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THE 1848 REVOLUTION AND THE LIMITS OF SORBIAN CZECHOSLOVAKISM

Sorbian-Czech relations have long been cordial. Yet while some Sorbian intellectuals saw Sorbs and Czechs as friendly neighbors, others saw them as co-nationals. During the early nineteenth century, two prominent Sorbian intellectuals, Jan Pětr Jordan and Jan Arnošt Smoler, both Upper Sorbs from Saxony, cultivated an ethno-linguisitc Czechoslovakism rooted in feelings of Slavic communality. During the Revolution of 1848, however, these two literati, while not exactly in conflict with one another, chose significantly different paths. Jordan assimilated to a broader Czecho-Slavic or even, arguably, a Czech ethnicity. Smoler, by contrast, saw the Czechs as friends and role models: his loyalties ultimately remained with his Sorbian homeland in Lusatia. Their differing paths illustrate the difficulty of predicting a patriot's political actions from patriotic effusions.

The national loyalties of Jordan and Smoler, like those of other patriot-intellectuals, must be distinguished from those of the Sorbian population as a whole. Highly-educated intellectual-patriots who devote their professional lives to ethno-linguistic cultural work are always unusual personalities, but particularly in a predominantly agricultural society such as Saxony before the 1848 revolution, which after all had not yet abolished serfdom.[1] Before the 1848 Revolution, Sorbian nationalism lacked the character of a mass movement; in terms of Miroslav Hroch's famed three-stage model of national awakening, it remained in the early stages of Phase A ("scholarly interest").[2] Hroch's schema has inspired both tinkering and criticism,[3] yet however one measures the progress of "national awakening," the patriotic loyalties of Jordan and Smoler must be placed in the context of

[1] Samuel Sugenheim, *Geschichte der Aufhebung der Leibeigenschaft und Hörigkeit in Europa* (Saint Petersburg: Academy of Sciences, 1861), 444-64.

[2] Miroslav Hroch, *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe: A Comparative Analysis of the Social composition of Patriotic Groups among the Smaller European Nations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 23.

[3] Alexander Maxwell, "Typologies and Phase Theories in Nationalism Studies: Hroch's A-B-C Schema as a Basis for Comparative Terminology," *Nationalities Papers*, vol. 38, no. 6 (November 2010), 865-80.

what scholars of Eastern Europe have recently begun conceptualizing as "national indifference."[4]

Yet the very exceptionality of conscious national feeling in the early nineteenth century gives the subject its interest. Atypical individuals developing national ideologies more or less estranged from the broader society in which they dwell have considerable freedom to imagine eccentric national communities; or, at the very least, to cultivate national loyalties which perplex subsequent generations. "It is astonishing what foolish things one can temporarily believe if one thinks too long alone," John Maynard Keynes famously said in an unrelated context,[5] and though scholars examining nationalist ideologies may hesitate to judge whether one nationalist fantasy is more or less foolish than another, perhaps Keynes' observation suggests more broadly that the solitary ruminations of isolated literati may lead in unexpected and counter-intuitive directions.

Understanding how elite Sorbian intellectuals imagined the Sorb-Czech relationship requires an overview of Sorbian contacts with Czech cultural institutions. Prague, Bohemia's capital, was the largest city not only in Bohemia, but in a broader Czecho-Slavic cultural zone encompassing Lusatia, Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, and Slavic northern Hungary (the future Slovakia). Prague served as a cultural centre for literati throughout this broader Czecho-Slav territory. Indeed, Sorbian intellectuals looked to Prague as an intellectual center even before the era of "national awakening." Much as Protestants in the Habsburg lands went to Saxony for university education,[6] so did Sorbian Catholics train for the priesthood at Prague's Lusatian Seminar, established in 1724.[7]

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[4] Tara Zahra, "Imagined Noncommunities: National Indifference as a Category of Analysis," *Slavic Review*, vol. 69, no. 1 (Spring, 2010), 93-119.

[5] John Maynard Keynes, *The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money* (London: MacMillan, 1936), vii.

[6] Othmar Feyl, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der slawischen Verbindung und internationalen Kontakte der Universität Jena* (Jena: Gustav Fischer, 1960); František Hrubý, Libuše Urbánková-Hrubá, Bedřich Šindelář, *Étudiants tchèques aux écoles protestantes de l'Europe occidentale à la fin du 16. et au début du 17. siècle* (Brno: Univerzita Jana Evangelisty Purkyné,1970).

[7] František Příhonský, *Geschichte des Oberlausitzer oder Wendischen Seminars* (Bautzen: E. M. Manse, 1874), 3,4, 19; Zdeněk Boháč, "Die Matrikel der Zöglinge des 'Wendischen Seminars' in Prag, 1728-1922," *Lětopis*, vol. 13, no. 2 (1966), 166-228; Wilhelm Zeil, "Serbski seminar w Praze w prěnjej połojcy 19. lětstotka," *Rozhlad, časopis za serbsku kulturu,* vol. 17, no. 1 (1967), 8-19; Wilhelm Zeil, *Bolzano und die Sorben* (Bautzen: Domowina, 1967), 9-56.

