

ERNST FÖRCHTGOTT / ARNOŠT BOHABOJ-TOVAČOVSKÝ (1825-1874): A VIENNESE SLAV AND A MORAVIAN HUSSITE ROLLED INTO ONE

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Abstract

Drawing on a monograph in progress, the first part of this study gives a brief biographical overview, outlines the state of research and describes the work of the Czech composer Ernst Förchtgott/Arnošt Bohaboj-Tovačovský (1825-1874). The second part examines two case studies that illustrate the coexistence, in the composer, of both a purely national mindset (Tovačovský's use of themes of the Czech Middle Ages, specifically Hussitism) and a global mindset manifested in a musical form of Slavic reciprocity (Tovačovský's arrangements of Croatian folk music). The study as a whole confirms the importance of

Tovačovský for Czech choral music of the third quarter of the nineteenth century and his unique position on the Slavic music scene in Vienna.

Keywords: music; nineteenth century; Slavic reciprocity; Slavic minority in Vienna; male choirs; 1848; Ernst Förchtgott; Arnošt Bohaboj-Tovačovský

Ključne riječi: glazba; 19. stoljeće; slavenska uzajamnost; Slaveni u Beču; muški zborovi; 1848; Ernst Förchtgott; Arnošt Bohaboj-Tovačovský

Prologue

One of the aims of this study is to initiate wider interest in the Czech (or, more precisely, Moravian) composer Ernst Förchtgott, better known by his Czech name Arnošt Bohaboj-Tovačovský: the 150th anniversary of his death falls in 2024 and the 200th anniversary of his birth in 2025. He entered not only the musical history of his homeland, but also the history of the musical field of »Slavic reciprocity«,

and was also a prominent figure of the German-speaking music scene in Vienna. He was a composer, choirmaster, musician, singer, organiser and populariser of Slavic folklore. The relevance of his legacy grows with the question of the relationship between national culture and the process of globalisation. Globalisation in culture, i.e. syncretism (acculturation) or the merging of individual cultural elements into one, is not a recent phenomenon. The definition applies perfectly well to Slavic reciprocity (Pan-Slavism), i.e. the concept of the Slovak Slavist Ján Kollár (1793-1852). History shows that it was possible to achieve a certain (positive) »split« of personality: to remain a nationalist/patriot while thinking and creating in the context of a supranational/global idea. This is exactly how Tovačovský lived and created.¹ The two case studies will show the coexistence of a lifelong close connection to an intrinsically Czech theme (exemplified by the mediaeval church reformer Jan Hus and the subsequent Hussite movement) and an interest in the music of other Slavic nations (exemplified by the Croatian repertoire). The author of this study is preparing a monograph on Tovačovský and therefore, in order to maximise the scope of the study, the chapters on the state of research, the composer's biography and his works will be very brief.

The very name poses a complication. The German form entered in the registry of births is Ernest Josef Förchtgott. However, in the sources the forms Ernst and Förchtgott are more frequent than Ernest, Förchgott and Fürchtegott. The German form of the name and surname are mainly encountered in the German-speaking environment: first in Olomouc (during his studies), and then in the German-speaking music scene in Vienna. In the wider Czech and Slavic world he was and is known under the Czech form of his name, supplemented by the indication of his birthplace (Tovačov): Arnošt Bohaboj-Tovačovský. This was no exception, as we can also find references to his birthplace in the names of other Czechs and Moravians, not excluding those working in Vienna.² One can also encounter the unique linguistic synthesis Arnošt Förchtgott, or even two-part forms of the surname: Förchtgott-Tovačovský, or the more recent Tovačovský-Förchtgott (the adjective derived from the birthplace became his surname). He is also commonly referred to as Tovačovský – and so it will be in this study.

He was a *Czech*, as it were, in the broader sense of an inhabitant of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia. He proudly referred to himself as a *Moravian*. However, he

¹ The study was made possible through funding from the Czech Science Foundation, project EXPRO 19-28306X *Old Myths, New Facts: Czech Lands in the Centre of 15th-Century Music Developments*.

I would like to express my special thanks to Prof. Vjera Katalinić and Dr Lucija Konfic for their valuable advice.

² For example, Hynek Vojáček-Vsacký, František Bedřich Ševčík-Jedovnický, Antonín Rybička-Skutečský, Konstantin Jahoda-Křtinský.

did not belong to the radical current of Moravian irredentism; he supported a firm union of Czechs and Moravians.³ In any case, he felt like a *Slav* – this is evidenced by his contacts, by his compositions, but also by the choice of repertoire he performed as a singer, pianist or choirmaster. In the current publications of the »History of Czech Music« type, he is mentioned only marginally, mostly in lists of people. His songs and choruses are mentioned only rarely, out of piety and (somewhat unfairly) to demonstrate the difference of his work from that of greats such as Bedřich Smetana, Antonín Dvořák and Karel Bendl. The exception is the Czech Ensemble Opera Diversa, which in 2017 presented a musical obituary for Tovačovský written by Leoš Janáček:

»[...] a work [...] written while he was still a student in Prague in 1875. Its title is Sounds in Memory of Förchtgott-Tovačovský and it is a kind of tribute to Arnošt Förchtgott-Tovačovský [...]. This short composition for three violins, viola and cello was first performed in 1988 in St. Louis, USA. The work received its Czech premiere [...] at Brno's Reduta [... 5 April 2017].«⁴

On the Slavic music scene in Vienna, Tovačovský had no competition, both artistically and organisationally:

»[...] he was the true chief and propagator of the Slavic music movement in Vienna. Förchtgott is known as a composer of music among all Slavic peoples, and the Germans have also provided German lyrics for his numerous choruses.«⁵

The state of research

»The biography of our famous native Arnošt Förchtgott is known in the circles of friends of music and singing both in this country and abroad, although not to the extent he deserves.«⁶ This nearly 100-year-old sentence still holds true. The online *Czech Music Dictionary of Persons and Institutions*,⁷ which is a continuation of the two-volume *Czechoslovak Music Dictionary of Persons and Institutions* (Prague 1963, 1965), contains the item Tovačovský-Förchtgott, Arnošt, but no entry has yet been created

³ Milan ŘEPA: *Moravané nebo Češi? Vývoj českého národního vědomí na Moravě v 19. století*, Brno: Doplněk, 2001.

⁴ <<https://www.jfo.cz/koncert/k1-ensemble-opera-diversa>> (1 January 2023); <<https://operaplus.cz/janackova-neznama-skladba-dob-studii-ceske-premiere-zvuky-ku-pamatce-forchtgotta-tovacskeho>> (1 January 2023).

The recording was also released on CD in 1998 (Supraphon SU 3349-2).

⁵ Jakub MALÝ (ed.): *Naše znovuzrození: Přehled národního života českého za posledního půlstoletí. Část šestá, Od zavedení dualismu až po nastoupení ministerstva Taaffeova*, Praha: J. Otto, 1884, 156.

⁶ Karel STÉGER: *Josef Förchtgott, rektor v Tovačově: historie zapomenuté učitelké rodiny. Příhody a těžké i nehody padesáti let v Tovačově v městě i v zámku*, Tovačov: Učitelská jednota Komenský, 1929, 10.

⁷ *Český hudební slovník osob a institucí*, <<https://slovník.ceskyhudebnislovník.cz/>> (1 January 2023).

or included. The last comprehensive dictionary entry is the one by Bohumír Štědroň and Vladimír Gregor (1965).⁸ Their authorship is no accident as they researched Tovačovský's life and work for many years.⁹ The choirmaster Milan Uherek was the only one to attempt an overall view of »life and work« in his diploma thesis in 1948.¹⁰

It would be possible to list several types of texts, but the vast majority of them are contained in the sources mentioned in the previous paragraph, and they will be presented as a whole in detail in the monograph mentioned above. Important are the publications mapping Tovačovský's significance for the musical culture of Moravia and Olomouc, and the texts focused on his relationship to his native village and his family. Tovačovský is also mentioned in the literature on choral conducting. Absolutely crucial are the published texts from the environment of Czech Vienna. Their spectrum ranges from mentions in different societies' almanacs to lexicographically conceived publications to memoirs. Tovačovský is also given a large space in the »chronicle of Czech Vienna«, i.e. in Soukup's book from 1928.¹¹ Another historiographer of Czech Vienna – Jan Heyer – returned to Tovačovský repeatedly in the minority review *Dunaj*. Very valuable are the texts of Tovačovský's friends and collaborators, especially Konstantin Alois Jahoda-Křtinský, a choirmaster and composer, and Jan Albert Kalandra, a clerk and poet and an important figure of the elite Slavic societies. The compatriots in Vienna commemorated Tovačovský in the form of small articles several times, mainly on the occasion of various anniversaries. There are dozens of other small articles and studies, which could be divided into »those published during his life«, »obituaries« and »posthumous texts«.

