The Remains of the Triple Ghetto in the Prague Underground

Veronika Tuckerová[1]

The figurative concept of 'ghetto' was important during the so-called 'normalization' period in Czechoslovakia in the '70s and '80s. Ivan Martin Jirous posited the 'merry ghetto' of the Czech underground; Egon Bondy, in his 1975 poem *26. 1. 1975* identified with ghetto that he described as 'merry' ("veselé"). At the same time, samizdat, and specifically underground literature, film, and music revered Prague German and German Jewish authors from the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, namely the writers of Paul Eisner's 'triple ghetto.'[2] References to Kafka, as well as authors such as Gustav Meyrink and Paul Leppin, abound in the underground literature, as do the specific Prague sites connected to their work. Underground authors perceived, embodied and to some extent articulated, the links between the various sociological, literary and historical concepts of 'ghetto.'

1. Ivan Martin Jirous: The Merry Ghetto of the Czech Underground

Ivan Martin Jirous, the leading figure of Czech underground movement in Czechoslovakia, referred to a "mental" and "spiritual" ghetto in his 1975 *Zpráva o třetím českém hudebním obrození* [Report on the Third Czech Musical Revival] the seminal text of the Czech underground (MACHOVEC 2008 [engl. transl. MACHOVEC 2006]). This legendary and imaginative text is titled as a "Report," yet its style and function belong to a manifesto. It lays out a description of developments that led to the emergence of a Czech underground movement, and in doing so, brings into existence this 'third revival' of 'the second culture'. It indirectly requests adherence to a particular code of conduct. The *Report* was spontaneously copied and it circulated in various samizdat series and journals,

---

2   By samizdat, I mean at least a "particular mode of producing and disseminating nonconformist texts in the former Communist countries." (STEINER 2008: 613) I conceive of underground as a cultural movement distinct from, to some extent, the more politically oriented 'dissidence' around Charter 77. The two entities overlapped, but also stood apart. (MACHOVEC 2010-2011: VIII).

also in the form of *magnitizdat*, as an unofficial recording of Jirous reading the text. It was Jirous's most widely distributed text (ŠPIRIT 1997: 696).

Jirous used the Czech translation of Kafka's aphorism, "Von einem gewissen Punkt an gibt es keine Rückkehr mehr. Dieser Punkt ist zu erreichen." (KAFKA 1991: 114), to introduce section seven, in the middle of the *Report*, where he identifies the year 1973 as a turning point in overcoming the crisis that followed the 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia (JIROUS 2008: 20). In that year (talking in the authoritative pronoun "we") he realizes that there was no reason to wait for external political, social or cultural changes. The years after 1969 "[b]yla […] poměrně mrtvá sezóna, rozhodně pokud jde o kolektivní činnost; doba útlumu a kocoviny z oficiální kulturní situace" (JIROUS 2008: 24) ["[proved] a rather dead period as far as our collective activities were concerned; a time of muteness and hangover as far as the official cultural situation was concerned"] (JIROUS 2006: 22). The decisive moment described by Jirous was the aesthetic point when the rock music group *The Plastic People of the Universe* encountered the poetry of Egon Bondy, which they then set to music. The year 1973 was decisive in overcoming the crisis:

Bylo třeba, aby se lidé přestali spoléhat na to, že se stane něco, co znovu umožní hudebníkům veřejně hrát, básníkům publikovat, malířům vystavovat. Spoléhání na zázraky ochromuje tvůrčí práci a hlavně kolektivní činnost. [...] Ale jakmile jednou člověk uvědoměle pochopí nebo podvědomě pocítí, že je něco navždy, musí ho nutně zaplavit pocit osvobození. Jestliže svět už nikdy nebude vypadat jinak, není třeba se rozptylovat čekáním na záchranu. Musíme se zabydlit v existujícím světě tak, abychom v něm žili vesele a důstojně. (JIROUS 2008: 24)

People had to stop relying on the fact that something would once again enable musicians to play, poets to publish and artists to exhibit. Relying on miracles cripples creative energy and, above all, weakens collective activity. […] But the conscious realization or the subconscious sensing that something is here for good is necessarily liberating. If the world is never going to be any different than it is now, there is no need to waste your time waiting for salvation. We must learn to live in the existing world in a way that is both joyful and dignified. (JIROUS 2006: 22)

Jirous's way of living "in the existing world" consists of creating art and music in an alternative universe outside of the official realm, within a community that wishes to 'live in truth.'[3] In the political context of the '70s, the Czech underground constituted itself via the references to the socio-cultural tradition of the U.S. and British underground. Jirous also quotes Marcel Duchamp: "The great artist of tomorrow will go underground" to articulate the position of the Czech underground.

Jirous used the term 'mental' or 'spiritual ghetto' ('duchovní ghetto') to describe the Czech underground: "Mluvíme o lidech, kteří žijí spolu v duchovním ghettu, které není obehnáno zdí, ale roztroušeno v cizím a nepřátelském světě."

---

3   On the philosophical origins of 'life in truth' see TUCKER (2000).

(JIROUS 2008: 32) [We are speaking about the people who live together in a mental ghetto that is not surrounded by walls, but it is scattered throughout an alien, unfriendly world.] (JIROUS 2006: 29) Jirous's 'spiritual ghetto' subverts the original notion of 'ghetto' as the gated part of town where Jews were forced to reside as well as the later, more commonplace use of the term used to refer to the socially and economically desolate neighborhoods of U.S. urban centers characterized as places of exclusion, restriction, and poverty. Jirous's 'spiritual ghetto' gives 'ghetto' a positive connotation; it is a place fostered by artistic creation, a place of true culture and joy. At the same time, as I will show, the urban decay associated with ghettos in U.S. neighborhoods, becomes manifest in the decayed neighborhoods of old Prague and demolished areas of Prague peripheries.