The Lusatian seminar, housed in a "typical baroque building"[8] at the corner of Lužická and Míšeňská streets, had an endowment large enough to offer twelve scholarships a year.[9] Even after the Saxon government lifted restrictions on Catholic education in Saxony in the aftermath of Napoleon's fall, the Lusatian Seminar continued to host Sorbian students eager to study in the Bohemian capital.[10] Students from the Lusatian Seminar attracted the attention and interest of leading Czech literati, bringing them into close contact with the leading lights of the Czech national awakening.

Consider the great philologist Josef Dobrovský, whom Czechoslovakia's future president T. G. Masaryk described as "highly educated and the first Czech in the modern era with a cosmopolitan outlook,"[11] and whose 1809 Czech grammar made him famous.[12] Dobrovský impressed literati throughout the Slavic world, including several influential Sorbian grammarians. In his 1830 grammar, for example, Handrij Zejler "followed the basic principles erected by the great and famous master of Slavic languages, ... Josef Dobrovský."[13]

Dobrovský cultivated social networks between himself and Sorbian intellectuals. During the 1770s, while still a theology student, Dobrovský befriended three future Sorbian priests, Franc Jurij Lok, Mikławš Fulk a Jakub Žur. They maintained their friendship even after the Sorbian trio returned to Lusatia: Dobrovský sent them books from Bohemia, Fulk wrote for Dobrovský's journals *Slawin* and *Slowanka*, and they all lamented the lack of a Sorbian translation of the Bible.[14] Starting in 1816, leading Sorbian intellectuals urged Dobrovský to visit Lusatia;[15] Dobrovský actually made the journey in 1825. After visiting his friends, Dobrovský returned to Prague with two young Sorbian scholars to create the next generation of Sorbian-Czech friendship. In 1828, Dobrovský even wrote a Sorbian grammar, though it has unfortunately has not survived.[16]

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[8] Anton Morávek, *Lužický dům v Praze* (Prage: Společnost přatel Lužice, 1948), 7.
[9] František Příhonský, *Geschichte des Oberlausitzer oder Wendischen Seminars* (Bautzen: E. M. Manse, 1874), 4, 5.
[10] Příhonský, *Geschichte des Oberlausitzer oder Wendischen Seminars*, 17-18.
[11] Karel Čapek, *Talks with T.G. Masaryk* (Northhaven: Catbird Press, 1995), 143.
[12] Joseph Dobrovský [Dubrowsky], *Lehrgebaeude der Boehmischen Sprache* (Prague: Johann Herrl, 1809).
[13] Handrij Zejler, *Kurzgefasste Grammatik der Sorben-Wendischen Sprache* (Bautzen: Weller, 1830), viii.
[14] Wilhelm Zeil, *Bolzano und die Sorben* (Bautzen: Domowina, 1967), 33, 59, 67.
[15] Petr Píša, "Česko-lužický seminář," *Česko-lužický věstník*, vol. 16, no. 3 (2006), 21.
[16] Zeil, *Bolzano und die Sorben*, 79, 80-81.

Dobrovský and his Sorbian friends developed institutional frameworks to promote Sorbian-Czech co-operation. In 1811, Dobrovský and Lok appointed the Czech scholar František Příhonský as president [*Präsis*] of the Lusatian Seminar, the first Czech to hold the office. As a priest, the president assisted aspiring theologians with their spiritual calling, but Příhonský also contributed a Czech dimension to his charges' worldly education. He himself had completed a doctorate in philosophy, worked closely with mathematician and philosopher Bernard Bolzano, and contributed to Czech letters by writing for the *Časopis pro katolické duchovenstvo* [Journal of Catholic Theologians].[17] He later wrote a history of the Lusatian Seminar.[18]

Dobrovský awakened a passion for Sorbian affairs in his successor as professor of Slavic Studies at Charles University, Václav Hanka. Hanka too actively promoted Czecho-Slavic education for Sorbian students. He not only worked with students at the Lusatian Seminar, but promoted educational institutions. He once purchased the private library of a deceased priest and donated the books to the Sorbian school in Bautzen.[19] As a leading member of the Bohemian museum, Hanka also helped ensure that it contained a wing on Lusatian history.

