‘Hey Slovaks, Where *Is* My Home?’
Slovak Lyrics for non-Slovak National Songs

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Songs are cultural artifacts which may be ‘national’ in two distinct ways: they may (1) have been written by a member of the nation in the national language, and as products of a distinct culture thus be ascribed to that culture, or (2) they may have lyrics which consciously glorify a national culture, its myths or its symbols. One would expect songs from the second category to belong to the first as well, but this need not be the case. *The Star Spangled Banner*, for example, has the melody of a British drinking song. Another melody has national lyrics in three different countries. Britain has *God Save the Queen*, the United States has *My Country ‘tis of Thee*, Germany has *Heil dir im Siegeskranz* (*Hail to you in Laurels of Victory*); but all these songs share the same melody.

This paper discusses patriotic songs that borrowed not only a melody from outside the national culture, but also lyrics. During the nineteenth-century, Slovak patriots rewrote at least two Czech patriotic songs, and in both cases, the lyrics remained recognizably similar to the Czech originals. Furthermore, these new versions were generally reprinted without accompanying music: readers were assumed to be familiar with the Czech melody. This paper analyzes the texts of these songs as a case study in the role of national songs in nation building, and as a window into the development of Slovak national culture.

During the nineteenth century, Slovak patriots expressed loyalty to the multi-lingual and multi-ethnic Hungarian kingdom[1]. As ethnic Hungarians (‘Magyars’) became increasingly vocal in asserting their own culture inside the kingdom, Slovaks responded by developing the idea of a *Uhorský politický národ*, a Hungarian “political nation,” in which different “linguistic nations” could coexist. This Hungarian nationalism ultimately proved unsuccessful; Magyar chauvinism eventually led Slovaks to break with Hungary and seek their fortune in the Czechoslovak republic. As long as the Habsburg monarchy lasted, however, so too endured what Owen Johnson described as an “idealistic faith on the part of the Slovaks that the Hungarian rulers would see the error of their ways and come to a fair and rational resolution of the nationality question”[2].

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[1] See Theodore Locher. *Die Nationale Differenzierung und Integrierung der Slovaken und Tschechen in ihrem Geschichtlichen Verlauf bis 1848.* Haarlem, pp. 93-94, 161, 183; Moritz Csáky. ‘Die Hungarus-Konzeption: eine ‘realpolitische’ Alternative zur magyarischen Nationalstaatsidee?’ (hereafter ‘Die Hungarus-Konzeption’) in Adam Wandruszka, (ed.) *Ungarn und Österreich unter Maria Theresia und Joseph II,* Vienna, 1982; Alexander Maxwell. ‘Hungaro-Slavism: Territorial and National Identity in Nineteenth-Century Slovakia,’ *East Central Europe/l'Europe du Centre-Est*, vol. 29, no. 1 (2002); Alexander Maxwell. “Multiple Nationalism: National Concepts in 19th century Hungary and Benedict Anderson’s ‘Imagined Communities’.” *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, vol. 11, no.3 (Fall 2005) 385-414.

[2] Owen Johnson ‘Losing Faith: The Slovak-Hungarian Constitutional Struggle, 1906-1914.’ *Harvard Ukrainian Studies: Cultures and Nations of Central and Eastern Europe*, vol. XXII. Zvi Gitelman, ed. (Cambridge, MA: Ukrainian Research Institute, 1998) 297.

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These Hungarian loyalties found reflection in Slovak patriotic songs. In 1834, Jan Kollár, a Protestant cleric and poet who spent most of his life in Budapest, published a collection of folk called *National songbook, or secular songs of the Slovaks in Hungary*. This work contains songs about non-Slovak towns in the Kingdom of Hungary, such as *Pešt a Temešwár* ['Pest and Timişoara'], and *Arad* (a city in modern Romania)[3]. It also includes Slovak songs containing Hungarian words and phrases, reflecting the multi-ethnic nature of Slavic northern Hungary[4].

Non-Slavic authors also promoted a multi-ethnic Hungary by gathering multi-ethnic songbooks. Karl Georg Rumy's 1808 *Muses' Almanac* included songs in Slovak Latin, Hungarian, High German, and Transylvanian Dialect German[5]. The Slovak song did not have nationalist lyrics, but Rumy justified the songbook as a whole as a 'patriotic endeavor'[6], and the inclusion of Slovak songs proclaims Slovak culture an integral part of a diverse and multi-lingual Hungary.

Slovak patriots did not, to the best of my knowledge, ever rewrite Magyar national songs, but Magyar patriots translated their own songs into Slovak. On New Year's day in 1861, the Hungarian newspaper *Vasárnapi ujság* ['Sunday Paper'] published Mihály Vörösmarty's poem *Szózat* ['appeal'] in Mihály Mácsay's Slovak translation, alongside translations in Slovak, Slovene, Serbian, Croat, German, Romanian, French, Italian and English[7]. This was an attempt to universalize Magyar patriotic artifacts among all the ethnic groups in the Kingdom: the *Szózat* has been described as both 'a second national anthem for the Hungarians' and 'the Hungarian Marseillaise'[8].

One could argue that Mácsay's use of the Slavic word *uher* to translate Vörösmarty's *magyar* ['Hungarian'] reflects a specifically Slovak sensibility, since after the 1820 Slavs began to distinguish lexically the *maďar* ['ethnic Hungarian'] from the *uher* ['inhabitant of the kingdom of Hungary'][9]. Nevertheless, the song sticks with an ethnonym denoting 'Hungarian', without substituting a reference to Slovaks. Given that the text appeared in a Hungarian paper alongside translations in other languages, this text is best seen as a Hungarian attempt to elevate Vörösmarty to the status of a world-class poet whose works merit translation. Slovaks, incidentally, made similar efforts to translate Slavic folk culture into Hungarian[10].

