poor reception the newspaper received led, however, to its demise, which meant there were no Czech newspapers here after 1922.

Evžen Rychlík, who was interested in the folklore, language and economic relations of his compatriots, undertook research into the Czech colonies in eastern Volhynia in the years 1920–1927 with the help of an extensive network of correspondents comprised of Czech teachers, public officials and farmers who completed questionnaires that were sent out. Rychlík came from the family of a Czech farmer in Olšanka (born 1888) and studied at grammar schools in Kiev and Prague and universities in Kiev and Berlin. From 1917 onwards he was a private professor at the Ukrainian People's University in Kiev, and from 1926 a professor at the Institute of People's Education in Nezhin near Chernihiv and the Czech Seminary at the Institute of People's Education in Žytomyr.¹ In Nezhin he published an ethnographic study on the Czech colony Olšanka in which he considered the speech of the local Czechs in lexical terms. He found a considerable influence made by the Russian and Ukrainian languages. In another study, he presented an overview of the literature to date on the Czech settlements in Volhynia.

A council of national minorities, which acted as an umbrella organisation for this ethnographic research, was established in 1929 at the initiative of the Ethnographic Commission of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. Evžen Rychlík's 120-page treatise *The Czechs in the Ukraine* was meant to be published here by 1932. The project was, however, interrupted by his arrest in 1931 and his conviction and sentencing to imprisonment in a gulag, where he died in 1939.

Czech cultural officials in Volhynia, largely teachers and students, met up in the Council of National Minorities which was attended by the Czech School Inspector, male and female teachers, and students from the teaching seminary. An expanded methodological session of Czech cultural officials in Volhynia took place here in September 1929 and considered the government's nationalities policy and the tasks of the cultural revolution, as well as the situation on the ground, the state of and perspectives for cultural education work among the Czech population, new plans for work schools, Czech publishing activity, the training of Czech teachers, and the prospects for the Czech teaching seminary. The discussion drew attention to the shortage of Czech books in town and school libraries and the shortage of suitable theatrical plays and Soviet Czech newspapers, magazines and books. A recommendation was made at the end of the session to secure scholarships and literature for the students of the Czech teaching seminary.²

1 MUŠINKA, A.: Evžen Rychlík – Zapomenutý slavista českého původu. In *Češi v cizině (Czechs Abroad)*, vol. 6. Prague 1992, pp. 85–92.

2 The Institute of Art History, Folklore and Ethnography of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukraine in Kiev, collection: Kabinet nacmen (KNM), no. 28.

In the middle of the 1930 s, the regime prepared the publication of a Czech magazine in the USSR, though this plan was never implemented. One publishing house in Moscow published merely a few Czech books and brochures with both political and entertaining content. Hašek's *The Good Solider Švejk*, Včelička's *The Café on the Main Street* and Urx's book of reports from the USSR entitled *In Socialist Fields* came out in Czech in the USSR. This literature was intended to replace imports of books, magazines and textbooks from the Czechoslovak Republic, whose content was objectionable to the Soviet regime.³

In the first years of the Bolshevik regime, the authorities also mobilised the teaching staff of Czech schools to perform various administrative tasks. Teachers helped collect taxes in kind, keep agricultural statistics and conduct land reforms. Schools did not receive funds either for school requisites or teachers' salaries, and teachers were forced to look for ways of making money on the side. Their work came under continuous scrutiny by the Extraordinary Commission to Combat Counterrevolution, from 1922 onwards the State Political Directorate. The school attendance record of pupils was poor due to frequent epidemics and a shortage of warm clothing in winter. Parents also expressed dissatisfaction with the abolition of religious instruction.

The Czech school system was originally to have been run by the Czechoslovak section at the Volhynia Governorate Department of People's Education. There were eight Czech schools in the Volhynia Governorate in the first half of the nineteen twenties.⁴ The Ukrainian People's Commissariat for Public Education permitted the engagement of a number of teachers from the Czechoslovak Republic and established a Czech inspectorate at the commissariat in Charkov which was charged with the task of supervising Czech schools and settlements.⁵ Children up to the age of sixteen had to join the Pioneer organisation, while Communist Youth Association organisations were established for young people between the ages of 16 and 23. The originally benevolent approach taken by the regime gradually began to change. Teachers from Czechoslovakia had to take special examinations, and textbooks from Czechoslovak were considered ideologically unsuitable.⁶ In the middle of the nineteen twenties, 343 of the total number of 1,033 Czech children of school age attended seven Czech schools (with 13 teachers). Three schools with six teachers and 225 pupils were Ukrainian-Czech schools, and one school with 39 pupils was a Ukrainian-German-Czech school. These schools were subject to the Czech

3 *Krajan (Compatriot)*, 3, 1934, no. 1, p. 4; no. 21, p. 2.