Considering the current state of research, the lack of interest shown in Tovačovský can be blamed on both Czech musicology and the scholars dealing

⁸ Bohumír ŠTĚDRŇ – Vladimír GREGOR: Tovačovský-Förchtgott Arnošt, in: Gracian Černušák – Bohumír Štědroň – Zdenko Nováček (eds.): *Československý hudební slovník osob a institucí. Díl 2. M-Ž*, Praha: Státní hudební vydavatelství, 1965, 785-786.

⁹ Bohumír ŠTĚDRŇ: Z prostějovských hudebních deposit. Dokumenty k životopisu A. F. Tovačovského, *Ročenka národopisného a průmyslového musea města Prostějova a Hané*, 16 (1938), 78-95; Bohumír ŠTĚDRŇ: Problém slovanské hudby u nás, in: Josef Macůrek (ed.): *Slovanství v českém národním životě*, Brno: 1947, 180.

Vladimír GREGOR: Arnošt Förchtgott Tovačovský – náš slavný rodák. K počtě osmdesátého výročí smrti revolučního olomouckého skladatele, *Stráž lidu. Měsíčník levicové orientace*, 10 (10. 12. 1954) 98, 4; Vladimír GREGOR: Slovanství v díle Arnošta Tovačovského, in: Václav Burian et al. (eds.): *Sborník SLUKO, oddíl B (Acta SLUKO, sectio B)*, II, 1954, Olomouc: Krajské nakladatelství Olomouc, 1956, 69-82; Vladimír GREGOR: *Hudební vlastivěda olomouckého kraje*, Olomouc: Krajské nakladatelství Olomouc, 1956; Vladimír GREGOR: Olomoucká a vídeňská léta skladatele Arnošta Förchtgotta-Tovačovského, *Sborník vlastivědného musea Olomouc*, B V/1959, 95-144; Vladimír GREGOR: *Obrozenecká hudba na Moravě a ve Slezsku*, Praha: Editio Supraphon, 1983; Vladimír GREGOR: *Hudební místopis Severomoravského kraje*, Ostrava: Profil, 1987.

¹⁰ Milan UHEREK: Život a dílo Arnošta Förchtgotta-Tovačovského. Diploma Thesis, Faculty of Education, Brno, 1948.

¹¹ František Alois SOUKUP: *Česká menšina v Rakousku [...]*, Praha: Národní rada československá, 1928, 389-394.

with the music historiography of Vienna. This is just another example of the fact that the musical culture of the Viennese Slavs has not become a fully integral part of the paradigms of the cultures of the individual Slavic nations, or of Austrian musicology. The latter usually classifies important musicians among the Viennese Bohemians and Moravians as »Austrian composers«, usually adding »of Czech origin«, and the like. Very rarely does it mention their activity in expatriate societies in Vienna. This is typical of the *Österreichisches Musiklexikon*, where Tovačovský only appears in the entry »Verein zur Beförderung echter Kirchenmusik« in the list of teachers.¹²

Biography – pre-Vienna period (1825-1851)

Tovačovský was born on 28 December 1825 in Tovačov/Tobitschau. In the nineteenth century, migration from this town flowed mainly to Kroměříž, Olomouc, Brno and also to Vienna. Tovačov was a predominantly Czech village with a small Jewish community.

»The unconfirmed assumption [of Tovačovský's Jewish origin] is perhaps supported by the unusual names of both parents, Fürchtegott and Neumann. Such names were given at that time, but also in the time of Maria Theresa, to neophytes or converts to the true faith.«¹³

His father Josef (1789-1860), a teacher, organist and church choirmaster in Tovačov, had a fundamental influence on his musical development. »The names Arnošt and Arnošta (Ernestýna) were common in Tovačov at that time, after Count Arnošt of Kühnburg [Ernst von Kühnburg]. Also the names Vilém and Vilemína after the Countess.«¹⁴ Tovačovský was born the third son and the seventh child of fourteen. According to various reports in the sources, he showed musical talent from an early age (he conducted the choir and played continuo on the organ during Mass, sang [baritone], played the piano and bowed instruments, and attempted composition), but this should be taken with a critical pinch of salt: After his death, Tovačovský became the subject of a certain mythologization, due above all to the sad end of his life which involved poverty, illness and isolation. In 1838, he went to Olomouc for higher studies at the main diocesan school (Hauptschule). He began his studies at Gymnasium in 1839 and obtained various scholarships.

His university years are connected with the influence of the patriotically active Alois Vojtěch Šembera (1807-1882), a linguist, literary historian, translator

¹² Christian FASTL: Verein zur Beförderung echter Kirchenmusik, in: Barbara Boisits (ed.): *Oesterreichisches Musiklexikon online*, <<https://dx.doi.org/10.1553/0x003aa201>> (1 January 2023)

¹³ K. STÉGER: *Josef Fürchtgott, rektor v Tovačově*, 13, 14.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 33.

from German and professor of Czech language and literature. They probably met in 1840, but Tovačovský was not Šembera's student at the university until 1843-1844. During his studies he met other students, some of whom were of great importance to him: Jan Vlk (1822-1896), the author of lyrics which would set to music and Ludvík Dietrich (1803-1858), a teacher of composition. In 1849-1851, he was a student at the Faculty of Law and Politics, graduating on 22 September 1851.

There was much patriotic activity in Olomouc. From the beginning Tovačovský was an organiser of, among other things, musical programmes (including new original compositions) for the theatre and social events. From 1847, he was the choirmaster of the student singers' group, which mainly consisted of law students. In Olomouc and the surrounding area he was also known as a good singer and proved to be a prompt composer. A newspaper report from the spring of 1847 mentions that the Česká beseda society in Opava has fourteen of his male vocal quartets.¹⁵

He spent the revolutionary year of 1848, among other things, as the commander of the second company of the student legion and a member of the Olomouc committee of the Slovanská lípa society. Together with his brother Karel, he signed a text addressed by this society to the Slavic Congress in Prague (dated 28 May 1848).¹⁶ He was also in the delegation of students welcoming their returning colleagues from Vienna. It has not yet been verified whether Tovačovský was one of the combatants on the Prague barricades.¹⁷

The revolutionary spirit permeated his musical work as well. This is evidenced by a manuscript songbook containing, among other things, Slavic songs, songs with Slavic themes, songs with Hussite themes and barricade songs. Vladimír Gregor published an analysis and transcription of the preserved part of the songbook (20 songs), which dates the songbook to the period 1847-1851.¹⁸ It is a valuable document of the transfer of the Prague repertoire to Olomouc, where Tovačovský became involved in the local societies' structures. He can be found both in the Männergesangsverein and the Musikverein. At first he was a member and later choirmaster; he succeeded in introducing Czech songs into programmes. For unknown reasons, when he was twenty-six years old, he decided to move to Vienna.

¹⁵ ***: Z Opawy, *Pražské noviny*, 23 (11. 3. 1847) 20, 86.

¹⁶ Jan KABELÍK (ed.): *Korrespondence a zápisky Jana Helcelety*, Brno: Historická komise při Matici Moravské, 1910, 32-35.

¹⁷ Miloslav TRAPL: *České národní obrození na Moravě v době předbřežnové a v revolučních letech 1848-1849*, Brno: Blok 119.

¹⁸ Vladimír GREGOR: *Zpěvníček Arnošta Förchtgotta-Tovačovského*, Olomouc: [s. n.] 1948.

Biography – Vienna period (1851-1874)

Outside the Slavic minority: studies, returns to Tovačov, work

Olomouc lost its patriotic momentum after 1848 and German nationalists became more active. Šembera and other friends from Olomouc, Brno and Kroměříž headed to Vienna. Tovačovský's arrival in Vienna is usually dated to the autumn of 1851. He enrolled at the Faculty of Law in January 1852, but eventually preferred music. From 1 October 1852 to 1 June 1855, he worked at Schuberts Erziehungsanstalt in Beatrixgasse as a piano and singing teacher. The owner of the institute respected him, praised him in his letter of recommendation and encouraged him to study opera singing. However, his doctor talked him out of it, referring to the family's history.

Returns to his birthplace were mostly motivated by family events, especially funerals. After the death of his parents (his mother in 1855 and his father in 1860), he supported the family financially, especially his two unmarried sisters. The »hunchbacked« Rézina/Terezie (who died in 1888) and the blind Lojzinka/Aloisie (who died in 1897) survived him. After his death, Lojzinka was supported by the Slavic Singers' Society (Slovanský zpěvácký spolek), among others. He also used his visits to Tovačov to stay in touch with his childhood and study friends. In 1856, he thought of moving to Olomouc but returned to Vienna, where he accepted a job as a music teacher and tutor in the family of the Count and Countess Terlago (1856-1858).¹⁹ This is where he also gained useful contacts (for example, he met his future wife Sofie Bergauer).²⁰

The sources provide different information about his pedagogical activities in the Society for the Cultivation of Genuine Church Music (Verein zur Beförderung echter Kirchenmusik) and at Saint Anne's preparatory school (1858/1860-1861/1864). This will be refined by further research. He was a member of the German Viennese societies Der grüne Insel and Der erste Männergesangsverein. He collaborated with the Cäcilienverein as a concert baritone. He attracted the attention of the famous critic (originally from Prague) Eduard Hanslick.²¹ The composer Carl Loewe/Löwe (1796-1869), nicknamed the »Schubert of Northern Germany«, is said to have maintained personal relations with Tovačovský and

¹⁹ B. ŠTĚDRONĚ: Z prostějovských hudebních deposit, 17.

