Paul W o o d m a n (London)

THE TOPONYMY OF THE CZECH LANDS AS REFLECTED IN BRITAIN. A STUDY IN EXONYMS?

Introduction

1. At its twelfth annual gathering in the spring of 2002, the Prague Writers' Festival inaugurated a new award – the *Magnesia Litera* prize – to be presented annually to the author of its chosen book of the year. That first year's winner was a German author named Jürgen Serke, whose work *Böhmische Dörfer* portrayed the sometimes confusing circumstances encountered by German-speaking writers living in the first modern Czechoslovak republic, in the period between the two world wars. The book's title, which translates into English as *Bohemian Villages*, is adapted from the German saying "Das sind für mich böhmische Dörfer!", the idiomatic translation of which is "It's all Greek to me!" but which translates literally as "That's Bohemian villages for me!". Why should the villages of Bohemia, and more specifically their names, be thought to spell such confusion? This paper attempts, from a British perspective, to throw some light on the subject.

The story up to the 19th Century

2. In what is now Britain[1)], toponymic knowledge of and interest in the Czech lands can be traced back at least as far as the end of the 9th Century AD, when the English king Alfred the Great compiled a list of lands and peoples in which he included *Maroara* (Moravia), *Sysyle* (Silesia), and the *Baeme* (Bohemians)[2)]. Several English chroniclers over the following centuries mentioned Bohemia and its inhabitants, as *Beme* or *Boeme*, and contact between the two countries increased markedly in the early 15th Century through sympathetic connections between John Wyclif[3)] and his Lollard movement in England and Jan Hus and his followers in Bohemia. The Lollards and Hussites both called for religious reform, but the Hussite rebellion was also partly political and therefore of deep concern to established authority throughout Europe. As a result, after the success of the Hussite rebellion in the mid-15th Century the name of Bohemia was rather traduced by worried authorities in England to denote a land of heresy, anarchy and rebellion. Not until the Protestant

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[1)] This paper uses "England" and "English" up to the 18th Century; "Britain" and "British" afterwards.

[2)] http://yalepress.yale.edu/yupbooks/excerpts/0300058462_1.pdf. *Baeme* as the name for the Bohemians derives from the Latin *Boii*.

[3)] Wycliffe in modern spelling.

Reformation of the English king Henry VIII in the mid-16th Century did the "heretic" lands of Bohemia once more begin to receive favourable mention in England.

3. The land of Bohemia was central to English playwright William Shakespeare's play *The Winter's Tale*, first performed in 1611. In Act III, Scene III, Antigonus, ordered to take a child out to sea to be left on some desert shore to perish, memorably asks his mariner whether "our ship hath touch'd upon the deserts of Bohemia?", to which the mariner replies in the affirmative. Given the good knowledge within England of Bohemia's location, Shakespeare's attribution of a coastline and desert to that country should be put down to his well-attested sense of humour rather than to any ignorance. *The Winter's Tale* is in any case a comedy, and "Bohemia" seems to have been used simply to denote some exotic and distant location which might capture the imagination of an audience – in much the same way that 20th Century audiences might have considered "Timbuktu"[4)]. The play was performed in 1613 at the marriage of Elizabeth, daughter of James I, to Frederick, Count Palatine and future King of Bohemia; it is unlikely to have been deemed suitable for an occasion so closely related to the real Bohemia if the contents had been based on ignorance. Interestingly, the other principal location in *The Winter's Tale* is "Sicily", usually considered to be the island of that name in the Mediterranean, yet which could, applying the same exotic imagination as produced Bohemia, possibly be Bohemia's neighbour Silesia, which as we have seen had been noted as *Sysyle* by Alfred some seven centuries previously.