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[3] Jan Kollár. *Národinié zpiewanky čili pjsně swětské Slowákůw w Uhrách,* vol. 1. Buda, 1834, pp. 390, 42, respectively. Slavist Pavol Šafárik also played an important role in the compilation of this songbook.

[4] Kollár, *Stonánie*, and 'Life of a Monk outside the Monastery,' *Národinié zpiewanky,* vol. 1, 86; vol. 2, (1835), p. 179.

[5] Rumy spoke German as his native language, but was a talented enough linguist to write and publish in Hungarian, Slovak and Serbian. German and Latin dominate the songbook; Rumi wrote that it will not be my fault if the poetic literature of Magyars and Slavs will not become more famous… I have asked the better Magyar and Slavic poets among my countrymen for submissions… See Karl Georg Rumi. *Musen-Almanach von und für Ungarn*. Levoča, 1808, 5-6; pp. 124-27. Andreas Angyal. *Karl Georg Rumy (1780-1847): Ein Vorkämpfer der deutsch-slawisch-ungarischen Wechselseitigkeit.* Jena, vol. 8, no. 1, 1958-59.

[6] Rumi, *Musen-Almanach,* pp. 5-6.

[7] *Vasárnapi ujság* (January 6, 1861), pp. 15, 17, 18.

[8] Tibor Klaniczay. *A History of Hungarian Literature.* Budapest, 1982, p. 196.

[9] See Alexander Maxwell, "Magyarization, Language Planning, and Whorf – The Word 'Uhor' as a Case Study in Linguistic Relativism," *Multilingua* vol. 23 no. 3 (2004) 319-337.

[10] In 1866, a newspaper article in the Pan-Slavic journal *Slavisches Centralblatt* reported "A booklet of Slovak folk songs in the Hungarian language is already being printed." This tantalizing reference was insufficient for me to locate the booklet. See *Slavisches Centralblatt*, (13 January, 1866), p. 14.

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However, we must hesitate before dismissing the text of Mácsay's *Ohlas* as wholly foreign to the Slovak tradition of national music. Mácsay translated the first line of Vörösmarty's poem, '*Hazádnak rendületlenül, légy hive, oh Magyar',* into Slovak as '*Buď werný wlastí, ó Uher!*' which *Vasárnapi ujság* gave in English as 'O Magyar, by they native land with faithful heart abide!' Slovaks also defend the Hungarian kingdom in Samo Chaluka's 1875 *Odboj kupov* ['Revolt of the Merchants'].

V tej slovenskej vlasti strašná surma stoji
Verný slovenský ľud na voznu sa zbrojí
…
A s hory na horu znat' dáva kraj kraju
že slovenský národ na vojnu volajú

On the Slovak homeland terrible forces stand,
The faithful Slovak people defends itself.
…
And from hill to hill, the land knows to array the land,
As the Slovak nation sends out the call to arms[11].

Though Chalupka describes a 'Slovak people' defending 'the Slovak land', this Slovak land is clearly part of the Hungarian Kingdom, since it belongs to St. Stephen's crown, the symbol of Hungarian statehood. The song also proclaims loyalty to King Stephen himself.

Prijde to, bude to, že večnej pamäte
meno štefan-kráľa ľud verný posväti
[...]
A ta verná Slovač - radšej ona padne,
lež by svojho kráľa odpustíla zradne.

It will come, it shall be, that the faithful people
will bless the eternal memory of king Stephen's name.
[...]
And that faithful Slovak - would rather fall in battle
then ever turn traitor against his king[12].

Both Mácsay's *Ohlas* and Chalupka's *Odboj kupov* express a Hungarian loyalty which is no longer part of Slovak national culture. Nevertheless, Chalupka's has a Slovak character lacking in the *Ohlas*: Chalupka emphasizes loyalty to a Slovak collective, even one inside a Hungarian context. Mácsay's translation of the *Szózat* shows no interest in anything distinctively Slovak.

When Slovaks wrote patriotic songs from a Czech model, however, the situation was different. Panslavism, a romantic concept invented by Slovak pastor Jan Herkel,

[11] Samo Chalupka. *Spevy Sama Chalupku.* Martin, 1912 [1875], p. 37.
[12] Chalupka, *Spevy*, p. 37-39.

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coexisted with Hungarian loyalty, but proclaimed the essential cultural and linguistic unity among Slavs. Herkel himself defined it as "the *unity in literature* among all Slavs [empahsis in original]"[13], and used it to suggest a common Slavic alphabet[14]. To Slovaks, the cultural products of other Slavs were not fully 'foreign'. Nevertheless, by giving Czech songs Slovak lyrics, Slovak patriots hoped to channel Czechoslovak or Panslav feelings in a more Slovak-particularist direction.

Even disregarding Slovak loyalty to Hungary and concentrating on the linguistic half of "Hungaro-Slavic" nationalist politics, the Slovak nationalist culture of the nineteenth century differed considerably from contemporary Slovak nationalism. Slovaks also expressed multiple affiliations within the Slavic sphere of cultural loyalties: in addition to the sense of Slovak nationality, Slovaks shared a sense of commonality with the entire Slavic world. Furthermore, they cultivated a special relationship with the other Slavs of Hungary (i.e. with Ukrainians/Rusyns to the immediate east, and to Croats and Serbs in Budapest and the south of Hungary), and with the Czechs.