²⁰ Sofie Förchtgott-Tovačovská, née Bergauer (ca 1815 – 5 July 1890, older by about 10 years, died at the age of about 75) was Swiss teacher of French. Their wedding took place in 1870. The Slavic Singers' Society, as well as other Czech societies in Vienna and in Bohemia and Moravia, undertook a number of fundraising activities in her favour from 1874 to 1890.

²¹ See Dietmar STRAUSS (ed.): *Eduard Hanslick. Sämtliche Schriften. Aufsätze und Rezensionen*, Wien: Böhlau, vol. I/6 (2008) and I/7 (2011).

was also the one who invited Hanslick to concerts with Tovačovský.²² Outside the Slavic minority, Tovačovský was also known as a piano accompanist.

He received invitations from aristocratic circles too. For example, Archduke Maximilian (later Emperor of Mexico, 1832-1867) appointed Tovačovský as his chamber singer and organised a concert for him at his Miramare Castle (Trieste) in 1863.²³ Archduchess Sophie (1805-1872, mother of Emperor Franz Joseph I and Maximilian, Emperor of Mexico) asked Tovačovský to sing for her several times. This was probably mediated by Sophie's lady-in-waiting Ludmila Gizycka-Zamoyska (1829-1889), who arranged musical productions for the Archduchess. She herself was a composer, maintaining contacts with important figures in musical life. Another recognition was the 400 gulden awarded to him by the Austrian government in 1872.

The Slavic minority: societies

It was probably due to his workload that it was several years before he entered the Slavic music scene in Vienna. The impetus was probably the invitation to join the »Permanent Committee for Social Events«, which tried to restore the former glory of the great Slavic balls and social events held before 1848. As a solo singer or as a singer in chamber ensembles, Tovačovský began to make appearances as early as 1860. His choirmaster debut probably took place at the funeral of Jan Pavel Šafařík on 9 July 1861. He certainly conducted the choir at the great Slavic concert event held on 15 or 16 December 1861 at the Diana-Saal. Tovačovský also occasionally performed as a pianist.

He actively supported the events of societies such as the Slovanská beseda and the Slavic Singers' Society by, for example, organizing social events on the occasion of the 1873 Vienna World's Fair. He also conducted the choir during the traditional All Souls meetings of Viennese Slavs at the grave of Ján Kollár.

His collaboration with various Czech and Slavic societies in Vienna will be detailed in the forthcoming monograph, and here I offer just a brief outline. The connection with the Slavic Singers' Society and Slovanská beseda (founded in 1865 and still in existence) was crucial. He was not only a co-founder, but he conducted the former society from the very beginning until his death, impressing even non-Slavic audiences in Vienna with its quality. In the latter society he was a member of the society's first committee and the very first director of the society's musical productions, often conducting the group of the society's singers.

²² Richard VESELÝ: *Dějiny hudby 2*, Praha: HMUB, 1932, 203.

²³ ***: Z Prahy. Pan Förchtgott..., *Dalibor*, 6 (10. 10. 1863) 29, 232; ***: *Kunstnotizen, Blätter für Musik, Theater und Kunst*, 9 (20. 10. 1863) 84, 4 [336].

Pokrok (founded ca 1861), Lumír (founded in 1865 and still in existence)²⁴, Slavoj (founded in 1867), Vienna's Sokol (founded ca 1867), and Československý dělnický spolek (Czech-Slavic Workers' Society, founded in 1868) were all societies which he co-founded or was involved with from the outset, occasionally conducting their performances, dedicating his compositions to some of them and sometimes was appointed an honorary member. Future research may also reveal links with the Zábój society (founded in 1869). Tovačovský conducted several joint performances of the choirs of several societies, mostly the singers of Lumír, Slavoj and the Slavic Singers' Society. He also collaborated with academic societies (Morava, Akademický spolek).

He conducted the choir of the chapel of the Russian embassy in Vienna from 1864 or 1865 until his death. There, he performed his own and other people's compositions, many of which he arranged himself (especially arrangements of Old Slavonic church compositions). The majority of the choir were members of the Slavic Singers' Society. He maintained close relations with Archpriest Mikhail Fyodorovich Raevskii (1811-1884; for example, they were together in Prague on the occasion of consecration of a Russian church on 16 August 1874). Among other things, he prepared a musical programme for a special worship service in the domestic chapel of the Russian embassy palace (in Wollzeile, 6 June 1873). *Te Deum* was performed in the presence of Tsar Alexander, the tsarevich, Grand Duke Vladimir, the court, the Prince of Montenegro, and guests. He was awarded the meritorious great gold medal for arts and sciences on the red ribbon of the Order of Saint Anna by Tsar Alexander II. It was presented to him personally by the envoy Evgeny Petrovich Novikov (1826-1903), author of the two-volume work *Hus and Luther* (1859).

Trips to Bohemia and Moravia

Tovačovský had quite frequent contacts with his homeland, specifically with Prague, Brno and some other places.

At the end of 1861, the Hlahol singers' society was founded in Prague, its founding fathers being, among others, Ferdinand Heller and František Pivoda, two musicians, composers and organisers who had just arrived from Vienna. Tovačovský was also in contact with Bedřich Smetana. In 1868, the Union of Czech-Slavic Singers' Societies (Jednota zpěvákých spolků československých) was founded in Prague; it was later transformed in various ways and changed its name. Some of its members came from the Viennese expatriate societies, and Tovačovský himself sought to establish a Viennese equivalent (the Union of Czech-Slavic Vien-

²⁴ Viktor VELEK: *Lumír 150. Sbormistři československého zpěvákého spolku »Lumír« ve Vídni. / Chorleiter des tschechoslawischen Gesangsvereines »Lumír« in Wien*, Třebíč: Apis Press, 2016.

nese Societies).²⁵ However, the Singers' Regional Organisation of Vienna (Pěvecká župa vídeňská), or more precisely the Singers' Regional Organisation of Lower Austria (Pěvecká župa dolnorakouská), was not founded until 1907 after a series of attempts. During the Saint John's Day singing festivities, named after the patron saint of Bohemia John of Nepomuk, held on 16 May 1864, Tovačovský was one of the choirmasters of the combined choir; the reports speak of 1,400 singers from 140 societies. In May 1868, a grand national celebration was held in Prague to lay the foundation stone for the Czech National Theatre. On 17 May 1868, the combined singers performed a programme which included his 1867 chorus *Vlasti* (To My Homeland).

He was also a popular performer and author at social events in Brno during 1863 and 1864. In the summer of 1863, a grand celebration of the 1,000th anniversary of the arrival of Cyril and Methodius in Moravia was held. A choir led by Tovačovský travelled from Vienna to Velehrad and Brno and won first prize in a singing competition held in Brno. His contacts with Pavel Křížkovský were significantly strengthened there.

In 1865, as head of the Slavic Singers' Society, Tovačovský visited Moravia twice (Kroměříž and Uherské Hradiště). The last time he went to Moravia was on 23 August 1874 with a twenty-member deputation of the Lumír society and the Slavic Singers' Society to perform at the J. A. Comenius festival in Přerov. We know from the press that he took over the musical direction and that after his return to Vienna he came down with an illness. As an aside – Moravia paid tribute to Tovačovský in 1911, with several societies forming the Tovačovský Singers' Regional Organisation (Pěvecká župa Tovačovského).

Illness, funeral, second life, estate

Reports of illnesses appeared in the press occasionally. In 1858 he contracted typhus, and from 1860 he battled protracted tuberculosis. From the press we know not only of the events he could not conduct, but also of those in support of him. Perhaps the first such event was organised on 7 January 1870 by his friends outside the circle of Slavic Vienna (e.g. Epstein, Door, Röver, Helmesberger, Zamara, Greipl, Koch, Murska).²⁶ Soon after that, on 10 January 1870, a similar event was organised by the Slavic Singers' Society. He stayed at least twice in the Teplice nad Bečvou spa. In the autumn of 1874, many Czech societies in Vienna collected funds in order to cover medical treatment in southern Europe. However, Tovačovský had died in the meantime (18 December 1874) and the 1,700 guildens collected were used to pay for the funeral, to provide for his widow and to build a granite

²⁵ B. ŠTĚDRONĚ: *Problém slovanské hudby u nás*, 180.

