They're Singing *Our* Song

Hugh LeCaine Agnew

In January 1874 a district court in the southeastern Bohemian town of Německý Brod (Deutschbrod, renamed Havlíčkův Brod in 1945) sentenced a group of thirteen gymnasium students: three to a fortnight in jail and expulsion from all gymnasia in the monarchy, and ten to expulsion from the gymnasium in Německý Brod. Their transgression? On 2 December 1873, at the celebration of the anniversary of Emperor Francis Joseph's accession to the throne in 1848, instead of singing the Austrian anthem "Gott erhalte," they broke into the Czech anthem, "Kde domov můj?" The judge did not accept their explanation that when told to sing the "national anthem," they assumed that "our Czech national song, 'Kde domov můj?'" was intended.[1] Like the judge, a modern reader would suspect that these students knew perfectly well what they were doing: using the symbolic and affective power of music to subvert the ritualized behavior in which they were participating—involuntarily, one assumes—towards political ends different from those its organizers intended. It was, in fact, a form of political protest.

Charles Tilly has called the forms of collective political protest that persist over time "repertoires," and argues that in the course of the nineteenth century the mass public meeting became the dominant repertoire of contentious politics. Within that repertoire, protestors "improvise on a shared script," like a jazz ensemble or improvisational comedians, but "within limits set by the repertoire."[2] One aspect of those improvisations was songs and singing. In the Habsburg Monarchy the return to constitutional rule in 1860–61 opened up public space for collective political protest for the first time since 1848. In various kinds of public demonstrations—ceremonies planned by the authorities, festivals or demonstrations organized by the nationalist movement, or actions arising spontaneously out of the street—songs, including the anthem "Kde domov můj?" played a significant ritual role. Using official records and

[1] *Koruna česká. Prostonárodní politický časopis*, Kolín, no. 7, 24 January 1874. The account does not make clear whether the celebration should have included the *Kaiserlied* in its German or officially-approved Czech version. The Bohemian Governor's office upheld the court's sentence on appeal.

[2] Charles Tilly, *Regimes and Repertoires* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 35, and Charles Tilly, "Contentious Repertoires in Great Britain, 1758–1834," in *Repertoires and Cycles of Collective Action*, ed. Mark Traugott (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1995), 26, 38–39.

contemporary newspaper accounts, this discussion will explore the role of songs and singing in Czech political demonstrations, focusing on the era of the mass demonstrations called *tábory lidu* between the late 1860s and the early 1870s.

A Tale of Two Ditties

Songs and other forms of music played a role in public rituals, both religious and political, for centuries. Beginning in the eighteenth century, most European states adopted official hymns or anthems to accompany state occasions, replacing the religious *Te Deum* or other anthems of gratitude, while political opposition to established regimes also produced its own songs. The French Revolution marked something of a watershed in the development of political singing, as popular songs transcended their Old-Regime roles as amusement, commentary, and safety valves, and became expressions of ideologies and weapons in a confrontational struggle.[3] Yet it would be too simple to see the political significance of songs as mere instruments in a contest between political opponents. Laura Mason's studies of song in revolutionary France have demonstrated that political singing cannot be understood only as a tactic adopted by a government or an oppositional elite. Songs and singing also have a popular life not controlled from "above." As Mason notes, "A song came fully into life only in being sung […] More than that of any other genre, the meaning of a song was as much dependent on appropriation and contexts of performance as it was upon content, format, or presumed authorial intent."[4] By the same token, the success of singing as an element of political contests also inspired rival groups—among the "people," the elites or the government authorities—to channel, inspire, or control singing and music in political culture. In France, according to Mason, the Revolution's popular culture nourished a flourishing nineteenth century tradition of revolutionary song that continued to unsettle French authorities, whether monarchist, imperial, or republican.[5]

Such tensions and conflicts about popular singing and politics were by no means restricted to France. As the incident in Německý Brod in 1873 suggests, the French conflicts had their counterparts elsewhere. The roots of

[3] Laura Mason, "'Ça Ira' and the Birth of the Revolutionary Song," *History Workshop* 28 (Autumn 1989): 25.

[4] Laura Mason, *Singing the French Revolution: Popular Culture and Politics, 1789–1799* (Ithaca and New York: Cornell University Press, 1996), 3.

[5] Ibid., 218–20.

the clash of anthems at Francis Joseph's anniversary celebration go back to an earlier anthem rivalry, the clash between "God Save the King" and "La Marseillaise." The British anthem moved from theater entertainment to use for state purposes in the course of the second half of the eighteenth century. During conflict with Revolutionary and Napoleonic France, European monarchies admired its popularity. Beginning with Denmark in 1790, other states adopted its chorale-like melody for their own texts, most famously in the Prussian anthem, "Heil Dir im Siegerkrantz," introduced in 1793. Bavaria, Saxony, Württemberg, Mecklenberg-Schwerin, and also Sweden, Switzerland—and in the mid-nineteenth century Liechtenstein—followed Prussia in adapting the tune to their own anthems.[6] It became such a strong model that Rudolph Zacharias Becker's *Mildheimisches Liederbuch* contained a fill-in-the-blanks pattern verse to its tune, suitable for use by any German sovereign.[7] The French counterpart to "God Save the King," in contrast, had to rise up through the ranks—literally, since "La Marseillaise" was originally composed by Claude Joseph Rouget de Lisle in 1792 as "War Song of the Army of the Rhine"—and it was only gradually adopted by the Revolutionary French state. Throughout the nineteenth century its fortunes waxed and waned in proportion to the fortunes of the radical republican tradition in France until it became the untouchable national symbol that it is today.[8]

The emergence of the Austrian anthem owes something to both these great models, inspired by the one, an answer to the other. Like the imitations of "God Save the King," the Austrian *Kaiserlied* reflects the respect Europe's sovereigns held for Britain's hymn. In this case, however, both the words and the music were original, the text by Lorenz Leopold Haschka, and the music by Franz Joseph Haydn. Haydn had lived in London during the 1790s and knew the British people's attachment to the royal anthem, and he suggested to his patron Baron Gottfried van Swieten that Austria should have such an anthem of its own. Van Swieten mentioned it to Franz Joseph, Count Saurau, who arranged approval and commissioned the text and music—and incidentally claimed credit for originating the idea himself. Saurau clearly admired the

[6] Hugo Schmidt, "The Origin of the Austrian National Anthem and Austria's Literary War Effort," in *Austria in the Age of the French Revolution*, ed. Kinley Brauer and William E. Wright (Minneapolis: Center for Austrian Studies, University of Minnesota, 1990), 64–65. See also Paul Nettl, *National Anthems* (New York: Storm Publishers, 1952), 40–45.

[7] Elisabeth Fehrenbach, "Über die Bedeutung der politischen Symbole im Nationalstaat," *Historische Zeitschrift* 213, no. 2 (1971): 318–19. For a modern reprint see Rudolph Zacharias Becker, *Mildheimisches Liederbuch*, reprint, 1815 (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 1971).

[8] Fehrenbach, "Über die Bedeutung der politischen Symbole im Nationalstaat," 308–09. See also Mason, *Singing the French Revolution*, 93–103.