Joy and dignity imbue Jirous's ghetto. The *Report* was printed abroad in a booklet entitled *The Merry Ghetto*, which was published and sold in 1978 with the record of the *Plastic People's Egon Bondy's Happy Hearts Club Banned*.[4] The term 'merry ghetto' ('veselé ghetto') came to be associated with the Czech underground movement, but was sometimes also conflated with 'dissidence' in general.[5]

Egon Bondy (the pseudonym of the poet and philosopher Zbyněk Fišer, 1930-2007) characterized ghetto as 'merry' in his January 26th 1975 poem, from the collection *Trhací kalendář* (1974-1975) [Tear-off Calendar]. It seems that Bondy and Jirous simultaneously referred to ghetto in similar terms. Jirous's *Report*, in which he writes about the 'spiritual ghetto,' dates to February 1975. Bondy identifies with ghetto in a verbal/nominal predicate, using the plural possessive:[6]

Jsme ghetto se vším všudy
ale ghetto velmi veselé
[…]
Zabýváme se svědomitě problémy svojí estetiky
otázkami ‚svého' umění
věcmi ‚svojí' etiky
Máme svou kulturu
budeme mít i vlastní university (BONDY 1992: 76)

[We are ghetto with all there is to it,
but this is a very merry ghetto
[…]
We engage consciously with the problems of ‚our' aesthetics
with questions of ‚our' art

---

4   *The Merry Ghetto*, a booklet/catalogue published with the record *Egon Bondy's Happy Hearts Club Banned,* Paris-London 1978. Translated from Czech by Paul Wilson and Ivan Hartel.

5   *The Plastic People of the Universe* member and later translator, Paul Wilson, told me that the term 'veselé ghetto' was invented by Jirous, and Wilson rendered it to English as 'merry ghetto.' From my interview with Wilson, New York, April 2011.

6   Martin Machovec alerted me to this Bondy's poem.

‚our' ethics
We have our own culture
We will also have our own universities][7]

This and Bondy's other poems from the same period refer to the world of parallel culture, a concept developed in 1978 also by the philosopher and *Charter 77* signatory Václav Benda as "parallel polis" (BENDA 2009). Bondy's identification with ghetto reveals the poet's connection to the Jewish history, as also evidenced in his choice of pseudonym, which originated in the surrealist anthology *Židovská jména* (1949) [Jewish Names].

The ghetto figure appears frequently throughout the '70s and '80s. In his 1978 essay, *Moc bezmocných* [The Power of the Powerless], Václav Havel rejects the understanding of parallel structures as "nějaký únik do ghetta a akt izolace" (HAVEL 1999: 306) ["a retreat into a ghetto and as an act of isolation"] (HAVEL 2009: 31). In 1987 the samizdat journal *Revolver Revue* used the intentionally ambiguous subtitle "off ghetto," to point out how the journal intended to break off from various cultural boundaries, but also with the effect of reversing the perspective; underground is not the ghetto. Through their mission of translating texts that had never appeared in Czech or were published in translation before the communist takeover, the journal intended to break off from the ghetto of Czechoslovakia. Later, the underground will be described as "ghetto within a ghetto;" the term thus applied both to the underground as well as to the entire official normalization Czechoslovakia, of course from the perspective of the underground (MACHOVEC 2004: 348).

I would like to argue that in addition to the varied, mostly sociological uses of the word in 'normalization,' post-1968 Czechoslovakia, 'ghetto' also resonated with a renewed interest in Prague's Jewish history and the legacy of 'triple ghetto' authors of German and Jewish German origin from the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century. This history of 'Prague' – and here 'Prague' refers to a construction of the city limited mostly to its oldest neighborhoods of Staré Město, Malá Strana and Hradčany – was hidden during communism.

2. Egon Bondy: *My žijeme v Praze…* [We Live in Prague...]

The 1984/1985 samizdat film co-authored by Tomáš Mazal and Pablo de Sax (pseudonym of Pavel Veselý) *My žijeme v Praze* [We live in Prague], features the "underground superstar" Egon Bondy, who guides the viewer through his city.[8] At one point in the film, Bondy walks with the poet František Pánek in the

---

7   All translations from Czech are mine, unless otherwise noted.

8   The credits list "the underground superstar Egon Bondy" (MAZAL/DE SAX 2007).

courtyard of Prague's National Library, the *Clementinum*, and talks about Franz Kafka. Bondy says in his characteristic plaintive voice and colloquial Czech: "Ten, jehož bysta je zde vystavena, na jeho rodném domě, ten jistě jenom lituje, že brzo umřel a není tady s náma, protože by se teďka, tady u nás, teprve cejtil jako doma." (34:15-34:35) [The one whose bust is displayed here, on the house where he was born, now certainly regrets that he died young, and that he is not here with us, because only now he would feel at home, here with us.] The two poets stop in front of the house that replaced Kafka's birthplace in Staré Město. As the camera closes in on Karel Hladík's relief of the writer, installed in 1966, a song celebrating the 1948 communist coup plays in the background. The next scene, in a striking juxtaposition, takes us to the snowy rooftops of Malá Strana, accompanied by Vivaldi's *Four Seasons*. The film captures Bondy's Prague over the span of a year; snow-covered Malá Strana gives way to the summer at the Municipal Bath on the Vltava River opposite to the Old Town where Kafka used to swim. Bondy is showcased in a swimming suit, ostensibly engaged in the study of magic.

Samizdat films were made, with obvious technical difficulties and conspiratorial challenges exceeding those of the production of books, journals, or music tapes.[9] *My žijeme v Praze...* was not the first of Tomáš Mazal's films with a Jewish theme, nor the first featuring Bondy. In 1984, Mazal produced the film *Židovský hřbitov* [The Jewish Cemetery]. The more ambitious, longer film *My žijeme v Praze...* was shot on Super 8 film using cameras of differing qualities borrowed from friends. The film lasts more than an hour and it was produced by cutting and pasting numerous, three-minute-long reels of silent film. The sound was then recorded separately on a tape recorder—with the music recorded on the second track—and shown using a four-track recorder in friends' apartments. The filmmakers used projectors "constructed to show few-minutes long 'family' footage," and often had to adjust the image to the sound, slowing the projector or stopping it altogether. The films were shown in conspiratorial settings; for example, Mazal's *Židovský hřbitov* was shown at friends' apartments during so-called "film festivals." (MAZAL: 2007) Pavel Veselý recalls similar private showings.

My žijeme v Praze... is a 'normalization' version of a poet's walk through his city. Bondy takes us from his residence in Malá Strana, to the former ghetto; he walks in the Old Jewish Cemetery, stops in front of the Old-New Synagogue, and comments on the neighborhood's sadness and tragedy. The title "My žijeme

---

9 The library *Libri Prohibiti* holds in its collections six-hundred-seventy videocassettes and three-hundred-fifty DVDs of amateur film production. An important example of the use of film in samizdat was *Originální videojournal* [Original Videojournal] authored by Andrej Krob and Pavel Kačírek. The series, shot in the second half of the eighties, focused on news and strove for regular production of two issues per year. By 1989 it included seven issues altogether.

v Praze" is a line from Bondy's 1974 poem, *Magické noci* [Magic Nights], set to music by the *Plastic People of the Universe*; the poem invokes "the Spirit itself" that will one day appear in Prague.