Jan Pětr Jordan, the leading Sorbian linguist of his generation, received much of his Slavic education from Hanka. The son of a Lutheran farmer but raised Catholic by his mother, Jordan originally came to Prague to study at the Lusatian seminar. However, he turned away from the theology degree most commonly pursued by Sorbian students and studied Slavic philology instead.[20] His ardent Slavic patriotism eventually aroused the suspicion of Metternich, who ordered a police report on his activities. In 1841 Jordan was expelled from Bohemia.[21] Jordan then went to Leipzig to

[17] Zeil, *Bolzano und die Sorben*, 116-120, 126, 131-32.
[18] Příhonský, *Geschichte des Oberlausitzer oder Wendischen Seminars*.
[19] Zeil, *Bolzano und die Sorben*, 190-204.
[20] Dietrich Scholze-Šołta, "Slowakische Bezüge in Jan Pětr Jordans Leipziger Jahrbüchern für slawische Literatur, Kunst und Wissenschaft," in: Ludwig Richter, Alfrun Kliems, eds., *Slowakische Kultur und Literatur im Selbst- und Fremdverständnis* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2005), 267.
[21] Ludger Udolph, "Jan Pětr Jordans Panslavismus-Konzeption: Ein Beitrag zum 'slavischen Diskurs' im Vormärz," in: Steffen Höhne, Andreas Ohme, eds., *Prozesse kultureller Integration und Desintegration. Deutsche, Tschechen, Böhmen im 19. Jahrhundert* (Munich, Oldenbourg, 2005), 233; Peter Brock, "J. P. Jordan's Role in the

become Germany's first professor of Slavic Language and Literature, though without any salary.[22] He there founded a Sorbian union among his students in Leipzig, attracting the support of two Czechs as well as Sorbian student Korla Awgust Mosak-Kłosopólski, who became an important Sorbian awakener in his own right.[23] Jordan achieved such fame as a Slavist that he became unofficially known as the "Slavic Consul" in Germany.[24] Jordan's work on the Sorbian language owed much to Czech models. The title page of his 1841 grammar declares the contents "composed according to Dobrovský's system,"[25] but Wilhelm Zeil suggests his true model was Hanka's *Pravopis český*.[26]

The centrality of Bohemia in Sorbian patriotic imaginations seems even more striking in the case of Jan Arnošt Smoler, a noted Sorbian journalist and perhaps the leading figure of nineteenth-century Sorbian history. Smoler, a Protestant, could not attend the Lusatian Seminar, so he studied in Wrocław under the supervision of Czech anatomist Jan Purkyně, whom Smoler described in his autobiography as "an ardent Czech" whose library "opened to me the literature of all the Slavs."[27] Smoler later visited Prague, establishing contact with several leading figures.[28] By his own account, he "learned much in Bohemia which can benefit the flourishing of Sorbian nationality."[29] He also conducted a long correspondence with Hanka and other Czech literati.[30] Collaborating with the aforementioned Zejler, also a Protestant, Smoler in 1841 launched one of the first secular Sorbian-language periodicals, *Jutrnička* [Morning Star].

National Awakening of the Lusatian Serbs," *Canadian Slavonic Papers*, vol. 10, no. 3 (Autumn 1968), 316.

[22] Scholze-Šołta, "Slowakische Bezüge in Jan Pětr Jordans Leipziger Jahrbüchern," 268, Brock, "J. P. Jordan," 317.

[23] Jan Šołta, Hartmut Zwahr, *Geschichte der Sorben* (Bautzen: Domowina, 1974), 2:104.

[24] Šołta, Zwahr, *Geschichte der Sorben*, 2:100.

[25] Jan Pětr Jordan, *Grammatik der wendisch-serbischen Sprache in der Oberlausitz* (Prague: Friedrich Erlich, 1841), 4.

[26] Zeil, *Bolzano und die Sorben*, 199.

[27] Adolf Černý, ed. "Autobiografija J. E. Smolerja," *Časopis maćicy serbskeje*, vol. 136 (1917), 8.

[28] Jan Cyž, "Smolerjowa korespondenca ze słowakskimi a čěskimi wótčincami," *Lětopis*, vol. 17, no. 2 (1970), 232-49.

[29] See Kunze, "The Sorbian National Renaissance," 200.

[30] Peter Kunze, *Jan Arnošt Smoler* (Bautzen: Domowina, 1995), 213; Jan Cyž, "Smolerjowa korespondenca ze słowakskimi a českimi wótčinami," *Lětopis*, 17/1 (1970), 233-49.

In 1846, Smoler and Zejler founded the Maćica Serbska, a publishing house and cultural center. The word *matica* is Serbian for "queen bee"; in 1826 Serbian patriots had invoked the image of the queen bee's centrality when naming the Matica Srpska, an important cultural institution located in Pest. Other Slavs subsequently copied the Serbian example. Czech patriots founded the Matica Česká in 1834; a Matica Ilirska appeared in Zagreb in 1842. Smoler and Zejler modeled the Maćica Serbska not on the Serbian original, but on the Matica Česká.[31] It ultimately became a central institution of Sorbian cultural life, and its journal, the *Časopis Maćicy Serbskeje*, the primary venue for Sorbian literary scholarship.