British anthem, but also explicitly cited the French challenge as a reason for Austria to create its own hymn, which "seemed to me more urgent at a period when the French Revolution was raging most furiously and when the Jacobins cherished the idle hope of finding among the worthy Viennese partisans and participators in their criminal designs."[9]

The authorities introduced the new anthem in a carefully choreographed way. Its first performance came in the Burgtheater in Vienna on the Emperor's birthday, 12 February 1797, the audience having been given the words and music beforehand. According to accounts, Francis (who disliked public pomp and circumstance) stood in silence at the rear of the royal loge until forced to step forward and acknowledge his subjects' ovation.[10] The same day similar scenes took place in theaters in Prague, Graz, Innsbruck, Trieste, and elsewhere. In Prague, interestingly enough, the Bohemian celebration included the premier of a new "Bohemian anthem" (*Böhmisches Nationallied, Píseň českého národa*) called "Francis the II," which was sung at the end of a morning celebration at the university, and again in the evening at the close of a special celebratory cantata. Only after that did they sing Haydn's *Kaiserlied*.[11]

The Czech song the Německý Brod students sang in place of the *Kaiserlied* was born decades later, in a more peaceful time. "Kde domov můj?" first appeared in Prague in a light comedy with music, the text by Josef Kajetán Tyl and the music by František Škroup. Though well-received by audiences when it opened at the Theater of the Estates on 21 December 1834, Tyl's play later fell into obscurity. "Kde domov můj?", sung during Act IV by the blind fiddler Mareš, while his daughter Betuška accompanies him on the French horn, had a happier fate. Two leading singers of the mid-century, Jan Křtitel Píšek and Karel Strakatý, made it a regular part of their salon and spa performances, and the broader public sang it during the 1848 turmoil. During the Neo-Absolutist era, in the words of a biased observer, "even that most innocent

[9] From a memoir written around 1820, cited in Schmidt, "Origin of the Austrian National Anthem," 171.

[10] See Fehrenbach, "Über die Bedeutung der politischen Symbole im Nationalstaat," 318–19; Nettl, *National Anthems*, 52–55; and Schmidt, "Origin of the Austrian National Anthem," 168–73. The semi-official *Wiener Zeitung*, no. 15, 22 February 1797, carried extensive reports on all the festivities.

[11] See *Wiener Zeitung*, no. 15, 22 February 1797, and *Krameriusovy císařské královské vlastenské noviny*, (Prague) no. 7, 18 February 1797. The composer of both cantata and "National Song" was Friedrich Dionys Weber, already (then barely twenty-five) a leading figure in Prague's musical life. See Rudolph Müller, "Weber, Dionys," in *Allgemeines Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 41 (Munich: Historische Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1896), 286–87, accessed 8 March 2012, http://de.wikisource.org/w/index.php?title=ADB: Weber,_Dionys&oldid=1685971.

Czech song, "Kde domov můj?" was pursued as though it were—a revolutionary hymn!"[12] It reappeared in demonstrations of the 1860s, achieving its status as unofficial national anthem, and heightened the authorities' conviction that "singing songs at a national demonstration encourages attitudes hostile to the government among the people."[13] After 1918, the new Czechoslovakia adopted it (obviously in tandem with the Slovak song "Nad Tatrou sa blýska") as its official national anthem.[14]

The text is simple and the music lyrical, leading commentators to consider that it "is a perfect expression of the peaceful and somewhat sentimental qualities of the Czech people."[15] "Where is my home?" asks the opening line, and answers with an idealized picture of rustling pines on the heights, murmuring streams across the meadows, and blooming orchards—an "earthly paradise" to the eye. Its echoes of literary idylls mirror the time of its origin, under the cultural conditions of Pre-March Austria, when the Czech renascence expressed itself and its goals almost exclusively in and through literature.[16] In his iconoclastic study *Jací jsme* [What We're Like] (1924) Ferdinand Peroutka pointed out that while forests grow and rivers flow in other countries, places like France and Britain do not consider the fact noteworthy enough to write national anthems about it. As the political demonstrations of the 1860s and 1870s repeatedly featured the song, the author Jan Neruda supposedly pleaded with Bedřich Smetana, leading Czech composer of the time, to provide something better. According to the story, Smetana replied, "A song that the people themselves have elevated into their hymn, will remain their hymn regardless."[17]

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[12] Jakub Jan Arbes, *Pláč koruny české: neboli, Perzekuce lidu českého v letech 1868–1873*, rev. ed. (Prague: František Bačkovský, 1894), 22.

[13] Arbes, *Pláč koruny české*, 46–47, citing a higher court reversal on appeal of the acquittal of members of the Pardubice (Pardubitz) town council on charges of unlawful assembly for a meeting at which the people sang "Kde domov můj?" and "Hej, Slované".

[14] See Milada Součková, "Locus amoenus: Jeden z aspektů české národní tradice," in *Locus amoenus – místo líbezné: Symposium o české hymně, 27. X. 1993*, ed. Jiří Šubrt, prepared by Jiří K. Kroupa (Prague: KLP Koniasch Latin Press with Ústav pro klasická studia AV ČR, 1994), 7–12, and also Nettl, *National Anthems*, 124–26.

[15] Nettl, *National Anthems*, 126. See also George L. Mosse, *Confronting the Nation: Jewish and Western Nationalism* (Hanover and London: Brandeis University Press, Published by University Press of New England, 1993), 24.

[16] See the collection of essays and conference presentations, *Locus amoenus – místo líbezné: Symposium o české hymně, 27. X. 1993*, ed. Jiří Šubrt, prepared by Jiří K Kroupa (Prague: KLP Koniasch Latin Press with Ústav pro klasická studia AV ČR, 1994).

[17] Zdeňka Kuchyňová, "Uplynulo 170 let od uvedení budoucí české hymny Kde domov můj," Radio Prague, 21 December 2004, accessed 15 March 2007, http://www.radio.cz/cz/clanek/61573. See also Albert Pražák, *České obrození*, Knihovna Poznání, vol. 6 (Prague: E. Beaufort národní

Such attitudes remind us of Mason's caution that popular singing is not easily led. Jiří Rak has argued against simply accepting the idea that "Kde domov můj?" reflects the "dove-like" character of the Czech nation. He reminds us that the Czech talent for reading and writing between the lines had its origins in Metternich's Restoration era when the song was born, and that as performed it had two verses. The second verse repeats the question, but now finds the answer in the "glorious kin of Father Čech," with their "steadfast spirit, active bodies," and "strength to confound opposition, / Among the Czechs—there is my home!"[18] When the second stanza is included, "Kde domov můj?" asserts that the "earthly paradise" of the Bohemian lands belongs to the Czech-speaking element as its proper owners and its only legitimate political representation. It was in this sense, Rak argues, that the song quickly gained its status as unofficial national anthem, during the decades when the Czech national movement waged its struggle against the emerging dualist system, largely on the strength of the state right of the Bohemian Crown. The reviewer for *Bohemia*, the Prague-based, German-language cultural revue, recognized this context when he noted that "the entire work revolves around a concept that threatens to become an *idée fixe* among the young Czech writers, namely that in Bohemia it is shameful not to speak Czech."[19]

"Kde domov můj?" and Czech Demonstrations

A quick survey of the singing of "Kde domov můj?" in major demonstrations of the early dualist era confirms this understanding of its meaning. It appeared at different types of events, including officially sponsored ceremonies planned by the state authorities (though sometimes with public input), spontaneous acts of protest sparked by specific circumstances, ceremonies and celebrations organized by the nationalist movement, and finally the open-air demonstrations known as *tábory*, held under the laws of December 1867 that legitimized assembly for political purposes.[20]

správa, 1948), 359–63, and Jiří Rak, "Tylova píseň v dobovém politickém kontextu," in *Locus amoenus – místo líbezné*, 37.

[18] The review in *Bohemia: ein Unterhaltungsblatt*, no. 153, 23 December 1834, also reprints the original version of the song's two verses. Verse two runs (in modern orthography): "Kde domov můj? / Znáte v kraji bohumilém / Tiché duše v těle čilém / Jasnou mysl, znik a zdar, / A tu sílu, vzdoru zmar: / To je Čechů slavné plémě / Mezi Čechy — domov můj."

[19] Ibid. See also Rak, "Tylova píseň v kontextu," 39–40.