4 *Naše zahraničí* (hereafter merely NZ), 6, 1925, pp. 108–109.

5 NZ, 7, 1926, vol. 4, p. 108.

6 *Idem*, vol. 2, p. 102.

inspectorate.⁷ In August 1927, the Commissariat for Public Education held two-week holiday courses for Czech teachers in the Ukraine. Fifteen teachers, including Czech inspector Josef Hájek and Professor Evžen Rychlík, attended courses in Kiev. These courses were the first attempt to organise Czech teachers in the Ukraine.⁸ They had to take instruction in the Ukrainian language, educational theory and the institutions of the USSR. This first convention of Czech teachers in the Ukraine was followed by a second convention in Žytomyr in June 1929.

Czech teachers in the villages not only organised education for children, young people and adults, but also organised all aspects of cultural life: hobby groups, amateur theatre and choir singing. Their standard of living was, meanwhile, low, and at the beginning of the nineteen twenties they still received part of their salary in kind. In the 1921–1922 school year, a teacher had to settle for 144 kg of rye a year. In the 1922–1923 school year, teachers received 160 kg of rye a month. Not until the 1923–1924 school year was their salary stipulated in monetary terms. A teacher received 18 R (300 CZK) and a head teacher 21 R (360 CZK) a month. In 1924–1925 this monthly salary rose to 27 R (460 CZK) and in 1925–1926 to as much as 35–42 R (ca 700 CZK) a month.⁹ The material conditions in schools were also not favourable. In many places there were no school buildings, and instruction took place in rented rooms that were unkempt and unheated. In place of school benches, pupils had simple tables and long benches. There were no exercise books, writing implements or, most importantly, Czech textbooks.

Teachers used textbooks imported from the Czechoslovak Republic as there were no approved Soviet Czech textbooks. Even in this unfavourable situation, teachers endeavoured to cultivate a national awareness among their pupils through the reading of Czech poems, the singing of Czech songs, the rehearsal of dramatic performances and the study of maps of the Czechoslovak Republic.¹⁰ Evžen Rychlík and Antonín Vodsedalek, who arrived in eastern Volhynia along with other teachers in 1927 at the instigation of then Chairman of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and Deputy in the Czechoslovak Parliament Josef Haken, deserve great credit in this respect.¹¹ At the end of the nineteen twenties, however, it became clear that the existing teachers were not satisfactory to the regime.

7 AUERHAN, J. – TURČÍN, R.: Přehled československých zahraničních menšin a krajanských aglomerací. In *Krajané v cizině a jejich styky s domovem (Compatriots Abroad and Their Relations with the Homeland)*. Ročenka Československého ústavu zahraničního. Prague 1930, p. 223.

8 NZ, 8, 1927, vol. 4, p. 189.

9 NZ, 7, 1926, p. 181.

10 *Věrná stráž (Faithful Guard)*, 3, 1948, no. 13–14, p. 7.

11 ENT, A.: *Východní Volyň*. Rkp. p. 5.

At the turn of the nineteen twenties and thirties there were 19 Czech schools with 24 teachers and 1,057 children in the Ukraine.¹² It still proved possible to hold the Third Czech Teachers' Convention in Žytomyr in 1930, though this proved to be the last as all those taking part in the convention were arrested by the NKVD. The arrest of these teachers also meant the temporary dissolution of the Czech schools and the suspension of contact with the homeland and cultural life in the Czech settlements.

The dissolution of the old cadres of teachers necessitated the training of new teachers for the Czech schools in the Ukraine. In 1931 the teacher training college in Korostyšiv near Žytomyr organised four-month courses for Czech teachers and Czech teaching was then restored. A Czech department was established at the teacher training college in Kiev in 1933. There were around sixty students in three school years who studied eight subjects in Ukrainian and seven in Czech.