My žijeme v Praze to jest tam
kde se jednou zjeví Duch sám
My žijeme v Praze to jest tam (BONDY 2009: 205)

[We live in Prague, that's where
the Spirit itself will appear one day
We live in Prague, that's where]

Bondy's articulation of Prague connects the German Jewish Prague of Kafka, Max Brod and Franz Werfel with the communist decay of the '70s and '80s; his proclamation of Prague as a magic city manifests Bondy's affinity to his fellow surrealist poet, André Breton. The first images of the film show the Old Jewish Cemetery. Later, Bondy wades through the wintery slush in Nový Svět and proclaims in his characteristically self-aggrandizing style, referring to himself in the third person: "Kam se v Praze vkročí, tak tam o tom psal buď Kafka, nebo Bondy, nebo Werfel nebo Max Brod" (39:00-39:10) [Wherever you step in Prague, Kafka wrote about it, or Bondy, or Werfel or Max Brod.] Bondy the guide points out the military prison where Švejk was held in Hašek's novel, and the chapel of the grotesque Jewish chaplain Otto Katz. Bondy comments: "A tak se všechno v Praze prolíná dohromady. Tragické i komické, drastické i příjemné, pitomé i zajímavé." (39:40-39:56) [And in this way everything blends together in Prague. The tragic and the comic, the drastic and the pleasant, the stupid and the interesting.]

Bondy's stroll through Prague has its well-known predecessors in Guillaume Apollinaire's 1913 poem *Zone* (to which Nezval responded with his 1936 poem *Pražský chodec*[10] [Prague Walker]), and his short story *Le Passant de Prague*, and more recently, Hodrová's poetic guidebook *Město vidím...* [I See a City] (HODROVÁ 2009). All of these texts build on familiar tropes of flânerie on the one hand and magical Prague on the other. André Breton called Prague "the magic capital of Europe," in the opening lines of his talk during his visit to Prague in 1935, drawing on its architecture and its ability to "electively pin down poetic thought." (quoted in SAYER 2013: 14f.) The attribute 'magical,' commodified after 1989, held its appeal during the '70s and '80s. In his 1973 book *Praga Magica*, the Italian scholar Angelo Maria Ripellino extended the magic Prague topos to span the four centuries from Rudolf II to the contemporary times as "dějinná kontinuita a jednota 'magické', nebo spíš manýristické kultury." (STROMŠÍK

---

10 In: NEZVAL, Vítězslav (1936): *Praha s prsty deště*. Praha: František Borový. In 1928, Nezval published a poem Židovský hřbitov [Jewish Cemetery] (Praha: Odeon) with lithographs by the Surrealist artist Jindřich Štyrský and Karel Teige's graphic design.

1992: 419) [a historical continuum and unity of 'magical,' or rather mannerist, culture.] Jiří Stromšík read Ripellino's "apocryphal, more than historical portrait of Prague" as a reaction to the miserable post-1968 Czechoslovakia. The 1968 invasion was to the Italian Bohemist an event of the same gravity as the 1621 battle at the White Mountain (ibid).

Bondy points out a small house by the Old Castle Steps, where Meyrink located one of his "horrifying stories." Bondy continues: "Kdo nezná Meyrinka alespoň zpolovičky, tak neví, co lze očekávat v Praze." (51:55-52:08) [Who doesn't know Meyrink at least by half, doesn't know what to expect in Prague.] In Libeň, Bondy talks extensively about the destruction of Prague's peripheries: demolitions in the last thirty years harmed Prague more than the famous city clearance ('asanace') at the end of the nineteenth century.

Zanikly celé čtvrti, původní osady, […]. Zanikly staré Holešovice, starý Břevnov, staré Podolí, starý Bráník, a mohl bych jmenovat skoro donekonečna. Byla to vesměs místa, která měla svou urbanistickou specifiku, svoji zvláštní urbanistickou hodnotu. [...] Byla to místa, která měla mnoho poezie. (53:13-53:48)

[Entire neighborhoods were destroyed. […] Old Holešovice, old Břevnov, old Podolí, old Bráník. These were places that had their urban distinctiveness and peculiar architectural value. […] These were places that had lots of poetry.]

Bondy points to the preserved synagogue in Libeň, and stops in the street Na Hrázi, where Bohumil Hrabal, Vladimír Boudník, and our guide himself lived in the 1950s.

In a powerful juxtaposition, the film takes us next to Prague's Jewish Town; the associative link is the motif of destruction; urban decay is ubiquitous in the film's footage of derelict 1980s Prague. Bondy lectures about the Old-New Synagogue, which, despite its history, became a "mere attraction for Western tourists." The Jewish Town is:

Místo, kde dějiny probíhaly vždy tragicky a kde dodnes, přestože tady máme secesní Pařížskou třídu, tak ta tragika visí ve vzduchu a pozná ji každý, kdo tady chodí každý den jako já. Na rozdíl od Malé Strany, která má zcela veselého genia loci, tak tady je domovem tíže, zármutek, strach, stísněnost – no všechno to, co známe z poezie tolika pražských básníků. (56:50-57:37)

[A Place where history had always unfolded tragically, and where until today – although we have here the art nouveau Pařížská boulevard – the tragic always hangs in the air and everyone who walks here every day as I do, recognizes it. In contrast to Malá Strana, which has entirely joyous genius loci, here resides heaviness, sorrow, fear, anxiety – all that we know from the poetry of so many Prague poets.]

Bondy exits the Old New Synagogue and walks to the Old Jewish Cemetery. The voice-over continues as he pays the entrance fee: "Nejlépe je tady, když není turistická sezóna, na jaře, v zimě, pozdě na podzim, to je tu člověk sám." (57:40-57:51) [It is the best here outside of the tourist season, in the spring, in

winter, late in the fall, when you are here alone.] Walking among the gravestones, Bondy elaborates at length on the cemetery's history, on the ravens that reside there, and the Golem, who one might see: "Zvláštní úkazy, dalo by se říct, morfogenetického pole vzájemných souvislostí, které přitahují ty havrany právě na ten starý židovský hřbitov. [...] Ano, Golem se objevuje a opět odchází. Ale přijde zas. Není tomu konce, aby se tady v Praze neobjevoval." (1:03:39-1:04:16) [Strange manifestations, one could say, of the morphogenetic field of mutual connections, which attract the ravens back to the cemetery. [...] Yes, the Golem reappears here and leaves again, but he comes back again, there is no end to it for him not to reappear in Prague.]