²⁶ ***: *Denní zprávy, Moravská orlice*, 8 (6. 1. 1870) 4, 2.

monument in the Central Cemetery. In addition to Vienna, the collection initiative took place in Bohemia and Moravia.

The funeral was held on 20 December 1874. During the ceremony in the Church of the Holy Trinity in Alsergrund²⁷ and above the grave (Central Cemetery, group O, row O, No. 166) his music was played by his Slavic Singers' Society. The funeral became a manifestation of Slavic patriotism in Vienna, but there were also many friends from German-speaking Vienna present. His monument was unveiled on 17 October 1875.

On the initiative of the Slavic Singers' Society, the second anniversary of his death was marked by the unveiling of a memorial plaque on his native house in Tovačov on 15 August 1876. The district governor was against the ceremony for which he forbade the placing of the plaque on Tovačovský's house. The unveiling was attended by delegations of Viennese societies; the special publication written for the occasion was reprinted in 1889.²⁸

The list of various commemorative events such as concerts and church events) would be long. They were organised mainly in Vienna. When the Comenius School Society (Školský spolek Komenský), de facto the most important Czech society, celebrated twenty-five years of activity, it organised a jubilee celebration on 6 and 7 June 1897. Having conceived the event as a commemoration of Tovačovský, it invited Prague's Tovačovský Singing Circle (Pěvecký kruh Tovačovský) to Vienna. Similar events also took place outside Vienna, especially in Tovačovský native Tovačov and at various exhibitions. In the Brno district of Židenice, one of the streets was named after Tovačovský, but there are differences in dates: the sources mention the years 1930 and 1934.

»In recognition of his meritorious service to Slavic singing, F. was named an honorary member of a large number of singers' societies in Bohemia, Moravia, Croatia, Serbia, etc. The diplomas which he received for this service are kept in the archive of the Slavic Singers' Society in Vienna as a permanent memorial.«²⁹

This quote will need to be investigated in the future. Czech sources do not mention honours by South Slavic societies. Tovačovský was awarded honorary membership by societies in Bohemia and Moravia: the Mladá Boleslav singers' society (1863), the singers' society in Jedovnice (1864), Hlahol in Prague (1866), Boleslav (Šárka near Prague, 1867), Zábój in Pelhřimov, and the Singers' Society of

²⁷ Dreifaltigkeitskirche of the Order of Friars Minor. Its popular name was Zu den Weißspaniern; today the names Alserkirche or Trinitarierkirche are used.

²⁸ Albert Jan KALANDRA – Josef ZAVADIL: *Slavnostní list na paměť 25letého úmrtí Arnošta Förichtgotta-Tovačovského [...] ku slavnosti konané v jeho rodišti Tovačově na Moravě dne 22. a 23. července 1899*, Praha: Jednota zpěváckých spolků československých, 1899, 11. The publication is identical to the thematic issue dedicated to Tovačovský of the *Bulletin of the Union of Czech-Slavic Singers' Societies*, 4 (1899) 4, 53–67.

²⁹ Albert Jan KALANDRA: Arnošt Bohaboj-Tovačovský, *Kalendář Čechů vídeňských na rok 1897*, 6, 49.

Prague Typographers. He was also awarded honorary membership by Czech and Slavic societies in Vienna: Lumír (1865), Czech-Slavic Workers' Society (1870) and the Slavic Singers' Society (in memoriam 1875, a brilliant pin awarded in 1863).

Tovačovský's estate was partly owned by his friends from the Slavic Singers' Society or Slovanská beseda, while some items gradually found their way to Czech museums and archives. Part of the estate is also deposited in the Archive of the Comenius School Society in Vienna. It is likely that Tovačovský's widow Sofie sold some of the items during her lifetime.

Composer's legacy – general characteristics

These issues will be elaborated in detail in the forthcoming monograph, therefore only a brief outline will be provided here. When evaluating Tovačovský as a composer, it should be taken into account that he was also a performer (singer, pianist), choirmaster, teacher and organiser. His compositions are always tailored to the specific ensemble and occasion, including forms and difficulty. For example, focusing on the melody, he tried to avoid complex harmonies, and was sometimes accused of being too church-like and Italian in his melodies. Given his work in Olomouc and Vienna, he did not compose for mixed or female choirs. These did not begin to be formed until later in the minority environment of Vienna. He wrote almost exclusively for the male choir of the Slavic Singers' Society. He began by composing Liedertafel and serenades, and was able to create impressive patriotic and revolutionary choruses; his love-oriented compositions are rather unremarkable. After his own successes and those of the Slavic Singers' Society in Moravia (1863), he felt a growing appreciation for his compositional activity, devoted himself less to harmonising folk songs and began to compose more demanding works. He abandoned the theme of revolution in favour of celebrating the beauties of his homeland, but he continued to respond to social events, which his Hussite-oriented compositions testify to. He was also actively interested in the work of his Czech colleagues, especially Křížkovský and Smetana. Tovačovský had an influence on the young Leoš Janáček. We know that he thought of composing operas and oratorios, but he died too soon.

In terms of language, choruses and songs in Czech predominate. German was used in his compositions in the early period. Tovačovský's greatest successes were the choruses *Přijde jaro, přijde (Jarní)* (Spring will come, it will [A Spring Song]), *Vlasti* (To My Homeland), *Husitská* (incipit *Aj, není-li jiná zbraň*) (A Hussite Song, incipit *Hey, if there's no other weapon*), *Dívčino pozdravení* (A Girl's Greeting), and *Společenská* (A Social Song). Tovačovský's lifelong friend Jan Vlk has a special place among the »lyricists«.

He also created a number of arrangements based on Slavic songs (Russian, Ukrainian, Slovak, Bulgarian, Serbian, Croatian, Slovenian, and Polish). Some of his

compositions were published by Czech publishers and also by the Slavic Singers' Society (see the section below on A. Ržibek). »Tovačovský is one of the first pioneers of the Slavic idea in Czech music.«³⁰ He drew material mainly from the collections of Karel Jaromír Erben, Ján Kollár, Kornelije Stanković, Daniil Nikitisch Kaschin and Antoni Kocipiński. He compiled mixtures of arranged folk songs into »bouquets« (*kytice* in Czech), but he used a purely practical approach regardless of the contrast of tempo and dynamics and other factors; in this sense, for example, P. Křížkovský went much further. Once Tovačovský's work is again better known, it will be possible to compare it with the work of his contemporaries from other Slavic nations.

However, Tovačovský rarely dated his works and often did not even specify the voice parts and instruments. His works consist of dated and undated compositions, adaptations (harmonisations) of folk songs, and the piano accompaniments he composed to works by other composers. The list published by Vladimír Gregor has the most complete and detailed structure so far with 121 compositions listed.³¹ The entry in the *Czechoslovak Music Dictionary of Persons and Institutions* has the following structure: male choruses, church compositions, arrangements of folk songs, and at the end there is a mention of song mixtures, piano compositions, comic one-act plays and arrangements of other people's works.³² There is no point in mentioning older attempts to map his work in this study. The various lists need to be compared in terms of their completeness. The works that are often missing include the repertoire for the Russian chapel, church compositions and early works from Olomouc.

Case study 1 – Croatian compositions

It is certain that Tovačovský knew many of the South Slavs in Vienna. They were, for example, members of Slovanská beseda and the Slavic Singers' Society. He also liked to attend events held by Slavs outside the circle of those societies. An example of this is the »Valentine Vodnik's Festival« held on 3 February 1864 in the Blue Star's hall, where he also performed in the male chorus *Žalostni glas zvonov*.

When he worked with the Slavic Singers' Society, it was common for him to perform South Slavic repertoire and invite performers from Croatia. In 1866, for example, he invited the singer Ilma Murska (1834-1889) but she was unable to perform due to illness. Croatian culture in Vienna was affected by the abolition of the Croatian-Slavonian Court Chancellery in 1867, which interrupted the traditional migration axis and led to the return of some Croats to their homeland. The positions of court secretaries in the Chancellery were held by Josip Župčić (also a

³⁰ B. ŠTĚDRŇ – V. GREGOR: Tovačovský-Förchtgott Arnošt, 786.

³¹ V. GREGOR: Olomoucká a vídeňská léta skladatele Arnošta Förchtgotta-Tovačovského, 136-142.

