

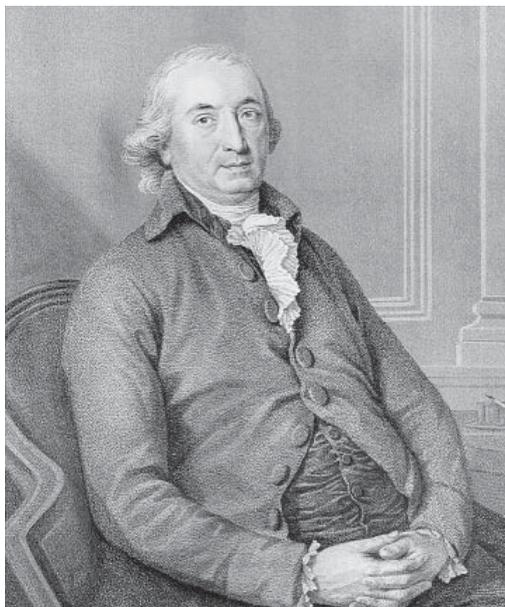
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**Carl Beck
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East European Studies

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**Johann Gottfried Herder
and the Czech National
Awakening:
A Reassessment**



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A Reassessment**

Zdeněk V. David is a Senior Scholar at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington, D.C., where he previously served as Librarian. Educated as a historian (Ph.D. Harvard 1960) he had also taught Russian and East European history at the University of Michigan (Ann Arbor) and Princeton. His book, *Finding the Middle Way: The Utraquists' Liberal Challenge to Rome and Luther* was published in 2003. A Czech translation is now under preparation. With the late Robert Kann he is coauthor of the *Peoples of the Eastern Habsburg Lands, 1526–1918* (1984). In addition, David has published articles on the history of Utraquism, the Jews in Czech historiography, and the philosophy of Thomas G. Masaryk. Currently, he is preparing a book on the philosophical and religious sources of the National Awakening in Bohemia, 1773–1848.

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ABSTRACT

The Czech national awakening is habitually linked with Herder's influence as a Romantic and anti-Enlightenment happening. This study argues the opposite. It contradicts, at least in the Czech case, the idea, originally articulated by Hans Kohn, that European nationalism, particularly in the center and the east of the continent, was an expression of a particularist self-assertion, verging on (or passing into) xenophobia, and defying the rationalistic and cosmopolitan outlook of the Enlightenment.

The objective of this study is, first, to show that the pace-setters of the Czech national awakening functioned within the realistic rationalist Enlightenment, rather than within the emotional self-centeredness, growing out of the Romanticist ethos. They drew on other than the Herderian sources, primarily on the Josephist Enlightenment, and the subsequent liberal Catholicism, epitomized by Karl H. Seibt and Bernard Bolzano. The assumptions to the contrary were based on (1) the allegedly anti-national character of the Enlightenment; (2) a distaste for liberal Catholicism by both the official Rome and the secularists; (3) an assumption of the obvious superiority of German culture; and (4) a confusion with the Slovak national romanticism.

The Czech preference for empirical realism against metaphysical idealism can be placed into broader contexts. Projected into the past, it can be seen as related to the Thomistic realism of the Bohemian Reformation in contrast to the anti-Aristotelian stance of Luther and the German Reformation. Projected into the future, the Bohemian preference can be related to the dichotomy between the "Austrian" and the "German" philosophical tradition. It is aligned with the former, beginning with Bolzano, Brentano, Mach, and Meinong, and ending with the logical positivism of the Vienna School and with analytical philosophy. It stands outside the latter which begins with Kant, Fichte, Hegel and Schelling and leads to Heidegger, Adorno, and Bloch.

The Czech national awakening is habitually linked with Herder's influence, as a Romantic and anti-Enlightenment occurrence. This study argues the opposite. It contradicts, at least in the Czech case, the idea, originally articulated by Hans Kohn, that European nationalism, particularly in the center and the east of the continent, was an expression of a particularist self-assertion, verging on (or passing into) xenophobia and defying the rationalistic and cosmopolitan outlook of the Enlightenment.

The object of this study is, first, to show that the pacesetters of the Czech national awakening functioned within the realistic, rationalist Enlightenment, rather than within the emotional self-centeredness growing out of the Romanticist ethos. Other than Herderian sources, they drew primarily on the Josephist Enlightenment and the subsequent liberal Catholicism epitomized by Karl H. Seibt (1735–1806) and Bernard Bolzano (1781–1848). The assumptions to the contrary were based on (1) a confusion with Slovak national Romanticism; (2) the allegedly antinational character of the Enlightenment; (3) a distaste for liberal Catholicism by both official Rome and the secularists; and (4) the assumption of an obvious ascendancy of German culture that was inspired by Romanticism and philosophical Idealism.

Second, the relevance and significance of intellectual substance over institutional forms highlights the limitation of an extrinsic approach to the understanding of nationalism, as evident, for instance, in the taxonomic approaches of Miroslav Hroch.¹ The various ethnic groups during their national awakenings at the turn of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries may have passed through certain stages of interest in linguistics, folklore, use of their vernacular in offices and schools, or a fair share of representation in political and administrative institutions. These forms, however, were distinct and separate from the political culture—or, if one wishes, the *weltanschauung*—which sought expression through them. The crucial question is whether it was assertion of a specific ethnicity in the spirit of Romanticism, or work within a universal human culture within the spirit of the Enlightenment. When two national groups engage in similar activities, or ask for similar institutions, it does not mean that their purposes are the same. The Czech case indicates that two national agendas may even be contradictory.

The Czech preference for empirical realism over metaphysical idealism can be placed into broader contexts. Projecting into the past, it can be related to the Thomistic realism of the Bohemian Reformation in contrast to the anti-Aristotelian stance of Luther and the German Reformation. Projecting into a later period, the Bohemian preference can be related to the dichotomy between the “Austrian” and the “German” philosophical traditions. It is aligned with the former, beginning with Bolzano, Brentano, Mach, and Meinong and ending with the logical positivism of

the Vienna School and with analytical philosophy. It stands against the latter which begins with the philosophy of Kant, Fichte, Hegel, and Schelling and continues with Heidegger, Adorno, and Bloch.²

Herder's Proto-Romanticism and Idealism

The dark features of East European nationalism are usually viewed as both caused and epitomized by the German Romantic and Idealist current of thought in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The crucial role in inspiring this process is normally assigned to Johann Gottfried Herder, whose impact was magnified and continued by German philosophical Idealism, which culminated in the philosophical and metaphysical system of Hegel. A recent authoritative source has characterized the pivotal function of Herder's thought: "It would be difficult to underestimate the influence of the German philosopher Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803) on the first, romantic or proto-nationalistic phase of nationalism in Eastern Europe. . . . He also popularized the idea that each people or 'folk' had a unique 'soul' or 'spirit' (*Volksgeist*) that manifested itself in its language, poetry, literature, music, customs, and history."³

It has been common to emphasize the influence of Herder on the Czech national awakening, particularly with respect to its inspirational Slavic ramifications. Eugen Lemberg considered Czech national feeling and historical self-image fixated at Herder's outlook.⁴ According to Alexander Gillies, "The Czechs were affected first and most fundamentally" by Herder. Frederick M. Barnard, echoed this view: the Czechs "were the first to proclaim Herder's gospel of national self-determination."⁵ Walter Schamschula saw a paradigm-altering influence of Herder on the Czech national awakening.⁶ Alexandr S. Myl'nikov spoke of "the greater Herder, one of the most popular figures of the [Czech] national awakening." Robin Okey speaks of growing Herderian influence on the Czechs in the period 1800 to 1830.⁷ Such august figures as Tomáš G. Masaryk, and after him Jan Patočka, considered the Czech awakening, in large part, an offspring of Herderian Proto-Romanticism. Patočka wrote: "Herder provided the intellectual underpinning for our awakening. . . . Early, he affected Dobrovský, then the national topology of Kollár and Šafařík, the humanism of Palacký, the Slavism of the entire coterie of Jungmann. All these intellectual leaders were influenced, above all, by Herder's motive of the Slavs' European cultural mission."⁸

Herder's philosophy of history in its national collectivism, determinism, and particularism, indeed contradicted the tenets of the Enlightenment. (1) Rejecting the Enlightenment's individualism, Herder insisted that an individual's development was inextricably bound up with the national group. He embraced a collectivist view as an antidote to the rationalists' individualism, and shifted, in his philosophy of history, the focal point from the individual to nationality. (2) Against the Enlightenment's open-ended view of social progress, Herder posited a necessary path which a nationality had to follow as an organic entity, the development of which was governed by a natural law. This law molded each nationality into a particular unit and represented an irresistible force. (3) Against the Enlightenment's cosmopolitan universalism, Herder stressed national particularism. A nationality had to maintain a culture which was its own not only in form, but also in substance. The national character of a culture was its essence, not just an attribute.⁹ Stated more simply and starkly, "Different societies and cultures may legitimately have different customs and different norms."¹⁰ While Herder himself thought of nationalities as peaceful and harmonious, his philosophy of history provided a basis for intolerance and strife.

Under the influence of Johann G. Hamann, Herder rejected the concept of "Mankind," born out of the rationalism and universalism of the Enlightenment.¹¹ His view was that a nation had a peculiar spirit and it must advance not through the imitation of others, but through the cultivation of its individual characteristics, in particular language, folklore, and national customs. Thus there was no universal culture, but each nation was to develop its own consciousness: "Every nation carries within itself the central point of its own happiness, just as every ball contains its own center of gravity."¹² It has been suggested that Herder's motivation derived in part from a concern over the fragmented state of the German-speaking area during the eighteenth century. This he wished to remedy through the fostering of a German national ideology that would unite Germany and, based on language and literature, produce a distinct national character. Truth for Herder tended to be the property of a linguistic entity rather than a bearing of universal character. The Herderian stress on the unbreakable bond between language and culture was perpetuated by Wilhelm Humboldt.¹³

It was also true that there was a genetic relationship between Herder's philosophy and German philosophical Idealism. Herder's *weltanschauung*, in anticipation of German Romanticism and Idealism (especially Schelling and Hegel), embraced the idea of an organic development of the entire world, reflected in nature and in human society as several stages of a single cosmic organism.¹⁴ This connection with Herder was particularly pronounced in Johann Fichte's *Addresses to the German*

Nation and in the *Ideen zu einer Philosophie der Natur* (Ideas for a Philosophy of Nature) of Schelling, who enjoyed the reputation of “an avid reader of Herder.”¹⁵ It has also been said that Hegel combined “transcendental idealism with a sense of historical relativity” by bringing together Herder (and Wilhelm Humboldt) with Kant. There is evidence that, in fact, he also read Herder as a student.¹⁶ Moreover, Herder shared with the Idealist philosophers the murky roots in the German mysticism which had crystalized in Jacob Boehme’s theosophy and was perpetuated by the Pietist tradition.¹⁷ The theologian Friedrich C. Oetenger (1702–1782) presumably was the main transmitter of Boehme’s ideas to his own Swabian compatriots, Schelling and Hegel.¹⁸ In its further development, however, philosophical Idealism tended to outgrow the Romantic framework. Thus, applying the Romantic label to the stalwarts of Absolute Idealism, Hegel and his disciples, may be regarded as questionable.¹⁹ In particular, Hegel did not subscribe to the Herderian notion that different norms in different societies that express a peculiar national spirit are ipso facto legitimate.²⁰ Conversely, it is unfair to Herder—as has often happened—to hold him responsible for the peculiarities of the philosophy of history in Germany in later years.²¹

Illusion of Herder’s Influence

The Slovak Question

Perhaps the most important source of attributing a key role to Herder, in the Czech case, stemmed from a confusion between the intellectual content of the Slovak national awakening and the Czech. A typical expression of this merging can be found in Masaryk’s *The Czech Question*, which characterized Ján Kollár (1793–1852) as a seminal figure in the Czech national awakening.²² On closer examination this conventional view appears highly questionable. While Kollár’s philosophical orientation toward Herder and German Romanticism was typical of the Slovak national awakening, with its Lutheran Protestant basis, it was not characteristic of the intellectual climate of Bohemia that had nourished the national awakening of the Czechs. Inappropriately, Kollár has been viewed as representative of Czech intellectual culture.²³

German-style Romanticism and Idealism sought to infiltrate Czech thought largely through Slovak intellectuals who, undoubtedly influenced by their Protestant Lutheran background, were drawn to contemporary German academic thought. In this they followed in the footsteps of intellectuals of other Slav nations, especially

the Poles and the Russians.²⁴ This fascination with German philosophical Idealism was in contrast to the leading figure among the early Czech awakeners, Josef Dobrovský (1753–1829), who represented the more sober Enlightenment spirit in scholarship.²⁵

The Czech awakeners seemed to regard Slovaks' quasi-mystical vision of the destiny of the Slavs as something like a puerile infatuation.²⁶ Under Herder's influence, Kollár, in particular, placed the nation on the level of Humanity and Divinity.²⁷ The Czechs' view of the Slavic connection was more sober and modest, free of cosmic or apocalyptic overtones. Thus Josef Jungmann (1773–1847) envisaged the Czech national mission with respect to other Slav nations as an aid in transmitting the values of Western civilization to the East free of an imperialistic garb. This rather mundane task, implying, moreover, a certain deficiency on the part of most of the Slavs, seems a far cry from the Herderian vision of the power and global ascendancy of Slavdom. A similar deflation of the Slavic idea, differing from Jungmann's in degree but not in kind, is also pronounced in the writings of Karel Havlíček (1821–1856).

The Enlightenment Question

Another incentive to exaggerate, or even invent, a Romanticist input into the national awakening was the presumption of the Enlightenment's hostility to the Czech vernacular. František V. Krejčí's assessment of the Enlightenment reforms of Maria Theresa and especially of Joseph II is typical: "A special irony of fate, however, was that what brought such a political and intellectual liberation, at the same time endangered the nationality and language to such a degree that the threat of Germanization was never—since the battle of the White Mountain—so horrifying, as exactly then."²⁸ The tendency to pit the Enlightenment against the national awakening, and instead credit Romanticism, was also reflected in a 1998 compendium on the history of Czech literature.²⁹

For the purposes of contextualization, it may be pointed out that a similar problem emerged in Finnish historiography involving a reluctance to credit the Enlightenment with a role in stimulating nationalism or a national awakening because of its alleged aversion to the vernacular language. Instead the roots were spuriously sought in German Romanticism and Hegelianism.³⁰ There was a failure to distinguish between the two basic components of the awakening: its ideological (liberal) substance, and its linguistic form. Actually, the Enlightenment was not ipso facto opposed to national patriotism. For instance, the Dutch experienced their national

awakening under the label of the Dutch National Enlightenment of the 1760s and 1770s.³¹

Thus also in the Czech case, a sour view of the Enlightenment favored the assumption that Romanticism provided the principal inspiration for the culture of the awakening, and Herder—albeit a German—served as the guru of the awakeners. Josef Kaizl formulated this image of Herder’s role with particular directness: “The powerful fructifying current of Western humanistic rationalism was channeled in our case very effectively into nationalism, and the bridge carrying this development was—in my judgment . . . Johann Gottfried Herder.”³² The assumption of a contradiction between the Enlightenment and the national revival was, in fact, based on what was in itself a Herderian tenet of an inextricable unity—or a confusion—between language and culture. The fact that the awakeners at the turn of the eighteenth century and in the early decades of the nineteenth used German to read and to write did not mean that they adopted German cultural values. The language served as a medium to reach the culture of Western Europe, or to recall, revive, or maintain the historical national ethos by relating mainly to the liberal values of the Golden Age of the sixteenth century, to a society, which in turn stemmed largely from the Bohemian Reformation.