The reappearing Golem is the one conceived by Meyrink in his novel *Golem* (1915), not as an anthropomorphic figure made of clay, but rather as an elusive force, a spirit that periodically possesses the town. Meyrink's novel strikes a contemporary reader as a feverish hodge-podge of pseudo-cabbala, tarot, alchemy, and dream sequences (it was dismissed as fraud early on by Gershom Scholem), valuable today for snippets of realistic depictions of Jewish Town before the ghetto clearance. It was nevertheless read affirmatively by the underground authors, who were willing to suspend critical judgment in favor of mysticism perceived as opposed to everyday reality.

Bondy was revered by the second-generation Czech underground, represented by people who (as Jáchym Topol explained) "nebyli zahnáni nebo uvrženi do světa zakázaných autorů, ale prostě se do něho narodili" (TOPOL 2008:85) [weren't driven or thrown into the world of the banned, but were simply born into it] (TOPOL 2006: 72). The second-generation underground respected Bondy's early (late 1940s and early 1950s) samizdat activities. Bondy's interest in Prague's Jewish history was rooted in his earlier poetry. Bondy's pseudonym originates from a samizdat anthology of surrealist poetry, *Židovská jména* [Jewish Names] that he co-edited with Jana Krejcarová in 1949 (MACHOVEC 1995). Each of the contributors to the slim volume, a unique document of the rare underground activities of Czech surrealists after 1948, chose a Jewish pseudonym. Krejcarová, the daughter of Milena Jesenská, appears here as Sarah Silberstein. Zbyněk Fišer, alias Egon Bondy, retained his pseudonym unlike the other contributors to the volume. Dvorský, the author of the preface to the 1995 edition, suggests that the collection became legendary "díky oné hře s židovskými pseudonymy" [due to its game with Jewish pseudonyms]. According to Dvorský, Bondy explained the title as a reaction to a newly growing anti-Semitism (DVORSKÝ 1995: 7). But he also suggests other, "méně průzračné a niternější" [less transparent and more internal] motives (ibid):

Nezapomeňme například, že Jana Krejcarová, dcera Mileny Jesenské, o sobě ráda při svých proslulých mýtomanských sklonech tvrdívala, že je dcerou Franze Kafky. Hádanek nám ta řada jmen nabízí povícero. Gala! Mallarmé! (ibid)

[Let's not forget that Jana Krejcarová, the daughter of Milena Jesenská, with her famous mytho-maniacal inclinations, liked to claim about herself that she was a daughter of Franz Kafka. The series of the names offers us more puzzles. Gala! Mallarmé!]

One of the contributors was a friend and a defense lawyer of the surrealist poet (and Bondy's friend) Záviš Kalandra, who would be arrested a few months after the publication of the anthology and executed in 1950.

Bondy's interest in Prague's Jewish Town also resonates with aesthetic perceptions of other samizdat/underground authors. Gustav Meyrink captured the imagination of the underground. A 1983 essay about Prague's cafés,[11] commemorating the centenary of Kafka and Jaroslav Hašek (1883-1923) in the samizdat journal *Sado-Maso*,[12] invokes Meyrink in its introduction:

Za určitých konstelací setmění tohoto města a za pomoci alespoň zlomku Meyrinkových okultních sil, by se tu snad dal vyvolat jeden ilustrativní obraz tragického města, které nechalo zrodit Kafkovy postavy. (Author anonymous)

[Under certain constellations of the dusk of this city and with the help of at least a fraction of Meyrink's occult powers, one illustrative image of the tragic city that gave rise to Kafka's figures, could be induced.]

Pavel Veselý (Pablo de Sax) authored *Sado-Maso*'s photographs and collages, and *My žijeme v Praze…* concludes with Bondy reading the journal *Sado-Maso*.

Vratislav Brabenec, the *Plastic People's* saxophone player who was tried in 1976 and sent to prison along with three other musicians, recalls Meyrink in his book-length interview-memoir. Upon his return to Prague from exile in 1990, Brabenec perceived Prague's Old Town through Meyrink's depictions:

Setkání s Prahou bylo nezapomenutelné. A zvláštní. Mně tu přebývaly ulice. Měl jsem to v paměti jinak. Já Prahu zrušil. V hlavě jsem měl úplně jiný plán Prahy. Dodneška s tím mám problém, ale možná to mám z toho Meyrinka a podobných věcí. Mívám dojem, že když jdu přes Staré Město, přes Josefov, tak tam vidím ulice, které tam měly být… Já je tam cítím. Hledám je… Pak mi někdo v restauraci vysvětlí: ,No tahle ulice tady byla naposledy v roce 1905, vole.' (BRABENEC 2010, 177)

[The encounter with Prague was unforgettable. And strange. There was a surplus of streets. My memory had it differently. I have got rid of Prague. I had a completely different plan of Prague in my head. Until today I struggle with it, but maybe I have it from Meyrink and such things.

---

11 Tour de Caffé – Prague. Pouť po starých pražských kafírnách. [Tour de Caffé – Prague. Pilgrimage to the old Prague cafes.] *Sado-Maso*. Number 1, December 83–January 84. The article appeared in two parts; the second part was published in number 2, February–May 1984. The author of the article was not identified.

12 The journal was produced two to three times per year from 1983 to 1986 (eight issues altogether), by Čaroděj Oz (other pseudonyms included Blumfeld, Řehoř Samsa), and among its subtitles were: *Konstruktivně pesimistický magazín* [Constructivist-Pessimistic Magazine] and *Neo-romantický magazín* [Neo-Romantic Magazine]. Bibliography of *Sado-Maso* was published in *Revolver Revue* 92/2013, 178-194.

I have the impression when I walk through Staré Město, across Josefov, I see streets there that should not be there… I feel that they are there. I look for them… Then someone explains to me in a restaurant: 'That street was here for the last time in 1905, you ass.']

Brabenec narrates Prague as a ghostly place, a topos often associated with the Prague German authors.

The '70s and '80s underground and samizdat authors such as Bondy, Brabenec, and the journal *Sado-Maso* drew on the image of Prague as the site of magic, which was popular in the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century stories and novels that dealt with the subject of Prague's Jewish Quarter and ghetto. Themes of ghostliness, tragedy and the unreal were underscored by ruins and decay, the demolition of Prague's peripheries, and overall sense of decline in the '70s and '80s. *Tour de Caffé* juxtaposed the cafés of Kafka and Hašek times with the '80s, and noted mostly empty locales; the motif of closed door is recurring during Bondy's walk. Decay and ghostliness were commonplace in the neo-romantic writing of Prague's German writers of the *fin de siécle*, but also present in Czech decadent writings (often expressing mental states of the narrators, e.g. in the 1900 collection *Gotická duše* [Gothic Soul] by Jiří Karásek ze Lvovic.) These motifs were again embraced by the '80s underground writers who dwelled concrete everyday occurrences such as the contemporary devastation of the city.