[20] Hugh LeCaine Agnew, "Demonstrating the Nation: Symbol, Ritual and Political Protest in Bohemia, 1867–1875," in *The Street as Stage: Protest Marches and Public Rallies Since the Nine-*

When the Czech activists in Vienna and the Bohemian lands learned that the Crown of St. Václav, taken to Vienna for safekeeping during the war with Prussia in 1866, was going to be returned to Prague in 1867, the Slavic associations in Brno (Brünn in German) petitioned the Ministry of the Interior to permit a ceremony for its train at the railway station in the Moravian capital. They proposed to sing the "national anthem" (that is, the *Kaiserlied*) and "Kde domov můj?" both, but permission was refused. Finally, Francis Joseph personally approved an exception for Brno, but otherwise the government wanted to prevent "all welcoming ceremonies at the intermediate stations between Prague and Vienna."[21] The train arrived to the strains of both the Austrian hymn (sung in its Czech version) and "Kde domov můj?" in a ceremony that prolonged its scheduled halt from five minutes to thirteen. Czech newspaper reports and official accounts both suggest that, in spite of the government's wishes, on the rest of its journey to Prague the Crown of St. Václav was welcomed at various places with songs, usually including "Kde domov můj?"[22] Even in localities not on the railway line, Czech nationalists organized events to celebrate the crown's return. In the eastern Moravian town of Rožnov pod Radhoštěm (Rosenau in German), for example, the spa orchestra, egged on by "guests who belong to the Czech nationalist party," played both the Austrian anthem and "Kde domov můj?" as part of an impromptu festival in honor of the crown.[23] After its arrival in Prague, while the crown was being placed in the Archbishop's ceremonial carriage for its procession up to the Prague Castle, the strains of "Kde domov můj?" from the band of the town guard accompanied the moment.[24] The authorities, it seems, tolerated the Czech unofficial anthem at official events such as this, at least as long as pride of place was still given to the *Kaiserlied*.

The sounds of Škroup's lyrical melody arose from unofficial and much more turbulent crowds as well. However much later comments stress the

teenth Century, ed. Matthias Reiss (Oxford: Oxford University Press and German Historical Institute, London, 2007), 85–103.

[21] Österreichisches Staatsarchiv (ÖStA), Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv (AVA), Ministerium des Innern (MdI), Präsidiale, 1, Carton 2, 1866–69, 4103/1867, to the Moravian governor's office dated 18 August 1867. Similar instructions were sent to Bohemia. Regarding the exception, see ÖStA, AVA, MdI, Präsidiale, 1, Carton 2, 1866–69, 4211/1867.

[22] For the Moravian Governor's office account to the Ministry of the Interior in Vienna, sent 29 August 1867, see ÖStA, AVA, MdI, Präsidiale, 1, Carton 2, 1866–69, 4265/1867. See also *Národní listy*, no. 149, 30 August 1867, and no. 150, 31 August 1867.

[23] ÖStA, AVA, MdI, Präsidiale, 1, Carton 2, 1866–69, 4310/1867, reports from various district captains to the Moravian Governor's office, 1 September 1867.

[24] *Národní listy*, no. 149, 30 August 1867.

"peaceful" qualities of the Czech anthem and thus the nation, during street protests that were far from "dove-like," the crowds included "Kde domov můj?" among the songs with which they demonstrated. Only a few months after the return of the Crown of Saint Václav, Czech nationalist circles in Prague were again in an uproar. In January 1868 the newly-appointed Minister of Justice in the Cisleithanian government, Eduard Herbst, visited the city. Herbst, a leading German national liberal, had been a professor at the University in Prague since 1858, and German-speaking student organizations proposed a public torchlight parade (*Fackelzug*) in his honor. Czech-speaking student groups and wider Czech nationalist circles opposed them, and on 19 January a large crowd gathered outside the *Deutsches Haus* (commonly called the German Casino) to protest. According to the Czech press, several thousand people shouted slogans and sang songs, including "Kde domov můj?" before marching to the statue of Saint Václav in nearby Wenceslas Square. A dinner in Herbst's honor at the German Casino replaced the contentious *Fackelzug* on 21 January, but an even larger crowd gathered outside to continue protesting. Again, they adjourned to the statue of Saint Václav and again one of the songs they sang was "Kde domov můj?"[25] Including this song among the others they sang suggests that for the protestors it did carry the assertively political connotations Rak suggests.

Its use in a more piously ritual way was common in another type of demonstration, the planned national festival. Such festivals aimed to demonstrate unity by a celebration and inculcation of Czech national self-identification, and thus a more peaceful mood could predominate. Certainly, it was appropriate that "Kde domov můj?" figured prominently on the program when the patriotic associations of Kutná Hora (Kuttenberg in German, Tyl's native town) celebrated the anniversary of his birth on 3 February 1868.[26] It was also featured in the greatest such national festival of the early dualist period, the ceremonies surrounding the laying of the cornerstone of the National Theater in Prague, held on 16 May 1868. The high point of a weekend of celebration was a formal ceremony at the theater building site, where assembled dignitaries representing every level of society and all the Czech civic organizations participated in striking the cornerstone. As the ceremony ended, "the enchanting

[25] *Národní listy*, no. 19, 20 January 1868; *Národní pokrok*, no. 31, 20 January 1868, and no. 33, 22 January 1868; *Plzeňské noviny*, no. 7, 22 January 1868.

[26] *Vesna Kutnohorská*, no. 3, 31 January 1868.

harmonies of our lovely national hymn 'Kde domov můj?' rose up in a powerful, poignantly grand chorale from thousands and thousands of throats."[27]

The song also resounded at the dedication of the new banner for the Plzeň (Pilsen in German) branch of the Sokol patriotic gymnastic organization, which followed hard on the heels of the theater celebration in Prague,[28] and it closed the program at a choral festival of the singing societies around Brandýs nad Orlicí (Brandeis a.d. Adler in German) in eastern Bohemia, held to raise money for a foundation to honor Palacký's seventieth birthday.[29] Palacký's seventieth was also honored with "Kde domov můj?" in Kutná Hora.[30] It was a regular feature at banner consecration ceremonies for singing societies and other social organizations, and even at a ceremony celebrating the anniversary of the "discovery" of the famous manuscripts of Czech medieval poetry, the *Rukopisy královédvorský a zelenohorský*.[31] Perhaps the most exotic use of "Kde domov můj?" at a banner consecration took place in Moravia when the Blansko (Blanz) singing society "Rastislav" celebrated the dedication of its banner, designed by Josef Manes. After the conclusion of the ceremony at the church in Sloup, the festivities continued with an excursion to the nearby Kůlna and Sloup caverns, specially illuminated for the event. "It was a grand moment when, in that fantastic underworld, the songs 'Kde domov můj?' and 'Hej, Slované' rang out," performed by the band from the Salm-Reifferscheidt mines.[32] In these examples, "Kde domov můj?" appeared in much the same role as the *Kaiserlied* at official state occasions, typically as a genuine national anthem at the closing portion of the ceremony.

The unofficial Czech national anthem also made regular appearances during the most dramatic political happenings of these years, the *tábory*, open air political demonstrations that began in the late Spring of 1868 and continued with only gradual abatement until 1871. The government attempted to limit this new Czech nationalist tactic. Immediately after the first successful *tábor*

[27] *Národní pokrok*, no. 148, 17 May 1868, and also *Národní listy*, no. 37, 7 February 1868; *Vesna Kutnohorská*, no. 9, 13 March 1868; and *Národní listy*, no. 136, 17 May 1868.

[28] *Plzeňské noviny*, no. 42, 23 May 1868; *Národní listy*, no. 151, 2 June 1868, and no. 152, 2 June 1868.

[29] *Národní listy*, no. 165, 17 June 1868, and no. 172, 24 June 1868.

[30] *Vesna Kutnohorská*, no. 23, 19 June 1868

[31] *Národní pokrok*, no. 186, 26 June 1868; *Národní listy*, no. 175, 27 June 1868; *Národní noviny*, no. 52, 7 September 1868. The manuscripts are Romantic forgeries, though their influence on Czech literature and Czech nationalism has been significant. See David L. Cooper, *The Czech Manuscripts: Forgery, Translation, and National Myth* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2023).

[32] *Moravská orlice*, no. 186, 17 August 1864.

on the slopes of mount Říp, the Bohemian governor suggested to Vienna that permission for such assemblies should be denied more frequently, a suggestion approved by Karl Giskra, the Minister of the Interior.[33] Given that the government, while not "banning" meetings, frequently "refused to permit" them,[34] the appearance of "Kde domov můj?" in this context combined the more confrontational use from the street with the pious ritual veneration of the national hymn from the planned national festivities. While on the official program of a permitted meeting the anthem served the more reverent functions of a national hymn, when it was sung at the site of "not permitted" meetings, where crowds gathered in defiance of an official ban, it expressed a combative tone.