³² B. ŠTĚDRŇ – V. GREGOR: Tovačovský-Förchtgott Arnošt, 786.

solo singer) and Stefan Car, both of whom were members of Slovanská beseda and the Slavic Singers' Society; Stefan Pejaković, a member of Slovanská beseda) also served in the same office. Another Croat active in both societies was MUDr Karel Kaspar/Caspar. One of the founders of Slovanská beseda, the court councillor Ognjeslav Utiešenović-Ostrožinski (1817-1890), an author of lyrics intended to be set to music, should not be forgotten either. Lyrics were also written by JUDr Miroslav Napolen Spun/Szpun/Špün-Strižić (1839-1913), another secretary of the Chancellery. One of the first members of Slovanská beseda was the journalist Abel Lukšić (1826-1901), who published the periodical *Slavische Blätter* in Vienna. Interestingly, the publisher of the largest number of Tovačovský's compositions was the Croat Anton Ržibek/Ržibek, active in the society from 1876 (among other positions, as an archivist). Tovačovský could hypothetically have had contact with the Velebit society (active in Vienna already around 1865). It brought together academics from the Triune Kingdom of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia, and there was also a choir. After the official dissolution of the society in 1880, its successors were the academic societies Zvonimir and Društvo hrvatskih tehnika; Slovanská beseda and the Slavic Singers' Society maintained close relations with them as well.

From the time of the formation of the Slavic Singers' Society there are also reports on the relations between singers of different Slavic nations. Polish isolationism and Polish-Russian aversion were frequent, as were Serbian-Croatian disagreements, as the celebration organised by the Yugoslavs in memory of the Slovenian poet Valentin Vodnik on 9 February 1865 shows:

»However, the fact that only Serbian songs were sung, and other than Croatian ones also, was considered by the Croats present, with whom the Serbs and Slovenes always quarrel for some reason, as a kind of deliberate insult, and (having guessed right, I think) they left the hall after about the fourth song, which everyone felt was very unpleasant and which quite interrupted the celebration and liveliness of the conversation and entertainment with disagreement. After that, Croatian songs, as well as Russian and Czech songs, were sung outside the programme, but an unpleasant accident had happened.«³³

The following list of Croatian songs may not be complete. Sometimes, for example, only the title *Slavic National Songs* appears in the programmes or in the societies' repertoire lists without any specific content. Tovačovský's arrangement of the song *Složno, složno* for choir and piano poses a different problem – it was sometimes characterised as Serbian, and sometimes as Croatian or Slovenian. Jan Trojan states that Tovačovský performed on 6 September 1847 at a social event in Kroměříž which included »the male vocal quartet *Poutnická* based on the Croatian tune *Složno, složno* with piano accompaniment«.³⁴

³³ Richard FISCHER: Prof. Havelka jako student ve Vídni, *Časopis Vlasteneckého muzejního spolku v Olomouci*, 41 (1929) 41-42, 182 (Havelka's letter to V. Absolon dated 11 February 1865).

³⁴ Jan TROJAN: České besedy na Moravě v době národního obrození, *Vlastivědný věstník moravský*, 42 (1990) 2, 185 (note No. 17).

Bože živi blagoslovi

The lyrics beginning with the words *Bože živi, blagoslovi, naših srca plameniště* ... was published in the periodical *Vienac* (1870, No. 5). Branko Krmpotić states that the song, which was based on lyrics by Petar Preradović, was first performed in Tovačovský's arrangement for a male choir in Vienna on 10 January 1871.³⁵ In my opinion, the performance took place exactly a year earlier at an extraordinary social event held on the occasion of Tovačovský's name day at the Horticultural Society.

»For example, [Tovačovský] composed the Croatian chorus 'Bože živi', the lyrics of which had been set to music by five different composers before him. He forcefully stands out in comparison with all the other works of the composers using the lyrics.«³⁶

The image shows a handwritten musical score for the song "Bože živi, blagoslovi". The score is written on ten staves, with the first five on the left and the last five on the right. It includes vocal lines with lyrics in Czech and Croatian, and piano accompaniment. The manuscript is signed "Ernst Förchtgott" and "Arnošt Bohaboj-Tovačovský" at the bottom. A small logo and the number "032595" are visible in the bottom right corner.

Figure 1a, 1b: Ernst Förchtgott/Arnošt Bohaboj-Tovačovský: *Bože živi*, Czech National Museum - Czech Museum of Music, Sign. XVII A 179, transcription in Horníks collection.

³⁵ Branko KRMPOTIĆ: Arnošt Förchtgott Tovačovský (1825-1874), *Sveta Cecilija*, 49 (1979) 1, 5-6.

³⁶ K. K-ý. [Konstantin Alois JAHODA-KŘTINSKÝ]: A. F. Tovačovský, *Našinec*, 17 (6. 1. 1885) 3, 1.

The harmonised melody with three verses was probably written by Tovačovský. It is certainly different from the other melodies to the same lyrics in the *Bisernica* collection.³⁷

Nek se hrusti šaka mala / Hrvatska narodna pjesma

This song was already known in the revolutionary year of 1848 in Prague and among the Slavic minority in Vienna. The melody of the song *Nek se hrusti šaka mala* was not only used with the original lyrics by Ljudevit Vukotinović, but also with original Czech revolutionary lyrics by Josef Jiří Kolár (1812-1896): the lyrics with the incipit *Válka, válka, prapor věje* (War, war, the flag is flying) are a paraphrase of the Illyrian battle call and were also sung to a Croatian melody (according to the *Slavic Songbook* published in Vienna in 1848).³⁸ The lyrics *Krásný den* (A Beautiful Day) (incipit *Zříš-li slávské šíře kraje* [If you see the broad Slavic lands]), written by the Slovak August Horislav Škultéty (1819-1892), which celebrate the homeland and Slavic reciprocity, were sung to the melody of *Nek se hrusti šaka mala* as well.³⁹

The Czech lyrics also caught the attention of Bedřich Smetana in 1848. Perhaps because he did not find the Croatian melody very inspiring,⁴⁰ or because he was ignorant of it, Smetana created a new melody and composition with the alternative titles *Válka, Válka* (War, War) or *Píseň svobody* (The Song of Liberty), dedicating it to the armed Prague burgher corps Svornost. It is often called the »Marseillaise of the Czech Revolution«, but according to Josef Plavec it received little response in 1848.⁴¹

It is not clear where Tovačovský encountered the Croatian song. He did not include it in his revolutionary songbook or, more precisely, the preserved part does not contain it. It can only be found among the male choruses published by A. Ržibek. It was probably first performed on 4 May 1871 at an extraordinary social event of the Slavic Singers' Society.

³⁷ *Bisernica. Sbirka popevaka za četiri muška grla. »Vienac«: Pjev. društvo u Zagreb. sjemeništu, Zagreb: Tisak dioničke tiskare, 1874.*

³⁸ Vojtěch [Vojtěch NÁPRSTEK]: *Zpěvník Slovanský. II. Písně české, moravské, slovanské a ilirské*, Vídeň: Karel Uberreuter, 1848, 16-19.

³⁹ *Píseň svobody*, Praha: Karel Vilém Medau, 1848, <www.spalicek.net/apps/index.php?recordId=KP_4613> (1 January 2023)

⁴⁰ Josef PLAVEC: *Smetanova tvorba sborová*, Praha: SNKLHU, 1954, 44.

⁴¹ Mirko OČADLÍK: *Vyprávění o Bedřichu Smetanovi*, Praha: Panton, 1960, 65. Josef PLAVEC: *Smetanova tvorba sborová*, 42: »If it reached the public at all [...] at that time – an issue which all sources are still silent about – it was only among a small circle of students. It certainly did not become the 'Czech Marseillaise' as legend would suggest.«

XVII A 190.
Hrvatska narodna pjesma
Nek se hrusti šaka mala

1) Nek se hrusti šaka mala, bežimo na no-
2) Nek se hrusti šaka mala, bežimo na no-
me-ku go-đa, mi žid u mo-đu sa jedne-đe
povino dat će u jed-ku, ku-ru-ru ja-če
u našu, u našu, u našu, u našu, u našu
u našu, u našu, u našu, u našu, u našu
u našu, u našu, u našu, u našu, u našu
u našu, u našu, u našu, u našu, u našu

Ernst Förchtgott

Figure 2: Ernst Förchtgott/Arnošt Bohaboj-Tovačovský: *Hrvatska narodna pjesma Nek se hrusti šaka mala*, Czech National Museum - Czech Museum of Music, Sign. XVII A 190, transcription in Horníks collection.

Croatian hymn II

Gregor adds a question mark to the place of composition (Vienna) of this piano arrangement, defining it as a male chorus with piano.⁴² Konrad Wangler⁴³ included two Croatian hymns in one of the books of his cycle *Slavic Hymns and*

⁴² Vladimír GREGOR: Olomoucká a vídeňská léta..., 139.

⁴³ Konrad/Conrad Wangler, a Czech composer. He published several compositions and a multi-volume collection of tunes from Czech national singspiels and songs called *Květěna* with various publishers in Prague around 1880. Some of his compositions are related to specific events and persons, e.g. to František Palacký (op. 5, *Friedhofsklänge. Trauermarsch für Pianoforte*), to Prince Alexander I of Bulgaria (*Marche triomphale du prince de Bulgarie: pour piano*), or to the elevation of the Prague district of Královské Vinohrady to a royal town in 1879 (*Sláva! Polka française*).