3. Triple Ghetto and its Remains

The Czech-German-Jewish translator and writer Paul/Pavel Eisner (1889-1958), a contemporary of Kafka, described the conditions in which Prague German and German Jewish authors of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century lived as a 'triple ghetto.' According to Eisner's concept, which he developed between the 1920s and 1950s, the Prague German Jewish authors of the generations up to the outbreak of the First World War lived in a triple ghetto: religious, national, and social (EISNER 1950: 21). Eisner used the word 'ghetto' figuratively; not to refer to the original ghetto that was abolished in 1848 when its residents were allowed to move out, but to refer to the spiritual and literary environment that produced numerous Prague German Jewish writers at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries. According to Eisner, the conditions of triple ghetto shaped the work of writers such as Kafka. The writing of Eisner or Emil Utitz often conflated the ghetto image with other metaphors – an island, or a dream world, or mystery, signifying a lack of reality. It is not difficult to understand why the images of ghetto, island, and outcast, appealed to young authors in 1980s Czechoslovakia who inhabited Jirous's space "stranou zavedené společnosti" (JIROUS 2008: 13) [outside of a corrupt society] (JIROUS 2006: 12) In his recollection, Pavel Veselý characterized his circle of friends and collaborators

by using another familiar trope, "ostrov vyděděnců" [the island of outcasts].[13] Dreamy, ghostly images of Prague, retrieved from the arsenal of Prague German and German Jewish writers, ignited the imagination of the creative people who searched for resources that would counteract socialist realism and the greyness of the enforced drab and materialistic everydayness.

A closer look at a distinction that Eisner made between the language of Kafka and other Prague German writers remains useful in understanding the appeal of decadence and neo-romantic literature of the *fin de siècle*, to authors from the '70s to the '80s. Eisner distinguished Kafka from the neo-romantic Prague German writers in his 1957 article in the journal *Světová literatura*. In this text Eisner commented on Kafka's language, setting the author apart from the other contemporaneous German writers of Prague.[14] Eisner characterized Kafka's language as follows:

Jazyk, dikce: dokonalá jasnost, ‚suchý vzduch' bez mlhy, velká hutnost, nápadně malá frekvence adjektiv, plná absence prvků náladotvorných, velké umění větného rytmu, větné kadence, nehledaně původní. Slovník neněmecky, francouzsky střídmý [...] Téměř žádné novotvary [...] žádná odborná terminologie (ani právnická), absence i jen trochu odlehlejších cizích slov a verbálních apartností. Téměř žádné novotvary, dokonce ani tam, kde to je pro německého autora tak nasnadě, totiž v nekonečných oblastech komposit. [...] To všechno budí tím větší údiv, že kolem Kafky vznikaly – a právě také v Praze – beletristické texty novoromantické a expresionistické, plné jazykového experimentátorství a novotaření, texty jazykově plápolavé, rozhýbané hektickou zimničností. Kafka je opak toho všeho – je klid a kázeň. (EISNER 1957: 116)

[Language, diction: a perfect quality, 'dry air' without any fog, high density, conspicuously low frequency of adjectives, absence of mood-generating elements, great art of sentence rhythm, of cadence, masculine diction, original without striving. […] Almost no neologisms, not even where it is so easy for a German author, in the infinite realm of the composites. […] It is the more striking since around Kafka – and also in Prague – belletristic texts were emerging in neo-romanticist and expressionistic vein, full of language experimentation and novelties, texts linguistically flattering, moved by hectic shivers. Kafka is the opposite of that all – he is calm and discipline.]

The historian Klaus Wagenbach sketched out the options available to Prague German writers facing Prague German, an impoverished language:

---

13 In an e-mail to the author in January 2015. Pavel Veselý wrote about his films: "Takže naše filmy z té doby (…) byly vlastně tvořené pro náš ostrov vyděděnců. Ostrov na který jsme nebyli zahnáni, ale na který jsme se rádi uchýlili a jsme na něm svým způsobem stále." [The films from that time were made for our island of outcasts. Island to which we were not banished but to which we gladly retreated and which we in some sense still inhabit.]

14 Eisner's article precedes Klaus Wagenbach's 1958 biography of Kafka. Wagenbach used Eisner's distinction, and Wagenbach then became an important source for Deleuze and Guattari's characterization of Kafka's language. The genealogy reaches further beyond Eisner, to Fritz Mauthner's "papiernes deutsch." (WAGENBACH 1989)

The Prague writers' attempts to escape their *linguistic* ghetto remained futile, though diverse: the romantic escape (Hugo Salus, Friedrich Adler, Camill Hoffmann, Ernst Lim); the hasty, intoxicated flight into overblown sexuality (Paul Leppin, Franz Blei, Victor Hadwiger, and occasionally Max Brod and Franz Werfel); the desire for an iridescent dreamworld (Leo Perutz, Gustav Meyrink); (WAGENBACH 1989: 51)

Wagenbach's characterization is not quite flattering. Yet the romantic escapes and desire for a dream world appealed to the 1980s Prague samizdat authors as they pursued an alternative space for authentic self-expression outside of 'really existing socialism.' "The desire for an iridescent dreamland" clearly resonated with the younger authors of the underground. Alfred Kubin's *Die andere Seite* (1909), was another such novel. The presence of the real, physical, urban architectural spaces and traces of Prague often forming settings to these kinds of visions (or even generating them in some of the texts), such as the Old Jewish Cemetery and the Old-New Synagogue, made the literature even more appealing to artists in general and artists living through 'normalization' in particular. They read the texts of the Prague German writers either in the original, pre-communist, editions and translations, or in samizdat editions. Paul Leppin's *Daniel Jesus* was published in samizdat in Czech translation in 1986, and Leppin's *Severins Gang in die Finsternis: ein Prager Gespensterroman*, was published in a samizdat edition in 1989. A study about Leppin appeared in samizdat too. Meyrink's novel *Der Engel vom westlichen Fenster* circulated in Czech in 1985 transcription (in the translation of Ludvík Kundera).[15]