One such defiant gathering took place on 7 June 1868, outside Kutná Hora on a height called Vysoká (Wissoka in German). Local authorities widely publicized the official refusal for the planned meeting, convincing many people (so one Czech newspaper account claimed) to go to the site on the day just to spite them. Letters to *Národní listy* estimated the crowds at 8,000 to 10,000, and described the day's events as a "sincere and heartfelt entertainment" that lasted until the evening, when "to the sounds of our national hymn 'Kde domov můj?'" participants went home "in a joyfully exalted state."[35] In his report to the Minister of the Interior, the Bohemian governor diminished the significance of the day's activities by claiming that most of the participants came from only two of the invited districts, and that they were "mostly people of lesser significance." The report dismissed the activities of the participants in a patronizing tone: "Those present amused themselves each according to his taste, a typical village band played national airs, national songs were sung, the musicians paraded through the woods, 'Sláva' and 'Na zdar' were shouted, a collection was taken up for the Czech National Theater, and they bravely did justice to the available beer."[36] Like the authorities in France as Mason described them, the Austrian state officials wanted to view such political singing as of little

[33] ÖStA, AVA, MdI, Präsidiale, 15/3, 1848–1869, carton 550, 2038/1868: Minister Karl Giskra to Bohemian Governor Kellersperg, 14 May 1868. See also Národní archiv České republiky (NAČR), Prezidium místodržitelství (PM), 1860–1870, sign. 8/5/22/8, carton 853, 14 May 1868. Karl Giskra, a lawyer from Brno, was, like Herbst, another adamant German national liberal from the lands of the Bohemian crown with a ministerial post in the Cisleithanian government.

[34] This was the sarcastic way *Národní listy* explained the government's policies. See no. 141, 22 May 1868.

[35] *Národní listy*, no. 161, 13 June 1868.

[36] ÖStA, AVA, MdI, Präsidiale, 15/3, 1848–1869, Carton 550, 2449/1868, Letter from Governor Kellersperg to Minister Giskra, Prague, 8 June 1868.

importance, yet were also acutely conscious of the potential challenge of the Czech nationalist opposition to dualism.

Many other examples of such attitudes to "Kde domov můj?" in official reports of the time could be adduced,[37] but perhaps two *tábor* gatherings held at the site of the Hussite battle of Lipany (Lipan in German) could represent them all. The first gathering was planned during the summer of 1868, as the *tábor* movement spread and the government repeatedly refused to permit more public meetings. Called for 2 August, the proposed *tábor* at Lipany was also "not permitted." As in the case of Vysoká, however, several thousand people arrived at the site anyway, to be greeted by the local officials and gendarmes, along with foul weather: a combination that forced them to seek shelter in the local pub. The official report on the incident records that "in the pub they started up an enthusiastic "Kde domov můj?', 'Hej, Slované' and other national songs were on the agenda, and numerous 'Huzzahs' for the Bohemian Crown, the national writers, defenders of the state rights, etc., echoed from the tightly packed space."[38] When the rain began to let up and the demonstrators emerged, the district captain ordered the musicians to leave the village and the remaining participants to disperse. Legal proceedings against several individuals followed.[39] Two years later, in 1870, a much greater *tábor* was held with official permission at the same site, this time drawing approximately 12,000 participants. After a lengthy and dramatic speech by Josef Barák, one of the more radical politicians who frequently spoke at meetings, and songs by the local choral society, the crowds took leave of each other with "Kde domov můj?" and went home.[40] If in the first, partially successful attempt to hold a great *tábor* meeting at Lipany, the Czech hymn served as a protest against the banning of the meeting, at the monster meeting two years later it once more served as a pious patriotic ritual.

[37] For example, ÖStA, AVA, MdI, Präsidiale, 15/3, 1848–1869, Carton 550, 2755/1868, Bohemian Governor's office to Ministry of Interior, 28 June 1868; 15/3, 1848–1869, Carton 550, 2784/1868, telegram dated 29 June 1868; and 15/3, 1848–1869, Carton 550, 3056/1868, report dated 13 July 1868.

[38] ÖStA, AVA, MdI, Präsidiale, 15/3, 1848–1869: Carton 550, 3489/1868, report from the district captain of Český Brod (Böhmisch Brod), forwarded to the Ministry of the Interior by the Bohemian governor's office, dated 3 August 1868.

[39] *Národní noviny*, no. 19, 4 August 1868. See also Petr Čornej, *Lipanské ozvěny* (Prague: H & H, 1995), 51–52.

[40] Čornej, *Lipanské ozvěny*, 55–58.

Other Numbers in the Songbook

Several compositions other than "Kde domov můj?" also regularly appeared at public manifestations, each with its own distinct connotations. One of these songs could compete for anthem status with Tyl's lyric, much as the British, "Rule, Britannia!" provided a more assertive counterpart to "God Save the King." That alternative, of course, was "Hej Slované!" This stirring summons to Slavic brotherhood and to confidence in the future spread among most Slavic nations during the middle of the nineteenth century. The words were written in 1834, the same year as "Kde domov můj?" but the music harks back to the years of conflict with France that also gave birth to the *Kaiserlied*. "Hej, Slované" was modelled on the song of the Polish Legions during the Napoleonic Wars. That text was written in 1797—the same year as the Austrian hymn—by Józef Wybicki, a refugee from the failed Kościuszko Uprising of 1794, who with many like him joined Napoleon's armies in Northern Italy. Wybicki set his words to a popular mazurka, and the "Song of the Polish Legion in Italy," also known as "Dąbrowski's Mazurka" after their commanding general, became the fighting song of the legion. It reached Polish soil in 1806, when Napoleon created the Duchy of Warsaw; during the 1830 insurrection against Russia the Polish armies and the public sang it as their anthem; and Polish refugees entering Germany and the Austrian Empire after the insurrection's defeat popularized it among sympathetic Slavic peoples and liberals in general.[41]

One of those sympathetic Slavs was the young Protestant Slovak, Samuel (Samo) Tomášik, who heard the song of the Polish legions as a visitor to Kraków. When he travelled through Prague in 1834 on his way to study in Berlin, Tomášik found a warm welcome among the leading nationalist intellectuals, but he was shocked by the status of Czech language in public life and "good society." He expressed his disappointment, Romantic love for the language, and hope in its future in a verse jotted down in the rhythm of "Dąbrowski's Mazurka." On his return to Hungary, Tomášik's song spread among the patriotic Slovak youth, and supposedly had its first public performance at the festival Ľudovit Štúr and his friends organized at the ruins of the castle Devín in 1836. In 1838, Gašpar Fejérpataky-Bělopotocký published it in his calendar,

[41] Zenobiusz Kozik, "'Mazurek Dąbrowskiego': Geneza historyczna utworu jako hymnu narodowego," in *200 lat mazurka Dąbrowskiego*, ed. Stanislaw Frycie (Piotrków Trybunalski: Institut Filologii polskiej Filli Kieleckiej WSP, 1998), 9–25; Nettl, National Anthems, 118–19.

and it quickly spread among the other Slavic peoples, who adapted its words to fit their needs.[42]