Kollár exemplifies this ambiguity. In addition to the above-mentioned loyalty to the Hungarian kingdom, Kollár argued in several works on 'Slavic Reciprocity' that all Slavs were part of a single Slavic nation speaking a single language, albeit sundered into 'tribes' speaking different 'dialects'[15]. Kollár explicitly called for both the collection of folk songs and for the exchange of books across 'tribal' lines[16], and he encouraged many Slavs - Czechs, Croats, Slovenes, and Slovaks - to promote both the Slavic collective and their particularist 'tribe'[17]. Kollár also argued that Slovaks and Czechs belonged to the same 'tribe', and opposed the creation of a Slovak literary language on this basis[18].

Slavs of many 'tribes', to use Kollár's terminology, read each other's folk and national music, and reinterpreted it for their own purposes. Perhaps the most dramatic example of this cross-tribal Slavic reciprocity is the Czech song *Hej Slované!* ['Hey, Slavs!'] which Samuel Tomašík composed to a Polish melody[19] in 1838.

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[13] Jan Herkel. *Elementa Universalis Linguae Slavicae.* Buda: Regiae universitatis Hungaricae, 1826, 4.

[14] On Slovak Pan-Slavism and its effect on Slovak culture, see Alexander Maxwell, "The 'Literary Dialect' in Slovak Nationalist Thought." In: Zora Hlavičková, Nicolas Maslowski, eds. *The Weight of History in Central European Societies in the Twentieth Century* (Prague: CES, 2005), 132-145.

[15] Kollár published two works on Reciprocity: *Rozpravy o jménoch, počátkách i starožitnostech národu slávského a jeho kmenů*, Buda, 1830; and *Über die Wechselseitigkeit zwischen den verschiedenen Stämmen und Mundarten der Slawischen Nation* (hereafter *Über die Wechselseitigkeit),* Pest, 1837 (reprint: Leipzig: Otto Wigand, 1844; Czech translation by J.S. Tomiček published in Prague, 1853). For a discussion of Slovak reciprocity in English, see Robert Pynsent. *Questions of Identity: Czech and Slovak Ideas of Nationality and Personality* (hereafter *Questions of Identity*) Budapest, 1994, pp. 56-57. On the idea of a Slavic language with 'dialects,' see Alexander Maxwell. 'Literary dialects in China and Slovakia: Imagining Unitary Nationality with Multiple Orthographies,' *International Journal of Sociolinguisitics,* no. 164 (2003). For attempts to standardize all Slavic speech in a single orthography, see Jan Herkel. *Elementa Universalis Linguae Slavicae.* Buda, 1826; Aleksandr Hilferding. *Obshcheslavjanskaja azbuka.* St. Petersburg, 1892.

[16] Kollár, *Über die Wechselseitigkeit,* 94. (Points 2 and 7 from his ten-point program)

[17] Kollár's influence was particularly strong on Croatian scholar Ljudevit Gaj. For a detailed study of Gaj's relationship to Kollár, see Elinor Despalotović, *Ljudevit Gaj and the Illyrian National Movement*. Boulder: East European Quarterly, 1975.

[18] Jan Kollár, ed. *Hlasowé o potřebě jednoty spisowného jazyka pro Čechy, Morawany a Slowáky* (hereafter *Hlasowé*), Prague, 1846.

[19] Some observers have even claimed that the music to *Hej Slované* resembles the Polish National Anthem, '*Jeszcze Polska nie zginęła, póki my żyjemy* ['Poland is not yet lost, so long as we live']'. Ludwig

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Hej, Slované, ještě naše slovanská řeč žije,
pokud naše věrné srdce pro náš národ bije.
Žije, žije duch slovanský, bude žít na věky!
Hrom a peklo! marné vaše proti nám jsou vzteky.

Jazyka dar svěřil nám Bůh, Bůh nás hromovládný
Nesmí nám ho tedy vyvrat na tom světě žádný.
I nechať je, kolik lidí, tolik čertů v světě:
Bůh je s námi, kdo proti nám, toho Perun smete.

O Slavs, our Slavic language still lives
So long as our true hearts beat for our nation.
Live, live, O Slavic spirit, may you live for ages!
Thunder and hell! All your efforts against us are in vain.

God, master of thunder, entrusted us with the gift of language,
no one on this earth may take it away from us.
And even if all the people in the world were devils,
God is with us, and Perun will wipe out all who are against us[20].

As this song was written in Czech, one could ascribe it a 'Czech' character. However, Tomašík's lyrics show no interest in either Bohemia or Czech particularism, invoking 'our Slavic language' instead. Note furthermore the reference to Perun, a Slavic pagan god. This song is best understood as a Bohemian example of Panslavism, not Czech nationalism.

Hej Slované! struck deep roots in Habsburg political culture. During the Revolution of 1848, a socialist version appeared in Prague, called *Na Pekaři* ['To the Bakers'], with recognizably similar lyrics, complete with *hrom a peklo* ['thunder and hell'] in the last verse[21]. When ordered to the front in 1914, Prague's 28th regiment sang it marching through Prague, adding as an extra verse: 'we march against the Russians but no one knows why'[22]. Jaroslav Hašek also alluded to the song in his novel *The Good Soldier Švejk* [23].

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v. Gogolák. *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Slowakischen Volkes II, Die slowakische nationale Frage in der Reformepoche Ungarns (1790-1848)*. Munich, 1969, p. 93.