The Herderian view of the relationship between the language revival and the national awakening involved a double error. First, the one-sided emphasis on the language obscured the more significant aspect of the philosophical and cultural content of the awakening. Second, this one-sided emphasis involved a confusion between cause and effect. The revival of language emerged as a byproduct of the revival—under the impact of the Enlightenment—of the Utraquist/humanistic culture of the sixteenth century, and not vice versa. This revival of respect for Utraquist/humanistic culture almost automatically led to a revival of respect for the Czech language in which sixteenth-century culture was cast. As the old riddle about what came first; the chicken or the egg, it is possible to say that the chicken of the discovery of the old culture came before the egg of the language revival. This explains the seeming paradox that the attachment to the Czech past preceded the propagation of the language. This attitude was reflected even in the work of the most ardent champions of the Czech language like Jungmann, whom František Palacký (1798–1876) credited with linking old Czech culture to the Enlightenment.³³

The function of sixteenth-century culture as a driving force behind the revival of the Czech language was strengthened by the fact that German had played only a minor role, if any, in the development of Czech theology, law, science, literature, or philosophy during the Bohemian Reformation. This militated against the permanent

adoption of German in the national revival. The Bohemophone prevalence was, of course, characteristic of the literary production emanating from the Utraquist milieu, but, more surprisingly, in the sixteenth century the use of German was also circumscribed among the partisans of Rome—the communicants in one kind. In the fifteenth and sixteenth century, the Romanists distinguished themselves from the Utraquists, who received communion in both kinds (as wine, as well as bread), yet both considered themselves members of the Catholic Church. The prominent Czech Jesuit, Václav Šturm, can serve as an example. When the Brethren charged that he wrote in Czech (rather than Latin or German) to avoid a dispute with the supporters of the Augsburg Confession, he disarmingly replied that he did not know German.³⁴

The primacy of historical culture over language helps to integrate Dobrovský and other awakers of the Enlightenment era who might have had doubts about the future usage of the language. The contributions of Bolzano and Michael J. Fesl (1788–1863) can be recognized without a sense of incongruity. With the revival of a distinct culture, Czechs could remain a distinct nation, even if the unthinkable had happened and German prevailed as the language of communication in Bohemia. To concretize the separability of language and nationality it is apropos to consider the survival of nationalities who have lost (or largely lost) their language. In the contemporary world the Basques have not turned into Spaniards; the Irish or—to take a more startling example, the Zimbabweans—have not become English; Bretons and Corsicans have not turned into Frenchmen.³⁵ Conversely, it is possible to point to the distinct difference in political culture between the Czechs and the Slovaks despite a great linguistic proximity. Looking at the matter from yet another angle, if the language had revived without distinct historical patterns of thought and memories, the inhabitants of Bohemia would just have become Czech-speaking Germans.³⁶ Hence the result is a distortion, rather than an illumination, if, on account of the language factor, Enlightenment is replaced by Romanticism (or Karl H. Seibt by Herder) in order to give a credible explanation for the core values of the Czech national awakening.³⁷

To make matters worse, there has been a tendency to exaggerate the Germanizing tendencies of the Enlightenment and its agents in Bohemia. Thus Seibt has been often depicted not only as a German speaker, but also as an avid Germanizer of Bohemia. Walter Schamschula, in his otherwise remarkable monograph on the Bohemian national awakening, portrayed the cosmopolitan Seibt, oriented toward French and British Enlightenment thought, as an enthusiastic German nationalist and the purveyor of an exclusively German culture. He even blamed the “Seibtkreis”

(Seibt's circle) for making Dobrovský feel at home with the German language.³⁸ Similarly, disregarding the reputation of August G. Meissner (1753–1807) for spreading English and French ideas, Schamschula presents him only as a devotee of German culture.³⁹ Actually, Seibt demonstrated his ultimate linguistic neutrality when he took considerable risk, in his capacity as censor, to approve the publication of Bohuslav Balbín's eulogy of the Slavic tongues, the *Dissertatio apologetica pro lingua Slavonica praecipue Bohemica* (Prague, 1775).⁴⁰ Similarly, Seibt's colleague, Ferdinand Kindermann (1740–1801), although he preferred German as the language of school instruction, did not wish to suppress the use of Czech.⁴¹ Even Bernard Bolzano was not indifferent to the rights of the Czech language, regarding it, however, as a transient instrument, not as a permanent value in itself.⁴² At the other end of the intellectual spectrum, the linguistic resurrectionist Václav Thám (1765–1816), was willing to give the Austrian Enlightenment the benefit of the doubt for its alleged Germanizing tendency. In the preface to his two-volume *Básně v řeči vázané* (1785) he called Joseph II "a special and ardent lover of the language of his Czech people."⁴³ Others, taking the Enlightenment's *raison d'état* at face value, argued against the superficial utility of a single state language. Instead, they maintained that, on strictly utilitarian and rationalistic grounds, large states did better in balancing heterogeneous populations than in facing the people of a single language, as the French royalty had. Kramerius and Dobrovský argued along these lines at the time of Leopold II's coronation in 1791.⁴⁴ Fundamentally, in the Czech national awakening both the pioneers of the liberal philosophical substance (like Bolzano) and of the national linguistic form (like Jungmann), although they can be separated and distinguished, shared common roots in the realistic and empirical Enlightenment.⁴⁵

There are other reasons for questioning the role of the Enlightenment in the Czech national awakening. Tomáš Masaryk had a negative view of the French or "Voltairian" Enlightenment because of its presumably irreligious character. Projecting his biases into the Czech milieu, he preferred Kollár's Herderianism because of its religious tinge over Jungmann's secularism, despite its humanitarian and enlightened tenor. He characterized Jungmann thus: "Voltaire's great adherent, he is an uncritical and blind advocate of the Enlightenment of the previous century and of Josephism."⁴⁶ Actually, Masaryk's view of the liberal, rationalist Enlightenment was rather ambiguous; while on the one hand condemning its secularist spirit, on the other hand he maintained that "the [eighteenth-century] Enlightenment—German, English, and French—was merely a continuation in the spirit of the Bohemian Reformation's principal ideas."⁴⁷ More recently, Patočka considered the influence of the Enlightenment as a negative factor on the grounds of its jejune quality, overlook-

ing the depth of human existence. In other words, the Enlightenment was shallow and superficial, while Romanticism was deep and profound.⁴⁸ Accordingly, Seibt has been subjected to criticism for the superficiality of his learning.⁴⁹ Interestingly, a similar deprecatory attitude about the shallowness of the Enlightenment was voiced by Michel Foucault, who designated the period of the Enlightenment as the *épistémè* of *l'âge classique* (episteme of classical age).⁵⁰

An additional complication was introduced by those, like Kaizl and Patočka, who claimed that Herder was, in fact, an Enlightenment thinker. Their stand was based on the grounds that he was not a full-fledged Romanticist, like, for instance, Fichte.⁵¹ This, of course, did not alter the fact that he had opposed the basic ideas of the Enlightenment, as outlined above, and did not detract from his role as a key progenitor of Romanticism, or from the fact that he is commonly considered in revolt against the Enlightenment.⁵² Patočka, in fact, stressed that Herder did deviate from the Enlightenment standard in his philosophy of history, in which he posited “deeper and more harmonious rules than the human uni-linear intellect of the Enlightenment reason.” Thus, according to Patočka, Herder paved the way to the philosophy of history as offered by German Idealism. In epistemology, Herder stood closer to Boehme’s mysticism than to English empiricism; sense perceptions, for him, were not mere factual data, but revealed an immanent soul.⁵³ Herder thus mapped out a route from the Enlightenment which did not lead to positivism.⁵⁴ Nevertheless, the arguable contamination of Herder’s Romanticism by the Enlightenment may call for a certain caution and make a virtue out of calling him a Proto-Romanticist. Carleton Hayes put the case most succinctly: “Herder was not only a child of the eighteenth century but also a father of the nineteenth century . . . here speaks a voice from two centuries . . . its ‘Patriotism’ is not the eighteenth-century plaster replica of antique city patriotism; it is the brand-new marble statue of the national patriotism which is the idol of the nineteenth century.”⁵⁵

The Religious Question

The identification of Herder as a major inspirer of the Czech national awakening was also motivated by an interest in linking the national awakening with a Protestant past and thus highlighting the revival’s repudiation of the Counter-Reformation. This was again, above all, Masaryk’s opinion. His identification of Herder’s role rested on two questionable propositions: (1) that Herder provided a bridge between the

awakening and the Czechs' Protestant past; and (2) that Kollár, who mainly supplied the Herder connection was a typical representative of the awakening.⁵⁶

The distinguished philosopher and statesman was correct in linking the awakening with the disrupted intellectual development of a previous age, with the Bohemian Reformation. The mainstream Bohemian Reformation, however, was not Protestant, but Utraquist, and Utraquism was a peculiar *via media*, which was actually closer to Rome than to Luther.⁵⁷ The repudiation of the Counter-Reformation, its works and heritage, actually occurred under the auspices of the liberal or reform Catholicism of the Josephist era. The Catholic Enlightenment condemned the intellectual ambiance of the Counter-Reformation period as one of obscurantism or "darkness." The Austrian Catholic Enlightenment had its non-Protestant inspirational roots in Jansenism.⁵⁸

The Catholic Enlightenment, represented in Bohemia particularly by the theologians and philosophers Seibt, Bolzano, and Fesl, had a seminal effect on the character of the national awakening, performing a double service. First, as a variant of liberal Catholicism, Utraquism exhibited a certain kinship with the reform Catholicism of the Josephist Enlightenment. Hence it was actually the liberal Catholicism of the Enlightenment which could provide a link with the *via media* of the Bohemian Reformation. The awakening did not need the services of Herder to link it with an allegedly Protestant past.⁵⁹ Second, the input of liberal Catholicism helped to immunize the awakening against the appeal of the somber tenor of emotional, Herderian Romanticism. Instead, it helped to keep the Czech philosophical mind in the sunny realm of Enlightenment rationalism. For Bolzano's liberal Catholicism, Romanticism represented a perversion of ethics, whereas philosophical Idealism represented a pantheist view and a denial of individual responsibility.

As noted above, the Czech awakeners underwent their intellectual formation in the ambiance of reform or liberal Catholicism, stemming from the Josephist Enlightenment, which provided a linkage to the *via media* of the Utraquist tradition that in turn was the legacy of the Bohemian Reformation. In particular, the Catholic liberal Bolzano educated a whole generation of patriotic priests who represented one of the mainstays of the awakening.⁶⁰

Masaryk's search for the roots of awakening in Herderian Romanticism was paradoxical, since his own intellectual roots were in the Enlightenment and its universalism.⁶¹ For Herder the primary reality was the individual nation that pursued its individual destiny.⁶² In a rather abstract sense, Masaryk viewed Herder as a link with one subordinate element within the Bohemian Reformation, namely, the Unity of Brethren, which he esteemed highly in contrast to his low opinion of mainstream

Utraquism. According to Masaryk's over-optimistic view, Herder, as a disciple of the Unity's internationally famous bishop, John A. Comenius (Jan Amos Komenský, 1592–1670), was actually transmitting ideas from the Bohemian Reformation back into the Czech intellectual milieu.⁶³ Even if Comenius's influence on Herder were significant, which is doubtful, Herder would be sending the wrong signal to the Czech awakeners.⁶⁴ Comenius was in the tradition of secularized eschatology or mystical collectivism, which anticipated the core philosophy not only of Herder's Proto-Romanticism, but also of subsequent Absolute Idealism. Comenius's theologized historiography, identifying human progress with the process of divinization, implied the obverse of the realism and ontological individualism which the awakeners drew from the intellectual ambiance of the Enlightenment and recaptured from the Utraquist tradition of the Bohemian Reformation.⁶⁵ The Europe of the Enlightenment tended to look askance at Comenius's secularized eschatology, and the leading figures of the Czech national awakening shared this negative view, among them Mikuláš Adaukt Voigt (1733–1787), František M. Pelcl (1734–1801), František Faustín Procházka (1749–1809), and Karel H. Thám (1763–1816, brother of Václav).⁶⁶

A more general problem, from the viewpoint of Masaryk's realistic and liberal *weltanschauung*, is posed by Herder's "Humanity," which the Czech philosopher-statesman endorsed. In Herderian metaphysics, "Humanity" did not stand for human collectivity (of the Humanists or the humanitarians), but for a real mystical entity: "Christ was much less his God than Humanity his goddess [Christus war viel weniger sein Gott als die Humanität seine Göttin]."⁶⁷ Humanity was thus a part of Herder's "doctrine of vitalist pantheism," which subsequently became important for Schelling and Hegel.⁶⁸ Masaryk did not seem to address this metaphysical issue, which tended to deny the ontological reality of individuals.⁶⁹ Incidentally, an analogous problem stemmed from Masaryk's seemingly whole-hearted endorsement of Comte's philosophy. For the French positivist, Humanity likewise constituted a single entity for which, moreover, he proposed rituals of quasi-religious worship.⁷⁰ Herder's Humanity, like that of Comte, seemed to constitute skeletons in Masaryk's philosophical closet.

The Question of a German Model

Sometimes, Herder's seminal role in the national awakening was presumed on the assumption of an *ipso facto* German ascendancy in Czech intellectual development. Thus Patočka has written: "The influence of the German cultural milieu on

the beginnings [of national awakening] was so overpowering that it is virtually impossible to speak about a cultural distinctiveness.⁷⁷¹ If Herderian Romanticism laid the foundation for modern German nationalism, it performed the same role in the Czech case, which imitated the German model. In fact, we have found this view in Patočka as well. The view, however, dissolves if examined against a more nuanced analysis of Czech receptivity to intellectual impulses from the camp of rising German nationalism. It is based on a confusion between linguistic form and intellectual content. The Czech awakeners did not follow the German example of turning their backs on the Enlightenment and embracing ethnically centered exclusivism.⁷² In a more general sense, and more recently, Kateřina Bláhová has maintained that “Czech humanistic scholarship . . . has developed in connection with German scholarship . . . and has grown firmly not only geographically and geopolitically, but also in its philosophical anchoring and methodology in the Central European space.”⁷³ In a way, Patočka and Bláhová were right in speaking about a deep “German” influence, but it stemmed from Austria, not from Germany proper. It bore the stamp of the Enlightenment and rationalism, not of Romanticism and Idealism.

The Slovaks’ Romantic Idealism

There is no doubt about Herder’s key role in the Slovak national awakening. The susceptibility of Slovak Lutherans to the influence of German thought dated back to the impact of Pietism, which emphasized an austere life style and an inward devotion and exaltation over intellectual doctrine. The search for, and stress on, an internalized and immediate relation to God bordered on mysticism.⁷⁴ Subsequent progenitors of modern nationalism in Slovakia were deeply influenced by German Lutheran universities, in particular Jena, but also Leipzig and Göttingen.⁷⁵ In Jena alone the number of students from Hungary increased tenfold between 1780 and 1810. The graduates of the German universities subsequently diffused their knowledge to younger students through the network of secondary schools.⁷⁶ The illusion of Slovak national Romanticism as a part of the Czech national awakening was amplified by the Slovak Lutherans’ attachment (through the mid-1840s) to the Czech language as their literary medium. Thus they seemed an integral part of the Czech cultural scene. Inasmuch as the opposite was true, there was an indication that language alone was not a reliable index of cultural identity. The wrapping of the package was less important than its contents.

The transmission of German philosophical Romanticism and Idealism into the Slovak intellectual ambiance occurred initially thanks to Kollár and Pavel J. Šafařík (1795–1861), then through L'udovít Štúr (1815–1856) and Jozef Hurban (1812–1888). Prior to them Bohuslav Tablic (1769–1823) had studied in Germany at the University of Jena from 1790 to 1792, and Jiří Palkovič (1769–1850) in 1792–1793. Jena, a town in the Grand Duchy of Saxony-Weimar, was the home of Schiller, and Fichte, Schlegel, and Hegel taught there at the turn of the century.⁷⁷ Palkovič became an influential proponent of national ideas in the spirit of Herder, particularly after his appointment as a professor at the Evangelical Lyceum in Bratislava in 1803.⁷⁸ A telling testimony of the nexus among Luther, Herder, and the Slovak national awakeners is the fact that Palkovič arranged for an edition of Luther's catechism with extensive commentaries by Herder. The text was intended for use in Slovak Lutheran schools.⁷⁹

Kollár pursued theological studies at Jena from 1817 to 1819, in an atmosphere of a fierce German nationalism that was fueled by a detestation of everything French.⁸⁰ There he was introduced to German Idealist philosophy by his university teachers. He attended, among others, the lectures of Jakob F. Fries (1773–1843), who was later suspended from his professorship for participating in the nationalist frenzy of the Wartburg Festival in October 1817. Kollár witnessed this momentous event, together with several other Slovak students, and was still in Jena when August Kotzebue was assassinated by a German nationalist. Fries exposed Kollár to the ideas of Kant, Schelling, and Fichte.⁸¹ In Jena, Kollár met Goethe.⁸² Kollár's fellow students at Jena—the budding Slovak awakeners Samuel Ferjenčík (1793–1855) and Ján Benedikti (1796–1847)—based their patriotic ideas on the teaching of professors like Fries. Šafařík had preceded Kollár at the University of Jena, where he studied from 1815 to 1817 and joined the learned society *Societas latina Ienensis*. He studied avidly the writings of Herder and Fichte, as well as Lessing. He had been already introduced to Herder's ideas at the Evangelical Lyceum of Kežmarok (1810–1814) by Johann Genersich (1761–1825), his favorite professor and another alumnus of Jena University (1782–1785).⁸³

Thus, both Kollár and Šafařík could be considered Herder's disciples.⁸⁴ According to Robert B. Pynsent, almost everything that the two Slovak scholars wrote about the Slav character derived directly or indirectly from Herder's *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit* (Outlines of a Philosophy of the History of Mankind) which devotes several pages to a sympathetic depiction of the Slavs (book 16, chapter 4). This conclusion was based mostly on comparative textual analysis.⁸⁵ Kollár, in fact, celebrated Herder in one of the sonnets of his *Slávy dcera* (The Daughter of

Sláva), a lengthy and expanding poetical work that extolled the benefactors of the Slavs and excoriated their opponents.⁸⁶ Kollár was profoundly impressed and influenced by Herder's philosophy of history—particularly his concept of “Humanity” as an ordering principle and goal of the world process—while he still maintained some distance from German Idealist philosophy.⁸⁷ Most of Kollár's references to Herder appeared in his *Über die literarische Wechselseitigkeit* (On Reciprocity in Literature) (Pest, 1837), including the intriguing suggestion that adopting Herder's ideal of *Humanität* would make the Germans more sympathetic toward the Slavs.⁸⁸ Šafařík focused on Herder's philological and pedagogical principles, and, in 1819, proposed to apply them in his official position as a principal of the Serbian gymnasium in Novi Sad.⁸⁹

Kollár's adaptation of Herder's general theories was, however, more significant than the impact of the German philosopher's few rather sparse remarks about the Slavs. Kollár adopted the characteristic view of history as a gradual working out of a divine purpose through mankind,⁹⁰ which involved a recognition of cultural pluralism as an operating principle in the advancement of world history.⁹¹ Within the framework of Herder's historical philosophy, Kollár believed that the Slavs would usher in a Third Age, the Age of Humanity, that would follow the current Second Age, dominated by nations who spoke Romance and Teutonic tongues.⁹² In particular, according to Kollár, the Slavs were destined to reconcile the epochal clash between the objectivism of the First (or Ancient) Age and the subjectivism of the Second (or Romance-Teutonic) Age, and thus to create a setting for a fuller realization of ideal Humanity.⁹³ Although this procedure resembled the operation of Hegel's dialectic, Kollár considered Hegelianism an example of the defective “objectivist” Romance-Teutonic Age. For him, Herder was one of the few who anticipated the truly balanced synthesis of the future; the others were, curiously, Wilhelm Humboldt and Walter Scott.⁹⁴

After Kollár, Ľudovít Štúr and his associates pushed to new extremes the notion of the impressive future of the Slavs that Kollár had erected on the basis of Herder's philosophy.⁹⁵ Štúr, who studied at the University of Halle in 1838–1840, would connect Herder's ideas with Hegelianism. He and his school—mainly his principal associates Hurban and Michal M. Hodža (1811–1870)—viewed Hegel's historical dialectics as a way of realizing Herder's idea about the historical mission of the Slavs.⁹⁶ Štúr proclaimed his fervent faith in the dominant role of the Slavs in Europe's future in a letter of 1847 to Ljudevit Gaj (1809–1872), the leader of the Croat Illyrian Movement.⁹⁷ On behalf of the Slav ideal in the 1840s, he maintained wide contacts with cultural leaders of other Slav nations, not only with Croats,

Serbs, and Slovenes within the Habsburg monarchy, but also abroad, with Russians and Ukrainians.⁹⁸ The impact of German-style idealism on Štúr and his group dovetailed with their exposure to Polish Messianism and Russian Slavophilism.⁹⁹ If Kollár sought to replace Hegel's historical scheme with Herder's, Štúr and his school wished to continue the historical process within the historical and philosophical paradigms of Hegel.