The Czech version reassures the Slavs that their language will not die out as long as their hearts still beat for the nation, and the first verse ends with the pugnacious line: "Hell and thunder, vain is your rage against us!"[43] Sung during the Revolution of 1848, "Hej, Slované" also rang out to welcome the return of the Crown of Saint Václav in 1867.[44] During the street protests of the "Herbst Days" in January 1868, it was one of the songs (along with "Kde domov můj?") that resounded from the crowds outside the German Casino and on Wenceslas Square.[45] The crowds accompanying the stone from Radhošť in Moravia to the National Theater sang "Hej, Slované" and other songs, especially several with Moravian themes.[46] In Western Bohemia's Domažlice (Taus in German), a Czech-speaking enclave along the heavily German-speaking border, the local choral societies and Czech associations accompanied their stone to the railway station to Prague with "Hej, Slované" among other songs.[47] During Francis Joseph's visit to Prague from 21 June to 23 June 1868, which was boycotted by most of the nationalist organizations, a group of university students on the way back from the site of a forbidden meeting destroyed a German national red-black-gold tricolor. Singing "Hej Slované" as they marched back to town may have emboldened some of them to force their way into the apartment where the offending colors hung, throw the banner to the street and tear it to pieces.[48] On 5 July 1868, the eve of the anniversary of Jan Hus's martyrdom in 1415, a group of some three hundred men and youths marched through the streets of Plzeň singing "Hej Slované" and other songs in Hus's honor. In between songs they shouted "Sláva!" for Hus, the Hussite war leader Jan Žižka, and the Táborites, the military wing of the radicals, and "Good luck"

[42] *Nový a starý vlastenský kalendář na rok Páně 1838*, Vol. 9, 36. See also Dušan Škvarna, *Začiatky moderných slovenských symbolov: K vytváraniu národnej identity od konca 18. do polovice 19. storočia* (Banská Bystrica: Univerzita Mateja Bela v Banskej Bystrici, Fakulta humanitných vied, 2004), 65, 78; *Sté výročí vzniku Tomášikovy slovanské hymny Hej Slované!* (Prague: Společnost slovanské vzájemností v Praze, 1934); and Pražák, *České obrození*, 348–58.

[43] "Hrom a peklo, marné vaše, proti nám jsou vzteky!" The awkward syntax does not mar the assertive tone. For one view of its impact, see Nettl, *National Anthems*, 119–21.

[44] *Národní listy*, no. 149, 30 August 1867; and no. 150, 31 August 1867.

[45] Ibid., no. 19, 20 January 1868; *Národní pokrok*, no. 31, 20 January 1868 and no. 33, 22 January 1868.

[46] *Národní listy*, no. 125, 6 May 1868.

[47] Ibid., no. 135, 16 May 1868.

[48] *Národní pokrok*, no. 182, 22 June 1868.

[Na zdar!] to the Czech nationalist leaders who were planning a demonstrative "pilgrimage" to the place of Hus's execution in Constance.[49]

"Hej, Slované" and its more militant tones complemented "Kde domov můj?" and other songs at *tábor* meetings, both planned and banned. At the site of the forbidden meeting at Vysoká, according to one newspaper account, "here people quietly spoke among themselves, there they sang national songs, among which specifically the well-known tones "Hell and thunder, vain is your rage against us" had a galvanizing effect on those present—for in truth, these words expressed a simple and definite resolution, without the district captain who was there being able to do anything to stop it."[50] The second significant *tábor* to overcome the authorities' reluctance to allow such gatherings met on 21 June 1868, on the slopes of the hill crowned by the ruined medieval castle of Bezděz (Bösig in German). A crowd estimated by the Czech press at 10,000, composed of both Czech-speakers and German-speakers, listened to speeches and adopted a resolution on Czech-German cooperation and compromise in Bohemia. The district captain declared the meeting dissolved when one speaker referred repeatedly to the right of the Bohemian crown, but before the crowd dispersed they sang "Hej, Slované."[51] We have already heard its melody coming from the overcrowded pub at the site of the first, forbidden meeting at Lipany in 1868, and when the people started singing it on Bethlehem Square in Prague on 6 July in 1868 and 1869, it was the signal for the authorities to disperse the crowds that had attempted to gather there to mark Jan Hus's anniversary.[52]

"Hej, Slované" was also a favorite of the Sokol nationalist gymnastic organization. As the Prague Sokol members marched to the railway station to leave for Kolín to take part in the banner consecration ceremonies for the Sokol branch there, they sang it along the way, receiving back a resounding "*Na zdar!*" in return.[53] The pan-Slavic nature of the song suited the mood of Czech national activists after the *Ausgleich* of 1867, when Czech Slavism

[49] *Národní noviny*, no. 1, 17 July 1868.

[50] *Národní listy*, no. 158, 9 June 1868.

[51] *Národní pokrok*, no. 182, 22 June 1868; *Národní listy*, no. 170, 22 June 1868.

[52] ÖStA, AVA, MdI, Präsidiale, 15/3, 1848–1869, Carton 550, 2892/1868, Telegram from Bohemian Governor Kellersperg to Giskra, dated 6 July 1868, and Carton 551, 2844/1869, Report to Ministry of Defense and Public Security from Prague Police Directory via the Bohemian Governor's office, 6 July 1869.

[53] *Národní listy*, no. 170, 22 June 1868. "*Na zdar!*" [Good luck!] was adopted as the Sokol's official greeting to replace the rather too clerical sounding "*Zdař Bůh!*" [Godspeed!] in June 1862. See Claire E. Nolte, *The Sokol in the Czech Lands to 1914: Training for the Nation* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 51.

enjoyed one of its high points. In fact, leading national liberals had made an ostentatious "Pilgrimage to Moscow" in May 1867, ostensibly to attend an ethnographic exhibition there, to mark their displeasure at the compromise. In the streets and pubs of Prague and other cities, activists demonstratively sang or played the Russian national anthem.[54] At the same time, Czech nationalist leaders attempted to establish contacts with government circles in France. This shift in the orientation of Czech nationalist "foreign policy," which remained more or less constant until the end of Austria-Hungary, gave rise to an altered version of one of the verses of "Hej, Slované," where the line "God is with us, whoever opposes us will be struck down by Perun [the ancient Slavic god of thunder]," was replaced with the line "Russia is with us, whoever opposes us will be struck down by France."[55]

The pan-Slav orientation of the Sokol movement in the Bohemian lands ebbed and flowed, but during the era of the *tábory* it was flowing. In particular, the Sokol seemed to be striking promising roots among the Slovenes, who were in a similar position to the Czechs in the Cisleithanian half of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, but lacked the possibility of adopting a doctrine of state right. Thus, a platform of Slavic cooperation based on the ethnic link to the more numerous Czechs could appeal to them, while offering the Czechs something, too. Slovenian *tábory* consciously inspired by their Czech counterparts raised political demands, including the unification of the Slovene-inhabited crownlands, between August 1868 and August 1871.[56] Reflecting this sense of common cause, the Czech Sokol demonstrators also sang the Slovene unofficial national anthem "Naprej, zastava slave" [Forward, Banner of Glory] (1860) in addition to "Hej, Slované."[57] As a final index of the latter song's popularity during the tábor era, the young Antonín Dvořák used its melody as a theme for the third movement of his String Quartet no. 3 in D, composed in 1868.[58]

[54] Arbes collects numerous instances of official suspicion and suppression of the Russian anthem from the autumn of 1867: see Arbes, *Pláč koruny české*, 86–92.

[55] On the reorientation of Czech foreign interests, see Otto Urban, *Česká společnost, 1848–1918* (Prague: Svoboda, 1982), 227–29; on the new line in "Hej, Slované": "Rus je s námi, kdo je proti nám, toho Francouz smete," see for instance Hans Kohn, *Pan Slavism: Its History and Ideology*, 2nd ed. (New York: Vintage Books, 1960), 236.

[56] Vasilij Melik, "Slovenski tabori," *Kronika: Časopis za slovensko krajinsko zgodovino* 16 (1968): 65–77; Vasilij Melik, "Slovensko narodno gibanje za časa taborov," *Zgodovinski časopis*, 23 (1969): 75–88; Nolte, *The Sokol in the Czech Lands*, 81–82, 98–100.

[57] *Národní listy*, no. 151, 2 June 1868, and *Národní noviny*, no. 1, 17 July 1868.

[58] Klaus Döge, "Dvořák, Antonín, §12: Chamber music," *Grove Music Online*, accessed 28 March 2007, http://www.grovemusic.com/shared/views/article.html? section=music.51222.12.