[20] A printed version can be found in the *Společenský zpěvník Český*, a Czech songbook from 1862. Jan Pichl and Josef Zvonař, the compilers of this songbook, do not credit the words to the *Píseň Slovanů* ['Song of the Slavs'] to any author, though most of the songs in the book are attributed. Pichl and Zvonař may have become familiar with the song through hearsay alone, and thus have printed a version differing slightly from Tomašík's original text. Without access to Tomašík's original text, I have used Pichl and Zvonař. Jan Pichl, Josef Zvonař. *Společenský zpěvník Český*. Prague, 1862, pp. 32-33.

[21] Miloslav Novotný, ed. *Letáky z roku 1848.* Prague, 1948, 117.

[22] See R.W. Seton-Watson. *A History of the Czechs and Slovaks*. Hamden, CN, 1965 (London, 1943), p. 287.

[23] Despite the All-Slavic meanings of the lyrics, Hašek's translators only notice the Bohemian meanings of the song. A footnote in Selver's translation describes *Hej Slované* as a 'Czech popular song'; Parrott calls it a 'famous patriotic song in Bohemia calling for the wider use of the Czech language'. It may be worth emphasizing that the song never mentions the 'Czech' language, only the 'Slavic' language. Jaroslav Hašek. *Osudy Dobrého Vojáka Švejka Za Světové Války*. Paul Selver's translation: *The Good*

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This song also put down roots elsewhere in the Slavic world. The Serbo-Croatian version, *Hej Sloveni*, became the national anthem of Socialist Yugoslavia. The first verse in Serbo-Croatian runs as follows:

Hej Sloveni, jošte živi duh vaših dedova
dok za narod srce bije njihovih sinova.
živi, živi, duh slovenski, živjeće vekov'ma.
Zalud preti ponor pakla, zalud vatra groma.

Hey, Slavs, the spirit of our ancestors still lives
because the hearts of their sons beat for the nation.
Live, live, Slavic spirit, life through the ages,
In vain does deep hell oppose us, in vain the thunder booms[24].

The Serbo-Croatian text differs slightly from the Czech original; for example, it stresses common ancestors, not a common language. Nevertheless, it still has hearts beating for the nation in the second verse, the Slavic spirit living through the ages in the third, and thunder in the fourth: the text is recognizably similar. Panslavic feeling in Bohemia and Yugoslavia apparently shared a lot of common ground.

Given the popularity of this song and the habit of borrowing anthems, the existence of a Slovak version is unsurprising. Andrej Radlinský's 1861 *Hej Slováci* ['Hey Slovaks'] made only minimal changes to Tomašík's original, but these include substituting the ethnonym *Slováci* ("Slovaks") for *Slované* ("Slavs"):

Hej Slováci eště naša slovenská řeč žije
Dokiaľ naše verne srdca sa náš národ bije.
Žije, žije duch slovenský, bude žíť na veky!
Hrom a peklo, márne vaše proti nám sú vzteky.

O Slovaks, our Slovak language still lives
So long as our true hearts beat for our nation.
Live, live, O Slovak spirit, may you live for ages!
Thunder and hell, All your efforts against us are in vain[25].

This version so closely resembles Tomašík's original that the word 'transliteration' seems more appropriate than 'translation'. Given that *Slováci* and *Slované* share the same root, the most dramatic lexical change is *pokud* > *dokiaľ*. One might, of course, point to the greater linguistic similarity between Czech and Slovak, vis-à-vis Czech and South-Slavic: the South-Slav poet was forced to more radical textual changes to preserve the rhyme.

Soldier: Schweik. New York, 1963, p. 31; Cecil Parrott's translation: *The Good Solider Švejk and His Fortunes in the World War*. London, 1973, p. 16.

[24] This text is widely available online, with slightly varying orthography. This version comes from *Zbirka srpskih himni, patriotskih pesama i patriotske lirike*, <www.rastko.org.yu/kajizevnost/umetnicka/himne.html.>

[25] Ondřej Radlinský. *Tatran: Letopis paedagogický, vedecký, národní, hospodarský literárny a zabavný, Kalendár*. Budapest, 1861, p. 208.

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Some scholars might ascribe a distinctively Slovak character to Radlinský's version on the basis of its orthography. Radlinský did make several orthographic changes to Tomašík's original, such as {ě} > {e}, infinitive /-t/ > /-ť/, and {j-} to {Ø}. Orthographic questions were indeed closely related to national disputes in nineteenth century Slovakia. Radlinský's orthographic innovations mostly conform to present Slovak orthography, so one might retroactively describe them as "Slovakization". However, Radlinský kept the 'Czech' {ř}. This letter is used as shibboleth to differentiate Czech from Slovak not only in Czechoslovakia, but in a dictionary written by Radlinský's grand-Uncle, Catholic priest and grammarian Anton Bernolák[26]. The persistence of {ř} in Radlinský's version shows that the national associations of orthography in 1860 differed strikingly from the modern meanings: Radlinský's own 1850 spelling guide, describing itself as 'Old Slovak', had used both {ě} and {ř}[27]. The relationship between orthographic conventions and national feelings, in short, is too complex for any firm conclusions to be drawn from orthography alone.

One specific change however, distinguishes Radlinský's version from the Czech and Serbo-Croatian versions: the change in ethnonym. Radlinský speaks of a Slovak language and Slovak spirit, expressing Slovak particularist nationalism, not All-Slavic feeling. Separating these two concepts is not wholly straightforward: many Slovak authors conflated the adjective *slovenská* and *slovenská* ['Slavic' and 'Slovak'] in the first half of the nineteenth century[28]. By 1861, however, the change from Tomašík's *slovanský* ['Slavic'] to Radlinský's *slovenský* ['Slovak'] transformed the national meanings of the text from All-Slavism to Slovak-particularist nationalism, and shrunk the geographic expanse of the invoked national community. While the South-Slav version introduced new ideological elements (e.g. devotion to ancestors), the Slovak version required no changes in content besides ethnonymic substitution, which in turn required only one new vowel.