Through their readings of authors such as Meyrink and Paul Leppin, Prague underground authors could reclaim certain parts of old Prague as their own. This 'Prague' was quite small, truncated to Malá Strana, Staré Město and the former Židovské Město, with the important exceptions of those peripheries, visited by Bondy in the 1984/85 film. The distinction between the center and peripheries is constitutive of the urban space in Kafka's *Proceß*. Josef K. goes to Prague's suburbs for his first inquiry. He is to appear in a building "in einer entlegenen Vorstadtstraße, in der K. noch niemals gewesen war." (KAFKA 2002: 50) [on a street in a distant district K. had never been before] (KAFKA 1998: 36). In the concluding chapter, Josef K. is led from the center of town and across a bridge to a quarry in the outskirts of the city, a place of execution. Kafka of course remains present in the imagination of underground authors, but less so in the

---

15 Pavel Veselý recalls reading Meyrink's *Engel vom westlichen Fenster* [Anděl západního okna] in the 1937 Czech translation. He borrowed books that were not easily attainable from a friend, the antiquarian Jan Placák, who worked in a second hand bookshop. Veselý then had them copied with the help of another friend whose mother worked at the bank and had access to a copy machine. Leppin's *Daniel Jesus* and *Severins Gang in die Finsternis* were published as samizdat in a translation by J.A. Heidler, in Dämmerung Verlag in 1986, with a study on Leppin by Tomáš Mazal, the spiritual father of these editions. *Severin* was published in 21 copies.

foreground than some of his Prague German predecessors and contemporaries who are lesser known today; Kafka was a given. The aforementioned quotation from *Sado-Maso* is illustrative: "the city gave rise to Kafka's figures," is a statement of an accepted fact. Bondy's elliptical reference (omission of Kafka's name when pointing to his relief) is also telling. Kafka was widely-known in Prague; he was a former Prague inhabitant, a shared reference. He was absorbed by Czech literature, film, theater, and culture already in the 1960s, and presented a foil to authors in the foreground such as Paul Leppin, Leo Perutz or Gustav Meyrink. The underground perceived Kafka as a realist and a reporter of everyday reality. Paul Wilson told me that they viewed Kafka as a journalist.[16] While Kafka's 'reports' were thought of as enormously funny, the neo-romantic, expressive authors offered a new perspective on Prague, that is, a new sensibility.

Another important factor in explaining the appeal of the lesser-known Prague German authors is the relative unavailability of their texts. They existed for the most part in old translations. Meyrink's *Golem* was published in 1928, and then again in 1971, and in numerous editions in the 1990s (responding to the new, commercial interest in the 'magical Prague.') Works of other Prague German authors were harder to find, as their works were not republished since the 1920s. Kafka's place in the alternative canon was assured by the early 1960s when Jirous copied Kafka's unavailable texts for a circle of his friends. His books were published officially throughout the 1960s and were available to some readers from private libraries. With a single exception of a 1983 edition of short stories (KAFKA 1983), Kafka was not published between 1968 and 1989. Although Kafka did not lose his appeal for samizdat authors, he was less obscure and therefore perhaps less inspiring than his fellow Prague writers. With some exaggeration, he could even be viewed as somewhat suspect by the underground authors, due to his association with figures such as Goldstücker and the official 1963 Liblice conference, which promoted a reformed-marxist interpretation of Kafka. This would not be the case for the lesser-known authors such as Meyrink and others whose obscurity might have a conspiratorial appeal, and also satisfy young people's desire for different kind of reality. Kafka, after all, had been declared a 'realist' by 1960s reform Marxists, and a 'journalist' by 1970s Czech underground figures.

Filip Topol's story *Den a noc* [Day and Night] connects the underground's appreciation for neo-romanticism and the reality of 'merry' or 'joyous ghetto.' It is hardly surprising that the underground's take on the neo-romantic authors betrayed a considerable note of irony and self-irony. The musician Filip Topol (1965–2013) published *Den a noc* in the samizdat edition *Edice Pro více* in 1984–85; in 2013, it reappeared in print in a collection of three stories under the title of one of the stories, *Jako pes* [Like a Dog]. Whether or not the title intentionally

---

16　My interview with Paul Wilson, New York, April 2011.

refers to the last sentence in Kafka's *Prozeß* ("Wie ein Hund! sagte er, es war, als sollte die Scham ihn überleben." (Kafka 2002: 312) ["Like a dog!" he said; it seemed as though the shame was to outlive him.] (Kafka 1998: 231)), the story's autobiographical narrator is overcome by somewhat ironic, pervasive feelings of shame. The young narrator, a musician inhabiting a Malá Strana apartment, wanders the streets in hallucinatory states and in different degrees of alcoholic intoxication, encountering the figure of the Personified Alcohol. The story includes various literary allusions, including to Jirous's 'credo' of joy:

Vzpomněl jsem si poté na jisté řčení, které kdysi vyřkl jeden skvělý člověk, a to mi nyní s pochmurným úšklebkem vytanulo na mysli: Hlavně aby nevymizela radost, nevytratila nebo nevymizela, nepamatuji se už přesně. Vřele jsem s tím souhlasil, protože jak mi někdy může vymizet radost, když jsem ji ještě nepocítil? (TOPOL, F. 2013: 22)

[Then I remembered a certain saying, which was once pronounced by one excellent man, and that came to my mind now with a gloomy grimace: The main thing is that joy does not disappear, or vanish, I don't remember that precisely. I agreed with it ardently, because how can joy disappear, when I have not yet felt it?]

Topol's stories take on the tradition of neo-romanticism, decadence and dandyism. "The main thing is that joy does not disappear," is a comical reversal of Jirous's request for the creation of joyous community; the comic effect arises from the speaker's sarcastic realism. Eisner deplored the 'spiritual ghetto' that the German Jewish authors erected around themselves, their alleged seclusion from the majority Czech population. While Eisner used the term negatively, even reproachfully, Jirous's ghetto implied a joyous embrace of such an alternative existence "stranou zavedené společnosti" (JIROUS 2008: 13) ["outside of a corrupt society."] (JIROUS 2006: 12) Jirous posited the 'parallel life' of the underground as a voluntary seclusion, as a positive, ethical and aesthetic position, a condition for artistic creativity in spite of how grim the reality was, as works such as *My žijeme v Praze…* or Filip Topol's story *Den a noc* unwittingly corroborate.