Many other songs also appeared on the programs of festivities, crowds at *tábory* sang them, and they rang out during street demonstrations. In musical settings for multiple voices, frequently for the all-male choirs of the choral societies like Hlahol, established in 1861, the works of many rhymsters of varying talent achieved popularity. Foremost among the poets whose works thus set to music made their way into the popular consciousness—to such an extent that they became practically "folk" songs—was Václav Jaromír Pícek, whose four volumes of poetry have not been judged kindly by literary scholars, but who gave to the participants in these and later Czech demonstrations many of their favorite songs.[59] Foremost among these, probably, is the verse "Staročeská," better known by its first line, "Bývali Čechové" [The Czechs Used to Be]. This song rose over the street demonstrations of the Herbst days, accompanied the stones from various parts of Bohemia and Moravia on their journeys to Prague to be part of the foundation of the National Theater, and (together with "Hej Slované") provided the backdrop to the destruction of the German tricolor banner during Francis Joseph's visit to Prague. "The Czechs used to be / Strapping stalwarts, / They used to be / The flower of manhood; / They used to be, they used to be / They held their own, they sang / Thus the world knew them. / Oh, the times, oh ye Czechs, / How you have altered! / Be once more heroes / As the world knew you. / Heroes in outlook / In love and longing / The flower of the Homeland," sang the crowds, and the song—and others of its ilk—have survived to the present.[60] In common with some of Pícek's other hits such as "Čechy krásné, Čechy mé," [Beautiful Bohemia, Bohemia Mine] or "Já jsem Slovan s duší tělem" [I am a Slav Heart and Soul] this song breathes not only nationalist pathos but an emphasis on historical images characteristic of the nationalist movement at the time.

Bohemian Music History on the Streets

This historicism links the songs of the nineteenth century with the final category of songs to be considered, the genuine historical songs from centuries past. Some of the songs frequently sung at the *tábory* or other demonstrations

[59] Typical judgements on Pícek may be found in Jan V. Novák and Arne Novák, *Přehledné dějiny literatury české od nejstarších dob až po naše dny*, reprint, 1936–39 (Brno: Atlantis, 1995), 335–36; and in Josef Hanuš, et al., *Literatura česká devatenáctého století. Díl druhý. Od M. Zd. Poláka ke K. J. Erbenovi*, Laichterův výbor nejlepších spisů poučných, XXI (Prague: Jan Laichter, 1903), 725–27.

[60] Václav Jaromír Pícek, "Staročeská," in *Písně: Co básní*, vol. 3 (Prague: Jaroslav Pospíšil, 1852), 59, Česká electronická knihovna: Plnotextová databáze české poezie, http://www.ceska-poezie.cz.

were truly monuments of Czech literature and musical history, drawn from religious sources, both Catholic and Hussite. Three melodies appear regularly in the sources, songs directly associated with the patron saints of the Bohemian kingdom, St. Václav and St. Vojtěch (Adalbert in German), and with the new "patron saint" of Czech national activists, the martyred reformer Jan Hus. Songs popularly identified directly with the major patron saints of the Kingdom could provide an explicit connection to the sacred ritual use of music in pilgrimages and ceremonies of an earlier time. Yet at the same time, the nationalist movement, especially in the era of the *tábory*, based its political strategy on an alliance with the conservative great landowners, and on the ideology of the state right of the Bohemian Crown. Emphasizing conservative, religious traditions played well to the strategic consideration of maintaining the tie to the history, social status, and political traditions of the nobility and the kingdom.

And certainly, the budding Czech national renascence had been well aware of the importance of the songs of St. Vojtěch and St. Václav in the development of the Czech language and literature. Scholars who contributed to the opening phase of the renascence such as Mikuláš Adaukt Voigt and Josef Dobrovský had noted the significance of "Hospodine, pomiluj ny," the Song of St. Vojtěch, for the Czech language and Czech literary history, as well as its links to the Slavonic liturgical language.[61] Modern Czech scholarship suggests that its origins could lie anywhere between the late tenth century to the eleventh or even twelfth century, by which time it was in general use.[62]

The "St. Václav Chorale," as the song linked to the Kingdom of Bohemia's other major patron was frequently called, is probably somewhat younger than "Hospodine, pomiluj ny," though it is also a significant monument of the development of Czech verse and Czech sacred music. Dobrovský put its origins "definitely" into the thirteenth century, although tradition had previously placed it in the fourteenth century. The early versions of the song had three verses, each concluding with "Kyrie eleison," (reminiscent of St. Vojtěch's song) and requesting St. Václav's intercession with God on behalf of the kingdom

[61] Mikuláš Adaukt (Nicholas Adauctus) Voigt, "Von dem Alterthume und Gebrauche des Kirchengesanges in Böhmen," *Abhandlungen einer Privatgesellschaft in Böhmen*, I (1775): 200–01; Josef Dobrovský, *Dějiny české řeči a literatury v redakcích z roku 1791, 1792 a 1818*, ed. Benjamin Jedlička, Spisy a projevy Josefa Dobrovského, VII (Prague: Komise pro vydávání spisů Josefa Dobrovského při Královské české společnosti nauk, 1936), 16–19, 228–29.

[62] Novák and Novák, *Přehledné dějiny literatury české*, 11, see also Roman Jakobson, "Nejstarší české písně duchovní," in *Early Slavic Paths and Crossroads, Part Two: Medieval Slavic Studies, vol. 6 of Selected Writings*, ed. Stephen Rudy (Berlin, New York, Amsterdam: Mouton, 1985), 355–75.

and its people. The song acquired additional verses, one (towards the turn of the fourteenth to the fifteenth century) containing the phrase on the saint's equestrian statue now at the head of Wenceslas Square in Prague: "do not allow us or our descendants to perish, St. Václav!"[63]

Besides the fact that they are monuments of Czech language and culture, why should crowds of nationalist demonstrators break into two ancient church hymns, dating back centuries, at the political manifestations discussed above? Of course, the specific function of these songs, as of the modern ones sung at the demonstrations, varied according to the context. When the songs of St. Václav and St. Vojtěch were placed on the formal programs of ceremonies, or performances of the choral societies that were an important part of a growing Czech civil society, they reminded the singers that an identifiably Czech musical tradition went back centuries in the Bohemian lands.[64] The two songs had additional meanings, however, that were much more directly political in the context of the *tábor* era of the late 1860s and early 1870s. The Czech nationalist platform of demanding Bohemia's state right—to be confirmed and consecrated by a coronation of Francis Joseph as King of Bohemia—made the singing of "Hospodine, pomiluj ny" or "Svatý Václave" into assertions of Bohemia's status as an independent crown worn by the Habsburgs as a result of election and inheritance. Charles IV included "Hospodine, pomiluj ny" in the coronation ritual that he devised for the Bohemian kings at the same time he had the Crown of St. Václav fashioned, and it had last echoed from St. Vitus's cathedral during the coronation of Ferdinand in 1836. Many nationalists hoped that it might be sung in honor of Francis Joseph in a similar ceremony. Its language not only asserted the antiquity and separateness of Bohemia, however, it also reminded the singers and listeners that, while Bohemia joined the Latin West instead of the Orthodox East, there had formerly been a closer connection between the Slavic Orthodox world and Bohemia, and that for all its common Western and Latin culture Bohemia was also Slavic.

[63] "Nedej zahynout nám ni budoucím, Svatý Václave!" Dobrovský also quotes the sixteenth-century chronicler Václav Hájek of Libočany insisting that the song has three verses only and "if anyone has added more, they are superfluous." Dobrovský, *Dějiny české řeči a literatury*, 259–60; see also Jakobson, "Nejstarší české písně duchovní," 366–70.

[64] *Národní pokrok*, no. 183, 23 June 1868, consecration of the banner of the choral society in Hluboká; ibid., no. 186, 26 June 1868, and *Národní listy*, no. 176, 28 June 1868, banner consecration of the choral society "Čech" in Hostouň u Prahy; and *Národní pokrok*, no. 186, 26 June 1868, ceremony for the choral society in Hořovice. On the chorus movements in Europe in general, see Philip V. Bohlman, *The Music of European Nationalism: Cultural Identity and Modern History* (Santa Barbara, Denver and Oxford: ABC-Clio, 2004), 49–55, 56–58.