Hej Slováci remained an important icon of Slovak nationalism throughout the Habsburg period. The 1911 anthology *Slovak Peasant Art and Melodies*, intended to heighten awareness of the Slovak cause in England, even presented it as 'The Slovak National Hymn'[29], with definite article, though a different song was officially declared the Slovak anthem during the Czechoslovak era (see below). Significantly, the non-

[26] Bernolák's alphabet varies slightly depending on the use of a Blackletter ('Gothic') or Antiqua typeface, but neither use {ř}. Both blackletter and Antiqua alphabets are available in M.M. Hodža, *Epigenes Slovenicus*. Levoča, 1847, 21-22. See also Peter Brock. *The Slovak National Awakening: An Essay in the Intellectual History of East Central Europe.* Toronto, 1976, 51.

[27] Ondřej Radlinský. *Prawopis slowenský s krátkou mluwnicí.* Vienna, 1850.

[28] For scholarly discussions of the Slovak-Slavic conflation, see Pynsent, *Questions of Identity*, p. 60; Jozef Ambruš. 'Die Slawische Idee bei Ján Hollý,' in Ľudovít Holotík, (ed.) Ľudovít *Štúr und die Slawische Wechselseitigkeit, Gesamte Referate und die integrale Diskussion der Wissenschaftlichen Tagung in Smolenice 27-29 Juni, 1966*, 1969, pp. 46-49. For examples of how confused contemporary Slavs were about the distinction, see 'H.B'. 'Slovanská politika' in Karel Havlíček, ed. *Slovan* (May, June, July), Kutná Hora, 1850, p. 589; Michal Godra, 'Voňavje Ďorďinki,' in *Orol tatranský,* vol. 1, no. 12 (1845), p. 95. Theodore Locher has suggested that the particularist word *Slovák* may originally have been a Czech term of abuse! See Locher, *Die Nationale Differenzierung und Integrierung der Slovaken und Tschechen,* p. 86.

[29] The 1911 Slovak text is marginally different; *verne* became *verné* (line 2), and the punctuation was changed. The 1911 translator, attempting to recreate the dramatic atmosphere in a singable translation, took several liberties with the text. The translation I have provided is more literal. *Slovak Peasant Art and Melodies*. London, 1911, p. 39.

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Slovak origins of both the lyrics and melody remained unproblematic in 1911: the melody of the Slovak National Hymn was unblushingly described as 'Polish', and the lyrics attributed to Tomašík, not Radlinský. Additionally, a mysterious Joseph Löw was credited as 'harmonizer'. The music published in 1911 also contains different harmonies, though the theme remains the same.

Other Slovak borrowings from Czech national musical culture required more extensive revision for the Slovak context. Consider Radlinský's version of *Kde domov můj*, a Czech song written by Josef Kajetan Tyl for the opera *Fidlovačka*, with music composed by František Skroup. *Kde domov můj* became the official Czech national anthem in 1919, and is thus arguably the most patriotic song in the Czech repertoire. Here is Tyl's original:

Kde domov můj, kde domov můj? Where is my homeland, where is my homeland?

Voda hučí po lučinách,	*Water roars over the meadows,*
bory šumí po skalinách	*pines rustle over the rocks,*
v sadě skví se jara květ,	*in the garden, a spring flower blooms,*
zemský ráj to na pohled;	*this is a vision of an earthly paradise;*
a to je ta krasná země,	*and this is the beautiful land,*
země česká, domov můj	*the Czech land, my homeland,*
země česká, domov můj	*the Czech land, my homeland.*

Kde domov můj, kde domov můj? Where is my homeland, where is my homeland?

V kraji znáš-li bohumilém	*In the land, with god's love,*
duše útlé v těle čilém,	*a delicate soul in an agile body*
mysl jasnou, vznik a zdar,	*clear thoughts, progress and prosperity,*
a tu sílu vzdoru zmar!	*And this strength to defy ruin!*
To je Čechů slavné plémě,	*That is the famous Czech tribe,*
mezi Čechy domov můj,	*Among the Czechs, that is my homeland,*
mezi Čechy domov můj!	*Among the Czechs, that is my homeland!*[30]

Radlinský rewrote Tyl's text as follows:

Kde domov môj? Kde domov môj? Where is my homeland, where is my homeland?

Voda hučí po lučinách,	*Water roars over the meadows,*
bory šumia po skalinách	*pines rustle over the rocks,*
v sade skvie sa jara kvet,	*in the garden, a spring flower blooms,*
na pohľad to rajský svet,	*behold, the earthly paradise;*
a to je ta spanilá zem,	*and this is the restful land,*
zem slovenská domov mój,	*the Slovak land, my homeland.*
zem slovenská domov mój,	*the Slovak land, my homeland.*

[30] Text copied from Petr Janský. *Já, Písnička, zpěvník pro žáky základních škol*, Cheb, 1994, vol. 2, p. 82.

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Kde domov môj? Kde domov môj?	*Where is my homeland, where is my homeland?*
Kde hučí Váh po skalinách	*Where the Váh roars over the rocks,*
Pyšne túla sa v dolinách	*dancing proudly in the valleys,*
Kde Hron spiecha k Dunaju	*Where the Hron flows into the Danube,*
Tam bratia prebývajú	*There my brothers dwell*
A to je tá spanilá zem	*and this is the restful land,*
zem slovenská domov mój,	*the Slovak land, my homeland,*
zem slovenská domov mój.	*the Slovak land, my homeland* [31].