Neither Catholic nor Lutheran religious institutions could transcend religious divisions, and the founding generation of Sorbian patriot intellectuals keenly felt the lack of a pan-confessional forum for discussing secular issues of national concern. Smoler and Jordan tried to appropriate both the Catholic and Lutheran Sorbian heritages to a national tradition defined in ethno-linguistic terms. Consider how Jordan, in an 1840 letter, appealed for Smoler's collaboration on various literary endeavors: "An Evangelical and a Catholic writer together. What a beautiful example for our whole people!"[32] Such visions of pan-confessional literary cooperation reflected a Romantic vision of the national language.

During the heyday of Romantic nationalism, Slavic literati not only glorified the national language, but tended to view linguistically-defined nations as agents of history. Scholars usually attribute such notions to German philosopher Johann Gottfried Herder,[33] who indeed believed that God used nations to reveal humanity's divinely-inspired destiny, and

[31] The Matica Česká in turn had drawn inspiration from the Serbian Matica Srpska, founded in Budapest in 1824. Peter Brock, "Smoler's Idea of Nationality," *Slavic Review*, vol. 28, no. 1 (March 1969), 43.

[32] Brock, "J. P. Jordan," 321.

[33] Holm Sundhaussen, *Der Einfluß der Herderischen Ideen auf die Nationsbildung bei den Völkern der Habsburgermonarchie* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1973); Ulf Lehmann, "Herder und die Slawen: Probleme des Geschichtsbildes und Geschichtsverständnisses aus historischer Perspektive," *Jahrbuch für Geschichte der sozialistischen Länder Europas* vol. 22, no. 1 (1978), 39-50; Peter Drews, *Herder und die Slaven: Materialien zur Wirkungsgeschichte bis zur Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (München: Sagner 1990); Pierre Caussat, "L'ensemble austro-slave: Herder et les Slaves," in: *La langue source de la nation: messianismes séculiers en Europe central et orientale* (Liège: Mardaga, 1996), 177-82; Alexander Maxwell, "Herder, Kollár, and the Origins of Slavic Ethnography," *Traditiones: Journal of the Institute of Slovenian Ethnology*, vol. 40, no. 2 (2011), 79-95.

praised national literary traditions as "the most durable, quiet, efficacious institution of God, by means of which nation acts upon nation, age upon age, and through which probably the whole human species will in time find itself encircled in one chain of fraternal tradition."[34] Yet Herder's ideas influenced Sorbian intellectuals mostly mediated through the works of Jan Kollár, a Lutheran pastor and Slovak poet had who visited Lusatia during his university studies in Jena. Kollár experienced his awakening to national consciousness as a fall from grace: "I had savored the fruit from the tree of nationality, bitter and painful to the soul."[35] After winning a literary reputation through the epic poem *Sláwy dcera,* in which the narrator's love for the nation is conflated through romantic love for a woman, Kollár introduced to the Slavic world the idea of "Slavic Reciprocity."

Kollár's Reciprocity rested on the belief that all Slavs formed a single nation and spoke a single Slavic language. Kollár divided the Slavic nation into four "main tribes": Russian, Polish, Czech, and "Illyrian" (south-Slavic). Kollár urged Slavs to found libraries, collect folk songs, study each others' dialects, and exchange books. He even proposed a "general pan-dialectical Slavic *Literary Magazine*, in which every new Slavic work should be shown and discussed in its original dialect," but also wanted Slavs to harmonize their orthographies as much as possible.[36] Kollár had no interest in political questions; his vision of Reciprocity between the tribes of the Slavic nation took an exclusively literary form.

Within the context of Kollár's Slavism, Upper Lusatians shared a special bond with Czechs. He seems to have grouped the Lower Lusatians with the Poles,[37] but imagined Upper Lusatia as part of the broader Czech

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[34] Johann Gottfried von Herder, "Das sonderbare Mittel zur Bildung der Menschen ist Sprache," in *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit* [Ideas toward a Philosophy of the History of Mankind], vol. 2, chapter 9, section 2. I have cited T. Chuchill's 1799 translation, *Outlines of a Philosophy of the History of Man* (London: Luke Hansard, 1800, 1803), 239.

[35] Quoted from Ferdinand Ďurčanský, "Die Slowakei und der Panslawismus," in *Die Slowakei als mitteleuropäisches Problem in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Munich: Robert Lerche, 1965), 119.

[36] Jan Kollár, *Wechselseitigkeit zwischen den verschiedenen Stämmen und Mundarten der slawischen Nation* (Leipzig: Otto Wigand, 1844), 92-98; English text from *Reciprocity between the Various Tribes and Dialects of the Slavic Nation* (Bloomington: Slavica, 2008).