The Old Czech newspaper *Národní pokrok* made this point explicitly in a New Year's Eve editorial in 1867, reacting to the idea that the December Laws creating the dualist system might be "crowned" by a coronation ceremony in Prague. To the idea that at least the "Germans in Bohemia" might support such a ceremony, the writer continued: "*We Czechs* created this kingdom and this crown, the *Slavic* "krleš" [from *Kyrie eleison*, and the refrain of "Hospodine, pomiluj ny"] always sounded at the coronation of our ancient kings, and the world will hear only this Czech voice, only the jubilation of the Czech people at the coronation of a Czech king on the tomb of St. Václav."[65] When they sang "Hospodine, pomiluj ny" around the statue of St. Václav on Wenceslas Square during the "Herbst days," the crowds in the street were making a similar assertion about the landscape and soundscape of Prague: that "*in Prague there simply is no place for such a German demonstration.*"[66] The Sokol units that included "Hospodine, pomiluj ny" in their banner consecration ceremonies, and the crowds at the *tábory* and Hus commemorations that sang it, were similarly asserting that Bohemia had a glorious, but essentially Slavic, *Czech* history that entitled them to represent Bohemia under the Habsburgs.[67]

The song of St. Václav's connection to the traditions of kingdom and crown were even more clearly explicit. The seals of Vladislav II and his heirs reflected the idea that they ruled as the earthly representatives of the realm's eternal patron, charged to maintain the "pax Sancti Wenceslai." During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the use of the adjective form of St. Václav's name as a synonym for "Czech" was widespread, so that people wrote of the "svatováclavská koruna" [St. Václav's Crown], "svatováclavská řeč" [St. Václav's language, i. e. Czech language], and so on.[68] In addition to this appeal to the most significant of the kingdom's traditional patrons, though, the chorale's first line, invoking "Svatý Václave, vévodo České země" [Saint Václav, duke of the Czech lands] strikes a militant note. After all, the Czech word "vévoda" (duke) is a calque on the Latin title "dux bellorum," or war leader, and an alternate version of the hymn (often dated to the revolutionary year 1848, but printed several years earlier) changed the line "utěš smutné, otžeň vše

[65] *Národní pokrok*, no. 12, 31 December 1867. Emphasis in original.

[66] *Národní listy*, no. 13, 14 January 1868. Emphasis in original.

[67] *Plzeňské noviny*, no. 42, 23 May 1868 and *Národní listy*, no. 152, 3 June 1868, for the banner ceremonies in Plzeň; *Národní listy*, no. 168, 20 June 1868 for similar ceremonies for the Sokol unit in Beroun.

[68] Jiří Rak, *Bývali Čechové: České historické mýty a stereotypy* (Prague: H & H, 1994), 38.

zle, Svatý Václave" [console the sorrowing, ward off all evil] to "zažeň Nemče, cizozemce, Svatý Václave" [drive out the German, the alien].[69]

The third such song, stemming from the fifteenth century, was the Hussite chorale, "Ktož jsú Boží bojovníci" [All Ye Warriors of God)]. Czech nationalists—especially the Young Czech activists—adapted many Hussite symbols and themes to their campaigns. Hussite traditions permeated the *tábor* movement: the name *tábor* itself and the term for participants at a meeting, *táborité*, evoked memories of the radical wing of the Hussite movement that centered on the fortress town of Tábor, named for the biblical mountain. Meetings were held at sites connected with the Hussite movement, such as the battlefield at Lipany already mentioned above, banners with Hussite emblems were frequently displayed at the meetings, and the orators' speeches were loaded with allusions to the Hussites. As a culmination of the evocation of Hussite traditions, in 1868 the Young Czechs organized a demonstrative "pilgrimage to Constance," the site of the church council that condemned Hus to death as a heretic in 1415. In a leading article "To Constance," *Národní listy* trumpeted: "In Constance the Czech nation will blossom as a crowned fighter for freedom of intellect, the rights of nations, for human honor and dignity. The Czech pilgrimage to Constance is a triumph before Europe!"[70] Jan Hus thus becomes a forerunner of the liberal national demands for freedom of thought and of expression, a theme the Young Czechs in particular enjoyed, but it was the figure of Jan Žižka, Hussite war leader and captain of the radical Táborite field army, who came to represent most strongly the Hussite tradition in the politics of the nineteenth century.[71]

To express this more militant Hussite traditions, the Czech nationalists added "Ktož jsú Boží bojovníci" to their demonstrations. The Hussites had not adopted polyphony, but they continued to sing the four Czech hymns that had been approved by a council in Prague in 1406, including "Hospodine, pomiluj ny" and "Svatý Václave."[72] To these, they added other monophonic hymns, none more impressive than this chorale, summoning all God's warriors

[69] Jan Drábek, "Chorál svatováclavský," *Na hlubinu* 4, no. 7 (1929), reprinted on the internet at http://www.katolikrevue.cz/osobnosti/sv_vaclav/choral_svatovaclavsky.htm, accessed 1 April 2007. See also Viktor Velek, "Sancte Wenceslae, ora pro nobis! The cult of St. Wenceslas in Music," *The Free Library*, 1 October 2008, accessed 10 November 2010, http://www.thefreelibrary.com/Sancte Wenceslae, ora pro nobis! The cult of St. Wenceslas in music-a0192052757.

[70] *Národní listy*, no. 168, 20 June 1868. See also the original proclamation in ibid., no. 95, 5 April 1868.

[71] Rak, *Byvali Čechové*, 60–61.

[72] See Barry F. H. Graham, "The Evolution of the Utraquist Mass, 1420–1620," *The Catholic Historical Review* 92, no. 4 (October 2006): 561.

to struggle to defend his truth and his laws, without regard for the numbers of their foes. Dobrovský ranked the song among the Hussite-era monuments of the Czech language in his history, noting that it breathed the Hussites' "enthusiastic, warlike" character. As Habsburg authorities created provincial militias [*Landwehr*] during the Napoleonic Wars, it was as examples of Czech military prowess that the Hussites and especially Žižka were "rehabilitated" from the universal condemnation of the Counter-Reformation era.[73] Thus to include the Hussite war hymn in their protest demonstrations suited the more radical and confrontational style of the Young Czechs.[74] The emphasis on Hussite themes and the addition of the Hussite war hymn was also a challenge to the Old Czech leadership of the national party. The Hussite imagery served a program that did not rely on an alliance with the historic aristocracy and the doctrine of the Bohemian Crown's state right, but emphasized liberal and democratic ideals. Thanks to the revived memories of Žižka and the field armies, it also carried very strong military connotations. This aspect was especially important to the Sokol gymnastics movement, which adopted the Hussite songs and symbols into its public ceremonies and demonstrations.[75]

In addition to the summons to the "Pilgrimage to Constance," Czech activists sought to organize Hus commemorations throughout the Bohemian lands in 1868, repeating the effort in 1869, the five hundredth anniversary of Hus's birth, and thereafter.[76] "Ktož jsú Boží bojovníci" regularly appeared at these events. Again the authorities expressed concern mingled with condescension, as in this report from 1875: "The entire projected Hus celebration can be reduced to the fact that here and there in the countryside they put on a bonfire, a fireworks display, some cannonades and they sing a few songs, festivities that happen regularly every year for the same reason, and considering that they have the character of a matter for the local police, they escape the attention of

[73] See Dobrovský, *Dějiny české řeči a literatury*, 38, 128, 306, and also Hugh LeCaine Agnew, *Origins of the Czech National Renascence*, Pitt Series in Russian and East European Studies, no. 18 (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1993), 189–90.