4. It is perhaps already apparent that, up to the time of Shakespeare, first-hand English knowledge of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia did not seem to extend much beyond the names of those lands themselves. It is true that Bohemia's main city had appeared in English chronicles, as *Praga*, and was later to adopt the French word ending and become *Prague*. But until the early 17th Century there was little detailed mention of place names in English chronicles. At that point, however, the Czech lands moved to the forefront of Europe's attention as a population increasingly both Protestant and restless stirred in 1618 against its Catholic Habsburg rulers, who responded by defeating the Bohemian "rebels" at the Battle of the White Mountain (*Bílá hora*) outside Prague in 1620[5)]. This battle was part of the much wider and ruinous Thirty Years War (1618 – 1648), and it was the German-speaking army of Wallenstein, fighting for the Habsburgs during this war, which had great difficulties

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[4)] This would not be the first time that an Englishman considered Bohemia to be a distant location, though – as we will see in paragraph 15 – on the second occasion the circumstances were brutally different.

[5)] The Habsburg ruler Ferdinand said of Bohemia in this period: "Better a desert than a land full of heretics". Had Ferdinand read of the "desert" in *The Winter's Tale*, one wonders? (See paragraph 3).

with orientation in Bohemia through hearing unfamiliar Czech names, rather than familiar German names, of the villages they encountered[6)].

5. So, rather suddenly, and especially with volunteer soldiers travelling from England and elsewhere to participate in these hostilities, there was a need abroad for more detailed knowledge of the place names of the Czech lands. In 1620 John Harrison, an English courtier, brought out the first English chronicle of Bohemia, *The Historie of Bohemia*, in which he judged that "Bohemia is one of the richest, civilest and strongest nations of Europe" and noted, with apparent approval, that "It has had more wars with the Pope and won more victories against him and his partakers than any other nation"[7)]. This work was followed in 1626 by the first detailed English map devoted solely to Bohemia, entitled *Bohemia newly described*, produced by the celebrated English mapmaker John Speed and including on its reverse a text entitled *The Description of the Kingdom of Bohemia*. The interesting aspect of this first detailed appearance of toponyms was that they were essentially written in a German language form. For example, Speed's map showed *Comethau, Schlani* and *Laun* where today we would expect to see the Czech forms *Chomutov*, *Slaný* and *Louny* respectively. The reason for this selection was that German toponyms were more readily available than their Czech equivalents, and to understand why this was so we need to look briefly into the political development of the Czech lands from the mid-17th Century.

6. The Czech language had already existed for many centuries at this point, and was used locally alongside the German language spoken by the substantial number of Germans who had settled in the Czech lands since the 13th Century. The language of administration had initially been Latin. German was already a powerful language, and by the 15th Century Czech too had developed into a language of literature and education. The Hussite period of the mid-15th Century even saw the sophistication of Czech orthographic reform and the elevation of the Czech language to official status in Bohemia. But the events of the early to mid-17th Century – White Mountain and the Thirty Years War – very largely negated this Czech linguistic progress and imposed German, the language of the Habsburgs, in its place. Thus, whereas in the towns and villages of the Czech lands either Czech or German would still have been found, the language of administration was now principally the German of the Habsburgs, largely superseding the many centuries of Latin. For Harrison, Speed, and subsequent English chroniclers of Czech affairs, the documentary records available for toponyms were

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6) This answers the question posed in paragraph 1.

7) Quotation courtesy of J. V. Polišenský, Britain and Czechoslovakia, 2nd revised edition, Prague 1968, p. 32.

those of the Habsburgs, written in German and perhaps as likely to be encountered in Vienna as in Prague. Throughout the 18th Century too, maps such as that of Bohemia by Jan Kryštof Müller (1720) displayed the German language forms of toponyms. Furthermore, the Industrial Revolution gave enhanced economic significance to the localities it affected, and these were for the most part in the German-speaking rather than Czech-speaking portions of the Czech lands. Then in 1784:

German was proclaimed the only official language. Czech as an official language fell into disuse because the élite was either of German origin or voluntarily Germanized. A large part of the population with Czech ethnic roots was bilingual, using German in official situations and Czech in private life[8)].