4. Out of the Ghetto

Jirous forged cultural continuity, by copying unavailable texts in the early 1960s, and in his 1975 *Report*, by including epigraphs by officially unavailable authors. Similarly, the samizdat literary journal *Revolver Revue* chose "off ghetto magazine" as one of its mottos (issue 7/87). The artist and one of the original editors of the journal, Viktor Karlík, recalled:

Podtitul čísla měl zvýraznit redakční snahu překračovat, narušovat hranice tehdejšího ghetta - undergroundu, disentu atd. Byla v tom také určitá sebeironie, vědomí vlastní polohy. O undergroundu se tehdy často mluvilo jako o ghettu. Jinými slovy, tento podtitul měl více způsobů čtení. [...] Na obálce je Lech Walesa s tímto podtitulem a na vnitřní straně obálky koláž (svůdné

ženy, orgastické tváře atd.) Lampera s titulkem Welcome to RR night club. Provokace nám tehdy velmi vyšla. […] Prostě pryč z ghetta rovnou do pořádného nočního podniku plného svůdných žen.

[The subtitle was meant to emphasize the attempt of the editors to exceed, disturb the boundaries of the existing ghetto – of underground, dissent, etc. There was also a certain amount of self-irony in it, of understanding our own position. Underground was often referred to as ghetto. In other words, this subtitle could be read in a number of ways. […] On the cover there is Lech Walesa with this subtitle, and on the reverse side of the cover a collage (of seductive woman, orgasmic face etc.) by Lamper with the title "Welcome to RR night club" [in English]. The provocation worked out well. […] Simply away from the ghetto straight to a real nightclub full of seductive women.][17]

A review of the issue followed in the samizdat journal *Komunikace* (HRADEC 1987). Its author, J. Hradec[18] questioned not only the subtitle "off ghetto," but also the literary focus of the journal and the quality of its translations from Polish. Hradec argued that the diverse literary choices presented in the issue attest to the "směšování nejenom undergroundu s disidentstvím, ale také disidentství [...] se zdánlivě analogickými jevy západní sekularizované kultury." (HRADEC 1987: 125) [mixing of underground with dissidence, but also dissidence […] with seemingly analogical expressions of Western secularized culture.] Hradec interrogated the journal's use of the ghetto figure, and its declaration of "vystoupení z ghetta" (ibid) ["stepping out"] of the ghetto, thereby suggesting his own, strikingly positive understanding of Jewish ghetto:

Ghetto totiž pro nás znamená, [...] čistý, téměř posvátný pojem, průvodní zjev jedné, už uzavřené kapitoly rozptýlení (diaspory) izraelského lidu. A nemůže být sporu o tom, že ghetta byla, často právě v obklopenosti upadlým křesťanstvem oázami nejenom opravdové zbožnosti, ale také moudrosti a vzdělanosti. (HRADEC 1987: 126)

[Ghetto […] is for us a pure, almost sacred concept, an accompanying expression of one, already closed chapter of the diaspora of Israeli people. And there is no doubt that ghettos, often surrounded by decayed Christianity, were oases not merely of real faith, but also of wisdom and education.]

The inhabitants of ghettos would have to deny their identity in order to 'leave' the ghetto. By contrast, American ghettos are no 'oases of purity,' and stepping out of them can mean finding one's own human identity. Hradec examined the use of the figure by *Revolver Revue*: What did the journal mean by the term? The 'parallel structures' can resemble ghetto in its "first," "positive", meaning. (HRADEC 1987: 126) How can one leave the underground without losing one's identity? Hradec criticized the journal's careless use of the term 'ghetto' and the journal's unclear self-definition, but also this issue's new poetic orientation and

---

17   Viktor Karlík, in an e-mail correspondence with the author, January 30, 2015.

18   The pseudonym of Josef Mlejnek.

promotion of Charles Bukowski with his "new cult of primitivism," whom Hradec deemed to be the "patron" of the new literary production. (HRADEC 1987: 128) In retrospect, the journal's editor Karlík maintained that the provocation worked out, as the dismissive review by Hradec attested.

The disputed issue of *Revolver Revue* included a number of foreign authors, including Eduard Limonov and Andy Warhol. One of the journal's editors, Jáchym Topol, recalled (incorrectly) that the subtitle of the journal was "out of the ghetto," offering one of the possible interpretations of the original subtitle, and commented: "Chtěli jsme uniknout do světa." (TOPOL 2008: 91) [We wanted to escape – into the world.] The way of "escaping the ghetto" was through translation. "V zemi, kde byl Henry Miller naposledy vydán v roce 1986 a Louis Ferdinand Céline v roce 1947, skýtal literární překlad obrovské pole působnosti, ladem ponechanou zásobárnu, do které jsme se hned s nadšením pustili." (TOPOL 2008: 91) [In a country where Henry Miller was last published in 1968 and Louis-Ferdinand Céline in 1947, literary translation represented an enormous territory, an untapped wealth that we pounced on with enthusiasm.] (MACHOVEC 2006: 77)

The second generation of the underground looked to the wider world differently than did the older generation who, to some limited extent, had enjoyed chances to travel to the West in the 1960s (e.g. Ivan Klíma, Václav Havel). At the same time, though, '70s and '80s underground and samizdat authors also looked towards the suppressed local legacies and literary history, the so-called 'triple ghetto.' Prague's no-longer-existing Jewish minority remained an important point of reference. Prague German Jewish literature remained terra incognita; its authors were as publicly absent as were the (banned) writings of English or French provenance. The perception of the hidden, unknown, suppressed, or lost German-Jewish literature from Prague thus proved particularly important for the samizdat authors. Their conceptual construction of Prague connected the two distinct topoi, the 'merry ghetto' and the 'triple ghetto.' Jirous reintroduced the unexpected topos of ghetto in the period of 'normalization' in Prague, now inflected by the usage of the word in an American context to refer to the city ghettos, an important source of inspiration for the Czech underground culture. In a similarly subversive gesture, the Czech underground appropriated the literature of Eisner's 'triple ghetto,' turning Eisner's concept inside out. No longer a deplorable seclusion, the samizdat authors reached out to the world beyond the so-called socialism of '70s and '80s Czechoslovakia and in effect denounced its culture as parochial and provincial – namely, as a ghetto.

Bibliography:

BENDA, Václav (2009): *Noční kádrový dotazník a jiné boje. Texty z let 1977-1989* [A Night's Cadre Profile Questionnaire and other Struggles]. Prague: Agite/Fra.

BONDY, Egon (1992): *B*ásnické dílo [Poetic Works]. Volume VIII. Praha: Pražská imaginace.

BONDY, Egon (2009): *Ve všední den i v neděli... Výbor z básnického díla* 1950-1994 [Everyday and on Sundays... Selected Poems]. Ed. Martin Machovec. Praha: DharmaGaia.