[74] *Vesna Kutnohorská*, no. 25, 3 July 1868. Predictably, the Hussite emphasis upset conservative Catholic circles, but also created resentment among some Protestants. See Rak, *Bývali Čechové*, 60, Čornej, *Lipanské ozvěny*, 60–83, Petr Pabian, "Protestantská verze české národní identity ve druhé polovině 19. století," *Acta Facultatis Philosophicae Universitatis Ostraviensis: Historica*. 11 (2004): 137–48, and Peter Pabian, "Inventing the Hussite Nation: Liberals, Catholics, and Protestants in Conflict over Czech National Identity," *The Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice,* 6 (2004): 275–82.

[75] Nolte, *The Sokol in the Czech Lands*, 97–102.

[76] *Národní noviny*, no. 1, 17 July 1868, and no. 6, 22 July 1868 carries reports from two of the Hus commemorations of that year.

the higher political authorities."[77] The Hussite war hymn also worked its way from the streets, *tábory*, and Hus commemorations into two major orchestral compositions of the era, Bedřich Smetana's tone poem cycle, "Má vlast" (1872–79) and Antonín Dvořák's overture "Husitská," (1883) in which Dvořák also cites the song of St. Václav.[78] The issue of Hus and the Hussite legacy in Czech history and identity remained controversial until the fall of the Dual Monarchy and beyond.[79]

This review of the songs the Czechs sang at political demonstrations during this limited, but significant slice of the nineteenth century illuminates some of the fascinating issues connected to political songs and singing. They played varied roles both from the point of view of the authorities and the national activists, as Mason's study of the French example suggests. Both sides were well aware of the emotional, affective power of singing in groups: after all religious ritual had included group singing for centuries, while since the late eighteenth century the Habsburg monarchy had its *Kaiserlied*, intended to express and create the unity of the subjects under the emperor. As the vignette at the beginning of this discussion suggests, official attempts to use singing in a "top down" way could be subverted by the same tools—songs and singing—used by activists for their own purposes. Official responses reflected an ambivalence between discounting the effect of such singing, and forbidding demonstrations and arresting the singers. The songs Czech demonstrators sang carried different meanings depending on which songs were selected, who was singing them, and the circumstances under which they were sung. Even the *Kaiserlied* itself could be sung in parody versions that mocked its ostensible purposes, quite apart from the competition from the unofficial national anthem, "Kde domov

[77] ÖStA, AVA, MdI, Präsidiale, 15/3, Carton 552, 1875–1876, 2870/1875, report from Bohemian Governor's Office, 4 July 1875. See also ibid., Carton 550, 1848–1869, 2892/1868, and Carton 551, 1848–1869, 2844/1869.

[78] Klaus Döge, "Dvorák, Antonín, § 11: Orchestral Works," *Grove Music Online*, accessed 3 April 2007, http://www.grovemusic.com/shared/views/article.html? section=music.51222.11, and Hugh MacDonald, "Symphonic poem, §4: The Czech lands," ibid., accessed 3 April 2007, http://www.grovemusic.com/ shared/views/article.html? section=music.27250.4. On Dvořák see Michael Beckerman, *Dvořák and his World*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993) and Christopher Campo-Bowen, "Bohemian Rhapsodist: Antonín Dvořák's *Píseň bohatýrská* and the Historiography of Czech Music," *19th-Century Music* 40/2 (Fall, 2016): 159–181. For Smetana's legacy see Kelly St. Pierre, *Bedřich Smetana: Myth, Music, and Propaganda*, (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2017).

[79] Rak, *Bývali Čechové*, 62–66; see also Cynthia Paces, "Religious Heroes for a Secular State: Commemorating Jan Hus and Saint Wenceslas in 1920s Czechoslovakia," in *Staging the Past: Commemorations in the Habsburg Lands*, ed. Nancy Wingfield and Maria Bucur (West Lafayette, Ind.: Purdue University Press, 2001), 199–225.

můj?"[80] That unofficial national anthem could appear in the idyllic guise suggested by its opening verse, or as a more assertive, even pugnacious statement. Yet like the *Kaiserlied*, it too could be parodied for political purposes, as would happen later on during the first years of the Czechoslovak Republic.[81]

Other songs by contemporary composers became practically "folk" songs in their own right, surviving until today as ways of evoking something about Czech identity. The examples of the ancient religious songs, Catholic and Hussite, suggest the staying power of ritual aspects of popular singing, but to the dismay of significant elements of the Czech Catholic and Protestant communities, the use of the historical hymns of the Czech kingdom in the later nineteenth century was increasingly secularized. The meaning of St. Václav's or St. Vojtěch's songs in the era of the *tábory* was much more an assertion of the specifically Czech qualities of Bohemia and an appeal to God to preserve that homeland for the Czechs, than it was an act of religious ritual. And the Hussite war hymn, "Ktož jsú Boží bojovníci" became such a symbol for the Young Czech strain in nationalist politics that both they and their opponents alike frequently used "God's warriors" as an appellation, whether of pride or derision.[82] The intensity and frequency of the use of this and other Hussite symbols, then, played a role in political conflicts within the Czech nationalist camp as well as between the Czech nationalists and their opponents.

As these songs survived and evolved into the next century, their exact meaning in Czech political and popular culture continued to be subject to changing circumstances, contexts, and public uses. Crowds at demonstrations sang "Kde domov můj," in different conditions and with different meanings during World War I, the First Republic, under the Protectorate, in and after 1968, and today. Other songs of the era also survived with altered meanings: whoever has seen Jiří Menzel's *Vesničko má, středisková* [My Sweet Little Village] (1987) will likely recall the doctor (Rudolf Hrušinský) breaking into "Bývali Čechové" as his car is towed back to the village after he wrecks it while admiring the beauties of the Czech countryside—evoking a perhaps parodic image of Czech stalwarts coming to the rescue. While "Ktož jsú Boží bojovníci" may no longer be sung at political protest demonstrations, it continues to appear not only in classical compositions and military parades, but also in skinhead, rock, trashmetal, and folk versions on the popular music scene.

[80] On some parodies of the Kaiserlied see Schmidt, "Origin of the Austrian National Anthem," 181–82.

[81] See Nancy M. Wingfield, *Flag Wars and Stone Saints: How the Bohemian Lands Became Czech* (Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 2007), 143–44, for one such example.

[82] Čornej, *Lipanské ozvěny*, 60–61, Pabian, "Inventing the Hussite Nation," 278–80.

Abstract

This paper explores the use of songs by Czech activists in public demonstrations, festivals, and protests under dualism, with a focus on the era of the *tábory lidu* in the late 1860s and early 1870s. Beginning with the *Kaiserlied* and its Czech competitor, "Kde domov můj?", it explores the role of singing in the nationalist movement. The meaning of a song depended as much on who sang it and in which contexts as it did on its content, form, or the intention of its authors or sponsors. In addition to the official and unofficial anthems, Czech demonstrators sang songs like "Hej, Slované," which paired with "Kde domov můj?" the way "Rule, Britannia" paired with "God Save the King." Other numbers composed for Czech choral societies also entered the repertoire, as did three important monuments of Czech musical and literary history, the songs of St. Vojtěch, St. Václav, and the Hussite war hymn, "Ktož jsú Boží bojovníci." These songs were rooted in religious ritual but were now secularized to claim the Bohemian lands for the Czech element, while the Hussite hymn also played a role in internal conflicts within the Czech movement. Singing in Czech demonstrations today still displays these complexities.

Keywords: Political symbols; Ritual; Demonstrations; Nationalism; National anthems; Singing; Music history

Hugh Agnew
Hugh Agnew specializes in Central and Eastern Europe, focusing on modern Czech history, especially Czech nationalism. Agnew's research explores the symbols and rituals of the Czech nationalist movement in the nineteenth century, on which he has published several preparatory studies, and which will be the theme of his next book. He has appeared on international and local media including CNN, C-SPAN, Czech Television, Voice of America's Czech service, and Radio Prague. Between 2002 and 2016 Professor Agnew served as an associate dean, senior associate dean, and interim dean in the Elliott School of International Affairs at George Washington University. He was a Fulbright Visiting Scholar at Palacký University Olomouc in winter semester 2023–24.

History Department
Elliott School of International Affairs
The George Washington University
email: agnew@gwu.edu