The story of the 19th Century

7. A century later, though, and as part of a more general Czech national revival, the Czech language began to make renewed inroads into this German literary hegemony. Many of the founding fathers in the rehabilitation of the Czech language actually wrote in German or even Latin, rather than Czech. Thus in the late 18th and early 19th Centuries the Bohemian philologist Josef Dobrovský wrote important works in both those languages about the historical roots of the Czech language and literature. Likewise, the mid-19th Century five-volume history of the Czech nation, written by the Moravian historian František Palacký, was written first in German and only later translated into Czech. Writing in German or Latin at this historical juncture has often been interpreted simply as a marker of the decline into which the Czech language had fallen. It is true that knowledge of the written form of Czech had declined disastrously by this point, some two centuries having elapsed since formal education in that language had ceased, though the language was certainly still spoken in Czech villages. But in fact writing in German and Latin represented a very practical and sensible measure designed to secure the widest possible audience, since arguably the cause of the Czech language was not best advocated in a language whose written form would not be widely understood. On the other hand, there were scholars who did indeed prefer to write in Czech at this time, as exemplified by Josef Jungmann in his important 1825 history of Czech literature.

8. Neither the Czech language form of the name "Bohemia" (*Čechy*) nor the Czech language form of the name "Czech" (*Český*) was much encountered in Britain until the mid-19th Century. The first appearance of either word in the English language seems to have been when John Bowring, a renowned linguist, politician, diplomat and acquaintance of the poet Byron, assembled a translated poetry collection in 1832 for

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8) B. Törnquist-Plewa, Contrasting Ethnic Nationalisms: Eastern Central Europe; in S Barbour – C. Carmichael (eds.), Language and Nationalism in Europe, Oxford 2000, p. 208.

which he chose the title *Cheskian Anthology*. It is likely that Bowring consciously devised the word "Cheskian" in order to replicate in the English language the distinction present in Czech, where in general the adjective *český* denotes a geographical area larger than Bohemia, incorporating Moravia and part of Silesia as well[9]. Later, the adjective "Cheskian" became "Czech", a spelling taken from the Polish language. To this day, of course, Bohemia remains a valid exonym in the English language, relating to the endonym *Čechy*. Moravia (for *Morava*) and Silesia (for *Slezsko*)[10] remain valid exonyms in English too.

9. An initial toponymic effect of the 19th Century renaissance of the Czech language can be seen in the 1857 *Mapa Království českého* (Map of the Bohemian Kingdom), which carries a mix of perhaps 80% German-language toponyms (for example *Prag* and *Pilsen* rather than *Praha* and *Plzeň*) and 20% Czech-language toponyms (for example *Příbram* rather than *Biebersdorf*). Much of the British press, however, was not well disposed to the perceived rebellious nature of the Czech nation at this time, and there was therefore perhaps little inclination to search for Czech toponyms even if they were available. Also, British map and atlas publication was at the end of the 19th Century largely founded on German origins – for example the first *Times Atlas* of 1895 sourced its toponyms indirectly from the 1880s *Andrees Allgemeine Handatlas*, published in Leipzig – and those toponyms were naturally German. In fairness, though, given that the Austro-Hungarian Empire remained the supreme authority in the Czech lands and the authorities in Vienna determined the language of administration, foreign countries such as Britain had little option but to maintain their traditional use of German language toponyms. The Czech historian J V Polišenský concedes as much:

Up to 1918 practically all Austrian official and semi-official atlases and other geographical publications gave German names only and so English writers are hardly to blame, as they had no Czech sources at their disposal[11].

The story of the 20th Century

10. Yet by the dawn of the 20th Century times and attitudes were beginning to change. Revolutionary fires around Europe brought many exiles to Britain, among them Czechs who sparked in London and elsewhere an interest in their side of the Bohemian story. The Czech population of Bohemia was, after all, some 70% of the total, and British sympathies gradually changed in their favour. The First World War (1914-18) inevitably encouraged this new-found reluctance to reflect Germanic

[9] Though Derek Sayer notes that on occasion the word *český* may mean simply "Bohemian": see D. Sayer, The Coasts of Bohemia: A Czech History, Princeton 1998, p. 56.
[10] Much of Silesia is in Poland; in Polish it is known as *Śląsk*.
[11] J. V. Polišenský, o. c. in footnote 7, p. 44.

hegemony over the Czech lands. During the war, in 1916, the Czech politician Tomáš Masaryk visited Britain and further raised British interest in his country by inaugurating the School of Slavonic Studies in London[12)]. Following the end of the war, Masaryk found himself the first leader of the new Czechoslovak republic, a state which very quickly sought to assert the primacy of Czech and Slovak toponyms at the expense of the German names which foreign countries such as Britain had traditionally used.