Štúr's associate, Hurban, accepted Hegel's triadic concept of the development of world history, involving the ages of the Orient, Greco-Roman antiquity, and the modern Germanic West. He asserted, however, that yet another stage, realized through the Slavs, was inevitable because of the decline of the contemporary West, where religion, art, and science were in decay.¹⁰⁰ The Slavs were the obvious candidates to maintain the further progress of mankind. Moreover, the Slavs were in possession of "a spiritual vision of truth in its entirety," and were thus capable of achieving a harmonious integration of all aspects of knowledge and art in a Slavic culture of the future—an idea possibly derived from the teaching of the Slavophiles.¹⁰¹ Similarly, Hodža envisaged the necessity of a leading role for the Slavs in the next stage of world historical development, because of the current moral and cultural decay of Western Europe.¹⁰² According to Hodža, the Slavs were, in fact, well suited to achieve a new synthesis of the positive achievements of past civilizations. Like Hurban, he believed that the Slav nature was endowed with an all-embracing spirit. Surprisingly, he saw that kind of spirit also manifest in the thought of Leibniz, Kant, and Hegel. According to Hodža, the Slovaks would fulfil their historical destiny, not by themselves, but within the general Slav community. Aside from the social and historical theories of Russian Slavophiles, he conspicuously relied on the tenets of Adam Mickiewicz's Polish Messianism.¹⁰³

Štúr expressed his ultimate view in 1853 in his basic work, *Das Slaventhum und die Welt der Zukunft* (Slavdom and the World of the Future), which was subsequently published in Vladimir I. Lamanskii's Russian translation in 1867.¹⁰⁴ His vision also went far beyond Kollár's ideal of Slav cultural cooperation. It rejected the civilization of the West as corrupt and assigned the Slavs the task of a cultural rebirth, from which the Czechs and the Poles were largely disqualified for excessively adopting Western mores.¹⁰⁵ The virtues of the Slavs were characterized according to the Slavophile teaching of Aleksei S. Khomiakov and Ivan Kireevskii, but the political outcome of the future reflected more the program of the contemporary Russian Panslavs, such as Stepan P. Shevyrev and Mikhail P. Pogodin. Štúr envisaged the fulfillment of the Slavs' destiny in a single political and administrative system, with a single language and religion, under the aegis of Russian autocracy.¹⁰⁶

The dissonance between Kollár's view of Slavdom and that of the Czech awakeners was noted recently.¹⁰⁷ Masaryk himself had observed with some dismay Kollár's aggressive and vengeful attitude toward the enemies of the Slavs, which he contrasted with Dobrovský's tolerant understanding of the alleged national antagonists.¹⁰⁸ There was, however, considerable reluctance to dwell on this cultural disjunction between the Slovaks and the Czechs.¹⁰⁹ Calling attention to the differences seemed "politically incorrect." A rather striking illustration of this tendency was Masaryk's exhortation to the Czechs, not only to sing Slovak songs, but also to learn to feel and think in a Slovak manner.¹¹⁰ Actually, it may be suggested—turning to the Nietzschean distinction between the Apollonian and the Dionysian spirit—that the Romantic/Dionysian element played a larger role in the national awakening in Slovakia than in Bohemia.¹¹¹ If adherence to Herderian Romanticism be considered an evil in the contemporary historiography of nationalism, it might be said that the sins of the Slovaks fell inadvertently on Czech heads. As noted earlier, the appeal of philosophical Romanticism and Idealism to the Slovak awakeners may be related to their Lutheranism which helped to condition them intellectually to Herder's and subsequently to Hegel's *weltanschauung*.¹¹²

The Czechs' Enlightenment Realism

While it can be plausibly argued that the speculative effervescence of Herder's Proto-Romanticism and his organic view of nations did inspire the Slovak awakeners, it left their Czech counterparts by and large cold. Their philosophical attitudes were rooted in the realistic *weltanschauung* of the Enlightenment, transmitted to the older generation (Dobrovský and Jungmann) by the Josephinist Seibt, and to the younger generation (František L. Čelakovský, 1799–1852; Karel Alois Vinařický, 1803–1869; and Havlíček) by the heirs of Josephist reform Catholicism, Bolzano and Fesl.¹¹³ A wild card in the Czech group was Palacký, whose background was, indeed, Lutheran Protestant—and he received his higher education in Slovakia. He could be presumed to share the Romantic and quasi-utopian enthusiasm of Kollár, Štúr, or Hurban.¹¹⁴ Unlike his Slovak co-believers, however, Palacký had missed an exposure to the Herderian and other Idealist teaching of the German Protestant universities where, more so than in Slovakia, the Slovaks acquired their romantic and idealistic enthusiasm. Kollár, for instance, claimed that his philosophical awakening occurred in Jena, after he escaped the intellectual wasteland of the Bratislava "mummy."¹¹⁵

Palacký's intellectual outlook, on the contrary, was formatted in the more realistic intellectual ambiance of the Hungarians' Anglophilia in the Slovak capital on the Danube. In fact, his Lutheranism was a rather superficial one. Jiří Kořalka ventures the opinion that Palacký's family tradition was not really Lutheran, but more specifically rooted in the Bohemian Reformation, possibly in the Unity of Brethren.¹¹⁶ Moreover, Palacký was not attracted to theology. Instead of attending the classes at the Bratislava Evangelical Lyceum, he devoted himself to the study of the literature of liberalism and the British Enlightenment from the libraries of the Hungarian gentry, in whose houses he worked as a tutor.¹¹⁷ His lyceum teachers condoned this substitution of Enlightenment philosophy of the West European style for Lutheran theology. Symptomatic of his distance from Slovak Lutheran intellectuals was his paradoxical discovery of Herder through an English-language source. He found the substance of Herder's teaching in Blair's *The Rise and Progress of Language*.¹¹⁸ Subsequently, in 1818, he did receive a copy of Herder's *Briefe zur Beförderung der Humanität* (Letters for the Advancement of Humanity) from his benefactress, Nina Zerdahely, but he was then intellectually more involved with the works of Madame De Staël. Similarly, he studied the teachings of Schelling and Fichte secondhand from De Staël's famous *De l'Allemagne* (Germany), from which he could have also absorbed her skepticism about what she viewed as the fanciful, but essentially useless, mental acrobatics of the German metaphysicians.¹¹⁹ In addition, De Staël exposed him to her admiration for the freedom provided by the British constitutional system and her positive image of British philosophy, which Palacký studied with particular care.¹²⁰ Respect for the British Enlightenment ultimately led him as far back as Francis Bacon, whom De Staël singled out for special praise among English philosophers.¹²¹

Thus Palacký's intellectual inspiration came from individualist realism, not from idealistic collectivism, which his Slovak confreres imbibed at the Lutheran universities of Germany in the guise of Hegelianism. In an ultimate paradox of switching roles—as noted—Palacký derived his fundamental intellectual nurture from the cultural symbiosis between the Hungarians and the English, while the Slovak awakeners, in particular Kollár, resented what they considered British friendship for the hostile Magyars. Ultimately, this led Kollár to regard the British as enemies of the Slavs.¹²² Although he was familiar with the writings of Charles Blount, Bolingbroke, and Hobbes, as well as Pierre Bayle, Diderot, Roussaeu, and Voltaire, none of these authors impressed him.¹²³ Palacký's intellectual formation derived from the British, primarily Scottish, Enlightenment, not from Herderian Romanticism. De Staël also might have passed on to him her rather sketchy, but unenthusiastic

impressions of none other but Herder.¹²⁴ As noted earlier, he did not refer to Herder among the intellectual inspirers of his monumental *History of the Czech Nation*, nor is there a single mention of the German Romanticist in the entire work.¹²⁵ He did acknowledge his indebtedness to Herder, not in philosophy of history, but in his early study of esthetics (1819), and even in this area he credited two Britishers, Blaire and Francis Bacon, as his primary inspirers; elsewhere he noted that he found the work of German estheticians unsatisfactory.¹²⁶ In general, for young Palacký, Herder stood distinctly in the shadow of Blaire in both philosophy of history and the theory of literature. As a historian, the mature Palacký, in fact, considered himself a pupil of two Scottish mentors, Hume and Robertson.¹²⁷

Returning to the Bohemian mainstream, the earliest significant spokesman for liberal Catholicism at Prague was Seibt, who sought to link Catholicism with the spirit and philosophy of the Enlightenment and was often considered the chief progenitor of the Catholic Enlightenment in Bohemia. After the abolition of the Jesuit order, Seibt was appointed “director” of the Philosophical Faculty of the University of Prague in 1775. He was particularly influenced by the writings of Hume, Montesquieu, Voltaire, and Johann B. Basedow (1724–1790). The latter, a representative of the German Enlightenment, was in turn intellectually indebted to English and French deists.¹²⁸ Interestingly to our theme, Basedow as an Enlightenment rationalist was an opponent of the Proto-Romantic idealist, Herder. Characteristically, they clashed in their pedagogical theories between the Enlightenment ideal of individual happiness and the Romantic ideal of an overriding obligation to a particular national society. In his exchanges with Basedow, Herder ridiculed the concept of an all-human cosmopolitan happiness; for him, each individual could be happy only according to his national characteristics.¹²⁹ Seibt, in the spirit of liberal Catholicism, likewise defended the right of philosophers to freedom of thought, independently of theological dogmas.¹³⁰ Among those whom he deeply influenced were Dobrovský, Václav M. Kramerius (1753–1808), Antonín J. Puchmajer (1769–1820), Jan Nejedlý (1776–1834), Václav Thám, Bolzano, and Jungmann. Hence Seibt, relying on writers of the English and French Enlightenment—not on Herder, representing the German Lutheran strand of Romanticism—was the chief guru and intellectual pacesetter of the Bohemian national revival.¹³¹

Subsequently, the legacy of Seibt’s Enlightenment was perpetuated by liberal Catholic priest-scholars who, led by Dobrovský, included Voigt, Procházka, and in particular, Ignác Cornova (1740–1822), a major mentor of the new generation of Bohemian university students.¹³² These scholars, devoted to reform Catholicism, saw a special correspondence between the Enlightenment and the free discussion,

humanism, and tolerance of the Utraquist age, born from the Bohemian Reformation.¹³³ The background of most early Czech awakeners in the Catholic Enlightenment was evidently a factor in their resistance to the enticements of Romanticism and philosophical Idealism.

Still later, Bolzano's pedagogical influence was particularly profound.¹³⁴ His philosophy was the epitome of the Catholic Enlightenment at its most effective. In his influential, albeit brief, tenure at the University of Prague, he emphasized the need for individual moral improvement, love of learning, tolerance, and equality of human beings. He placed humanity first and nationality second.¹³⁵ Bolzano had little use for Herder, since the latter was not a strong logician, and he referred to Herder only in passing in his *Wissenschaftslehre* (Theory of Science) in that connection.¹³⁶ In his philosophical diary for 1817–1827, he compared Herder's *Abhandlung über den Ursprung der Sprache* (Treatise on the Origin of Language; Berlin, 1772) unfavorably with Johann N. Tetens's *Über den Ursprung der Sprachen und der Schrift* (On the Origin of Languages and Letters; Bützow und Wismar, 1772).¹³⁷ As an opponent of Romantic idealism, Bolzano firmly rejected the Herderian view, presented by Friedrich H. Jacobi, that the purpose of history was to reveal the Idea of a metaphysically monistic Humanity. He rejected a trajectory according to which the development of mankind in time was a single process and particular and distinct groups only served as harmonious members of one body. Bolzano condemned this "mystical-theosophic" view on the grounds that it attempted to mingle human with divine matters.¹³⁸

In philosophy Bolzano opposed not only Hegel, whose speculation he considered superficial and obscure, but also Kant and his famous critiques.¹³⁹ Arne Novák credited him with helping to steer Czech literature away from ecstatic emotionalism and toward content with an "ethical and humanistic element." Palacký, Čelakovský, František Čupr (1821–1882), Václav S. Štulc (1814–1887), Havlíček, Boleslav Jablonský (1813–1881), and even later Karolina Světlá (1830–1899), considered themselves his intellectual and ethical disciples.¹⁴⁰ The first Czech philosopher, Vincenc Zahradník (1790–1836), was an adherent of Bolzano. Philosophical realism and an antiromantic orientation was the basis of his *weltanschauung*, governed by the application of "common sense" (*zdravý rozum*).¹⁴¹ This late epiphany of Josephist Catholicism helped to fortify the Czech attachment to Aristotelian realism and a corresponding aversion to Platonic or Neo-Platonist modes of thought. Another priest-philosopher, Antonín Marek (1785–1877), author of the first modern Czech-language textbook of philosophy (1844), showed little interest in either Herder or Hegel.¹⁴² Jan Pravoslav Koubek (1805–1854) disliked German classical philosophy

during his studies in Prague in the 1820s.¹⁴³ Among the older generation, Jan Jeník z Bratřic (1756–1845) admired the liberal Catholicism of Bolzano and his colleague Fesl.¹⁴⁴

Even after Bolzano's dismissal from the University of Prague, the anti-Hegelian trend, akin to the ideology of liberal Catholicism, continued under Franz Exner (1802–1853), who lectured there from 1831 to 1846 and gratefully acknowledged his indebtedness to Bolzano.¹⁴⁵ Havlíček, for instance, studied philosophy under Exner, although he was familiar as well with the work of Bolzano and had the highest regard for him.¹⁴⁶ Exner taught philosophy in the spirit of Aristotelian realism, relying heavily on Johann F. Herbart (1776–1841).¹⁴⁷ While some critics would find Herbartism pedestrian and tedious, others discerned that “the Herbartians made Czech thought more factual, sober, and precise, and prepared the ground for a later positivism.”¹⁴⁸ Other unfriendly critics have argued that the Austrian government's pressure was responsible for the demise of Kantian and Hegelian philosophy in the Habsburg monarchy. This line of argument viewed Herbartism as the philosophy of choice by the Austrian rulers because it could oppose not only German Idealism, but also the liberal Catholicism of Bolzano.¹⁴⁹ Two observations may be made with respect to this criticism. First, the charge that in the nineteenth century Herbartism was forced on the Czechs by the government against German Idealism curiously parallels the charge that in the sixteenth century Utraquism was forced on the Czechs against German Protestantism. It simply dismisses the likelihood that the Czech intellectual leadership might have preferred Hus to Luther, or Herbart to Hegel. Second, placing Herbartism in opposition to Bolzano is contradicted by the close relationship of Bolzano and the coryphaeus of Herbartism, Exner.¹⁵⁰ In any case, the bottom line was that even the late attempts of the 1840s to implant Hegelianism in Bohemia were short-lived and did not establish a line of continuity.¹⁵¹

The Limits of Herder's Influence in Bohemia

Czech awakeners' attitude toward Herder was one of pleasant surprise that he—as a German—would recognize the merits of Slavs, although his attitude specifically to the Czechs was questionable. They did not derive any positive inspiration from his substantive ideas on the nature, behavior, and destiny of nations, which he based on the need to cultivate national peculiarities and to assert oneself vis-à-vis other nations. Their own dedication to the national revival was fueled instead by a serene and sunny confidence justified by the memory of past achievements. As for

Herder's inspiration specifically for the Czech awakening, his effectiveness was limited by his identification of Czech historical past as "German," considering not only Comenius, but also Hus as sharers in Teutonic culture.¹⁵² Not even the most hard-boiled adherents of the Enlightenment, despite their real or alleged penchant for Germanization, would go that far.