[37] Janko Drašković, *Ein Wort an Iliriens hochherzige Töchter* (Zagreb: Typographie von Dr. Ljudevit Gaj, 1838), 20. The content of this book is better captured by its title in Czech translation "The Ancient History and Modern Literary Revival of the Illyrian

world. In 1846, for example, Kollár wrote that "Slovaks, Bohemians, Moravians, Silesians and, in part, Lusatians too have been united together, as long as we can remember, by multiple corporeal and spiritual, national and dialectical ties."[38] Kollár, a Slovak, also considered himself a member of the "Slavo-Czech" tribe, and thus placed Upper Sorbs and Slovaks in a similar relationship to the Czechs, and to the Czech cultural center in Prague.

Given Kollár's longing to bring the "tribes" of the Slavic nation more closely together, he showed an unsurprising desire for greater unity within individual tribes. The "Slavo-Czech" tribe was no exception. He urged Sorbian teachers in Bautzen to "nurture reciprocity, [...] unite with us so that you become powerful through this bond."[39] He also advised Sorbian students to study in Prague.[40]

Kollár's ideas found a broad audience, inspiring both literary work and concrete political action. His worked influenced not only Czechs, Slovaks, and Sorbs, but also Serbian, Ukrainian and Polish patriots.[41] As concerns Sorb-Czech relations, however, Kollár inspired his disciples to promote Sorb-Czech reciprocity within the context of the "Czecho-Slavic tribe." In 1839, for example, Slovak patriot Ľudovít Štúr, the former president of Bratislava's "Czecho-Slav Society" and then still a disciple of

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Nation," *Starši dějepis a nejnowější literární obnowa národu ilirského* (Prague: Pospíšil, 1845), 29.

[38] Jan Kollár, "O československé jednotě w řeči a w literatře," in: *Hlasowé o potřebě jednoty spisowného jazyka pro Čechy, Morawany a Slowáky* (Prague: Czech Museum, 1846), 124.

[39] Pawol Nowotny, "Listy, pisane serbskemu gymnazialnemu towarstwu w Budyšinje z lět 1839-50," *Lětopis Instituta za serbski ludospyt rjad A*, vol. 12, no. 2 (1965), 186; cited from Peter Kunze, "The Sorbian National Renaissance and Slavic Reciprocity in the First half of the Nineteenth Century," *Canadian Slavic Papers*, vol. 41, no. 2 (June 1999), 193.

[40] See Peter Brock, "Jan Ernest Smoler and the Czech and Slovak Awakeners: A Study in Slavic Reciprocity," in: Peter Brock, ed., *The Czech Renascence of the Nineteenth Century* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1970), 76-81.

[41] See Viktor Kudělka, "Ján Kollár a Srbové," *Sborník prací filosofické fakulty brněnské university*, vol. 18, no. 16 (1969), 51-65; Ivan Paňkevyč, "Západoukrajinské literárne obrodenie a Ján Kollár," in: *Z dejín československo-ukrajinských vzťahov: Slovanské štúdie* (Bratislava: SAV, 1957), 269-94; Alexander Maxwell, "Jan Kollár's Literary Nationalism," in: *Reciprocity Between the Various Tribes and Dialects of the Slavic Nation*, 27-67; Alexander Maxwell, "Walerjan Krasiński's *Panslavism and Germanism* (1848): Polish Goals in a Panslav Context," *New Zealand Journal of Slavonic Studies*, vol. 42 (2008), 101-120.

Kollár, helped found a Sorbian grammar-school library through book donations.[42] Štúr later wrote poetry about the Lusatian Sorbs.[43] In 1843, furthermore, Ján Kadavý complied a songbook as an example of "Reciprocity between the Bohemians, Moravians, Slovaks, Silesians and Lusatians"; a later edition simplified the title to "Reciprocity between the Czechoslavs."[44] Kollár's ideas won admiration among Sorbian intellectuals. Mosak-Kłosopólski, for example, urged his Sorbian peers to "become aware of the real Slavic meaning .... Have all members of the association read Kollár's 'Reciprocity' quite often."[45]

Kollár's ideas influenced both Smoler and Jordan. Smoler personally corresponded with Kollár about folk songs, passed on Kollár's ideas to other Sorbs,[46] and reminded Prague patriots of their duty to send books to "other Slavs."[47] His 1841 reader proclaimed that Sorbs "turn ever more to their magnificent language, but also to the other Slavic dialects."[48] Jordan taught his students in Leipzig comparative Slavic grammar "according to the different dialects,"[49] and described Sorbian linguistic features by contrasting Sorbian with Czech and Polish. In his 1841 Sorbian grammar, Jordan wrote that Sorbian was "a dialect of the Slavonic language" that

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[42] Kunze, "The Sorbian National Renaissance," 190-91. On Štúr's relations with Sorbian patriots, see Pawoł Nowotny, "Ľudovít Štúr pola Łužiskisch Serbow," *Lětopis Instituta za serbski ludospyt*, series A, no. 4 (1956/1957), 89-106. For Štúr's account of his trip, see "Cesta do Lužic, vykonaná zjara 1839," *Časopis českého muzea*, vol. 13, (1839), 464-90. On Slovak-Sorb relations generally, see Viliam Mruškovič, *Slovensko-lužickosrbske literárne vzťahy* (Martin: Matica slovenská, 1980).