Chairman of the senatorial group of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Josef Haken, who went to Moscow for this reason in 1933, also played a part in the organisation of Czech schools and courses and the preparation of new textbooks.¹³ Following his return from the USSR, Haken wrote about the shortage of qualified Czech teachers who would also prove satisfactory from the political perspective. In his words, all the Czech schools should be equipped with cheap new pictorial textbooks. A new primer and arithmetic book came out in 1934, a grammar textbook was at the printers, and a reader and science textbook were in preparation. The Charkov state publishing house planned to issue twelve Czech textbooks in 1934, but this plan was not fulfilled due to the shortage of experts who would have written them. In June 1935, during his visit to the USSR, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Czechoslovak Republic Edvard Beneš visited the Czech department at the teacher training college in Kiev. The school, however, closed the department after 1935. Some of the students were allowed to continue their studies of Ukrainian or Russian.¹⁴

Teaching in minority schools was brought to a halt in 1938. All children had to continue attending schools at which teaching was conducted in the Ukrainian or Russian language. By dissolving the Czech school system, the Stalinist regime attempted to suppress the last vestiges of the identity of the Czech minority in the Ukraine, which was to merge along with other nationalities into an undifferentiated, easily manipulated mass of Soviet citizens without rights.

12 KLÍMA, S.: *Československá péče krajanská*. Prague 1931, p. 19.

13 *Nové knihy*, 1984, no. 22, p. 2.

14 ANDRES, E.: Zločiny proti lidskosti spáchané KSSS na Čěších a němcích na území bývalé Volyšské gubernie. In *Stálá mezinárodní konference o zločinech komunismu (Permanent International Conference on the Crimes of Communism)*. Prague 1991, p. 168.

NEWS:**Memory of Professor Jaroslav Vaculík
(† 5. 5. 2021)**

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Prof. Jaroslav Vaculík in front of his native house in Nový Malín (2010). Photo J. Mihola

A look back to life and work of Professor Jaroslav Vaculík, who was born on 27. 2. 1947 in Velké Losiny in the Šumperk region, belongs a special place in this journal.¹ It was him to come with the idea of giving a special frame to cooperation

1 VACULÍK, J.: *Poznámky k mému původu*. Sborník prací Pedagogické fakulty Masarykovy univerzity, řada společenských věd, roč. 31, 2017, č. 1, s. 146–148.

with the colleagues from Wrocław university more than twenty years before. They began to organize the so-called Czech-Polish Days, thus conferences with the representation of the Czech and Polish explorers, historians, didacticists and educators, to which also students were invited. One year in Brno, another one in Wrocław, and this tradition has remained until these days, with the exception of the COVID 19 pandemic, during which these meetings were impossible. The Czech-Polish co-operation resulted in releasing the journal called Czech – Polish Historical and Pedagogical Journal.² From that time, tens of Czech and foreign authors, and also members of the department of history have regularly published in this periodical.

Jaroslav Vaculík was the main editor who looked after the magazine as it was his own child until his death. It was his contribution that the magazine gained a respectable reputation and twice a year offered a sight into a range of specialized historical and pedagogical topics. Vaculík's first-rate edition is then a challenge for all of his followers.

However, the historical and pedagogical work of Jaroslav Vaculík at the Faculty of Education began much earlier. He already gained his inspiration and interest in professional issues, and in pedagogical activity at the places of his childhood. The Šumperk region, disreputably famous for its witch trials, also became one of the sanctuaries where our compatriots from Volhynia returned after World War II. The village where he lived with his parents, originally called Frankštát, was renamed to Nový Malín in 1947, in memory of Český Malín in Volhynia area, which was burned down by fascists in 1943. Jaroslav Vaculík devoted his life to the history of Volhynia Czechs from his young research years and he remained loyal to the theme until his last days. At a time when communistic ideology heavily affected the history, this field remained only minimally hit by the communistic ideology, and it was fertile at the same time. After acquiring pedagogical experience at the basic school in Sobotín, he worked at the Faculty of Education in Brno since 1973.³ In 1984 Jaroslav Vaculík defended his candidate dissertation *Reemigration and Settlement of Volhynian Czechs 1945–1948* at Palacký university in Olomouc. Still before 1989 he was put on the list as associate professor, out of regard for his expert works he reached habilitation at the Faculty of Arts of Masaryk university without any problem at the beginning of the new millennium. He successfully underwent his professorial procedure at Palacký university in 2008.

I had the opportunity to meet Jaroslav Vaculík first as a student of the Department of History in 1991–1996 and then, since 1999, as a colleague. Among the students, the

2 VACULÍK, J.: *Czech-polish historical and pedagogical Journal*. Sborník prací Pedagogické fakulty Masarykovy univerzity, řada společenských věd, roč. 33, 2019, č. 2, s. 165–168.