There seems little evidence of the Czech intellectual pacesetters' interest in Herder's writings during the formative stages of the national awakening. Among Dobrovský's rare references to Herder there is one to the *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit* in his letter to Václav Fortunát Durych (1735–1802) of May 9, 1792.¹⁵³ Durych used Herder primarily as a foil to oppose other German scholars' demeaning views of the Slavs, in particular those of Johann Peter von Ludwig (1668–1743) and Joseph Benedikt Heyrenbach (1738–1779).¹⁵⁴ Hugh Agnew has called attention to Karel H. Thám's knowledge of Herder's writings. Agnew referred to Thám's quotes from two of Herder's works in the address which Thám gave on assuming his position as teacher of Czech in the gymnasium of the Old Town of Prague, later published as *Über den Charakter der Slawen* (The Character of the Slavs). The two works of Herder were *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit* and *Briefe zur Beförderung der Humanität*. From the latter he quoted a lengthy passage on the value of a native tongue, the varieties of which were granted by God and should be protected by secular sovereigns. In the same published lecture Thám also refers to Herder's *Versuch über den Urprung der Sprache* on the issue of a universal criterion for evaluating languages and included a long quote from the work.¹⁵⁵ By the time Thám called attention to Herder's ideas, the intellectual parameters of the Czech national awakening were already established, however, and his discussion of Herder could hardly have exerted a seminal influence. Agnew likewise dismissed the claim that Herder's ideas played an authentic role in the formation of the mind-set of the Czech awakening.¹⁵⁶

There also seems little evidence of Herder's formative influence on the Czech awakeners' views on the Slav issue. Certainly, they did not need Herder to call their attention to the existence of Slavdom and its numerical and geographic potential. This had already been spelled out by Bohuslav Balbín (1621–1688), and after him by Dobrovský in his address of 1791 before Emperor Leopold II. Dobrovský, not Herder, was the progenitor of the Czech awakeners' interest in Slavdom.¹⁵⁷ Dobrovský, in particular, did not need Herder to engender his interest in Slavdom, although his ideological dependence on Herder has been asserted.¹⁵⁸ Dobrovský was converted into an devotee of the Slav question and studies in his youth by Durych, long before

he heard about Herder. He also had then recognized the value of Slavic studies for the purposes of national awakening.¹⁵⁹

Balbín's *Dissertatio apologetica pro lingua Slavonica praecipue Bohemica* (Defense of the Slav Language, Particularly the Czech) was published as early as 1775 by Pelcl, and the awakeners were well aware of the Jesuit scholar's arguments. Although not a Slavic enthusiast, Havlíček highlighted Balbín's sense of Slavic relatedness in 1850.¹⁶⁰ Even before Balbín, Czech writers in the sixteenth century had seized on the wider implications of the Slavic character of their language, in particular Daniel Adam of Veleslavín (1546–1599).¹⁶¹ In fact, an awareness of the relationship to other Slavs had appeared in Czech writings since the fourteenth century. Pynsent cited the example of Martin Kabátník, “who came across a Serbian mameluke in Cairo.”¹⁶² Similarly, the Czechs did not need Herder to teach them about the importance of language preservation.¹⁶³ Czech literature of the sixteenth century was permeated with this idea, which the Bohemian Enlightenment revived and reasserted.¹⁶⁴

Interest or even enthusiasm for Russia was engendered during the period of the Enlightenment, partly by retrospective immersion in sixteenth-century literature, and partly due to the tsarist empire's involvement, as a Habsburg ally, in the Turkish wars of the 1780s and the wars of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic period. As another sign of rising interest in Russia, Dobrovský's contemporary, Procházka, republished in 1786 Matouš Hosius's translation of *Kronika Moskevská* (Muscovite Chronicle) by Aleksander Gwagnin (Alessandro Guagnini), originally published in Czech in 1589 (2d ed., 1602), with a new laudatory preface that rather improbably extolled the high levels of Russian art, morals, and politics. Czech newspapers, published by Schönfeld and later by Kramerius, devoted exceptional attention to Russia's military successes against the Turks and later the French.¹⁶⁵ Paradoxically, it was exactly Russia's alliance with Austria against the French that soured Herder in the 1790s on his earlier vision of Russia's future world-class historical role and led him to anticipate George Kennan in advocating a policy of Russia's “containment.”¹⁶⁶

On the issue of Slavdom, identification as Slavs had a greater significance for Slovaks than for Czechs. Hence Kollár and even Šafařík would be responsive to the appealing power of Herder's theories. The Slovaks in the past had identified substantively with Slavdom. For Kollár, in particular, the Slavs formed a single nation.¹⁶⁷ The small size of the Slovak nation was also conducive to seeking psychological and physical support from the large entity of Slavdom.¹⁶⁸ For the Czechs, the sense of a distinct nationality was a matter of fact, and therefore, the Slav attribute was

rather extrinsic, not intrinsically needed to bolster national self-confidence. This view would crystallize most sharply in Havlíček's attitude of the 1840s. As for Palacký, his focus was on the cultural revival of the Czechs, and his interest in other Slav nations was distinctly limited. In particular, in the first half of the nineteenth century, when Kollár and Štúr were exalting over Russia, Palacký did not see in the tsardom an embodiment of Slavic characteristics, but rather an alien mixture of Tatar and Germanic principles of autocracy. This view appeared in his famous Letter to Frankfurt of 1848, and his attitude softened only in the early 1860s when he became aware of Russia's liberalization.¹⁶⁹ In his letter to Pogodin in 1871 he explained his stand on the issue of Slavdom. In his view a Czech revival was the most significant contribution to the interests of all Slavs that he could have undertaken.¹⁷⁰ He did not credit Herder with the theory of Slav character, which he employed in his history of Bohemia. Herder's name was missing from the roster of authorities at the start of his monumental *History of the Czech Nation*.

Sporadic references to Herder appeared also in the later stages of the national awakening. The role of his ideas, however, was less that of original inspiration than of supporting arguments against derisive attitudes toward the Slavs. Jungmann, in his speech opening his lectures on Czech language at the Litoměřice seminary in November 1810, referred to Herder together with Bernhard Jenisch (1734–1807), August L. Schlözer (1735–1809), and Johann S. Vater (1771–1826), as those sensible (but rare) Germans who could shed the typical contempt for Slavic languages. Thus Herder was presented in the role of a perceptive student, the Czechs and other Slavs in the role of his intellectual mentors, rather than vice versa. Jungmann, in fact, placed more emphasis on Schlözer than on Herder, citing the former's forecast that in the future Europeans would study Slavic languages, especially Russian, as eagerly as they studied French at the time. He translated and printed in the *Prvotiny* (First-Fruits) in 1813 Herder's statements defending the Slav character against his own compatriots' low opinions and predicting a bright future for the Slavs.¹⁷¹ In general, the interest of Czech awakeners focused on the few instances of Herder's positive depiction of the Slavs, particularly in *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit*, rather than on the general ramifications of his philosophy of history or metaphysics. The marginal character of the Slav theme in Herder's teaching is indicated by its usual omission in general discussions of his philosophy.¹⁷²

Still later, Čelakovský translated Herder's *Blätter der Vorzeit* (Pages from Antiquity) as *Listové z dávnověkosti* (Prague: Josepha Fetterlová, 1823), but as an exercise in poetical style than in connection with the issues of nationality, with which Herder's largely biblical themes had little to do. Vincenc Zahradník, noting

that his bookshelves were adorned by the works of Goethe, Schiller, Herder, and Lessing, observed: “These volumes are of great benefit to me, even if I do not read them. Alone a glance at them teaches me, it teaches me humility.” In his writings he cited German authors, like Lessing and Wieland, but not Herder.¹⁷³ Also in a letter of October 24, 1831, Josef Jaroslav Langer (1806–1846) highly praised Herder to Vinařický.¹⁷⁴ Cumulative indexes to *Časopis českého musea* (Journal of the Bohemian Museum) for the first twenty years, 1827–1846, do not contain a single reference to Herder, although his poem on a theme from Czech history appeared in 1832.¹⁷⁵ Herder’s name did not come up in the published correspondence of Jungmann, Václav Hanka (1791–1861) or Palacký with Kollár.¹⁷⁶ The historian Jeník z Bratřic found little appeal in Herder’s interpretation of Slavdom’s role, or other German historiography on the Slav question. He derived inspiration and emotional satisfaction from West European liberals’ respect for the Bohemian Reformation, as was reflected in the celebration of Hus, Žižka, and George of Poděbrady by John Bowring in his *Cheskian Anthology* (1832).¹⁷⁷

Among Palacký’s contemporaries, Havlíček likewise signified his opposition to Herderian cultural pluralism. Endorsing Leibniz’s concept of the unity of human culture, he wrote in 1846: “What can be more dignified than the idea of intellectually joining all of humanity into a single nation which would grasp by reason everything in the realm of speech and would be able to think and communicate in the same purity the truth flowing out of the intellect?”¹⁷⁸ Writing in the same year, Václav B. Nebeský (1818–1882) maintained that, if the Slavs were to score major achievements in the future, it would happen freely and spontaneously, not according to the laws of the Herderian or Hegelian philosophy of history.¹⁷⁹

Havlíček’s contemporary, the author and philosopher Karel B. Štörc (1812–1868), clearly articulated the view of cultural monism in his article in *Časopis českého musea* in 1848. He postulated a fundamental distinction between poetry and philosophy in the development of human society. Poetry was typical of a more primitive state, hence poetry flourished more in Poland than in Bohemia. As society advanced, philosophy gained ascendancy over poetry. While poetry remained attached to a nation, philosophy of necessity escaped the national limitation, and the concept of a “national philosophy” was a contradiction in terms. Truth was just one and valid for everyone anywhere. Hence, philosophy dealt with problems that were by definition of universal significance, such as matter and spirit, the individual and the collective, the temporary and the eternal, or the realm of necessity and the realm of freedom. The development of philosophy depended on dealing with those common problems, not on contributions from particular national cultures.¹⁸⁰

The most daring assertion against cultural pluralism was Štorch's prognosis that the current surge of individual nationalities was just a superficial and temporary manifestation on the way to a global unity. "It [is] true that our time is sometimes called—and not in vain—a time of awakening and asserting nationalities." The nature of this phenomenon, however, was largely rhetorical and without a solid foundation. According to Štorch, "the character of our age is exactly that the particular yields to the common, and above the exclusivity of the individual nationalities the unity of mankind vaults its temple."¹⁸¹

Cultural Input from German Nationalism

In general, Czech scholars were rather selective in seeking intellectual inspiration in German sources for the advancement of the national awakening. Their close contact with the world of German-language literature was not in fact conducive to adopting the line of German nationalism that stemmed from Proto-Romanticism (Herder), and led to metaphysical Idealism (Fichte, Hegel, Schopenhauer, and Nietzsche), eventually bifurcating into right- and left-wing variants. Already Jungmann was exposed by his university teachers Seibt and August G. Meissner primarily to the study of English and French thought, and he acquired a full proficiency in both languages.¹⁸² Subsequently, the substance of political culture that appealed to the Czech awakeners stemmed rather from the Western liberal tradition, which was in harmony with their initial Enlightenment outlook. Anglophone liberalism characteristically held sway over Palacký, as well as the younger generation of awakeners, like Čelakovský, Josef V. Kamarýt (1797–1833), and Havlíček.¹⁸³ To the extent that the awakeners drew on Teutonic sources, it was not the Romantic-Metaphysical mainstream of German political culture but the subsidiary Realist-Empirical one. For the Czechs, the latter was represented by Seibt and Bolzano, and later (in Masaryk's time) by Franz Brentano (1838-1917). A lesser representative was Exner, who even started as an associate of Josef L. Knoll (1775-1841) and opposed the Czech national movement, although he gradually adopted a more conciliatory attitude.¹⁸⁴ Within the Teutonic intellectual milieu, this secondary, disadvantaged current (at times called "Austrian" as distinct from "German" philosophy) eventually culminated in the teaching of the Vienna Circle and the Society for Empirical Philosophy in Berlin.¹⁸⁵

Even the use of German to gain access to world culture was considered more as an embarrassment than an advantage, and the awakeners sought to acquire knowledge of alternate languages. Thus Koubek as a student studied French, Italian,

Polish, and Russian.¹⁸⁶ Those who did not know English preferred to read Scott's novels in Polish rather than German translations.¹⁸⁷ Čelakovský maintained in a review of Kollár's *Slávy dcera* in 1831 that Czech writers did not care about what German reviewers thought: "I will omit what here and there has been mentioned about *Slávy dcera* in German journals, which for some time have started voicing opinions about Slav literature—although it is not anything to care about." According to Čelakovský, much more significant for the Czechs was the positive view of the British, especially John Bowring. Further on, he made a deprecatory reference to German literature, while he proudly quoted the English translation of one of Kollár's sonnets.¹⁸⁸ A reviewer (apparently Palacký) in *Časopis českého musea* in 1834 of Edward Robinson's *Historical View of the Slavic Languages in Its Various Dialects* (Andover, Mass., 1834) favorably compared the level of Anglophone Slavic studies with that of German scholarship. He stressed that it was not the immediate neighbors to the west who produced the best foreign survey of the Slavs, but a writer beyond the Atlantic.¹⁸⁹ František M. Klácel extolled Shakespeare above Goethe and Schiller in *Časopis českého musea* in an article announcing in 1847 the publication of *Romeo and Juliet* in Czech by Matice česká (Bohemian Foundation), a learned society.¹⁹⁰ Much later, Havlíček quipped that German offered much that was original and much that was useful, but what was original was not useful, and what was useful was derived from French and English sources which were preferable to study in the original than in German translations.¹⁹¹ Havlíček's sympathy for the empiricist approach to philosophy by the English-speaking peoples had also its political analog in his sympathy for Anglophone liberalism. A visit to the British Isles in the summer of 1850 by František L. Rieger inspired Havlíček to start a series of articles on the British political system.¹⁹²

A more general and reliable index of the relatively small role played by German texts in the national awakening was provided by the contents of the leading intellectual medium, *Časopis českého musea*. During its first two decades, 1827–1846, covering the heyday of the revival, the high-brow journal published altogether sixty-two translations. The largest blocks of twenty each were from classical tongues and from other Slavic languages. Even the nine translations from English (three American and six British) outdistanced the seven translations from German. (Among the rest, four were from modern Romance languages, one from Danish, and one from Hindi).

The idea of the ascendancy of German culture and its function as the main (or perhaps the sole) source of cultural revival in Bohemia during the national awakening was not entertained by the awakeners themselves, but rather fostered by Austrian imperial bureaucrats and various German commentators. One might cite the opinions

of the earlier-mentioned professor of Austrian and world history at the University of Prague, Josef Linhart Knoll, in 1833, when he stressed the importance of German culture. According to him, it was due to the German initiative that science, art, and industry began to flourish in Bohemia in the eighteenth century; without it there would not have been any progress.¹⁹³ Rudolf Glaser, former editor of the journal, *Ost und West* (East and West), wrote in a memorandum to the National Museum committee on March 26, 1844, that any impartial observer would agree that the Slavs gained civilization from the Germans. The Germans still in Bohemia represented the more highly cultured part of the population. While he (unlike Knoll) welcomed the advance of the Czech population, he made it depend exclusively on the German example and German education.¹⁹⁴ Needless to say, such ideas were alien to Czech awakeners.

As for the position of Herder, specifically, in the Czech national awakening, he was regarded more as a curiosity than a mentor, and his contribution did not lie in the field of positive inspiration, but in that of defensive argumentation. To the extent that Herder was noted, he was not regarded with awe as a source of startling and creative new ideas, which then would activate the national movement. He was viewed instead as an extremely unusual phenomenon of an authentic German philosopher who was able to overcome an apparently invincible prejudice and recognize the positive qualities of the Slavs. The opinion among awakeners like František Cyril Kampelík (1805–1872) was that German intellectuals' views of the Czech awakening were unenthusiastic, if not skeptical.¹⁹⁵ A common assumption was that the German intelligentsia did not wish to cheer the Czech or other Slav national advances, but rather to consider them misguided and pointless. Some even viewed such progress as harmful, like Knoll in his notable memoranda of 1833 and 1835.¹⁹⁶ Within this customary mind-set, the Czech response to Herder then came close to Samuel Johnson's famous assessment of a dog dancing on his hind legs: it did not look natural, but one was amazed that it could happen at all. The awakeners did not need to learn from Herder, but noted his views with satisfaction.