[43] The last stanza runs: "long the glowing coals hissed among the pines, long the fickle winds scattered the ashes to the mountains. Still, however, when the day is done, something still can be heard where the border was burned: Lusatia, Sorbs, Lusatia!" One must, of course, imagine the ABAB, CCDD rhyme scheme for full effect. Jozef Hurban, ed., *Nitra - dar dcerám a synům slowenska, morawy, čech a slezka obětowaný* (Bratislava: Šmid, 1842), 1:67.

[44] Ján Kadavý, *Wzájemnost we příkladech mezi Čechy, Morawany, Slowáky, Slezáky i Lužičany* (Pest: Josef Beimel, 1843).

[45] Mosak-Kłosopólski, letter of 26 September 1841, cited from Kunze, "The Sorbian National Renaissance," 195.

[46] Jan Smoler, letter to Jurij Arnošt Wanak of 21 February 1840, cited from Jan Cyž, "J. A. Smolerjowe listowanje z młode Serbskej," *Lětopis*, vol. 22 (1975), 100.

[47] Josef Lebeda, "Neznámý dopis Jana Arnošt Smolera," *Lětopis*, vol. 21/1 (1978), 93-94.

[48] Jan Smoler, *Mały Sserb aby Serske a Njemske Rozmołwjeneja* (Bautzen: Weller, 1841), 84-85.

[49] Scholze-Šołta, "Slowakische Bezüge in Jan Pětr Jordans Leipziger Jahrbüchern," 269; on Jordan's admiration for Kollár, see also Miloš Schmidt, *Dr. Jan Pětr Jordan: Jeho žiwjenje a skutkowanje wot lěta 1848* (Bautzen: Domowina, 1962), 15.

"formed with the Poles and the Czechs (with whom the Slovaks of northwest Hungary belong), the … northwestern Slavic tribe."[50] Jordan complied folk songs.[51]

Sorbian literati concurred with Kollár's approach to orthographical questions, drawing inspiration from Czech scholars to promote a local Slavism. In the late 1830s, both Jordan and Smoler took Czech orthography as their model when considering how to reform Sorbian orthography; Jordan in particular modeled his reforms on Hanka's *Prawopis český* [Czech Orthography], first issued in 1817, but frequently reissued with several changes.[52] In 1840, when Jordan and Smoler discussed orthographic issues, Smoler similarly advocated letters "formed as in Czech."[53] Jordan later devised an All-Slavic alphabet,[54] and, like Kollár, was appalled when Ľudovít Štúr codified a distinctly Slovak orthography.[55] Smoler also drew lexical inspiration from Czech for his 1843 dictionary. "Whenever I encounter in Czech, etc., a concept not used in Sorbian but easy for the Sorbian ear to understand," he wrote to schoolteacher and fellow grammarian Christian Pfuhl, he would "introduce it into his dictionary."[56]

Both Smoler and Jordan, in short, articulated a similarly Czechophile Romantic Slavism. While their differing confessional backgrounds launched them on different educational trajectories, both spent time in Prague, and both pursued a lengthy correspondence with other Slavic literati. Both were influenced by the same Czech(oslovak) intellectuals, notably Dobrovský, Hanka, and Kollár. Both invested their literary and grammatical work with national significance. Their many intellectual

[50] Jan Pětr Jordan, *Grammatik der wendisch-serbischen Sprache in der Oberlausitz* (Prague: Friedrich Erlich, 1841), 4.
[51] Jan Pětr Jordan, *Serbske Pesniczki" żezbèrane a Serbskim hólcam a holcam k zweseleńu wudate wot cżeschczżanskich wiczżazec* (Bautzen: Schlússel, 1841).
[52] Václav Hanka, *Prawopis český* (Prague: Háze, 1817); the evolution of Hanka's orthography is visible in the title of the ninth edition from 1849, *Pravopis česky* (Prague: Spisovateli, 1849).
[53] Jan Smoler, letter to Jordan of 5 March 1840, cited from Jan Cyž, "J. A. Smolerjowe listowanje z młode Serbskej," *Lětopis*, vol. 22 (1975), 101.
[54] Brock, "J. P. Jordan," 319.
[55] Brock, "J. P. Jordan," 318.
[56] Jan Arnošt Smoler, letter to Pfuhl, cited from Hinc Šewc, "Jan Arnošt Smoler a nastaće nowočasneje hornoserbskeje spisowneje rěče w 19. letstoku," *Lětopis*, vol. 31, no. 1 (1985), 15.

convergences, however, failed to push them to similar political convictions: the 1848 revolution drove Jordan and Smolner in opposite directions.