Marches for Piano:⁴⁴ *Croatian Hymn I* (Ivan Zajc) and *Croatian Hymn II* (Tovačovský). Zajc wrote several dozen of such »hymns«, but no thematic list of them has yet been created which would allow for quick and accurate identification.⁴⁵ It will also be necessary to identify the original song with which Tovačovský worked. It is not yet clear where Wangler obtained Tovačovský's song.

The image shows a page of a musical score for piano. At the top, it is titled "Chorvatská hymna II." and "Tovačovský". The score is in 2/4 time and consists of six systems of music. The first system is marked "Pomposo" and "Piano" with a dynamic of "sf". The second system is marked "Moderato" with a dynamic of "mf". The third system is marked "p dolce". The fourth system is marked "f". The fifth system is marked "ff". The sixth system is marked "ritard". The score is published in Ernst Förchtgott's cycle "Slovanské hymny a pochody" (Slavic Hymns and Marches for Piano), op. 11, no. 8-9.

Figure 3: Ernst Förchtgott/Arnošt Bohaboj-Tovačovský: *Chorvatská hymna II* [Croatian Hymn II], published in Konrad Wanglers cycle *Slovanské hymny a pochody* op. 11, no. 8-9 [Slavic Hymns and Marches for Piano], Czech National Museum – Czech Museum of Music, Sign. I B 917.

⁴⁴ Karel WANGLER: *Slovanské hymny a pochody pro piano*, op. 11, No. 8-9 (Croatian hymns), Praha: Christoph & Kühé, ca 1885.

⁴⁵ Michaela FREEMANOVÁ: Ivan Zajc in Bohemian Lands, in: Stanislav Tuksar (ed.): *Ivan Zajc (1832-1914). Glazbene migracije i kulturni transferi u srednjoj Europi i šire u 'dugom' 19. stoljeću*, Zagreb: Hrvatsko muzikološko društvo, 2016, 289-300.

Lijepo ti je rano uraniti / Svi jeleni pridoše / Smiljan, Smiljaniću

These three Croatian songs can be found in the cycle originally entitled *Bouquet of Slavic National Songs* (*Kytice z národních písní slovanských*, 1867). However, as Tovačovský later prepared a second *Bouquet* (1872), the earlier one came to be referred to as the »first«, according to the 1881 edition by the Prague publisher Emanuel Starý. The first performance of the *Bouquet* is dated 18 December 1867 (Slavic Singers' Society). The manuscript version of all three songs are also listed in the collection of the Croatian Singers' Society »Kolo« in the Croatian State Archives (call number HDA-1690.426).⁴⁶ All three lyrics are also present in Lžičar's collection *Slavonske narodne pjesme*.⁴⁷

Lijepo ti je rano uraniti is a song from Turopolje near Zagreb. There are similar songs in Serbian and Bosnian folklore, but Tovačovský's melody is based on the one in Kuhač's collection.⁴⁸

Svi jeleni pridoše is not in Kuhač's collection, but it is included in the aforementioned collection of the Croatian Singers' Society »Kolo«.

Smiljan Smiljaniću is a well-known song, but in Dalmatia it has a different melody than the one used by Tovačovský. He chose a melody similar to the one in Kuhač's collection.⁴⁹

Some of these three songs were also performed outside the entire *Bouquet*. For example, *Lijepo ti je* and *Svi jeleni*, together with three verses of *Nek sa hrusti šaka mala*, were performed on 4 May 1871 at an extraordinary social event of the Slavic Singers' Society. Although the programme states that the *National Songs* are intended for choir and piano, the version with piano is not mentioned anywhere else.

⁴⁶ Cf. Ivana KLAJZNER: Ostavština Hrvatskog pjevačkog društva »Kolo« u državnim arhivima s posebnim osvrtom na sređivanje njihova fonda u Hrvatskom državnom arhivu i detaljan pregled dijela fonda u Državnom arhivu u Zagrebu, Diploma Thesis, Music Academy – Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Zagreb, 2018, <<https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/198169833.pdf>> (7 March 2023).

⁴⁷ Slavoljub LŽIČAR: *Slavonske narodne pjesme*, manuscript score, National and University Library, Zagreb, <<https://digitalna.nsk.hr/pb/?object=view&id=611626>> (7 March 2023).

⁴⁸ Franjo Ksaver KUHAČ: *Južno-slovjenske narodne popievke*, Book 2, Zagreb: Tiskara i litografija C. Albrechta, 1879, 292: No. 786 – *Grehota je curu ostaviti*, variant from Slavonia, <[https://digitalnezbirke.kgz.hr/?pr=iiif.v.a&id=18340&tify={%22pages%22:\[311\],%22view%22:%22thumbnails%22}>](https://digitalnezbirke.kgz.hr/?pr=iiif.v.a&id=18340&tify={%22pages%22:[311],%22view%22:%22thumbnails%22}>) (6 March 2023).

⁴⁹ F. Ks. KUHAČ: *Južno-slovjenske narodne popievke*, Book 2, 233: No. 700 – *Smiljanić*, variant from Slavonia, <[https://digitalnezbirke.kgz.hr/?pr=iiif.v.a&id=18340&tify={%22pages%22:\[281\],%22view%22:%22thumbnails%22}>](https://digitalnezbirke.kgz.hr/?pr=iiif.v.a&id=18340&tify={%22pages%22:[281],%22view%22:%22thumbnails%22}>) (6 March 2023).

The image shows two pages of a musical score. Page 7 (left) features three systems of music. The first system is titled 'III. Mhoslovinská. Svatební píseň.' with lyrics in Czech and Slavonic. The second system is titled 'b) Svi jeleny' with lyrics in Czech. The third system is titled 'Allegro vivo' and has no lyrics. Page 8 (right) features two systems. The first system is titled 'c) Smiljan smiljaniću.' with lyrics in Czech. The second system is titled 'Allegro vivo' and has no lyrics. The score includes vocal lines and piano accompaniment.

Figure 4a, 4b: Ernst Förchtgott/Arnošt Bohaboj-Tovačovský:
Lijepo ti je rano uraniti / Svi jeleni pridoše / Smiljan, Smiljaniću from cyclus
Prvá kytice z národních písní slovanských [First bouquet of Slavic National Songs],
 National library of the Czech Republic, Music department, Sign. 59 F 286.

Svakomu svoje

This choral arrangement is not included in any of the lists of Tovačovský's works. Was this Tovačovský's own arrangement (sometimes referred to as a chorus with piano), or was it someone else's arrangement conducted by him? It was apparently performed with Tovačovský as conductor only once, on 18 December 1860 at Šperl's. It was at an elite Slavic social event held on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the death of the poet Andrija Kačić-Miošić. The sheet music has not yet been found.

Case study 2 – Hussite themes

The theme of Master Jan Hus and Hussitism represents a quintessentially Czech subject, but due to its importance in the history of Central Europe it also entered European history. It was not only Bedřich Smetana who, by working with a citation of the Hussite war song *Ye Who Are Warriors of God* in the final two parts of his cycle of symphonic poems *My Country*, made Hussitism a musical symbol of

modern Czech music. The Hussite theme had been one of the manifestations of, at first, patriotism and soon also of Czech nationalism. Hussitism was, is and probably will continue to be an important theme, and hundreds of works dealing with it have been written so far – not only in the field of classical music, but also in the field of popular music.

Tovačovský's songs reflected primarily on the events of the Hussite Wars (1420-1436). Vladimír Gregor described how strongly the theme resonated in Moravia even before 1848, i.e. at the time when Tovačovský stayed and worked in Olomouc:

»If we realise that Hussitism was very much persecuted by the church hierarchy in Moravia as an ideology hostile to the church, the songs by J. O. Novotný [...], L. of the Dietrichs [...], the male choruses by F. B. Kott and H. Vojáček [...], and the opera *Žižka's Oak* (1840) by the same Kott were courageous acts.«⁵⁰

It is indeed strange, but thanks to the influence of F. M. Klácel and A. V. Šembera on their students and peers, it was young Moravian composers who dealt with Hussite themes before 1848, not the Prague environment.