Where Herder did appear useful to the awakeners was in arguing the case against Germanization. He was a shield against the claims of German ascendancy rather than a positive stimulus to national aspirations. His name could be invoked and thrown in the faces of the Teutonic detractors. His views were cited for that purpose, for instance, in a landmark document, the statement by *Matice česká* of April 10, 1832, in support of Czech language in the schools of Bohemia. In this document, addressed to Karel Chotek, the Supreme Count Palatine of Bohemia, its

principal author, Vinařický, included references to Herder's tenets on the importance of a mother tongue in the development of culture.¹⁹⁷

In a sense this tendency would continue when some hundred years later—under more sinister circumstances—Jan Patočka dwelt on Herder's praise for the Slavs in the face of the Nazi ascription of subhuman qualities to the Czechs and their linguistic kinsmen.¹⁹⁸ Along similar lines, anti-Nazi German writers in Czechoslovakia, wishing to promote a Czech-German rapprochement, tended to chide the Nazis for their doctrine of Slav inferiority by dwelling on the alleged influence of Herder on the Czech national awakening. Franz Werfel (1890–1945), writing before the end of World War I, quoted from Herder's *Humanitätsbriefe* where he extolled Hus as a pioneer of the Reformation who surpassed anything that happened in Germany.¹⁹⁹ In the 1930s, Rudolf Fuchs (1890–1942), who belonged to the circle of Egon Erwin Kisch, presented Herder as a fighter for the national emancipation of the Slavic nations. He claimed that Herder helped the Bohemian national awakensers to establish an independent Czech culture, and that he was, therefore, held in highest esteem by such figures as Dobrovský, Jungmann, and Kollár.²⁰⁰ Hence the portrayal of the Czech national awakening as an essentially German creation, in order to fend off or daunt the Nazis, or for other devious purposes, also helped to create the illusion of Herder's crucial role in the Czech national awakening.

The Light of Reason versus the Heat of Emotion

The awakensers' attitude toward their western neighbors was not one of hatred or xenophobia. This differed from German nationalism, which achieved a major impetus from the humiliation inflicted by Napoleonic France and was bent on self-assertion and retribution in the proclamations of Fichte, Ernst Arndt, Friedrich von Schlegel, and Friedrich Schleiermacher.²⁰¹ The Czech awakensers derived sufficient inspiration from the cultural attainments of Czech literature of the sixteenth century and had no need for Herder to tell them how good they were, or to resort to force to make others acknowledge their worth. Instead of ferocious declarations, the Czechs' tendency was more to poke fun at their neighbors' pedantic pomposity and pretentiousness. In spite of what was said earlier, the Germanizing pressure was blamed on the reactionary Austrian government and its minions in the provincial and local administration, not on undifferentiated Germans.

The Czech awakensers' rather understanding and tolerant attitude toward their Teutonic neighbors was in itself an indication that they remained unaffected by the

spirit of Herderian romantic nationalism, which preached the stern assertion of a national individuality. Such an easy-going approach contrasted, as noted earlier, with the attitude toward national enemies, displayed by Kollár, the Slovak adherent to Herder's philosophy, the harshness of which has continued to dismay Western commentators from John Bowring to Robert Pynsent.²⁰² The Slavs are cast in the role of victims, having been historically tormented by the Huns, the Goths, the Avars, the Franks, and the Magyars. An everlasting and determined hatred is attributed to the traditional enemies of the Slavs, in particular the Teutons and the Magyars.²⁰³ The characterization of national enemies by Kollár included “deceiving German, Teutonic cannibals, inhuman Germans, and descendants of Cain.”²⁰⁴ The animus against national enemies derived its force from the Herderian maxim that crime against a good nation was a grave sin against Humanity, inasmuch as harm was done to entire mankind.²⁰⁵ The Germans, in particular, were portrayed by Kollár as implacable opponents of the Slavs. Their greatest transgression was to Germanize of the formerly Slav Central Europe and turn its inhabitants into helots to fight other Slavs. The Slavs had done nothing to merit such a fate.²⁰⁶

The expressions of hatred toward the Magyars would further escalate among Slovak awakeners. Hurban referred in 1841 to the Magyars as a “Bashkirian race” which for its bestiality was incapable of “lawfulness, virtue, or justice.”²⁰⁷ Ľudovít Štúr agreed with Šafařík a year later that “the spiritually and morally defective Magyars” (*duchovně a mravně nemohoucí Maďaři*) represented an intrusion of “Uralic barbarity” (*uralská surovost*) in the midst of Slavdom, and their destiny was to disappear from Europe, following the example of the Mongols, the Tatars, and the Turks.²⁰⁸

Expressions of such ferocious feelings toward another nationality would be hard to find in Dobrovský, Havlíček, Palacký, or later Masaryk. The Teutonic neighbors tended to be treated with humor rather than hatred, mainly for their conceited pedantry.²⁰⁹ Typical of this approach is Palacký's reference to them as those “who pompously declare themselves in front of the whole world as know-it-alls and learn-it-alls.”²¹⁰ Elsewhere, he viewed the German literati as hopelessly conceited, unable to appreciate the value of Slavic literature because of the conviction of their own incomparable superiority.²¹¹ The Germans were more pitied than hated for their pride. The rejection of “German” philosophy, on the basis of the Aristotelian realism of Bolzano, was not inspired by an allergic reaction against anything German, but because the Hegelian and other constructions of Absolute Idealism were considered misguided, fantastic, and even—in anticipation of logical positivism and the analytical philosophy of the turn of the second millennium—nonsense. The self-confidence

vis-à-vis the Germans rested in the sense of historical achievements, in particular in conducting a religious Reformation one hundred years before Luther. The high degree of language development was also cited, for instance, by Kramerius in the introduction to his reprint of *Letopisové Trojanští* (The Annals of Troy; Prague, 1790): “The Germans and other nations began to cultivate their language only in this our century but have not yet brought it to perfection. . . . Our dear mother tongue, on the contrary, three hundred and more years ago, had reached such a perfection that it can not only equal Greek and Latin languages, but surpasses all others and excels by its expressiveness, fullness, and plentiful vocabulary.”²¹² If there was animosity against a national oppressor, it was directed against the Austrian government and its apparatus of repression, both physical and intellectual.

There are several reasons why Herder’s formative influence in the Czech national awakening has been exaggerated, if not entirely invented. (1) The Slovak awakers studied him, and there has been a tendency to assign to Slovak intellectuals a disproportionate role in the Czech national awakening. (2) The penchant of philosophers, like Masaryk and Patočka, for schematization and abstract solutions tended to overshadow concrete historical research. (3) Notions about the Protestant character of the Bohemian Reformation made plausible—as we saw in Masaryk—the appeal of a Lutheran-based Romanticism and Idealism (and hence of Herder) for the Czech national awakers. This approach obscured the fact that the actual *via media* of Bohemian Utraquism placed the Czech intellectual tradition more into the orbit of reform or liberal Catholicism and the Josephist Enlightenment. (4) The aversion to recognizing the ascendancy of the Enlightenment—and hence highlighting the role of Herder’s linguistic nationalism—stemmed, moreover, from an unbalanced stress on linguistic form over intellectual substance in the national awakening. (5) For modern theoreticians of nationalism, Herder provided an attractive point of departure for the genesis of Czech nationalism, especially after it had become customary to view the existence of a national tradition as a post-1780 invention that had no meaningful relationship to earlier cultural development.²¹³ More recently, however, this view has been contradicted by situating the beginning of nationalism in the sixteenth century.²¹⁴ (6) Because of the ascendancy of the Romantic/Idealistic trend in German thought, Herder’s key role appeared logical to those who were convinced of Bohemia’s overwhelming dependence on German culture. We saw this coupling in Patočka. Actually, to the extent that there was a major input into the Czech national awakening from German-language sources, it did not come from the dominant metaphysical trend of Romanticism and Idealism (Herder to Hegel), but

from the subordinate intellectual current of “empirical realism” (Seibt and Bolzano to Brentano).

The Czech awakeners on closer examination were not drawn to German Romanticism, but continued to construct a modern political culture in the spirit of the Enlightenment, which related to Bohemia’s historical past. The low opinion of Czech culture, often appearing in German sources, was attributed to ignorance. It inspired regret rather than calls for revenge. On the contrary, West European, particularly Anglophone, literature was noted with particular gratification when it reflected respect for Czech cultural achievements—above all, those connected with the Bohemian Reformation. This awareness of Western respect helped to bolster the Czechs’ national self-confidence and made it independent of Herder’s praise of the virtues of the Slav character. The sense of past accomplishments tended to orient the national ethos in a positive direction without a need for bellicose self-assertion or revenge on the national oppressor. Patočka, among others, has singled out the sense of past accomplishments as a positive element in the national awakening.²¹⁵ This attitude was also in line with a certain bonhomie and tolerance embedded within the legacy of the Bohemian Reformation as it reached its full fruition in sixteenth-century Utraquism. The Enlightenment had revived the memory and respect for the civilizational values derived from the Bohemian Reformation. As Nietzsche might have said, the Apollonian spirit prevailed over the Dionysian one.²¹⁶

Finding the roots of modern Czech political culture not in Herder and his Proto-Romanticism but in Seibt, Bolzano, and their Enlightenment is not a trivial academic question, but one of long-term significance. The resistance to Romanticism immunized Czech political culture against the subsequent appeal of German Idealism in general, and Hegelianism in particular, which related to the Romantic mode of thinking. It conditioned the further development of a Czech political culture independent of philosophical Idealism, epitomized by Hegel, while the intellectual roots, remaining in the ideals of the Enlightenment, aimed logically at embracing the West European style of liberalism.²¹⁷ It was a trend against collectivistic, deterministic, and particularist tendencies, toward individualistic, open-ended, and universalistic ones. The aversion to Herder and Romanticism in turn related to the traditions of the Bohemian Reformation, which the Enlightenment revived. The recollection of the Utraquist spirit of tolerance, free discussion, and ecumenism harmonized with, and was strengthened by, the reform or liberal Catholicism of the Josephist era.²¹⁸

Notes

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1. Miroslav Hroch, *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe: A Comparative Analysis of the Social Composition of Patriotic Groups Among the Smaller European Nations*, trans. Ben Fowkes (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000). Hroch's English-language work is based on older research, namely *idem*, *Die Vorkämpfer der nationalen Bewegung bei den kleinen Völkern Europas: Eine Vergleichende Analyse zur gesellschaftlichen Schichtung der patriotischen Gruppen der patriotischen Gruppen*, Acta Universitatis Carolinae Philosophica et Historica, Monographia 24 (Prague, 1969); and *idem*, *Obrození malých evropských národů: I. Národy severní a východní Evropy* (Prague: Univerzita Karlova, 1971).

2. See note 167.

3. *Encyclopedia of Nationalism*, ed. Alexander Motyl, 2 vols. (San Diego, Cal.: Academic Press, 2001), 1:172. See also Robert R. Ergang, *Herder and the Foundations of German Nationalism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1931); Hans Kohn, *The Idea of Nationalism: A Study in Its Idea and Background* (New York: Macmillan, 1945); Alexander Gillies, *Herder* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1945); Robert T. Clark, *Herder: His Life and Thought* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1955); Frederick M. Barnard, *Herder's Social and Political Thought: From Enlightenment to Nationalism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965); Wulf Koepke and Samson B. Knoll, eds., *Johann Gottfried Herder, Innovator Through the Ages* (Bonn: Bouvier, 1982); Wulf Koepke, *Johann Gottfried Herder* (Boston: Twayne, 1987); Wulf Koepke, ed., *Johann Gottfried Herder: Language, History, and Enlightenment* (Columbia, S.C.: Camden House, 1990).

4. "Tschechische Geschichtsbild und Nationalbewusstsein auf Herderischer Stufe fixierte...." Eugen Lemberg, *Grundlagen des nationalen Erwachens in Böhmen: Geistesgeschichtliche Studie, am Lebensgang Josef Georg Meinerts, 1773–1844* (Liberec: Verlag Gebrüder Stiepel, 1932), 74.

5. Gillies, *Herder*, 130; Barnard, *Herder's Social and Political Thought*, 172; see also Ergang, *Herder* 259–60.

6. Walter Schamschula, *Die Anfänge der tschechischen Erneuerung und das deutsche Geistesleben, 1740–1800* (Munich: Fink, 1973), 13, also 118 n. 2, 246. He cautioned, however, against overestimating Herder's role in engendering East European nationalism, which, he felt, originated before Herder; in this sense, he polemicized with Eugen Lemberg, *Nationalismus*, 2 vols. (Hamburg, 1964), 1:175 ff. Moreover, Schamschula noted that Herder was not original in his characterization of the Slavs: "Wenn Herder die slavischen Nationaltugenden als friedlich,

lebensfroh und sangesfreudig charakterisiert, so gab er bereits bestehenden Vorstellungen Ausdruck” (273).

7. Alexandr S. Myl'nikov, *Vznik národně osvícenské ideologie v českých zemích: Prameny národního obrození* (Prague: Univerzita Karlova, 1974), 204; Robin Okey, *The Habsburg Monarchy: From Enlightenment to Eclipse* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2001), 116.

8. Jan Patočka, *Náš národní program*, ed. Jan Vít and Miroslav Petříček (Prague: Evropský kulturní klub, 1990), 7–8. It may be suggested that Masaryk and Patočka, as philosophers, were drawn to the intellectual neatness and elegance of the Herderian explanation over the multi-faceted, untidy, or even messy approach of the historian's Rankean “wie es eigentlich gewesen.”

9. Louis Snyder, *Encyclopedia of Nationalism* (New York: Paragon House, 1990), 136. See also Donald R. Kelley, *Faces of History: Historical Inquiry from Herodotus to Herder* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1998), 261–62.

10. Allen Wood, “Hegel's Ethics,” in Frederick C. Beiser, ed., *Cambridge Companion to Hegel* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 229.

11. Barnard, *Herder's Social and Political Thought*, xii; Gillies, *Herder*, 12–14.

12. Johann Herder, *Zur Philosophie der Geschichte*, vol. 1 (Berlin: Aufbau Verlag, 1952), 465, cited by Ivan T. Berend, *Decades of Crisis: Central and Eastern Europe Before World War II* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998), 54.

13. Richard Rorty, “Dewey Between Hegel and Darwin,” in *idem, Truth and Progress*, Philosophical Papers 3 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 295. In a preview of future globalization, Humboldt developed his theory in conjunction with his study of the language of the Kawis of Java; see his *Über die Verschiedenheit des menschlichen Sprachbaues und ihren Einfluss auf die geistige Entwicklung des Menchengeschlechts* (1836; reprint, Bonn: F. Dümmler, 1968); published in English as *On Language: The Diversity of Human Language-Structure and Its Influence on the Mental Development of Mankind*, trans. Peter Heath, intro. Hans Aarsleff (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988). Aarsleff minimizes Herder's influence on Humboldt, stressing instead E. B. Condillac's 1749 *Essay on the Origin of Human Knowledge* (xxxiii–xxxv).

14. Barnard, *Herder's Social and Political Thought*, 160–62; Gillies, *Herder*, 119. Herder's influence on Romanticism and German Idealism, including Schelling and Hegel, was immense. See Barnard, *Herder's Social and Political Thought*, 153–59; Cyril O'Regan, *The Heterodox Hegel* (Albany: State University Press of New York, 1994), 51, 239; *Concise Routledge Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 348.

15. Dietrich von Engelhardt, "Romanticism in Germany," in Roy Porter and Mikuláš Teich, eds., *Romanticism in National Context* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 110; Gillies, *Herder*, 119; Beiser, "Introduction: Hegel and the Problem of Metaphysics," in *Cambridge Companion to Hegel*, 5 n. 13.
16. Rorty, "Dewey Between Hegel and Darwin," 293. See also H. S. Harris, "Hegel's Intellectual Development to 1807," in Beiser, *Cambridge Companion to Hegel*, 27–28 n. 7. Hegel referred to Herder in his own *Lectures on the Philosophy of History*; see Beiser, "Hegel's Historicism," in the *Cambridge Companion*, 275, also 286.
17. Andrew Weeks, *German Mysticism from Hildegard of Bingen to Ludwig Wittgenstein: A Literary and Intellectual History* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993), 212; O'Regan, *The Heterodox Hegel*, 279–84; Kurt Leese, *Von Jacob Boehme zu Schelling: Eine Untersuchung zur Metaphysik des Gottesproblems* (Erfurt: Kurt Stenger, 1927); Heinz Burger, *Die Gedankenwelt der grossen Schwaben: Von der Klosterkultur am Bodensee bis Hegel* (Stuttgart: Steinkopf, 1978), 165–83, 190–204; and more remotely, Auguste Viatte, *Les sources occultes du romantisme*, 2d ed., 2 vols. (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1965).
18. Robert Schneider, *Schellings und Hegels schwäbische Geistesahnen* (Würzburg: K. Triltsch, 1938), 11, 24, 151. At the same time, Schneider seeks to minimize Herder's influence on Schelling and Hegel (20). On Oetinger as a mediator see also Leese, *Von Jacob Boehme zu Schelling*, 22–38. Leese also points to cabala as another source of Oetinger's mystical lore (30–32).
19. Engelhardt, "Romanticism in Germany," 111–12. As Rorty comments, some rationalistically inclined followers might prefer to interpret Hegel, not as "a metaphysicized Herder," but as "a historicized Spinoza." "Dewey Between Hegel and Darwin," 306.
20. Wood, "Hegel's Ethics," 229.
21. *Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. Paul Edwards, 8 vols. in 4 (New York: Macmillan, 1972), 3:489.
22. Miloš Tomčík, "T. G. Masaryk jako integrační osobnost českých a slovenských novodobých dějin," in Emil Voráček, ed., *T. G. Masaryk, idea demokracie a současné evropanství*, Sborník mezinárodní vědecké konference, Praha, 2.–4. března 2000, 2 vols. (Prague: Filosofia, 2001), 1:45–54.
23. Kollár is identified as a "Czech writer" in H. Barry Nisbet, "Herder's Conception of Nationhood and Its Influence in Eastern Europe," in Roger Bartlett and Karen Schönwälder, eds., *The German Lands and Eastern Europe: Essays on the History of Their Social, Cultural and Political Relations* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999), 128. See also František Stellner, "Slovanství v české a ruské společnosti v první polovině 19. století," *Historický obzor* 15 (2004): 207–08. On the contrast between Kollár's Romanticism and the realism of Havlíček and Palacký,