The 1848 Revolution, actually a complex series of entangled revolutions affecting several European countries, left idealistic revolutionaries mostly disillusioned. While patriots proclaimed republics across the continent, royal houses had mostly regained control by 1849. The year 1848 nevertheless marks a turning point in European history, and witnessed, among other things, the apogee of Slavism as a political force. Slavic feeling during the 1848 Revolution manifested itself most visibly and dramatically in the Prague Pan-Slav Congress, which convened on 21 May 1848. The congress hosted some 340 official delegates, though Stanley Pech estimates attendance reached 385, counting 317 official delegates and 68 unofficial observers or other guests.[57] While subsequent Slavic sentiment inspired other Pan-Slav congresses later in the nineteenth century, none would inspire so many hopes or fears.[58]

If the Prague Pan-Slav Congress marks the high-water mark of politicized Slavism, however, the sobriquet illustrates the impotence of Slavism as a political force. As J. P. T. Bury wrote, "the whole episode was highly characteristic of 1848 ... for all the expressions of good-will and unity it failed to agree upon any serious problems at issue."[59] Yet if the Prague Pan-Slav Congress, like the 1848 Revolutions generally, failed to establish new political structures, it remained, like the 1848 Revolutions generally, a dramatic turning point in the lives of those who experienced it.

During the 1848 Revolution, Sorbian patriots, like their Slavic counterparts in the Habsburg Empire, tried to adapt their predominantly literary understanding of nationality to a divisive political confrontation. Different intellectuals reacted in quite different ways. Jan Kollár, for example, proved wholly disinterested in political action and withdrew from public life for the duration. Other Slavic literati, however, desired a political counterpart to the hitherto literary ideals of Slavic unity and actively participated in revolutionary politics.

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[57] Pech, *The Czech Revolution of 1848*, 125.

[58] Michael Flack, *The Slav-Congresses and Pan-Slavism, 1848-1914*. (Medford: Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, 1953); Hans Kohn, "The Impact of Pan-Slavism on Central Europe," *The Review of Politics*, vol. 23, (1961), 323-33.

[59] J. P. T. Bury, "Nationalities and Nationalism," in: J. P. T. Bury, *The Zenith of European Power, 1830-1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964), 233.

Jordan, following a Kollárian vision of Czechophile Slavism, returned to Prague to participate in the Prague Congress: after Metternich fell, the city was open to him again.[60] Jordan took notes on the debates and wrote polemics; to his influence is credited the fact that the "Proclamation on the Peoples of Europe" called on the Saxon government to cease "the Germanization of Slavs living in Silesia, Lusatia, Posen, East Prussia and West Prussia."[61] Expelled from his post in Leipzig, Jordan sought citizenship in the Habsburg Empire, ultimately obtaining it in 1853.[62] Jordan spent the rest of his life in the Habsburg monarchy, settling first in Prague, then in Vienna. In Peter Brock's words, Jordan "became increasingly integrated into the life of the Austro-Slavs ... the Lusatian Serb chapter in his life had closed in 1848."[63] Intriguingly, Jordan had foreseen his possible de-Sorbianization while still in his Leipzig exile. Dispirited by his failure to awaken Slavic patriotism among his students in Leipzig, Jordan had written in a letter to Hanka: "I would like indeed to have been born a Czech – or a Serb under Turkey. Who knows what will become of me? Perhaps in a couple of years I will be a Serb or an Illyrian."[64]

Smoler, by contrast, restricted his attention to Saxon affairs. Sorbian peasants showed little interest in Slavic reveries; if a series of demands from 6 April 1848 can be taken as representative, Sorbian peasants concerned themselves primarily with economic grievances.[65] Indeed, one Sorbian protest on 17 May 1848 also attracted equally discontented German peasants.[66] On 22 May, therefore, Smoler and his circle declined an invitation, drafted by Jordan, to attend the Prague congress.[67] Smoler's disinterest in the Prague congress, however, reflected his dedication to revolutionary politics in Saxony. In June, Sorbian protesters began demanding "Sorbian schools, churches, and courts" in addition to their

[60] Brock, "J. P. Jordan," 317.
[61] Jan Pětr Jordan, *Aktenmäßiger Bericht über die Verhandlungen des ersten Slawenkongresses in Prag* (Prague: Slavischen Centralblätter, 1848); 34-39; quotation from 38.
[62] Brock, "J. P. Jordan," 338.
[63] Brock, "J. P. Jordan," 339.
[64] Brock, "J. P. Jordan," 334.
[65] "Forderungen der Untertanen des Klosters Marienstern an ihre Herrschaft," *Kamenzer Wochenschrift* (6 April 1848), cited from Erhard Hartstock, *Revolutionäre Ereignisse 1848/49 in der Lausitz* (Bautzen: Domowina, 1986), 4.
[66] Hartstock, *Revolutionäre Ereignisse 1848/49 in der Lausitz*, 10.
[67] Brock, "J. P. Jordan," 335.