Songs from the manuscript songbook

Tovačovský's monophonic songbook contains three Hussite songs.⁵¹ *Sv. Václave* (Saint Wenceslas), Number 2 in the songbook, is a well-known pseudo-Hussite song with music by Josef Theodor Krov (1797-1859) and lyrics by Václav Hanka (1791-1861). It is considered a forgery in Czech historiography, a claim which is disputable. It is a combination of an early romantic social drinking, song full of strong words, and a harmonisation of a mediaeval song. Its origin reflects the desire of Czech revivalists for war songs, but after 1815 censorship did not allow anything about Hussitism to be included in the lyrics. Authentic mediaeval Hussite songs were not known to the wider public. This led to the creation of lyrics that sounded somewhat Hussite. Krov's song also intended to secure the censor's leniency by quoting the mediaeval spiritual song *Saint Wenceslas* (the Saint Wenceslas chorale) from the thirteenth century, a song widely known and associated with the government and the royal family. The song, or one of the variants of

⁵⁰ Vladimír GREGOR: *Obrozenská hudba na Moravě a ve Slezsku*, 176-177.

⁵¹ For more details about all three songs, including the sheet music, see Viktor VELEK: 1848: Music, Master Jan Hus and Hussitism, in: Stanislav Tuksar – Vjera Katalinić – Petra Babić – Sara Ries (eds.): *Glazba, umjetnosti i politika: revolucije i restauracije u Europi i Hrvatskoj 1815.-1860. Uz 200. obljetnicu rođenja Vatroslava Lisinskog i 160. obljetnicu smrti bana Josipa Jelačića / Music, Arts and Politics: Revolutions and Restorations in Europe and Croatia, 1815-1860. On the Occasion of 200th Anniversary of Vatroslav Lisinski and 160th Anniversary of the Death of Ban Josip Jelačić*, Zagreb: Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Department for History of Croatian Music – Croatian Musicological Society, 2021, 517-551.

its lyrics, is also an important reflection of Polish defiance.⁵² When visiting Prague, Franz Liszt recognised it as a »legacy of the Hussites«, adapting the song into a virtuoso piano piece.⁵³

The lyrics of the paraphrase included in the songbook contains nothing explicitly Hus-Hussite, but it still had a Hussite effect on the reader. This is also how the musicologist Vladimír Gregor perceived it about 100 years later:

»The content of the verses is also changed from the original ('Pray for us, Saint Wenceslas', the Hussite character is then in the other verses), which indicates the different political character of the author of the lyrics. In contrast to Krov's original, the ending of the song is very interesting melodically, alluding to the Saint Wenceslas chorale in the four bars before the end (with the evocation *Christe eléison*). Here Tovačovský's hand must have been involved very boldly in the song.«⁵⁴

While the original lyrics with optimistic images pointed to the future, the songbook version captures the euphoria of the revolution's achievements.

Original	Paraphrase
<i>Těšme se blahou nadějí, že se vrátí zlaté časy...</i> <i>Let sweet hope in us awaken that the times will be restoring...</i>	<i>Naděje se vyplnily, vrátily se zlaté časy,...</i> <i>Our hopes have been fulfilled, the times have been restored ...</i>

Válečná (A War Song), listed as Number 4 in the songbook with the incipit *Ten slovanský národ* (The Slavic nation) is well known from other songbooks of 1848. Worth mentioning is Gregor's efforts to find certain precursors of this song, certain models both in the Hussite song collection and in folklore.⁵⁵

Sláva vlasti! (Glory to My Homeland!), Number 20, with the incipit *Sláva ti, vlasti má* (Glory to you, my homeland) illustrates the practice of applying new Czech lyrics to a melody from popular operas, in this case to a melody by Donizetti from Act II, Scene 6 of the opera *La fille du regiment*. The Hussite element is included in the refrain:

*Zavzněte bubny, prápory zavějte,
válečné písně, bratři, zapějte!
Po staročesku buď zazpíváno
po táboritsku buď bojováno.*

*Beat the drums, fly the flags,
sing war songs, brothers!
Let's sing as the old Czechs did,
let's fight as the Táborites did.*

⁵² Viktor VELEK: Where is my home? The Czech National Anthem: its Problems, Controversies, and Strengths, *Polski Rocznik Muzykologiczny*, 19 (2021), 182-208.

⁵³ Ferenc LISZT: *Hussitenlied aus dem 15ten Jahrhunderte*, Prag: Joh. Hoffmann, 1841.

⁵⁴ V. GREGOR: *Zpěvníček Arnošta Förchtgotta-Tovačovského*, 1.

⁵⁵ V. GREGOR: *Zpěvníček Arnošta Förchtgotta-Tovačovského*, 2.

Husitská (A Hussite Song) – Krov’s song

It is worth mentioning that Tovačovský wanted to perform the choral arrangement of Krov’s song on 5 February 1871 at a celebration in memory of J. A. Comenius. However, the censors forbade it so Förchtgott instead performed his own *Hussite Song* with the lyrics by Jan Vlk.

Husitská / Válečná / Vojenská (A Hussite Song / A War Song / A Military Song) (incipit Aj, není-li jiná zbraň [Hey, if there’s no other weapon])

The chorus is often referred to by various names both in programmes and in the press. The only thing that prevents confusion is the incipit, although it also shows slight synonymous variations: *Aj! Není-li nikde meč ...* (Hey! If there’s no sword ...) – *Aj, není-li jiná zbraň ...* (Hey, if there’s no other weapon ...) – *Aj, jiná-li není zbraň ...* (Hey, should there be no other weapon ...) and, exceptionally, *Bojovníci Páně* (Warriors of the Lord).⁵⁶ Vladimír Gregor derived the date of composition from an entry in a manuscript collection of poems by J. Vlk: »[...] ‘Föerchtgott 6/1 1864’. On that date Vlk probably sent his poems to Vienna at Förchtgot’s request.«⁵⁷ The male chorus was first performed on 2 July 1864 at the dance party of the Slavic Singers’ Society (and was such a success that it was repeated three times), and again on 5 December 1871 at a social event organised by the same society and by *Slovanská beseda*.

Vlk’s three-verse text was originally about the 1848 Revolution; in the manuscript it is entitled *Slováci a Srbi v boji proti Maďarům* (The Slovaks and the Serbs Fighting against the Hungarians).⁵⁸ »Thus from the poem Hussite Song we hear the voice of the barricades (and the Prague Revolution) and of the Hussite ancestors [...].«⁵⁹ Hussite elements can be found in the opening of the first verse (»Hey, if there’s no sword, we still have the flails ...«) and then at the end of the refrain (»Have at the murderer, let’s fight, for the freedom of the nation, warriors of the Lord!«).

According to Vladimír Helfert, this chorus – as well as other choruses by Tovačovský – may have influenced Leoš Janáček’s early choral works, such as the chorus with piano accompaniment *Válečná* (A War Song, premiered 5 July 1873 at a social event of Brno’s Svatopluk society) or Janáček’s *Slavnostní sbor* (A Festive Chorus, 1897) which may have been influenced by *Památce Komenského* (In Memo-

⁵⁶ J. K. LENSÝ [Josef KALENSKÝ]: *Švarný Sokol. Sbirka písní národních...*, Praha: Rudolf Storch, 1903, 20-21.

⁵⁷ V. GREGOR: *Obrozenská hudba na Moravě a ve Slezsku*, 214.

⁵⁸ ***: *Písně, Týdeník, listy poučivé a zábavné*, 1 (7. 9. 1848) 36, 286.

⁵⁹ V. GREGOR: *Obrozenská hudba na Moravě a ve Slezsku*, 36.

ry of Comenius).⁶⁰ The song also appears frequently in various songbooks printed or written in Bohemia and Moravia.

Píseň české omladiny (Czech Youth's Song)

This is one of Tovačovský's last compositions (1874). However, he did not live to see its performance by a male choir on 30 May 1875 in Vienna at the celebration of Slovanská beseda's tenth anniversary. The composition was also in the repertoire of the Czech-Viennese Tovačovský tamburitza society (concert on 26 November 1899).

The four-verse text was first printed in 1869 in the periodical *Svoboda* with the initials K. T., the journalist, publicist, writer and deputy Karel Tůma (1843-1917).⁶¹ The text was then published twice thanks to the Prague publisher František Horálek (1899, 1900). The authorship is sometimes ascribed to Ladislav Quis (1846-1913)⁶² or Karel Havlíček Borovský (1821-1856).⁶³ Originally, the text was sung to the melody of the Pan-Slavic hymn *Hej Slované!* (Hey Slavs!), but Tovačovský composed and harmonised his own melody; there are several synonymous deviations from the original. The text was also set to music (not known) by František Suchánek (1808-after 1873), a Czech composer working in Germany; the autograph bears the information »Dresden, VII 1869«.⁶⁴

The Hussite elements in the text are of two kinds: a hint (»Warriors of God« in the first verse) and a direct reference (»the nation of Hus« in the third verse):

*Kdo jsi Čech, hoj v řady naše božích bojovníků!
Vlast' volá – tys jejím synem: tož do předních šiků!
Zmuž se, zmuž, ty lide český, v této těžké době:
dokaž světu, jak jsi velký i ve své porobě!*

...