The first verse substitutes a "Slovak land" for the Czech land; and describes it as 'restful' not beautiful, but is otherwise a mere transliteration. Radlinský's second verse, however, departs strikingly from the original: it refers to several landmarks in western Slovakia, following Tyl's model only in the first and last verses. Radlinský's version also invokes more explicitly Slovak symbols than Tyl's text: Radlinský's patriotism was more direct and less poetic.

In 1865, August Krčméry published yet another Slovak version of *Kde domov můj* [32]. I have reproduced the first and last verses; the middle verse praises Slovak songs as 'the songs of angels'.

Kde dom je môj? Kde vlasť môja?	*Where is my home, where is my country?*
Či znáš ten kraj utešený	*Do you know that pleasing land*
Kde sa Hron, Váh, Nitra pení	*Where the Hron, Váh and Nitra froth*
Kde kriváňa veleba	*Where praise of mt. Kriván*
Pne sa k modrinám neba	*Rises up to the blue sky*
Ach to je ten rozkošný kraj	*And this is the delightful land,*
Zem slovenská vlasť mója!	*The Slovak land, my country!*
[...]	*[...]*
Kde dom je môj? Kde vlasť môja?	*Where is my home, where is my country?*
Kde Štiavnica zlatorudá	*Where Štiavnica, rich with ore,*
Kremnica, Bystrica hrdá	*Kremnica, proud Bystrica*
Nitra Svätopluka,	*The Nitra of Svätopluk,*
Trenčín, tvrdz Matúšova	*Trenčín, Matúš's stronghold,*
Toto je môj rodinný kraj,	*This is the land of my birth,*
Zem Slovenská, vlasť moja!	*The Slovak land, my country!* [33]

[31] Radlinský, *Tatran*, p. 199.

[32] As printed, Krčméry's text does not quite fit Skroup's tune, since Krčméry's stanzas are one line too short. Since, however, both Tyn and Radlinský's poems repeat the final line twice, one may presume that Krčméry intended his last line to be repeated.

[33] Thanks to Jan Drahokoupil for translation assistance. August Krčméry. '*Vlasť moja*,' in Emil Černý, (ed.) *Slovenská čítanka pre nižšie Gymnasie,* Banská Bystrica, 1865, vol. 2, pp. 172-73.

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Krčméry used geographic features even more specific and explicitly nationalized than Radlinský. Furthermore, the decision to describe the Slovak homeland with the word *vlasť* (not *domov*, as with Tyn and Radlinský) could reflect the influence of Jozef Škultéty's national song *Kde wlast ge má* ['Which Country is Mine']34.

This willingness to sing Slovakia's praises with modified Czech lyrics sung to Czech and Polish melodies suggests that Slovak nationalism arose in a Czechoslovak and Pan-Slavic cultural context. Modern Slovak nationalists, who uncompromisingly assert the distinctiveness of Slovak and Czech nationalities, may find this conclusion unpalatable. Nevertheless, the habit of re-writing and indigenizing Czech national-musical culture suggests a complex and nuanced relationship between Czechs and Slovaks. Slovaks frequently imagined themselves as members of a Czechoslovak collective, particularly a linguistic collective. Pride in Slovak origins and Slovak culture did not prevent many of these same patriots from experiencing Czechoslovak loyalties as well35. The fact that Karlo Salva's 1897 songbook printed both Radlinský's *Kde domov môj* and *Kde domov můj* side by side36 nicely illustrates the mutual compatibility of Czechoslovak and Slovak-particularist patriotism in nineteenth-century Slovak patriotic circles. This willingness to adopt foreign models, furthermore, was not unique to Slovaks: during the 1850s, according to Florian Zapletal, the Rusyns/Ruthenians of Transcarpathia / Subcarpathia also sang "Croatian, Czech and Slovak songs, including "Hej Slovane and Kde Domuv muj"37.

Interestingly, the first Czechoslovak government, which took the official position that Czechs and Slovaks shared a 'Czechoslovak' nationality and spoke a common 'Czechoslovak' language, chose a song of unambiguous Slovak origin to serve as the Slovak half of the Czechoslovak national anthem38. This was *Nad Tatrou sa blýska* ['Lightning flashes over the Tatras'].

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[34] Škultéty's poem does not follow the melody of *Kde domov můj*. Note that in modern Slovak orthography, the title would be *Kde vlast je má.* See Josef Miroslav Hurban, ed. *Nitra - dar dcerám a synům slowenska, morawy, čech a slezka obětowaný*. Bratislava, vol. 1. 1842.

[35] For nineteenth-century Slovak authors who promoted Czechoslovak ideas, see František Kampelík. *Čechoslowan čili Narodnj gazyjk w Čechách, na Morawě, we Slezku a Slowensku*. Vienna and Prague, 1842; Kollár, ed. *Hlasowé*; Stěpán Launer. *Povaha Slovanstva se zvláštním ohledem na spisovní řeč Čechů, Moravanů, Slezáků a Slováků.* Leipzig, 1847. For twentieth-century scholarship written from a consciously Czechoslovak national perspective, see Albert Pražák. *Češi a Slováci*. Prague, 1929; Albert Pražák. *Slovenská svojkost.* Bratislava, 1926; Milan Hodža. *Československý rozkol: príspevky k dejinám slovenčiny.* Martin, 1920. For discussions of Slovak Czechoslovakism from non-Slavic outsiders, see Locher, *Die Nationale Differenzierung und Integrierung der Slovaken und Tschechen;* Brock, *The Slovak National Awakening: An Essay in the Intellectual History of East Central Europe.*

[36] Karol Salva. *Národní spevník.* Ružomberok, 1897, pp. 10-12.