3 VACULÍK, J.: *Dvakrát na katedře dějepisu PdF MU*. Sborník prací Pedagogické fakulty Masarykovy univerzity, řada společenských věd, roč. 31, 2017, č. 1, s. 130–145.

then associate professor, secretary and deputy head of the department, was popular. The forty-five-year-old sympathetic man with his visage reminding of the famous American actor Richard Gere was able to impress with his expertise and manner of presentation, when he represented the communist-displaced giants of Czech historiography, such as Josef Pekař, and he opened and interestingly presented many previously neglected topics. He was delighted by return of freedom and democracy, and if before 1989 the department preparing future teachers undoubtedly had the necessary libations of the regime, Vaculík wanted to set the record straight as much as possible and, unlike some of his colleagues, he certainly did not remain nostalgic. At that time he taught Introduction to the Study of History, world history of the early modern period, especially the 17th and 18th centuries, and also world history of the 19th and 20th centuries. In addition, he and other colleagues also led excursions. His interest in professional literature was also evident from his work in the department library at that time.

Most of the life and work Jaroslav Vaculík have been connected with the city of Brno, where he first lived in the quarter Komárov, near the oldest preserved church building in Brno, the Church of St. Jiljí, later in the quarter of Řečkovice. In 2000 he became head of the Department of History and led it until 2016.⁴ He was also actively involved in the life of the faculty. He was twice elected Chairman of the Academic Senate of the Faculty of Education and he also worked in the Senate of Masaryk University and the Council of Higher Education Institutions. Vaculík devoted himself completely to the Muse Kleiό. He didn't have a family, which became his colleagues and friends who shared similar interests to his. He devoted himself fully to historical work and expected the same devotion to history from others. Except the above-mentioned Czech-Polish Historical and Pedagogical Journal, he also edited the journal Proceedings of the Faculty of Education, Masaryk University, Series of Social Sciences.⁵ He actively participated in many conferences, seminars, symposia, and, as the head of the Department of History he organized didactic conferences.⁶ He was a member of many scientific societies, sat on several editorial boards of professional journals, was a researcher of grants from the Czech Science Foundation, participated in the research plan of the Faculty of Education MU

4 O katedře, jejich dějinách, učitelích, studijních programech a publikacích více v: VACULÍK, J. (ed.): *Katedra historie. Informační příručka*. Brno, Masarykova univerzita 2011.

5 VACULÍK, J.: *Za třiceti ročníky společenských věd*. Sborník prací Pedagogické fakulty Masarykovy univerzity, řada společenských věd, roč. 30, 2016, č. 1, s. 164–171; *týž: Šedesát let od vzniku Sborníku prací, řada společenských věd*. Sborník prací Pedagogické fakulty Masarykovy univerzity, řada společenských věd, roč. 33, 2019, č. 1, s. 112.

6 VACULÍK, J.: *Přehled o činnosti katedry historie PdF MU za léta 2000–2015*. Sborník prací Pedagogické fakulty Masarykovy univerzity, řada společenských věd, roč. 29, 2015, č. 1, s. 151–153.

School and Health, and many other professional activities. Jaroslav Vaculík mainly focused on professional and pedagogical work. Vaculík's domain was publishing.⁷ He is the author of a long series of monographs, hundreds of domestic and foreign articles, he also wrote news from the scientific world and reviews.⁸ Popularization of history was for Vaculík a complement to professional work. In 2009 he published a useful publication *Czech Minorities in Europe and the World* in the prestigious Libri publishing house, he went to lecture to compatriots in Vienna as part of the Academic Association, or to repatriated Volhynian Czechs in our country. He gave an interview to the well-known non-fiction magazine *Živá historie* (Living History) on the topic of Volhynian Czechs.⁹ He worked most closely with the Polish colleagues. Together we participated in conferences and seminars in almost all major Polish cities, we also visited compatriots in Daruvar, Volhynia and other places. We regularly visited commemorative acts at the memorial to the victims of Český Malín in Nový Malín. After 2000, Jaroslav Vaculík lectured at the Faculty of Education mainly on world history of the 19th and 20th centuries, and he strengthened modern history with contemporary history. In addition, he offered many optional lectures, e.g. on constitutional history, political parties, the Cold War, etc. He placed great emphasis on context, and on the work with the map. Even today, students greatly appreciate the series of consecutive scripts and readers, covering the general history from the Peace of Westphalia to the present. He devoted himself to students as the head of bachelor's and master's theses. Under his leadership, many of them succeeded in the SVOČ [students' scientific and specialized activity (transl. note)] competition, two of his students even won this competition.¹⁰ Since 2000, Jaroslav Vaculík and I have