- see, for instance, Josef Kaizl, *České myšlenky*, 2d ed. (Prague: Edvard Beaufort, 1896), 40–41.
24. Dmytro Chyzhevskiy, *Hegel by den Slaven* (Reichenberg: Stiepel, 1934), *passim*.
25. Hans Kohn, *Panslavism: Its History and Ideology* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1953), 13.
26. On Czech critique of Kollár see Hana Šmahelová, “Kollárova vize slovanské vzájemnosti,” *Česká literatura* 50 (2002): 135–36, 139–40; František Pastrnek, “Starožitnických spisech Kollárových,” in *Jan Kollár, 1793–1852. Sborník statí o životě, působení a literární činnosti pěvce ‘Slávy dcery,’* ed. František Pastrnek (Vienna: Český akademický spolek, 1893), 231, on the reception of Kollár’s etymological theories; see also Jiří Kořalka, *František Palacký, 1798–1876: Životopis* (Prague: Argo, 1998), 425.
27. Šmahelová, “Kollárova vize slovanské vzájemnosti,” 146.
28. František V. Krejčí, *František Palacký, jeho význam v českém probuzení* (Prague: Svěcený, 1912), 9.
29. “Osvícenský klasicismus a jeho ústup působením romantismu a národních snah” [Enlightenment Classicism and Its Retreat Under the Impact of Romanticism and National Aspirations],” in Jan Lehár et al., *Česká literatura od počátků k dnešku* (Prague: Lidové noviny, 1998), 557; the formulation is repeated in the anthology Jan Lehár et al., *Česká literatura od počátků k dnešku: kniha textů*, 4 vols. (Prague: Lidové noviny, 2000–2001), 1:419–52.
30. See Juha Manninen, *Valistus ja kansallinen identiteetti: Aatehistoriallinen tutkimus 1700–luvun Pohjalasta* [The Enlightenment and National Identity] (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2000); and the review by A. F. Upton in *English Historical Review* 117 (2002): 198–99.
31. Margaret Jacob and Wijnand W. Mijnhardt, eds., *The Dutch Republic in the Eighteenth Century: Decline, Enlightenment, and Revolution* (Ithaca N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1992).
32. Kaizl, *České myšlenky*, 21.
33. Kořalka, *František Palacký*, 526.
34. See Václav Šturm, *Krátké ozvání . . . proti kratičkému ohlášení Jednoty Valdenské neb Boleslavské* (Prague: Jiřík Dačický, 1584), 3, 19–20. The limited currency of German was apparently not Bohemia’s peculiarity. Another witness is Erasmus, who claimed that he did not know enough German to read Luther’s non-Latin tracts; see Desiderius Erasmus, *The Correspondence*, 11 vols. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974–1994), 9:391–92. There was, in fact, some reverse movement of seeking to familiarize German readers with the Czech literature of Utraquism. With a proselytizing intent, Pavel Bydžovský sponsored and published

German translations of sermons and other theological works by the class Utraquist spokesmen, namely Hus, Jakoubek, and Jan of Příbram, for the use of those Germans who lived in Bohemia but had not yet acquired a reading facility in Czech. See Josef Jireček, *Rukověť k dějinám literatury české*, 2 vols. (Prague, 1875–76), 1:116. There was, in fact, some evidence of German interest in Utraquism. See the Consistory's response of July 28, 1548, to a noble's request to replace the Lutheran minister on his estate with a Utraquist priest who would be able to serve a German-speaking congregation, in Klement Borový, *Jednání a dopisy konsistoře katolické a utrakvistické*, 2 vols. (Prague, 1868–69), 1:229.

35. See, for instance, Victor Kiernan, “The British Isles: Celt and Saxon,” in Mikuláš Teich and Roy Porter, eds., *The National Question in Europe in National Context* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 30–31.

36. For comparison see Richard Blanke, *Polish-Speaking Germans? Language and National Identity among the Masurians since 1871* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2001).

37. As an exception, an unqualified positive endorsement in the national awakening is given to the Enlightenment by Mikuláš Teich, “Bohemia: From Darkness into Light,” in Porter and Teich, *The Enlightenment in National Context*: “Last but not least, and interrelated with these aspects of the Enlightenment in Bohemia, was the emergence of the study of Czech history and language, and the awakening of modern Czech national consciousness, as its product and consequence” (163).

38. Walter Schamschula, *Die Anfänge der tschechischen Erneuerung*, 211; see also 203, 205, 215, 247, 264.

39. *Ibid.*, 282, 290, 293. On Meissner's emphasis on English and French culture see Václav Zelený, *Život Josefa Jungmanna* (Prague: Matice česká, 1873), 14–15, 19.

40. Seibt received an official reprimand, and the work, considered offensive to the Habsburg dynasty, was proscribed. It could not be reprinted or translated into Czech until the mid-nineteenth century; see Joseph Johanides, *František Martin Pelcl* (Prague: Melantrich, 1981), 137–46; Jaroslav Prokeš, “Aféra Seibtova roku 1779,” in *Českou minulostí*, ed. Otakar Odložík, Jaroslav Prokeš, and Rudolf Urbánek (Prague: Laichter, 1929) 317–30.

41. Myl'nikov, *Vznik národně osvícenské*, 204; J. Hanzal, “Jazyková otázka ve vývoji obrozeneckého školství,” *Československý časopis historický* (1966), 322; *idem*, “Vzdělanost a lidová osvěta,” *Sborník historický* 18 (1971): 39–69.

42. Patočka, *Náš národní program*, 52–53. Aleksandr S. Myl'nikov, *Kul'tura cheshskogo vrozozhdeniia* (Leningrad: Nauka, 1982), 4, even appropriates Bolzano for the Czech nation, calling him: “original'nyi cheshskii myslitel'.”

43. Jan Novotný, *Matěj Václav Kramerius* (Prague: Melantrich, 1973), 76.
44. The relevant passage from Dobrovský's address is cited in *Krameriovy noviny*, no. 1, January 7, 1792, p. 11; see also Novotný, *Matěj Václav Kramerius*, 151, 154.
45. On the two tendencies see, for instance, Hana Šmahelová, "Bernard Bolzano a české národní obrození," *Český časopis historický* 100 (2002): 77. Myl'nikov, *Vznik národně osvícenské ideologie*, saw Born's Learned Society of the 1770s as "the starting point of Czech thought as it would develop in the following years" (206).
46. Tomáš G. Masaryk, *Česká otázka. Naše nynější krize. Jan Hus*, Spisy 6 (Prague: Masarykův ústav, 2000), 39; see also 99. For a contemporary critique of Masaryk's view of Jungmann see, for instance, Kaizl, *České myšlenky*, 33–35.
47. This ambiguity was pointed out by Kaizl, *České myšlenky*, 19. The quote is from Masaryk, *Česká otázka*, 10. See also Zdeněk V. David, "Thomas G. Masaryk's Ambivalent View of the Enlightenment and Political Liberalism," *Kosmas: Czechoslovak and Central European Journal* 19, no. 2 (2006): 83–93.
48. Jan Patočka, *Náš národní program*, 4–5, 25 (includes his *Česká vzdělanost v Evropě* [Prague: V. Petr, 1939]); *idem*, *Dvojí rozum a příroda v německém osvícenství: Herderovská studie* (Prague: Václav Petr, 1942), 27.
49. Johanides, *František Martin Pelcl*, 123–24. See also Jiří Klabouch, *Osvícenské právní nauky v českých zemích* (Prague: Nakladatelství Československé akademie věd, 1958), 223, on "the superficiality" of the Josephist Enlightenment.
50. According to the Oxford English Dictionary, episteme is "Foucault's term for the body of ideas which shape the perception of knowledge at a particular period." See John Weightman, "On Not Understanding Michel Foucault," *American Scholar*, Summer 1989, pp. 385, 388, 395.
51. Kaizl, *České myšlenky*, 26; Patočka, *Dvojí rozum a příroda v německém osvícenství*, 25–28; Jan Patočka, "J. G. Herder a jeho filosofie humanity," in Johann G. Herder, *Vývoj lidskosti*, trans. Jan Patočka (Prague: Jan Laichter, 1941), 452, 462.
52. Particularly, after his *Auch eine Philosophie der Geschichte* (1774); see Frederick Copleston, *A History of Philosophy*, vol. 6, *Wolff to Kant* (Westminster, Md.: Newman Press, 1960), 142.
53. Patočka, *Dvojí rozum a příroda v německém osvícenství*, 28, 23–24.
54. Patočka, "J. G. Herder," 462.
55. Carlton J. Hayes, "Contributions of Herder to the Doctrine of Nationalism," *American Historical Review* 32 (1927): 721, referring to Herder's, *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte*

der Menschheit, in his *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Bernhard Suphan, 33 vols. (Berlin, Weidmann, 1877-1913), 14:121. In English see Herder *Outlines of a Philosophy of the History of Man*, trans. T. Churchill, 2 vols. (1800–1803); 2d ed. (New York: Bergman Publishers, [1966]).

56. Masaryk, *Česká otázka*, 13, 15.

57. Zdeněk V. David, “The Integrity of the Bohemian Reformation: The Problem of Neo-Utraquism,” in *The Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice* 5, pt. 2 (2005): 329–51.

58. See, for instance, Manfred Brandl, *Der Kanonist Joseph Valentin Eybel, 1741–1805: sein Beitrag zur Aufklärung in Österreich* (Steyr: Ennsthaler, 1976), 23–24. Older works on the Catholic Enlightenment include Sebastian Merkle, *Die katholische Beurteilung des Aufklärungszeitalters* (Berlin: K. Curtius, 1909); *idem*, *Die kirchliche Aufklärung im katholischen Deutschland* (Berlin: Reichel, 1910); and Sebastian Merkle and Bernhard Bess, *Religiöse Erzieher der katholischen Kirche aus den letzten vier Jahrhunderten* (Leipzig: Quelle und Meyer, [1922]).

59. There were spin-offs from the Bohemian Reformation that could be considered Proto-Protestant—first Taboritism, then the Unity of Brethren—but these were marginal to the mainstream; see Zdeněk V. David, *Finding the Middle Way: The Utraquists' Liberal Challenge to Rome and Luther* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), 24–32, 39–41.

60. *Antologie z dějin českého a slovenského filozofického myšlení* (Prague: Svoboda, 1981), 399.

61. It was Josef Pekař who adopted the contrary view of Romanticism; see Miloš Havelka, *Dějiny a smysl* (Prague: NLN, 2001), 154.

62. Masaryk was, in fact, aware that Herder elevated the nation above the individual: “In the course of history, humanity expresses itself through the individual nations; individual nations lead humanity, each for a certain time.” See Masaryk, *Česká otázka*, 84. For attempts to portray Masaryk as a pupil of Herder see Barnard, *Herder's Social and Political Thought*, 174–77; Gillies, *Herder*, 131–32.

63. According to Masaryk, “Comenius . . . still speaks to us through Leibnitz and Herder whose influence on Dobrovský and Kollár Professor [Ernest] Denis has finely demonstrated;” see Tomáš G. Masaryk, *The Making of a State: Memories and Observations, 1914–1918* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1927), 424. Denis seems rather vague about the connection to Comenius; see Ernest Denis, *La Bohême depuis la Montagne-Blanche*, pt. 2, *La renaissance tchèque vers le fédéralisme* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1903), 10–11.

64. Herder became familiar with Comenius’s writings only in the 1790s. See Gillies, *Herder*, 131–32.

65. Comenius envisioned the attainment of a millennial kingdom through a general improvement of education leading to a fuller understanding of both humanity and divinity. The Neo-Platonic

idea of lifting up the humans to the level of the divine universal harmony was expounded particularly in his *De rerum humanarum emendatione consultatio catholica*. See the edition edited by Jozef Pšenák and Zuzana Bugáňová (Bratislava: Univerzita Komenského, 2001); Jaroslava Pešková, Josef Cach, and Michal Svatoš, eds., *Pocta Univerzity Karlovy J. A. Komenskému* (Prague: Karolinum, 1991), especially, 117–26, 185–92; Jan Patočka, *Komeniologické studie*, vol. 2, ed. Věra Schifferová (Prague: Oikúmené, 1998), 149–211. A partial edition of Comenius's opus was known to Herder, but the entire work was published from a manuscript, rediscovered by Dmitrii Čyževský in Halle in 1934, only in the mid-twentieth century (Prague: Academia, 1966); see also Patočka, *Komeniologické studie*, 2:128–33; *Concise Routledge Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, 151.

66. Karel Rýdl, “Jan Amos Komenský ve vývoji evropského pedagogického a filozofického myšlení v 18. Století,” in Pešková, Cach, and Svatoš, *Pocta Univerzity Karlovy J. A. Komenskému*, 190–91.

67. Kaizl, *České myšlenky*, 26; see also Samson B. Knoll, “Herder’s Concept of *Huminität*,” in Koepke and Knoll, *Johann Gottfried Herder*, 9.

68. “Thus God is not an entity beyond the world, but the idea realized in history. Providence is not an ‘external end,’ a supernatural plan imposed by God on nature, but an ‘internal end,’ the ultimate purpose of history itself.” Frederick C. Beiser, “Hegel’s Historicism,” in *Cambridge Companion to Hegel*, 271. See also František Kutnar, Oldřich Králík, and Jaromír Bělič, *Trí studie o Palackém* (Olomouc: Palackého univiversita, 1949), 108–09.

69. See his discussion of Herder’s “Humanity” in *Česká otázka*, 416–17.

70. See, for instance, James Collins, *A History of Modern European Philosophy* (Milwaukee, Wis.: Bruce, 1954), 728–35.

71. Patočka, *Náš národní program*, 7.

72. On the German evolution see Hans Kohn, *Prelude to Nation States: The French and German Experience, 1789–1815* (Princeton, N.J.: Van Nostrand, 1967), 3–4.

73. Kateřina Bláhová, “Česká historiografie přelomu století v dialogu s Evropou: prolegomena k tématu,” in *Komunikace a izolace v české kultuře 19. století*, Sborník příspěvků z 21. plzeňského symposia, ed. Kateřina Bláhová (Prague: KLP, 2002), 187.

74. Ján Ďurovič, “Slovenský pietizmus,” *Historica Slovaca* 3–4 (1945–1946): 197.

75. On the Protestant ethos of Kollár and Šafařík, see Robert B. Pynsent, *Questions of Identity: Czech and Slovak Ideas of Nationality and Personality* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 1994), 73.

76. Jan Jakubec, ed., *Literatura česká devatenáctého století*, with Josef Hanuš, Jan Máchal, and Jaroslav Vlček, 2d ed., 2 vols. (Prague: Jan Laichter, 1911–1917), 2:24–25.

77. Matija Murko, “Kollárova vzájemnost slovanská,” *Jan Kollár, 1793–1852. Sborník statí o životě, působení a literární činnosti pěvce ‘Slávy dcery,’* ed. Fratišek Pastrenek (Vienna: Český akademický spolek, 1893), 206.

78. Kutnar, Králík, and Bělič, *Tři studie o Palackém*, 151–52; on Tablic, see Novotný, *Matěj Václav Kramerius*, 167; *Dejiny Slovenska*, ed. Samuel Cambel, 6 vols. (Bratislava: Veda, 1986–1988), 2:619.

79. Martin Luther, *Katechismus Doktora Martina Lutera, s obšírným katechetickým výkladem vysoce osvíceného Doktora Jana Gottfrýda Herdera, bývalého generálního Superintendenta Církví ev. A. V. v knížectví Waymarském, k prospěchu škol evangelických*, trans. Jan Grýša, ed. Jiří Palkovič, 4th ed. (Prešpork [Bratislava]: Karel K. Snižek, 1825).

80. Kohn, *Pan-Slavism*, 13–14; Leander Čech, “Význam Kollárovy ‘Slávy Dcery’ v naší básnické literatuře,” *Jan Kollár, 1793–1852. Sborník statí*, 108; Šmahelová, “Kollárova vize slovanské vzájemnosti,” 130.

81. Jan Kollár, *Prózy, Vybrané spisy*, vol. 2, F. R. Tichý (Prague: Státní nakladatelství krásné literatury, hudby a umění, 1956), 169, 179, 186–87; see also *Antologie z dějin českého a slovenského filozofického myšlení*, 473; Masaryk, *Česká otázka*, 412. According to Murko, the Romantic philosophy of Fries and Lorenz Oken (1779–1851) played an important role in the formation of Kollár’s historical views; see Matija Murko, *Deutsche Einflüsse auf die Anfänge der böhmischen Romantik* (Graz: Styria, 1897), 192 ff.

82. Kollár related in his memoirs a curious story of Goethe’s national intolerance. During a musical soiree, the poet interfered with a lady’s song in Italian by loud conversation, but he applauded a German singer with the words: “Diesen Tönen sind wir näher verwandt, es ist das deutsche Herz, das uns entgegenklingt” (We are more closely related to these tones; it is the German heart that resonates in us), Kollár, *Prózy*, 171–72.