11. There was initially some justification for the Czech government's assertiveness. In 1919, for instance, the *Geographical Journal* of Britain's Royal Geographical Society (RGS) published a map of the "Boundaries claimed by Čecho-Slovakia", which mainly showed German toponyms. These included *Prag*, *Pilsen*, *Budweis*, *Karlsbad*, *Reichenberg*, *Brünn* and *Olmutz*[13)]. But after 1920, by which year the precise limits of the new Czechoslovakia had mostly been established, the Czech government found in Britain a largely receptive audience for its requests. The *Times Survey Atlas of the World*, published in 1922 and the first of a wholly new *Times Atlas* series independent of its pre-war German publishing origins, showed on plate 43 all seven of these names in their Czech forms, with German forms following in parentheses to provide the reader with an historical continuity of reference. The RGS also quickly began to promote Czech toponyms, as did the newly established Permanent Committee on Geographical Names (the PCGN), created in 1919 to help advise the British government on the proper approach to foreign toponyms.

12. In the spring of 1924 the Czechoslovak government, through its Minister at the country's Legation in London – the diplomat Dr Mastný – wrote to the RGS asking for that Society's assistance in persuading the remaining British commercial publishers still using German names to refrain from doing so. The letter, dated April 5th 1924 and appended as Annex A to this paper, argued that continued use of German toponyms not only contradicted Czechoslovak policy but was also a poor reflection of British commercial cartographic practices. The RGS, which as we have seen was already a convinced advocate of Czech and Slovak toponyms, was quick to respond in a positive manner, pointing out that the PCGN had already disseminated a selection of Czech and Slovak toponyms and would be keen to promote these in greater number and with a

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12) Now the School of Slavonic and East European Studies, part of University College London.

13) The corresponding Czech names are Praha, Plzeň, České Budějovice, Karlovy Vary, Liberec, Brno, Olomouc. The German form "Karlsbad" was sometimes encountered in English as "Carlsbad".

wider distribution[14]. In this RGS reply, dated April 7th 1924 and appended as Annex B to this paper, it is clear that the Society sensed an opportunity, for the letter also inquired whether some financial assistance towards this task might be forthcoming from the Czechoslovak government.

13. On behalf of Dr Mastný, a member of the Legation staff named Jaroslav Císař replied on April 17th 1924 that the Czechoslovak government would indeed be pleased to help meet the cost of further PCGN lists of Czech and Slovak names. This letter is appended as Annex C to this paper[15]. A meeting was arranged between Mr Císař and John Reynolds, Assistant to (and shortly to become Secretary of) the PCGN, and by July 1924 it had been agreed that the Czechoslovak government would pay the sum of £40 towards the publication of PCGN lists of Czech and Slovak names[16]. The correspondence relevant to this agreement is attached as Annexes D and E to this paper. Accordingly, three successive PCGN lists of names were published in due course, all with a note stating that they were "prepared in collaboration with the Czechoslovak Legation":

First List of Names in Czechoslovakia (Bohemia only): PCGN, July 1924

Second List of Names in Czechoslovakia (Moravia and Silesia): PCGN, March 1926

Third List of Names in Czechoslovakia (Slovakia and Carpathian Ruthenia): PCGN, April 1930.

14. It will be seen that the first of these lists, relating to Bohemia, appeared immediately following the July 1924 agreement between the PCGN and the Czechoslovak government. It contained entries for almost 400 places and features in Bohemia. The second list, published in 1926, contained entries for about 250 places and features in Moravia and Silesia. The third list, published in 1930, contained entries for over 400 places and features in Slovakia and Carpathian Ruthenia. All three lists followed the same format, with each main entry providing the preferred name, a guide to its pronunciation, the distance to the county seat, and then any variant names. Each variant name (for the most part German or Hungarian) was in turn alphabetically cross-referenced to the approved name. The approved name was almost always the Czech or Slovak name, though English language conventional names were preferred

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[14] Note that at this time the PCGN was a committee of the RGS, as it had been since its creation in 1919. Since 1924 it has been an inter-departmental committee of the British government.