[37] See Florian Zapletal, *A. I. Dobrjanskij a naše Rusíni r. 1849-51*, Prague: Nákladem Vlastním, 1929, 65. both the name of this population and the territory they inhabit are highly politicized, on the politics of names see Andrew Wilson, *The Ukrainians: Unexpected Nation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 111; Paul Robert Magocsi, *The Shaping of a National Identity: Subcarpathian Rus', 1848-1948* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1978), 279-81.

[38] At official functions, one first played *Kde domov můj* to represent the Czechs, then *Nad Tatrou sa blýska* for the Slovaks, leaving some wits to claim that the Moravian anthem was the five-second pause between them.

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Nad Tatrou sa blýska, hromy divo bijú.
Zastavme ich, bratia, veď sa ony stratia, Slováci ožijú.
To Slovensko naše posiaľ tvrdo spalo,
ale blesky hromu vzbudzujú ho k tomu, aby sa prebralo.

Lightning flashes over the Tatras, the thunder pounds wildly.
Let them pause, brothers, they will surely disappear, the Slovaks will revive,
This Slovakia of ours has slept until now,
But the thunder and lightning will wake it up.

Nad Tatrou sa blýska was also composed to a borrowed melody: Janko Matúška wrote its lyrics to the tune of an apolitical Slovak folk song, *Kopala studienku* ['She dug a well'][39]. In this case, however, both text and melody have impeccable Slovak credentials.

National songs play an important role in nationalizing popular culture. National music proved particularly important in the initial phases of central European non-state national movements, the phase which Miroslav Hroch, author of a main study of such movements, called 'the period of scholarly interest'[40], and which Paul Magocsi formulated as the 'heritage gathering' stage 'when individual scholars and even more often untrained enthusiasts collected the linguistic, folkloric and historical artifacts of a given people'[41]. Intellectual historians often derive national folklorism from the thought of Johann Gottfried von Herder[42], who assigned each nation a unique role in the unfolding development of human history. Certainly, many Slavs from the Habsburg lands encountered Herder during university study in Jena[43], and several referred to Herder in their own national work, since Herder's ideas lent legitimacy and dignity to the study and cultivation of unprestigious peasant cultures.

One might also explain nationalist musicology from structural factors, derived from nineteenth-century social transformations. The early Slovak national intellectual, typically a village pastor who had acquired a taste for intellectual life at seminary or high school, was geographically separated from other intellectuals of the same nationality. Given the ethnic division of labor, nineteenth century Slovak intellectuals were culturally estranged from the Hungarian-speaking nobility, and the German / Jewish / Hungarian urban cultural life. Yet such intellectuals found themselves estranged from Slovak peasant culture by virtue of their education. The study of folk songs enabled intellectuals to

[39] Both *Nad Tatrou sa blýska* and *Kopala studienku* repeat all their verses twice, but I have omitted repetition in the interests of space. A modern version of *Kopala studienku* can be found in V. Tátoš, *A teraz túto*. Banská Bystrica, 1994, p. 68.

[40] Miroslav Hroch. *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe. A Comparative Analysis of the Social composition of Patriotic Groups among the Smaller European Nations*, translated by Ben Fawkes. Cambridge, 1985, p. 23.

[41] Paul Robert Magocsi. 'The Ukrainian National Revival: A New Analytical Framework'. *Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism*, vol. 16, no. 1-2 (1989), pp. 45-62 (50).

[42] Johann Gottfried Herder. *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit*, translated by T. Churchill. New York, 1966 [Riga and Leipzig, 1784].

[43] For a full discussion of the role of the University of Jena in Central Europe, see Günther Steiger and Otto Köhler, *Unbekannte Dokumente der Völkerfreundschaft der Universität Jena 1815-1819*. Jena, 1970; Othmar Feyl. *Beiträge zur Geschichte der slawischen Verbindung und Internationalen Kontakte der Universität Jena*. Jena, 1960.

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connect themselves to peasant culture: the folksong collector reinvented folk culture as national culture, and the intelligentsia as its custodian and champion.

Neither the Herderian nor the structural explanation, however, explains why a Slovak intellectual would want to borrow Czech songs. We can, however, supplement the Herderian and the structuralist explanations with the observation that collecting folk songs allowed national patriots of modest poetic ability to contribute to *belles lettres*. National literature cannot be written overnight: in the early stages of national awakening, low literacy restricts the pool of potential talent from which a talented author may be drawn, and the market from which authors may support themselves. Consequently, national literati suffer from a scarcity of literature to discuss in the early stages of national awakening. Faced with this scarcity, Slovak literati softened their break with their Czechoslovak heritage, adopting its cultural products to Slovak particularism. This theory also explains why the borrowing of patriotic songs ceased once Slovak national literature built a critical mass of canonical texts.

Furhtermore, Panslavic ideas facilitated Slovak borrowing from other Slavs. Slavs with written in a Panslavic spirit, such as *Hej Slované*, could be borrowed with minimal changes. A more specifically Czech song, such as *Kde domov můj*, required more extensive revision by both Slovak adapters. Czechs remained Slavs, however, and nineteenth-century Slovaks did not see any Slavic culture as entirely foreign.