83. Josef Hanuš, *Pavel Josef Šafařík v životě a spisích* (Prague: E. Grégr, 1895), 29; Jan Novotný, *Pavel Josef Šafařík* (Prague: Melantrich, 1971), 13, 25, 66–67.

84. Samuel. Št. Osuský, *Štúrova filozofia*, vol. 1 of *Filozofia Štúrovcov* (Myjava: Daniel Pažický, 1926), 20–22; Karol Rosenbaum, “Die Funktion der Herderschen Humanitätsidee in der slowakischen nationalen Wiedergeburt,” in Walter Dietze et al., eds., *Herder-Kolloquium, 1978* (Weimar: Böhlau, 1980), 337–38. See also Walter Schamschula, *Geschichte der tschechischen Literatur*, 2 vols. (Cologne: Böhlau, 1990–1996), 2:65, 82; Jakubec, *Literatura česká devatenáctého století*, 2:366.

85. Pynsent, *Questions of Identity*, 73–86. Masaryk likewise maintained that Kollár’s treatise on Slav mutuality, *Über die literarische Wechselseitigkeit* (Pest, 1837), reflected the influence of Herder’s *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte*; see Masaryk, *Česká otázka*, 415; *Ottův slovník naučný*, 37 vols. (Prague: Otto, 1888–908), 11:160; see also Novotný, *Pavel Josef Šafařík*, 27. Another commentator highlighted Herder’s influence on Kollár’s worldview: “Roste z Herdera, myslí Herderem, dýše Herderem” (He grows out of Herder, thinks with Herder, breathes with Herder). See Václav Černý, *Vývoj a zločiny panslavismu* (Prague: Institut pro středoevropskou kulturu a politiku, [1994?]), 12–13, also 15, 17.

86. Canto 3, Sonnet 61, cited in Murko, “Kollárova vzájemnost slovanská,” *Jan Kollár, 1793–1852. Sborník statí*, 210.

87. Vladimír Macura, *Znamení zrodu: České národní obrození jako kulturní typ*, rev. ed. (Prague: H & H, 1995), 18.

88. See Jan Kollár, *Rozpravy o slovanské vzájemnosti*, ed. Miloš Weingart (Prague: Slovanský ústav, 1929), 94. In *Über die literarische Wechselseitigkeit zwischen den verschiedenen Stämmen und Mundarten der slawischen Nation* he referred to Herder’s positive assessment of the Slavic tongue and to the prediction that the Slavs would obtain their rightful place in an eventual era marked by peace; see *Rozpravy o slovanské vzájemnosti*, 90, 118; the other four references to Herder are perfunctory: *ibid.*, 40, 79, 107, 147. Otherwise in his writings on the Slavic issue, he referred to Herder by name only once in his *Dobré vlastnosti národu slovanského*; *ibid.*, 22, 233. The brief original Czech version of “O literárněj vzájemnosti mezi kmeny a nářečím slovanskými,” *Hronka* 1–2 (1836): 39–55, lacked any mention of Herder; *ibid.*, 31–166. Similarly, Kollár did not explicitly credit Herder as an inspirer of his penchant for collecting folk songs; see J. Polívka, “Kollár, sběratel a vydavatel písní lidových,” in *Jan Kollár, 1793–1852. Sborník statí*, 161.

89. Albert Pražák, *České obrození* (Prague: E. Beaufort, 1948), 316.

90. “Die Weltgeschichte . . . hat darzuthun eine göttliche Weltregierung, das heisst, zeigen, wie das Menschengeschlecht unter dem ewigen Willen der Gottheit stehend, immer zum Bessern, das heisst zum Guten, fortschreiten müsse.” See Kollár, *Rozpravy o slovanské vzájemnosti*, 95–96.

91. Elena Várossová, “Kultúrny nacionalizmus Jána Kollára,” in *idem, Filozofia vo svete: svet filozofie u nás* (Bratislava: Veda, 2005), 158.

92. Pynsent, *Questions of Identity*, 98–99; see also Kollár, *Rozpravy o slovanské vzájemnosti*, 102.

93. “Die alternden Culturelemente verjüngen und zur *Humanität potenziiren*.” Kollár, *Rozpravy o slovanské vzájemnosti*, 114; see also *ibid.*, viii, 102–07; and *Jan Kollár, 1793–1852. Sborník statí*, 209. Paradoxically, Kollár maintained that the hitherto beneficial Romantic principle

was perverted in the recent period, particularly in the poetry of Byron, to become opposed to nature, and oversentimental; then oversatiated and overexcited, ending up in hallucinations and emotional debility; see *ibid.*, 104. Kollár's prediction of the Slavs' world-historical role aroused some wonderment in German intellectual circles; see anonymous article "Die slawischen Völker und ihr Verhältniss zu Deutschland," *Deutsche Vierteljahrschrift* (Stuttgart and Tübingen: Cotta) 4, no. 12 (1840): 104.

94. Kollár, *Rozpravy o slovanské vzájemnosti*, xlvi, 106. The others, whom he named among the modern subjectivists, were Schelling, Kant, Byron, and, with some qualifications, Schiller and Goethe; *ibid.*, 105–07.

95. Concerning the influence of Herder on Štúr, see Josette A. Baer, *National Emancipation, Not the Making of Slovakia: Ludovít Štúr's Conception of the Slovak Nation*, St. Francis Xavier University, Center for Post-Communist Studies, Studies in Post-Communism, Occasional Paper 2 (2003), 20–24.

96. *Dejiny Slovenska*, 2:791. On the transition from Herder to Hegel, see Elena Városová, "Hegelovské inšpirácie u Štúra a Hurbana," in *Filozofia vo svete*, 161–80.

97. L'udovít Štúr, *Listy*, ed. Jozef Ambruš and Vladimír Matula, 4 vols. (Bratislava: Vydavateľstvo Slovenskej akadémie vied, 1954–1999), 2:179.

98. In particular, Josef Rajačić, the Serbian patriarch of Karlovci; Mikhail F. Raevskii, a priest attached to the Russian Embassy in Vienna; the Russian scholars Osip O. Bodianskii and Izmail I. Sreznevskii; Štúr, *Listy*, 4:267–71. For the Ukrainians Panteleimon A. Kulish and Nikolai A. Rigel'man, see 4:123–24, 245–48.

99. Osuský, *Štúrova filozofia*, 10, 23.

100. Samuel Št. Osuský, *Hurbanova filozofia*, vol. 2 of *Filozofia Štúrovcov* (Myjava: Daniel Pažický, 1928), 166–68.

101. *Ibid.*, 170–71.

102. Samuel Št. Osuský, *Hodžova filozofia*, vol. 3 of *Filozofia Štúrovcov* (Myjava: Daniel Pažický, 1932), 279–80.

103. Osuský, *Hodžova filozofia*, 303, 311–12, 305.

104. L'udovít Štúr, *Das Slawenthum und die Welt der Zukunft*, ed. Josef Jirásek (Bratislava: Učená spoločnosť Šafaříkova, 1931).

105. Osuský, *Štúrova filozofia*, 157–58; Štúr, *Das Slawenthum und die Welt der Zukunft*, 30.

106. Štúr, *Das Slawenthum und die Welt der Zukunft*, 8–11.
107. Ivan Pfaff, *Česká přínáležitost k Západu, 1815–1878* (Brno: Doplněk, 1996), 21.
108. Masaryk, *Česká otázka*, 24, 36.
109. See for instance, František Janek, ed., *Upevňovanie vzťahov Čechov a Slovákov pri vyučovaní dejepisu* (Bratislava: Slovenské pedagogické nakladateľstvo, 1961), especially 59–81. The atypical position of Kollár in Czech intellectual life does not, of course, diminish the value of his poetry, or its place in Czech-language literature. Paradoxically, the work of some of the best poets in the Czech language have emerged as exotic ecological intrusions into the soil of Bohemia’s meadows and forests. Kollár’s vengeful Slavism and Karel H. Mácha’s satanic Romanticism, to which may be added Otokar Březina’s collectivist mysticism, offered a startling—and perhaps salutary—clash with the normally placid and realistic weltanschauung of the Czechs.
110. “Je načase netoliko slovensky zpívat—i to se již zapomíná—ale slovensky citit a—myslit.” Masaryk, *Česká otázka*, 49.
111. Literary Romanticism, independently of the issues in this study, also left notable traces on the culture of Hungary, Poland, and Russia; see, for instance, Mihály Szegegy-Maszák, “Romanticism in Hungary,” John Mersereau Jr. and David Lapeza, “Russian Romanticism,” and Donald Pirie, “The Agony in the Garden: Polish Romanticism,” in Porter and Teich, *Romanticism in National Context*, 217–39, 284–316, 317–44. The volume, however, lacks a chapter on Romanticism in Bohemia. For a discussion of the Dionysian and Apollonian attitudes or mentalities in Nietzsche’s *The Birth of Tragedy*, see, for instance, Frederick Copleston, *A History of Philosophy*, vol. 7; *Fichte to Nietzsche* (Westminster, Md.: Newman Press, 1963), 396–98.
112. A Lutheran tradition, however, was not a necessary prerequisite for Herder’s appeal. Evidently, he was influential among Polish (Kazimierz Brodziński and Wawrzyniec Surowiecki) and Russian (Nikolai M. Karamzin, Nikolai I. Nadezhdin, and Stefan P. Shevyrev) scholars. See Masaryk, *Česká otázka*, 47. On Brodziński and Herder, see also Ergang, *Herder*, 261.
113. On Seibt see Mikuláš Teich, “Bohemia: From Darkness into Light,” in Porter and Teich, *The Enlightenment in National Context*, 156.
114. On Herder’s alleged influence on Palacký, see for instance, Ergang, *Herder*, 260–61.
115. Jan Kollár, *Prózy*, 162; cited in Masaryk, *Česká otázka*, 412.
116. Kořalka, *František Palacký*, 40.
117. The Anglo-Magyar cultural symbiosis, which turned Kollár against the British, evidently appealed to Palacký; see Pynsent, *Questions of Identity*, 93.

118. František Palacký, *Korrespondence a zápisky*, Sbírká pramenů ku poznání literárního života v Čechách, na Moravě a ve Slezsku, Series 2, no. 4 (Prague: Česká akademie pro vědy, slovesnost a umění, 1898), 20, 25. For a survey of the British influences on young Palacký see Pfařf, *Česká přínáležitost k Západu*, 69–72.

119. Kutnar, Králík, and Bělič, *Tři studie o Palackém*, 98–99; and, on Palacký's highly negative view of Fichte, Schelling, as well as the Schlegels, 146. See also Anne L. Staël-Holstein, *De l'Allemagne* (Paris: Garnier frères, 18–), 457–64.

120. Kohn, *Prelude to Nation States: The French and German Experience, 1789–1815*, 299; Staël-Holstein, *De l'Allemagne*, 406–17; see also Kutnar, Králík, and Bělič, *Tři studie o Palackém*, 57.

121. Kutnar, Králík, and Bělič, *Tři studie o Palackém*, 56–57; see also Jaroslav Ludvíkovský, "Platonsko-stoický prvek v Palackého ideí božnosti," *Listy filologické* 68 (1941): 232–41; Staël-Holstein, *De l'Allemagne*, 407–11. For information on Bacon, Palacký relied on the scholarship of Dugald Stewart (1753–1828), who is also mentioned by Staël, 417.

122. Pynsent, *Questions of Identity*, 93. Kollár did, however, exchange a friendly letter with John Bowring concerning Magyar and Slovak folk songs on December 10, 1827; see F. Chudoba, "Listy psané Bowringovi ve věcech české a slovanské literatury," *Věstník královské české společnosti, třída Filosoficko-historicko-jazykozpytná*, 1912, pt. 2, 21–23.

123. Voltaire's writings were particularly repugnant to him both esthetically and ethically. He read the works and biographies of these writers in Bystrica, before his stay in Jena. Matěj Zameřkal, a local free thinker, made much of this literature available to him; see Jan Kollár, *Prózy*, 144–45. Despite his reservations about British policy, he expressed appreciation of English classics, including Goldsmith and Blair, whom he read during his studies in Bratislava, although for the English language "because of its displeasing sound [he] never felt any inner affection" (*ibid.*, 125). Seeing his first Shakespeare play—*King Lear*—also made a deep impression on him (135).

124. Gillies, *Herder*, 124–25; Staël-Holstein, *De l'Allemagne*, 378–81. Josef Fischer, *Myšlenka a dílo Františka Palackého*, 2 vols. (Prague: Čin, 1926–1927), 2:72–73, tried to show, unconvincingly, that Palacký's ideal of humanity derived from Herder rather than Blair; see Kutnar, Králík, and Bělič, *Tři studie o Palackém*, 54.

125. Similarly, the assertion of Hegel's influence on Palacký's philosophy of history proved unconvincing; see Jan Heidler, "O vlivu hegelismu na filosofii dějin a na politický program Frant. Palackého," *Český časopis historický* 17 (1911): 1–12, 152–66; Kutnar, Králík, and Bělič, *Tři studie o Palackém*, 145–46.

126. Kutnar, Králík, and Bělič, *Tři studie o Palackém*, 67, 161–63, 93.

127. *Ibid.*, 102; Josef Polišíenský, *Dějiny Británie* (Prague: Svoboda, 1982), 199. His approach to history was also influenced by Robertson, whose work had enjoyed a tradition of interest in Slovakia. Ladislav Bartolomeides had based his *Historia o Americe* (Bratislava: S. P. Weber, 1794) on Robertson's *History of America*.

128. Josef Král, *Československá filosofie: Nástin vývoje podle disciplin* (Prague: Melantrich, 1937), 20; Günter Ulbricht, *Johann Bernard Basedow* (Berlin: Volk und Wissen, 1963); Dieter Kormann, *Der Anschauungsbegriff bei Comenius, Basedow und Hartwig: im Blick auf die anschauungsbezogenen methodischen Anforderungen im heutigen Fach Kunst* (Frankfurt am Main: P. Lang, 1992); Johannes Rammelt, *J. B. Basedow, der Philantropinismus und das Dessauer Philantropin* (Dessau, 1929). Schamschula's *Die Anfänge der tschechischen Erneuerung*, oddly avoids mention of the English and French Enlightenment elements in Seibt's university teaching, discussing only his presentation of German sources like Kant and Gottsched (205).

129. Wiltraut Finzel-Niederstadt, *Lernen und Lehren bei Herder und Basedow* (Frankfurt am Main: P. Lang, 1986), 29–33, 69–71, 334–39.

130. *Dějiny univerzity Karlovy*, 4 vols. (Prague: Karolinum, 1995–1998), 2:127.

131. Masaryk, *Česká otázka*, 30; Novotný, *Matěj Václav Kramerius*, 17; Bernard Bolzano, *Vlastní životopis*, trans. and ed. Marie Pavlíková (Prague: Odeon, 1981), 28; Schamschula, *Die Anfänge der tschechischen Erneuerung*, 272, 281, 285. On his philosophical orientation see Karl H. Seibt, *Von dem Einflusse der Erziehung auf die Glückseligkeit des Staates* (Prague, 1771), cited by Zelený, *Život Josefa Jungmanna*, 14. See also Johanides, *František Martin Pelcl*, 99.

132. Bedřich Slavík, *Od Dobnera k Dobrovskému* (Prague: Vyšehrad, 1975), 114–15, 199, 208–09, 282.

133. Zdeněk V. David, “Národní obrození jako převtělení Zlatého věku,” *Český časopis historický* 99 (2001): 493–96.

134. Šmahelová, “Bernard Bolzano a české národní obrození,” 74–115; Bernard Bolzano, *24 Erbauungsreden, 1808–1820*, ed. Kurt F. Strasser (Vienna: Böhlau, 2001).

135. See, for instance, Bolzano, *Vlastní životopis*, 160–62.

136. Bernard Bolzano, *Wissenschaftslehre, Gesamtausgabe*, ed. Eduard Winter, et al., 40 vols. in 57, (Stuttgart–Bad Cannstatt: Frommann Holzboog, 1969–), Reihe series I, Band vol. 11, pt. 1 (1985), 130.

137. Bernard Bolzano, *Philosophische Tagebücher, Gesamtausgabe*, ed. Eduard Winter, et al., 40 vols. in 57 (Stuttgart–Bad Cannstatt: Frommann Holzboog, 1969–), Reihe Series II, Nachlass (posthumous works), B. Wissenschaftliche Tagebücher, Band vol. 17, *1817–1827*, 127–28, 141, 148.