[15] Annex D is a scan of a re-typed copy (the original letter is a faded carbon copy of a letter handwritten in ink). The other Annexes are all scans of the original letters.

[16] This was generous; today's equivalent would be perhaps £1,600, approximately €2,400 or CZK68,000.

for international features and also for major national features such as Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, Slovakia and Prague. Surprisingly, given that these lists were produced in collaboration with the Czechoslovak government, a few German language names such as Grottau occurred as preferred entries[17)].

15. In 1938 the British Prime Minister sadly compromised the ever-closer relations between Britain and the Czech lands that we have seen unfold in this paper. Neville Chamberlain's decision to deny support to Czechoslovakia in a "quarrel in a far-away country between people of whom we know nothing" brings to mind Shakespeare's 16th Century depiction of the Czech lands as a distant and almost imaginary location[18)], though this time without the humour. When hostilities duly followed in any case the next year, the British approach to the toponymy of the Czech lands adapted to a wartime environment, with either Czech/Slovak or German toponyms deployed dependent on the context and purpose of the particular map or document involved. With the cessation of hostilities in 1945, however, the pre-war British policy acknowledging the primacy of Czech and Slovak names was unequivocally re-adopted, and this was reflected in the document *List of Names (New Series): 3: Czechoslovakia*, produced by the PCGN in March 1958. This document contained entries for some 1500 places and features in post-war Czechoslovakia, located by means of geographical coordinates as well as distance to the county seat, and it also included an introduction and a map. Unlike the three PCGN lists of the inter-war period, which did very occasionally provide a German name as a main entry, all main entry toponyms in this 1958 list were Czech or Slovak forms, with the exception of a very few international features. The main entries noted any variant forms which might exist, and these variant forms featured in separate cross-reference lists from German and from Hungarian following the main gazetteer[19)].

16. Essentially, therefore, British policy from the inception of the first modern Czechoslovak republic in 1918 has been to reflect the primacy of Czech and Slovak toponyms. At first a selection of German toponyms was maintained in a subordinate manner, for example placed parenthetically on maps after the Czech or Slovak name, in order to maintain a continuity of reference, but since 1945 it has been the Czech and Slovak toponyms alone which have been shown on British publications.

[17)] *Grottau* is *Hrádek nad Nisou* in Czech. All three lists retailed at a cost of 6d (sixpence), translating to about 3p in decimal sterling, which at present values would be perhaps £1, approximately €1.50 or CZK40.

[18)] See paragraph 3.

[19)] This 1958 list was for sale at £1 17s 6d, translating to £1.87 in decimal sterling, which at present values would be perhaps £30, approximately €45 or CZK1,300.

Annex A1

REPUBLIQUE TCHÉCOSLOVAQUE
LÉGATION A LONDRES

8-9, Grosvenor Place, S.W.1
5th April, 1924.

Dear Sir,

In a recent communication, the Ministry of Education in Prague raised the question of the nomenclature adopted in English atlases and maps with regard to Czechoslovakia, pointing out that in many cases the German names were exclusively used, although they do not represent the terminology, and often are merely mutilated forms of the proper Czech names (as Pardubitz for Pardubice).

The deficiencies in this respect appear to be due to the use of German atlases as sources. Thus, there are cases in which the well-known centres (Praha, Brno, Bratislava, etc.,) are indicated by their Czech names, although the familiarity of the German forms might be adduced as a plausible reason for using them, while the smaller places, the nomenclature of which is, in actual practice, entirely Czech, receive German titles. The point at issue therefore is one that

(concerns

Annex A2

concerns not merely Czech racial sentiment, but the scientific quality of British cartography.

In view of the fact that so influential an organisation as the Royal Geographical Society has already adopted the official Czechoslovak terminology, I should much appreciate it if you could kindly suggest any method by which uniformity could be attained in this respect, so as to remedy the present unsystematic and often incorrect usage prevailing in English geographical publications.