economic objectives.[68] A peasant election of 6 December, however, elected Smoler as its representative. Smoler's peasant sympathies, in fact, estranged him from other more timid Sorbian intellectuals: when Smoler sought to address a petition directly to the Frankfurt parliament, for example, his friends in the Maćica Serbska refused to support him for fear of angering the Saxon government.[69]

Somler remained in Lusatia after the 1848 Revolution collapsed. After the political turmoil subsided, Smoler returned to his literary interests, which continued to have both a Slavic and a Czechoslovak accent. From 1852 to 1856, he published additional "Yearbooks of Slavic Literature, Art, and Science,"[70] and then in the 1860s, with financial assistance from Jan Bohowěr Pjech, founded a "Sorbian-Slavic Bookstore" in Bautzen, which aimed to "provide books and journals in all Slavic dialects," and particularly dedicated itself to "acquiring books, particularly by bringing Russian books to other Slavic lands."[71] Starting in 1866, Smoler and Pjech also began publishing *Slavisches Centralblatt* [Central Slavic Paper], a "weekly journal for literature, art, science, and the national interests of all Slavdom."[72] From the beginning, *Slavisches Centralblatt* reported on Czech and Slovak affairs; the first number discussed Slovak struggles against Magyarization and gave a survey of "Bohemian-Slovak journalism."[73] Pjech and Smoler's efforts turned Bautzen, in the words of Peter Kunze, into "a focal point of national renaissance and Slavic reciprocity."[74] Despite Smoler's indifference to the Prague Pan-Slav congress, the 1848 Revolution neither disillusioned Smoler, nor caused him to break with his Slavism.

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[68] "Sorbische Bauernpetition," *Tydźenka Nowina* (3 June 1848); cited from Hartstock, *Revolutionäre Ereignisse 1848/49 in der Lausitz*, 8.

[69] Hartstock, *Revolutionäre Ereignisse 1848/49 in der Lausitz*, 20.

[70] Jan Arnošt Smoler, as Johann Ernst Schmaler, *Jahrbücher für slawische Literatur, Kunst und Wissenschaft* (Bautzen: Johann Schmaler, 1852-1856).

[71] Wilhelm Zeil, "Slawische Solidarität und slawisch-deutsche Wechselseitigkeit im Wirken Jan Bohowěr Pjechs (1838-1913), 62-63.

[72] See "An unsere Leser!," *Slavisches Centralblatt: Wochenscrhift für Literatur, Kunst, Wissenschaft und nationale Interessen des Gessamtslaventhums,* vol. 1, no. 1 (7 October 1865), 1.

[73] "Der slovakische literarische Verein 'Matica Slovenská'," František Urbánek, "Böhmisch-slovakische Journalistik," *Slavisches Centralblatt*, vol. 1, no. 1 (7 October 1865), 1-5; 7-8.

[74] Kunze, "The Sorbian National Renaissance," 194.

Historians have often emphasized the role of Romantic ideals in explaining the 1848 Revolution. Lewis Namier memorably wrote of it as the "revolution of the intellectuals,"[75] and Jacob Talman argued that the revolutions derived from "the myth of the nation."[76] The revolutionary idealism James Billington memorably described as "fire in the minds of men,"[77] and which Adam Zamoyski much less charitably called "holy madness,"[78] explains dramatic changes in both in popular rhetoric and revolutionary goals. Nevertheless, ideas alone do not determine what actions people take.

The diverging career paths of Jordan and Smoler suggest certain limits to the impact of romantic Czecho-Slavism in Sorbian Lusatia, even among the atypical literati who espoused it. Jordan and Smoler did not agree about everything, but they both pursued similar literary careers, and both cultivated Sorbian literary culture from Romanic national sentiments which placed the Sorbs in both a Slavic and Czecho-Slavic context. Nevertheless, their different political stances during the revolutionary year of 1848 show that romantic nationalism, as discernable in the literary and cultural work of Slavic literati, offers but an imperfect guide to the political actions of those very literati in an unexpected revolutionary situation. Whatever combination courage or cowardice, domesticity or wanderlust, individual ambition, interpersonal ties, or other personality traits explain what an individual does in time of revolution, ideology alone is not enough.

[75] Lewis Namier, *1848: The Revolution of the Intellectuals* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1946).
[76] Jacob Talmon, *The Myth of the Nation and the Vision of Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981).
[77] James Billington, *Fire in the Minds of Men: Origins of the Revolutionary Faith* (New York: Basic Books, 1980).
[78] Adam Zamoyski, *Holy Madness: Romantics, Patriots and Revolutionaries, 1776 to 1871* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1999).