Finally, patriotic music is itself a relatively homogenous genre using similar tropes throughout the world. Consider the following medley of lyrics from the Philippine, Zimbabwean, Thai and Argentine national anthems. When the English translation makes their original language, the content of the text becomes generic: these lyrics could pass not only as a Slovak anthem, but the anthem of any national community:

Beautiful land of love, O land of light,
In thine embrace 'tis rapture to lie.
But it is glory ever, when thou art wronged,
For us, thy sons, to suffer and die.

We praise our heroes' sacrifice,
And vow to keep our land from foes,
And may the Almighty protect and bless our land.

They will sacrifice every drop of their blood to contribute to the nation,
will serve their country with pride and prestige full of victory.

May the laurels be eternal
That we knew how to win.
Let us live crowned with glory,
Or swear to die gloriously[44].

[44] Taken from the Philippine, Zimbabwean, Thai and Argentine national anthems. Words by Julian Felipe. Available at *The Phillipine National Anthem*, <http://members.tripod.com/lltm/anthem.html>; words by Solomon Mutswairo. Available at *National Anthem Zimbabwe*, <http://www.thenationalanthems.com /country/zimbabwe.htm>; words by Luang Saranuprabhandi. Available at *Learning Thai*

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In compiling this text, of course, it was necessary to avoid certain verses with tell-tale place names: the verse 'From Zambezi to Limpopo' is rooted in the context of Zimbabwe; similarly 'Thailand is the unity of Thai blood and body' would need to be changed to 'Slovakia is the unity of Slovak blood and body.'

Apart from place names and ethnonyms, however, nationalist rhetoric is strikingly interchangeable. This may explain the contrast between *Hej Slováci*, twice adopted to a new national environment, and *Ohlas*, which remained an instance of Hungarian patriotism even when translated into other languages. Perhaps scholars must should ethnonyms in the center of analysis: a national song must be associated with a national ethnonym. Historical actors in nineteenth-century Hungary, certainly, believed that the question of 'names' had political implications, similar to the conflicts modern scholars describe as 'identity politics'. Few made the importance of 'names' more explicit than Gusztáv Szontágh, who justified Slovak political disenfranchisement with the following words:

> *a people stamps its name, its character and its language on the land it settles, the society it establishes, and the political life it lives. It follows from this that in Hungary an aspect of political life is national only if it is Hungarian.*[45]

Slovaks responded by emphasizing their loyalty to the 'Slovak name': M. M. Hodža wrote that 'Without his own Slovak language, the Slovak has no name, because the name of the country is Hungary. [...] And who would want to be without a name?'[46] In 1923, Andrej Hlinka, a populist Catholic clergyman, even denied that Slovaks who belonged to Czechoslovak political parties could be members of a Slovak nation: 'Their official name is not "Slovak," but "Czechoslovak" party. It is the same as if an Irishman says that he is a member of an English party. [...] As soon as these gentlemen regard themselves as Czechoslovaks, they cease to be Slovaks'[47]. This emphasis on 'names' throws into clear focus how little distinguishes various national cultures.

Nevertheless, the patterns of song borrowing itself illustrate which cultural influences affect a given culture. The prominence of Czech artifacts shows that nineteenth-century Slovak national culture operated within a Czechoslovak and Panslavic context, yet the fact that such artifacts were adapted to the Slovak context shows the simultaneous vitality of Slovak particularism. The relative scarcity of Hungarian-Slovak songs, however, shows that Hungarian loyalties operated in a different sphere of the Slovak national

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<http://www.learningthai.com/songs/anthem.html>; words by Vincente López y Planes. Available at *Flag and National Anthem of Argentina*; <http://www.copcity.com/anthems/argentina.html>

[45] Gusztáv Szontágh. *Prophylaeumok a társasági philosophiához, tekintettel hazánk viszonyaira* [Introduction to Social Philosophy, with special reference to Conditions in Hungary]. Buda, 1843. Quoted from János Varga. *A Hungarian Quo Vadis: Political Trends and Theories of the Early 1840s*, translated by Éva Pálmai. Budapest, 1993, p. 42. As further evidence of the importance of 'names,' consider that Franz Pulszky once condemned Kollár as an 'enemy of the Hungarian name,' See Leo Grafen v. Thun. *Die Stellung der Slowaken in Ungarn.* Prague, 1843, p. 26.

[46] M. M. Hodža, *Dobruo slovo*, p. 89.

[47] The targets of this invective are Milan Hodža, Ivan Markovič and Josef Kallay. Letter to Seton-Watson, reprinted in Rychlík, *R.W. Seton-Watson and his Relations with the Czechs and Slovaks*, pp. 351-52. The Slovak original appeared in *Slovák*, 25 Jan, 1923.

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imagination. Slovak Panslavism claimed for Slovak culture the entire Slavic inheritance, but Slovak Hungarianism posited a mosaic of different national cultures united in loyalty to a political structure itself relatively devoid of cultural content. Songs are an important medium of nationalist culture, but the history of the medium is as important as the message.

‘Eh, Slovaques, où habitez-vous?’ Slovaques paroles pour les hymnes nationaux non slovaques

Pendant le dix-neuvième siècle, les patriotes slovaques ont écrit des mots slovaques pour les hymnes patriotiques tchèques. Ces mots ont été clairement réalisés selon les modèles tchèques, suggérant que les réalisations culturelles tchèques, y compris les dernières hymnes nationaux, appartiennent à la culture nationale slovaque. Les Slovaques ont loué le royaume hongrois dans les hymnes patriotiques, mais ils n’ont jamais emprunté la culture nationale hongroise. Les modèles par lesquels les hymnes nationales ont été empruntés nous présentent l’histoire du nationalisme.

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