I beg, Sir, to remain,

Yours very faithfully,

J. Smetana

Envoy Extraordinary &
Minister Plenipotentiary.

Arthur R. Hinks, Esq., C.B.E., F.R.S.,
Secretary,
Royal Geographical Society,
Kensington Gore,
S.W.7.

Annex B1

April 7th. 1924.

Your Excellency,

I have the honour to acknowledge your letter of April 6 in which you raise the question as to the method by which British publications can be induced to use the correct Czech and Slovak names in Czechoslovakia in place of their German forms.

You are already aware of the Permanent Committee on Geographical Names for British Official Use which works under the auspices of this Society which is greatly interested in the matter and has already published two Lists of General European Names in which a certain number of Czechoslovakian names figure. This Committee has in its work tried to preserve a mean between the traditional forms of some of the names well established in English speech and the correct forms. Thus for example it spells Prague as it has been spelt for many generations but defines it as conventional and French for Cesky Praha. On the other hand it adopts Bratislava and Brno in preference to their German forms.

The guidance of the Committee has been followed to some extent already. For example in Bartholomew's new Citizen Atlas you will find that the spellings laid down by the Committee have mostly been adopted, and this has precisely the effect at present which you mention that the principal names which have already appeared in the list of the Committee are spelt correctly, and the smaller names are mostly taken from the pre war maps in which the German form was used.

I am inclined to think that the best solution would be for the Permanent Committee on Geographical Names to compile and issue a special list of Czechoslovakian names as it has done already for Tanganyika Territory, 'Iraq and other territories under British Mandate in which the nomenclature was very confused. These have naturally been first care of the Committee, but it pursues its labours and I shall be very glad to bring Your Excellency's letter before the next meeting of the Committee which will take place on April 29. It is possible they may consider it desirable to take in hand a more complete European List devoted to Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Poland. The

Annex B2

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Committee would rely of course upon Your Excellency's help in obtaining the necessary official documents to verify the spelling of the names. I do not know whether it is possible that your Government might consider it desirable to give the Committee some assistance in the cost of printing lists, which is considerable, and which at present has to be supported out of voluntary subscriptions by those interested in scientific cartography.

It would be a pleasure to discuss the matter further with Your Excellency if you should so wish.

I have th honour to be,

Your Excellency's obedient servant,

[A. R Hinks]

Secretary.

H.E. The Czechoslovakian Minister.

Annex C

Ref.No.1530/24.
PS/MS

17th April,1924.

Dear Sir,

I have been instructed by the Czechoslovak Minister to thank you for your letter of April 7th, in which you were good enough to supply the information regarding the standpoint of the Royal Geographical Society in connection with the method of using Czech and Slovak names in British geographical publications.

Dr. Mastný will be very grateful, if you would kindly place the matter before the Committee at your meeting on April 29th, and he asks me to assure you that our Government will be pleased to give you all the assistance necessary to defray the costs of printing the respective lists, etc. If it could possibly be arranged, I should be glad, if you could kindly suggest an appointment in order that I may discuss the whole matter with you in full.

I remain, dear Sir,
Very faithfully yours,

Jaroslav Císař

Arthur H. Hinks Esq.,
Secretary,
Royal Geographical Society,
Kensington Gore,
S. W. 7.

Annex D

22 April 1924

Jaroslav Cisař, Esq.
Czechoslovak Legation,
8-9 Grosvenor Place, S.W.1

Dear Sir,

Mr Hinks, the Secretary, R.G.S., has handed me your letter of 17th *inst.* with a view to my arranging an appointment with you to discuss the question of publishing a list of Czechoslovak place-names, for the cost of which His Excellency has so kindly promised the assistance of your Government. I shall be glad to call upon you at any time you may appoint in this week, so that I can be in a position to lay the matter before the Permanent Committee on Geographical Names at their meeting on April 29th.

Yours faithfully,

[J. H. Reynolds]

Assistant to P.C.G.N.

Annex E

CZECHOSLOVAK LEGATION,
2-9, GROSVENOR PLACE,
S.W.1.

Ref.No.2283/24.
Dr.JC/MS

1st July, 1924.