7 Srovnej např.: KRATOCHVÍL, L.: *Bibliografie Jaroslava Vaculíka za léta 2012–2016*. Sborník prací Pedagogické fakulty Masarykovy univerzity, řada společenských věd, roč. 31, 2017, č.1, s. 152–158. Zde je také odkaz na Vaculíkovu bibliografii z let 1975–2012 publikovanou na stránkách tohoto časopisu roč. 26, 2012, č. 2, s. 7–38

8 K nejdůležitějším Vaculíkovým dílům náleží *Dějiny Volyňských Čechů I.–III.* (Brno, Masarykova univerzita 1997–2001); *Reemigrace a repatriace Čechů a Slováků po první světové válce* (Brno, Masarykova univerzita 2014); *Nástin českých a slovenských přeshraničních migrací v meziválečném období* (Brno, Masarykova univerzita 2010); *Češi v cizině. 1850–1938* (Brno, Masarykova univerzita 2009); *Začleňování reemigrantů do hospodářského života v letech 1945–1950*. Studie Národohospodářského ústavu Josefa Hlávky 2/2001; *Poválečná reemigrace a usídlování zahraničních krajanů* (Brno, Masarykova univerzita 2002).

9 KAŠKA, V.: *Na Volyň a zase zpět. Rozhovor s Jaroslavem Vaculíkem*. *Živá historie*, červenec – srpen 2020, s. 24–27.

10 V roce 2019 to byl Bc. Jan Kopecký s prací *Typový projekt vlna a ochrana vysílání v době tzv. normalizace*. Za svoji práci následně obdržel ještě Cenu Edvarda Beneše. Srovnej: JIREČEK, M.: *Celostátní vědecká konference Historie 2019; Cena Edvarda Beneše v rukou Jana Kopeckého*. Sborník prací Pedagogické fakulty Masarykovy univerzity, řada společenských věd, roč. 34, 2020, č. 1, s. 97–98. V roce 2010 zvítězil Libor Bílek. Srovnej: BÍLEK, L.: *Vratislav*

sat on the jury of the national round of SOČ, specializing in history.¹¹ . He played a decisive role in the creation and successful accreditation of the field of Christian Education, which enriched the study offer of the Faculty of Education within the Department of History in 2008–2018.

For his work and for his writings he has received many important awards: Dean's Award of the Faculty of Education, the Rector's Award of Masaryk University, the Prize of the Chairman of the Grant Agency of the Czech Republic, the Commemorative Medal of the Czechoslovak Legionary Community, the Rudolf Medek Award. In 2019, he received the South Moravian Region Award for his lifelong work and contribution to science.¹²

In the personality of Professor Vaculík went away not only an expert, a favourite teacher and colleague, but also a sociable, friendly, always elegantly dressed person, who liked to go with students or colleagues for a beer, a ball, an exhibition or a meeting of graduates. His creative performance is a challenge for all colleagues and his research results deserve to be continued. He was not allowed to live to defend the dissertation of his ward, the chairwoman of the Union of Volhynian Czechs Dagmar Martinková. However, her successful defense and published book seemed to be a symbolic thank you to Jaroslav Vaculík at the gates of heaven and a promise that the history of foreign Czechs will attract the interest of historians even further.¹³

Jiří Mihola

Hladiš – odpůrce, pomahač i oběť komunistického režimu. Sonda do agenturní práce Státní bezpečnosti v prvních letech po Únoru. In: Historie 2009. Sborník prací z 15. celostátní studentské vědecké konference konané 8. a 9. dubna 2010 v Ústí nad Labem. Ústí nad Labem, UJEP 2010, s. 231–258.

- 11 MIHOLA, J.: *Malé nahlédnutí do Středoškolské odborné činnosti – obor historie.* Sborník prací Pedagogické fakulty Masarykovy univerzity, řada společenských věd, č. 21, 2006, s. 144; týž: *Celostátní kolo Středoškolské odborné činnosti (SOČ), obor historie 2006–2010.* Sborník prací Pedagogické fakulty Masarykovy univerzity, řada společenských věd, roč. 24, 2010, č. 1, s. 188–190; týž: *Celostátní kolo středoškolské odborné činnosti (SOČ), obor historie v letech 2011–2020.* Sborník prací Pedagogické fakulty Masarykovy univerzity, řada společenských věd, roč. 34, 2020, č. 2, s. 152–155.
- 12 KRATOCHVÍL, L.: *Laureáti Ceny Jihomoravského kraje.* Sborník prací Pedagogické fakulty Masarykovy univerzity v Brně, řada společenských věd, roč. 33, 2019, č. 2, s. 169.
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