138. Bernard Bolzano, “Die Darstellung der Völkererscheinungen im Raume zur Kenntniss des Menschenurbildes in der Zeit, dass ist es eigentlich, wodurch die neueste mystisch-theosophische Schule, nach Jacobi, die menschlichen mit den göttlichen Dingen zu vereinen trachtete,” in *Philosophische Tagebücher*, 87.
139. Král, *Československá filosofie*, 25; Karel Mácha, *Glaube und Vernunft: Die Böhmische Philosophie in geschichtlicher Übersicht*, 3 vols. (Munich: Sauer, 1987), 2:51–52.
140. Arne Novák, *Stručné dějiny literatury české*, ed. Rudolf Havel and Antonín Grund (Olomouc: Promberger, 1946), 202; on Štulc see *Ottův slovník naučný*, 24:813.
141. Vincenc Zahradník, *Filosofické spisy*, ed. František Čáda, 2 vols. (Prague: Česká akademie pro vědy slovesnost a umění, 1907–1908), 1:92; on Bolzano see also Karel Janský, ed., *Karel Hynek Mácha ve vzpomínkách současníků* (Prague: Svobodné slovo, 1958), 186–87, 199–200.
142. There is no reference to either in the biography by Jaromír Plch, *Antonín Marek* (Prague: Melantrich, 1974). See also Antonín Marek, *Základy filosofie: Logika. Metafysika*, Novočeská biblioteka 4 (Prague: Řivnáč, 1844), vii–viii, 263.
143. Jan Jakubec, *Dějiny literatury české*, 2d ed., 2 vols. (Prague: Jan Laichter, 1929–1934), 2:924.
144. On his article concerning the persecution of the two in 1819, see Josef Polišíenský and Ella Illingová, *Jan Jeník z Bratřic* (Prague: Melantrich, 1989), 68.
145. Eduard Winter, ed., *Der Briefwechsel B. Bolzanos mit F. Exner*, 4 vols. (Prague, 1935), cited by Mácha, *Glaube und Vernunft*; 2:51.
146. *Antologie z dějin českého a slovenského filozofického myšlení*, 525.
147. The anti-Hegelian orientation continued to prevail in academic philosophy in Bohemia, even among its German-language practitioners. See Král, *Československá filosofie*, 249.
148. *Oxford Companion to Philosophy*, ed. Ted Honderich (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 174.
149. This was the view of Oskar Kraus, “Besonderheit und Aufgabe der deutschen Philosophie in Böhmen,” *Actes du huitième Congrès de Philosophie à Prague, 2–7. Septembre 1934* (Prague, 1936), 766–71, cited by Marie Bayerová, “Rakouské filozofické myšlení konce 19. století v českém kulturním životě,” in *Povědomí tradice v novodobé české kultuře: Doba Bedřicha Smetany*, Sborník symposia v Plzni 7.–11. března 1984 (Prague: Národní galerie, 1988), 129, 136.
150. Jan Šebestík, “Bolzano, Exner, and the Origins of Analytical Philosophy,” *Grazer*

Philosophische Studien, International Zeitschrift für analytische Philosophie 53 (1997): especially, 54.

151. These thwarted pioneers included Augustin Smetana, Matouš Klácel, and Ignác J. Hanuš. For a recognition of this denouement, as obstructing the emergence of a Marxist philosophical tradition in Bohemia via Hegelianism, see *Antologie z dějin českého a slovenského filozofického myšlení*, 513.

152. Konrad Bittner, *Herders Geschichtsphilosophie und die Slaven*, Veröffentlichungen der Slavistischen Arbeitsgemeinschaft and der Deutschen Universität in Prag 6 (Reichenberg [Liberec]: Gebrüder Stiepel, 1929), 108.

153. Josef Dobrovský, *Korrespondence*, vol. 1: *Vzájemné dopisy Josefa Dobrovského a Fortunata Duricha z let 1778–1800*, Sběrka pramenů ku poznání literárního života v Čechách, na Moravě a ve Slezsku, series 2, no. 2, ed. Adolf Patera (Prague: Česká akademie pro vědy, slovesnost a umění, 1895), 236. There is no reference to Herder in his correspondence with Jiří Samuel Bandtke, Jiří Rybay, or Josef Valentin Zlobický, see subsequent volumes of the *Korrespondence* devoted to these authors. See also Milan Machovec, *Josef Dobrovský* (Prague: Svobodné slovo, 1964), 139.

154. Durych was concerned with von Ludwig's assertion that the Slavs, and the Slavic tongue were held in deep contempt as slaves or dogs at the time of Charles IV. He also dealt with Heyrenbach's view that the Slavs' low culture and welfare were due to their own perverse social customs and could not be blamed on German oppression; see especially Václav Fortunatus Durych, *Bibliotheca Slavica antiquissimae dialecti communis et ecclesiasticae universae Slavorum gentis*, vol. 1 (Vienna: S. Novakovitsch, 1795), 35, 39, cited by Schamschula, *Die Anfänge der tschechischen Erneuerung*, 32, 83.

155. Karel Ignác Thám, *Über den Charakter der Slawen, dann über den Ursprung, die Schicksale, Volkommenheiten, die Nützlichkeit und Wichtigkeit der böhmischen Sprache* (Prague: Johann Diesbach'schen Buchhandlung, 1803), 8–9, 27; p. 4 has a reference to Herder's *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit*, but not to *Briefe zur Beförderung der Humanität*. Hugh L. Agnew, *Origins of the Czech National Renaissance* (Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1993), 63–64.

156. Agnew, *Origins of the Czech National Renaissance*, 63–64.

157. Masaryk, *Česká otázka*, 30.

158. Mácha, *Glaube und Vernunft*, 1:119.

159. Arne Novák, *Josef Dobrovský* (Prague: Mánes, 1928), 11.

160. Havlíček, "Bohuslava Balbína obrana národu slovanského, zvláště českého," *Slovan*, May

20, 29, 1850; see also his *Politické spisy*, ed. Zdeněk V. Tobolka, 3 vols. in 5 parts (Prague: Laichter, 1900–1902), 3:33–52.

161. Daniel Adam, introduction to Eusebius, Pamphilus, *Historie cyrkevní*, trans. Jan Kocín z Kocinětu (Prague: Daniel Adam z Veleslavína, 1594), f. A5v. In Mercantonio de Dominis, *Ohlášení a zpráva* (Prague: Daniel Sedlčanský, 1619), de Dominis is identified on the title page as “a man stemming from the Slavic nation from which also the Czechs originate.”

162. Pynsent, *Questions of Identity*, 211 n. 2.

163. Contrary to what, for instance, Okey implies in *The Habsburg Monarchy*, 295.

164. David, “Národní obrození jako převtělení Zlatého věku,” 496–98.

165. Novotný, *Matěj Václav Kramerius*, 93–95.

166. During the 1790s, resenting the tsar’s participation in wars against revolutionary France, he henceforth considered Russia as a threat to Europe to be confined to its “natural sphere” of Eastern Europe and Asia; see Samson B. Knoll in *Encyclopedia Americana* (1994 ed.), 14:136.

167. See the classic work on the early national consciousness among the Slovaks, Rudo Brtáň, *Barokový slavizmus* (Lipt. Sv. Mikuláš: Tranoscius, 1939); on Kollár, see *Antologie z dějin českého a slovenského filozofického myšlení*, 475.

168. Šmahelová, “Kollárova vize slovanské vzájemnosti,” 134–35.

169. Kořalka, *František Palacký*, 425.

170. František Palacký, *Spisy drobné*, ed. Bohuš Rieger, 3 vols. (Prague: Bursík a Kohout, [1898–1902]), 1:332–33.

171. Zelený, *Život Josefa Jungmanna*, 37, 39, 78; Jan Mukařovský, ed., *Dějiny české literatury*, 4 vols. (Prague: Nakladatelství Československé akademie věd, 1959–1995), 2:236.

172. For instance, Koepke and Knoll, *Johann Gottfried Herder*; Koepke, *Johann Gottfried Herder*; Copleston, *A History of Philosophy*, 135–49, 172–79.

173. Herder’s influence is difficult to detect, see Zahradník, *Filosofické spisy*, 1:70–71, 48.

174. Karel Alois Vinařický, *Korespondence a spisy pamětní*, 4 vols., Sběrka pramenů ku poznání literárního života v Čechách, na Moravě a ve Slezsku, series 2, no. 6, 13, 19, 24, ed. Václav Otakar Slavík (Prague: Česká akademie pro vědy, slovesnost a umění, 1903, 1909, 1914, 1925), 1:202.

175. Index for 1827–1836, *Časopis českého musea* 10 (1836), 397–435; for 1837–1846, *ibid.*, 20 (1846): 817–54. See Herder, “Kůň z hory: Česká pověst z IX. století; skládání Herderovo,” *ibid.*, 6 (1832): 14–17, trans. from *Stimmen der Völker*, vol. 2.

176. František Slavík, “Vzájemné dopis Václava Hanky a Jana Kollára,” *Časopis českého musea*, 71 (1897): 227–45; Antonín J. Vrt’átko, “Dopisy Františka Palackého k Janu Kollárovi,” *Časopis českého musea* 53 (1879): 379–481; idem, “Dopisy Josefa Jungmanna k Janu Kollárovi,” *Časopis českého musea*, 54 (1880): 38–59, 196–218.

177. Polišenský and Illingová, *Jan Jeník z Bratřic*, 72, 80, 115; see also Ferdinand Čenský, ed., *Z dob našeho probuzení: Sbirka přátelských dopisů* (Prague: Urbánek, 1875), 239; John Bowring, *Cheskian Anthology: Being a History of the Poetical Literature of Bohemia* (London: Rowland Hunter, 1832), 78.

178. Karel Havlíček, “Leibniz a jeho idea,” *Česká včela* 13 (1846): 218.

179. Václav B. Nebeský, “Několik slov o filosofii,” *Časopis českého musea* 20 (1846): 241.

180. Karel Štorch, “Filosofie a naše literatura: Několik myšlenek snad včas,” *Časopis českého musea* 22 (1848), pt. 1, 53–60.

181. *Ibid.*, 61.

182. Zelený, *Život Josefa Jungmanna*, 14–15, 19.

183. Ivan Pfaff, *Česká přináležitost k Západu*; Simeon Potter, “Palacký a anglické písemnictví,” *Časopis Matice moravské* 53 (1929): 87–141.

184. Irena Šnebergová, “Franz Serafin Exner a Praha: Vzestup a pád kariéry univerzitního profesora; z exnerovské korespondence,” in *Rozjímání vpřed i vzad: Karlu Kosíkovi k pětasedmdesátinám*, ed. Irena Šnebergová, Václav Tomek, and Josef Zumr (Prague: Filosofia, 2001), 264–79.

185. “For some time now, historians of philosophy have been gradually coming to terms with the idea that post-Kantian philosophy in the German-speaking world ought properly to be divided into two distinct strands which we might refer to as the *German* and the *Austrian* traditions. The main line of the first consists in a list of personages beginning with Kant, Fichte, Hegel and Schelling and ending with Heidegger, Adorno, and Bloch. The main line of the second may be picked out similarly by means of a list beginning with Bolzano, Mach, and Meinong, and ending with Wittgenstein, Neurath, and Popper”; Barry Smith, *Austrian Philosophy: The Legacy of Brentano* (Chicago: Open Court, 1994), 1. On Bolzano and Exner as precursors of analytical philosophy, see Šebestík, “Bolzano, Exner, and the Origins of Analytical Philosophy,” 33–59; on the Austrian School, see Bayerová, “Rakouské filozofické myšlení,” 128–36. An analogous differentiation between a German and an Austrian School has also emerged in the field of economic theory;

see, for instance, Marek Loužek, *Spor o metodu mezi rakouskou školou a německou historickou školou* (Prague: Karolinum, 2001), 9–14.

186. Jakubec, *Dějiny literatury české*, 2:924.

187. Antonín Měšťan, “Scott und das historische Bewusstsein der Tschechen und Deutschen in Böhmen,” *Grossbritannien, die USA und die böhmischen Länder 1848–1938*, Vorträge der Tagung des Collegium Carolinum, 2–6 November 1988, ed. Eva Schmidt-Hartmann and Stanley B. Winters (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1991), 232.

188. František L. Čelakovský, “Slovo o Slávy Dceři p. Jana Kollára,” *Časopis českého musea* 5 (1831): 41, 49, 50. In the original: “Pomina, co zde a onde o Slávy Dceři podotknuto v časopisech německých, kdežto od některého času též hlasy o literatuře slovanské—ač není o ně co stát.”

189. He speaks of these neighbors: “jenž tak honosně za vševědy a všeuky ve světě se prohlašují.” P. [Palacký, František?], review of Edward Robinson, *Historical View of the Slavic Languages in Its Various Dialects*, The Biblical Repository (Andover, Mass.: Flagg, Gould, and Newman, 1834), in *Časopis českého musea* 8 (1834): 458.

190. František Matouš Klácel, “Shakespeare, Goethe, Schiller,” *Časopis českého musea* 21/1 (1847): 250–69.

191. Karel Havlíček, *Politické spisy*, ed. Zdeněk V. Tobolka, 3 vols. in 5 parts (Prague: Laichter, 1900–1902), 3:196.

192. Pfaff, *Česká přínáležitost k Západu*, 82; Karel Kazbunda, “Pobyt Dr. F. L. Riegra v cizině r. 1849–1850,” *Zahraniční politika* 8 (1929): 1026–28; František L. Rieger, *Spisy drobné*, vol. 2 (Prague, 1915), 640–43.

193. In “Betrachtungen über eine Stelle in Hornmayrs Taschenbuche,” a memorandum submitted to the supreme chancellor, Count Anton Friedrich Mitrovsky, on June 20, 1833; cited by Josef Hanuš, *Národní museum a naše obrození: k stoletému jubileu založení Musea*, 2 vols. (Prague: Národní museum, 1921–1923), 2:468–69.

194. Cited in Hanuš, *Národní museum a naše obrození*, 2:473.

195. Jan Novotný, *František Cyril Kampelík* (Prague: Melantrich, 1975), 35.

196. Hanuš, *Národní museum a naše obrození*, 2:468–71.

197. “Wir gebrauchen hier Herder’s Worte: ‘die beste Kultur eines Volkes ist nicht schnell, sie lässt sich durch eine fremde Sprache nicht erzwingen; am schönsten und, ich möchte sagen, einzig gedeiht sie ist auf dem eigenen Boden der Nation, in ihrer ererbten und sich forerbenden Mundart. Mit der Sprache erbeutet man das Herz des Volkes.’” Cited by Karel Tieftrunk, *Dějiny*

Matice české (Prague: Řivnáč, 1881), 43n.

198. Lehár et al., *Česká literatura od počátků k dnešku*, 685.

199. Paul Reimann, *Von Herder bis Kisch: Studien zur Geschichte der deutsch-österreichisch-tschechischen Literaturbeziehungen* (Berlin : Dietz Verlag, 1961), 117. See also Franz Werfel, *Nicht der Mörder, der Ermordete ist schuldig* (Leipzig, 1957).

200. Reimann, *Von Herder bis Kisch*, 119.

201. Snyder, *Encyclopedia of Nationalism*, 115; see also Arlie J. Hoover, *German Patriotic Preaching from Napoleon to Versailles* (Stuttgart, 1986); Michael Hughes, *Nationalism and Society: Germany, 1800–1945* (London, 1988).

202. Šmahelová, “Kollárova vize slovanské vzájemnosti,” 142. On the injuries to Slavdom by the envious “Teutonia,” and on German responsibility for the burning of Jan Hus, see Jan Kollár, *Básně*, ed. Mojmir Otruba (Prague: Československý spisovatel, 1981), 21, 269.

203. If Russia’s enemies were included, the following could be added to the roster of traditional opponents: Tatars, Bugri, Khazars, Pechenegs, Kumans, and Turkmens; Pynsent, *Questions of Identity*, 90–91.

204. Kaizl, *České myšlenky*, 39.

205. “Because every nation is a distinct stream in the sea of humanity; every nation is a distinct shoot on the tree of human generation, and he who severs, trims, or injures it, harms the entire tree.” Kollár, *Prózy*, 241, cited by Šmahelová, “Kollárova vize slovanské vzájemnosti,” 142.

206. Jan Jakubec, *O životě a působení Jana Kollára* (Prague: Slavia, 1893), 32–33.

207. Albert Pražák, *Obrozenské tradice* (Prague: Svaz národního osvobození, 1928), 242.

208. *Ibid.*, 243–44.

209. Čelakovský, “Slovo o Slávy Dceři,” 41.

210. See his review of Robinson’s *Historical View*, 458.

211. František Palacký, “Literní zprávy: Z Prahy,” *Časopis českého musea* 2 (1828), pt. 2, 132.

212. Novotný, *Matěj Václav Kramerius*, 336.

213. Eric J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780*, 2d ed. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Eric J. Hobsbawm, and Terence Ranger, eds. *The Invention of Tradition*

(New York: 1983).

214. For instance, for Germany by Georg Schmidt, “Konfessionalisierung, Reich und Deutsche Nation,” in *Die Territorien des Reiches im Zeitalter der Reformation und Konfessionalisierung*, ed. A. Schindling and W. Ziegler, vol. 7, *Bilanz, Forschungsperspektiven, Register* (1997), 179 ff.

215. Jan Patočka, *Co jsou Češi? Malý přehled fakt a pokus o vysvětlení*, ed. Ivan Chvatík and Pavel Kouba (Prague: Panorama, 1992), 13–14.

216. See note 111.

217. Zdeněk V. David, “Hegelova srážka s katolickým osvicenstvím v Čechách a zrod novodobého národního uvědomění,” *Filosofický časopis* 54 (2006): 809–33.

218. On the symbiosis between the Josephist Enlightenment and the mainstream of the Bohemian Reformation on the basis of liberal Catholicism, see David, “Národní obrození jako převtělení Zlatého věku,” 486–510.

Center for Russian & East European Studies
University Center for International Studies
University of Pittsburgh
4400 W. W. Posvar Hall
320 S. Bouquet Street
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15260
(412) 648-8716
www.ucis.pitt.edu/crees/cbpaper.html.

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