BRABENEC, Vratislav (2010): *Evangelium podle Brabence.* [The Gospel according to Brabenec] Interviewed by Renata Kalenská. Praha: Torst.

DVORSKÝ, Stanislav (1995): Kavárna Westend 1947-1951 a sborník Židovská jména [The Westend Cafe 1947-1951 and Jewish Names, a Collection]. – In: Machovec, Martin (ed.), *Židovská jména* [Jewish Names]. Praha: Lidové noviny.

EISNER, Pavel (1950): *Kafka and Prague.* Trans. Lowry Nelson and René Wellek. New York: Arts, Inc.

EISNER, Pavel (1957) Franz Kafka. – In: *Světová literatura* 3 [World Literature], 109-129.

HAVEL, Václav (1999): Moc bezmocných [The Power of the Powerless]. – In: *Spisy* 4 [Collected Works]. Praha: Torst, 224-330.

HAVEL, Václav et al. (2009): The Power of the Powerless. – In: *Citizens against the State in central-eastern Europe.* London: Routledge, 10-60.

HODROVÁ, Daniela (2009): *Město vidím…* [I See a City...]. Červený Kostelec: Edice současné poezie.

HRADEC, Josef (1987): Z ghetta do sexshopu? (Rozpaky nad 7. číslem Revolver Revue) [From the Ghetto to the Sexshop? Misgivings concerning the Seventh Issue of Revolver Revue]. – In: *Komunikace* 1/87, 125-130.

JIROUS, Ivan Martin (2008): Zpráva o třetím českém hudebním obrození [Report on the Third Czech Musical Revival]. – In: Machovec, Martin (ed.), *Pohledy zevnitř. Česká undergroundová kultura ve svědectvích, dokumentech a interpretacích* [Views from the Inside. Czech Underground Culture in Tesimonies]. Praha: Pistorus & Olšanská, 9-37.

JIROUS, Ivan Martin (2006): Report on the Third Czech Musical Revival. – In: Machovec, Martin (ed.), *Views from the Inside. Czech Underground Literature and Culture (1948-1989). Manifestoes-Testimonies-Documents. Texts by Ivan M Jirous, Paul Wilson, Egon Bondy, and Jáchym Topol.* Trans. Paul Wilson and Ivan Hartel. Praha: Ústav české literatury a literární vědy, FFUK, 9-31.

KAFKA, Franz (1983): *Povídky* [Short Stories]. Praha: Odeon.

KAFKA, Franz (1992): *Nachgelassene Schriften und Fragmente* II. Frankfurt/M.: Fischer.

KAFKA, Franz (1998): *The Trial.* New York: Schocken.

KAFKA, Franz (2002): *Der Proceß.* Frankfurt/M.: Fischer.

MACHOVEC, Martin (ed.) (1995): Židovská jména [Jewish Names]. Praha: Lidové Noviny.

MACHOVEC, Martin (2004): Czech Underground Literature, 1969-1989: A Challenge to Textual Studies. – In: Modiano, Raimonda/Searle, Leroy F./ Shillingsburg, Peter L. (Ed.), *Voice, Text, Hypertext.* Seattle: University of Washington Press.

MACHOVEC, Martin (ed.) (2006): *Views from the Inside. Czech Underground Literature and Culture (1948-1989). Manifestoes-Testimonies-Documents. Texts by Ivan M Jirous, Paul Wilson, Egon Bondy, and Jáchym Topol.* Praha: Ústav české literatury a literární vědy, FFUK.

MACHOVEC, Martin (ed.) (2008): *Pohledy zevnitř. Česká undergroundová kultura ve svědectvích, dokumentech a interpretacích* [*Views from the Inside. Czech Underground Literature and Culture in Manifestoes, Testimonies, and Documents*]. Praha: Pistorus & Olšanská.

MACHOVEC, Martin (2010-2011): Ideological Orientation and Political Views and Standpoints of Representatives of Czech Underground Culture, 1969-1989. – In: (Underground and Dissidence – Allies or Enemies?). *eSamizdat*, (VIII).

MAZAL, Tomáš/DE SAX, Pablo (2007): *My žijeme v Praze...* /*příběh filmů*/ [We Live in Prague…. /the Films' Story/]. Louny: Guerilla Records. (DVD Booklet)

SAYER, Derek (2013): *Prague. Capital of the Twentieth Century. A Surrealist History.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

STEINER, Peter (2008): Introduction: On Samizdat, Tamizdat, Magnitizdat, and Other Strange Words That Are Difficult to Pronounce. – In: *Poetics Today* 29:4 , 613-628.

STROMŠÍK, Jiří: Angelo Ripellino se vrátil. – In: Ripellino, Angelo Mario (1992): *Magická Praha* [Magic Prague]. Translated by Alena Hartmanová and Bohumír Klípa. Praha: Odeon, 419-426.

ŠPIRIT, Michael (1997): Komentář. – In: Jirous, Ivan: *Magorův zápisník* [Magor's Notebook]. Praha: Torst, 681-743.

TOPOL, Filip (2013): *Jako pes. Povídky* [Like a Dog. Short Stories]. Prague: Revolver Revue.

TOPOL, Jáchym (2008): Příběh Revolver Revue. (Příspěvek k lepšímu poznání poslední samizdatové generace) [The Story of Revolver Revue. (Contribution to the Better Unterstanding of the Last Samizdat Generation]. – In: Machovec, Martin (ed.), *Pohledy zevnitř. Česká undergroundová kultura ve svědectvích, dokumentech a interpretacích* [Views from the Inside. Czech Underground Culture in Tesimonies]. Praha: Pistorus & Olšanská, 85-95.

TOPOL, Jáchym (2006): The Story of Revolver Revue. – In: Machovec, Martin (ed.), *Views from the Inside. Czech Underground Literature and Culture (1948-1989). Manifestoes-Testimonies-Documents. Texts by Ivan M Jirous, Paul Wilson, Egon Bondy, and Jáchym Topol.* Trans. Paul Wilson and Ivan Hartel. Praha: Ústav české literatury a literární vědy, FFUK, 69-79.

TUCKER, Aviezer (2000): *The Philosophy and Politics of Czech Dissidence from Patočka to Havel.* Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh University Press.

WAGENBACH, Klaus (1989): Prague at the Turn of the Century. – In: Anderson, Mark (ed.), *Reading Kafka: Prague Politics and the Fin de Siècle.* New York: Schocken Books, 25-52.