Dear Mr. Reynolds,

I have much pleasure in informing you that the authorities in Prague have agreed to all the arrangements made between us, with reference to the lists of geographical names in Czechoslovakia, and that for covering the expenses in connection with their publication, we have been authorized to give financial help to the amount of £40:0:0 (Forty Pounds).

Yours sincerely,

Jaroslav Císař

J.H. Reynolds Esq.,
Permanent Committee on
Geographical Names,
Royal Geographical Society,
Kensington Gore,
S.W.7.

Conclusion: A study in Exonyms?

17. In examining the manner in which first England and then Britain have approached the toponymy of the Czech lands, we have been on an historical journey of more than a millennium. We began with Alfred the Great, and we should conclude with a mention of the United Nations Group of Experts on Geographical Names (UNGEGN), the modern forum for the dissemination and exchange of toponymic information among all the countries of our 21st Century. But can we say that the history related in this paper has been a study in the use of exonyms? Is it simply the case that until the First World War the toponyms used in Britain for the Czech lands were "German exonyms", and that afterwards they were "Czech endonyms"? The reality is by no means so straightforward, and in fact the answer to this question is in the negative.

18. Certainly there does exist a relatively small number of self-evidently English language toponyms which do constitute exonyms. We have encountered most of these in this paper: Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, Slovakia, Prague. But it was noted in paragraph 6 that the ethnically German community of the Czech lands had first settled there in the 13th Century, and it was not until the aftermath of the Second World War that German settlement to all intents and purposes ceased to exist. Seven centuries of settled occupation surely entitled that community to consider its own toponymic reflection of the landscape as endonymic. At times, moreover, the German language carried official status. The UNGEGN Working Group on Exonyms considered the definitions of *endonym* and *exonym* at its 2nd Meeting in 2003, held appropriately in Prague, and formulated the following definition of the term *endonym*, adopted by UNGEGN:

Endonym – Name of a geographical feature in an official or well-established language occurring in that area where the feature is located[20)].

19. So given the toponymic developments through history as outlined in this paper, and given also the UNGEGN definition of *endonym*, four conclusions seem evident to this present writer:

A: During the period from the 13th Century right through to the First World War, the status of both Czech and German language toponyms in the Czech lands met the necessary criteria to satisfy the UNGEGN definition of *endonym*;

[20)] The corresponding UNGEGN definition of *exonym*, as adopted following the 2003 Prague meeting, is:

Exonym – Name used in a specific language for a geographical feature situated outside the area where that language is spoken, and differing in its form from the name used in an official or well-established language of that area where the geographical feature is located.

B: In the inter-war period, after the establishment of the first Czechoslovak republic, Czech names were both official and well-established and were self-evidently *endonyms*. But German toponyms also continued to satisfy the criteria of the UNGEGN definition as being toponyms of a "well-established language", and so retained their status as (albeit unofficial) *endonyms*;

C: Since 1945, subsequent to the emigration of the ethnic German community from the Czech lands, German language toponyms have become *exonyms*, since those names are now neither official nor do they relate to a currently well-established community. Note though that German toponyms in the Czech lands can still be considered as *historical endonyms*, alongside their more obvious present status as exonyms;

D: Given that the English and British approach to the toponyms of the Czech lands is to have used German names up to the First World War, Czech names with subordinate German names in the inter-war period, and Czech names exclusively since 1945, it can be confidently asserted that the approach of England and Britain to the toponyms of the Czech lands is very largely **not** a study in exonyms.

Résumé

Odraz toponymie českých zemí v Británii. Zkoumání exonym?

Autor příspěvku se zabývá užíváním toponym z území dnešní České republiky v Anglii/Británii od raného středověku do padesátých let dvacátého století. Důraz je kladen především na užívání německých a českých podob toponym a na vztahy mezi nimi. Pozornost je věnována snahám československé vlády, která ve dvacátých letech dvacátého století usilovala o prosazení českých podob zeměpisných jmen v Británii (do té doby byly užívány především podoby německé). Přechod od německých endonym k českým endonymům však měl na utváření anglických exonym vliv pouze ve výjimečných případech (Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, Prague).