*Ještě máme to své právo – a to nezničíte!
Ještě máme ty své lebky – a ty nezměkčíte!
Mořte si nás, trapte si nás všemi útrapami:
Husův národ nepoddá se a nepadne s vámi!*

...

*All Czechs, hey, join our Warriors of God!
Your homeland is calling – you are its sons, so join the
front arrays!
Pluck up your courage, Czech people, in this difficult time:
Prove the world how great you are in your bondage!*

...

*We still have our right – and you shall not destroy it!
We still have our skulls – and you shall not soften them!
Murder us, torment us with all the hardships:
The nation of Hus shall not yield and fall with you!*

...

⁶⁰ Vladimír HELFERT: *Leoš Janáček. Obraz životního a uměleckého boje. I – V poutech tradice*, Brno: Oldřich Pazdírek, 1939, 331, 338, 339.

⁶¹ K. T. [Karel TŮMA]: *Píseň české omladiny, Svoboda. List politický*, 3 (25. 6. 1869) 12, 353.

⁶² Vladimír SPOUSTA: *Hudebně-literární slovník: hudební díla inspirovaná slovesným uměním. II. díl slovníkové trilogie, Čeští skladatelé*, Brno: Masarykova univerzita, 2011, 199. See also V. GREGOR: *Obrozenská hudba na Moravě a ve Slezsku*, 149, and B. ŠTĚDRŮŇ – V. GREGOR: *Tovačovský-Förchtgott Arnošt*, 786.

⁶³ František HRNČÍŘ: *Zpívající Čechoslovák. 71 vlasteneckých písní...*, Nymburk: Svatopluk Hrnčíř, 1919, 8.

⁶⁴ František SUCHÁNEK: *Píseň české omladiny*, Národní muzeum-České muzeum hudby, call number I E 529.

Stráž u Vyšehradu (The Vyšehrad Guard)

Alois Vojtěch Šmilovský (or Alois Schmillauer, 1837-1883) was quite a popular writer in his time. He was interested in music, founded the Šumavan singers' society in Klatovy and also wrote lyrics and librettos to be set to music. He was also interested in Hussite themes. For example, he translated the libretto of the oratorio *Jan Hus* by Carl Loewe/Löwe, a composer who maintained contacts with Tovačovský.⁶⁵ As early as 1861 Šmilovský was preparing lyrics for the composer Jan Ludevít Procházka (1837-1888) for the »great trilogy from the Hussite times«. We know this from Šmilovský's letter to Josef Leopold Zvonař⁶⁶ and it was for Zvonař that he began to prepare the lyrics for the »Hussite-era duma« *Pohřeb na Kaňku* (A Funeral on Kaňk) in 1864, but Zvonař died a year later and apparently did not manage to compose the piece. The text was set to music for choir and orchestra in 1867 by Josef Leopold Měchura (1804-1870) and for solo, choir and orchestra by Josef Klička (1855-1937) in 1855. The aforementioned Procházka finally set to music Šmilovský's *Žižkův dub* (Žižka's Oak) (1869) in the form of a male chorus with bass solos. Karel Bendl (1838-1897) then set to music Šmilovský's *Pochod Táborův* (The Táborites' March, 1880, chorus).

Tovačovský also liked Šmilovský's poem *Stráž u Vyšehradu* (The Vyšehrad Guard), and set the poem to music in 1869 at the latest: the first known performance is ascribed to the Viennese-Czech Pokrok society (5 February 1869). Other performances also attest to the interest in the chorus: the Viennese-Czech Lumír society performed it on 11 July 1870, as did the Prague Hlahol society on 27 March 1870, and the Beseda brněnská philharmonic society on 18 March 1872.

The text is permeated with Slavic themes and there is also a Hussite element in the final, fourth verse:

*I pozře Čech v nebeský stan,
odkud patří Žižka naň.
Pak dí: Sber vrahu co jen máš,
byl Vyšehrad a bude náš.*

*And the Czech sees a tent in heaven
whence Žižka is looking down upon him.
Then he says: Take, murderer, what you have.
Vyšehrad has been and shall be ours.*

*Refrain.: O vlasti všeho smutku nech,
syn tvůj tě hájí statný Čech.*

*Refrain: Let go of sorrow, my country,
your son, the brave Czech, shall defend you.*

⁶⁵ August ZEUNE: *Mistr Jan Hus: oratorium s průvodem piana; provozuje zpěvácký spolek Boleslav ... v Mladé Boleslavi v sobotu dne 15. srpna 1868. Překlad Alois Vojtěch Šmilovský*, Mladá Boleslav: Zpěvácký spolek, 1868.

⁶⁶ Alojs DOSTÁL: *Listy a básně Alojse Vojtěcha Šmilovského Leopoldu Zvonařovi, Vlast'. Časopis pro poučení a zábavu*, 12 (1895-1896) 11, 1102. (Šmilovský's letter to J. L. Zvonař dated 31 October 1861)

Válečná píseň husitů. Nápěv z XV. století dle Zvonaře (A War Song of the Hussites. Melody from the 15th Century by Zvonař) / Válečná (A War Song) / Ktož jsú Boží bojovníci (Ye Who Are Warriors of God) / Válečná píseň Táborů (A War Song of the Táborites)

In addition to Pivoda and Heller, Josef Leopold Zvonař (1824-1865), an avid collector, adaptor and editor of old Czech musical heritage, was also a friend of Prague's Hlahol singers' society. It was probably through him that Tovačovský obtained the melody and lyrics of the mediaeval Hussite song *Válečná píseň husitů* (A War Song of the Hussites). Tovačovský's choral arrangement was first performed at the celebration of the eighth anniversary of the founding of the Viennese-Czech society Pokrok on 5 December 1869. We know from a report in the periodical *Dalibor* that four years later, conducted by Tovačovský, an arrangement for male choir and six wind instruments was also performed in Vienna on 26 April 1873, at a social event held by the »Žižka« Czech-Moravian Youth Society.⁶⁷ There was probably also a version for a male choir and harmonium. A wind arrangement for the chorus was prepared by the Czech-Vienna music scene legend Robert Volánek (1851-1929), a composer, choirmaster and bandleader.

*Kdo jste boží bojovníci
a zákona jeho,
prostež od Boha pomoci
a doufejtež něho,
že konečně s ním vždycky zvítězíte.*

*Warriors, who for God are fighting
And for his divine law,
Pray that his help be vouchsafed you,
With trust unto him draw;
With him you conquer, in your foes inspire awe.*

*Nepřátel se nelekejte
na množství nedbejte,
Pána svého v srdci mějte,
proň a s ním bojujte;
a před nepřáteli neutikajte.*

*Fear not mighty hosts of foemen,
Blench not at their sight;
Hold the Lord within your own hearts,
With and for him fight.
Surrender not, and never think of flight.*

*A s tím vesele vzkřikněte, řkouc:
Na ně, hrr na ně!
Zbraň svou rukama chytněte,
Bůh náš pán volejte, bíte, zabíte, žádného neživte!*

*Lusty and merry be your war-cry:
»Up now – up and at them!«
Seize your weapons in your hands:
»Our Lord God!« be your anthem.⁶⁸*

⁶⁷ -r-: Z Vídně, *Dalibor*, 1 (16. 5. 1873) 20, 165.

⁶⁸ Translation assumed from *Warriors of God*, Praha: Orbis, 1948.

Conclusion

The list of Tovačovský's compositions clearly shows his significant interest in Hussitism, a topic which had captivated him during his gymnasium and university studies in Olomouc. Tovačovský's interest in this theme was not matter-of-course, because other authors preferred, for example, the Saint Wenceslas theme. Tovačovský repeatedly returned to the Hussite theme, not only arranging other people's compositions and old mediaeval songs, but also composing his own music to the lyrics written by his contemporaries (J. Vlk, A. V. Šmilovský, K. Tůma). The overview of the Croatian song repertoire demonstrates his deep interest in Slavic folklore and art songs, and it would be possible to approach Tovačovský's interest in the music of other Slavic nations in a similar way. A greater availability of his compositions is a prerequisite for comparing his work with that of his contemporaries in his homeland and other Slavic composers. The study does not aim at musical analysis but at presenting a basic overview.

(Translated by Radek Blaheta)

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Sažetak

ERNST FÖRCHTGOTT / ARNOŠT BOHABOJ-TOVAČOVSKÝ (1825-1874): BEČKI SLAVEN I MORAVSKI HUSIT U JEDNOJ OSOBI

Prvi dio članka donosi podatke o češkom skladatelju Ernstu Förchtgottu / Arnoštu Bohaboj-Tovačovskom (1825-1874). Oslanjajući se na monografiju u nastajanju, daje se kratk tak biografski prikaz razdijeljen 1851. godinom: Tovačovski je dotad živio u Moravskoj (u rodnom Tovačovu i Olomoucu), potom se preselio u Beč, gdje je bio traženi pjevač, učitelj i vodeća ličnost slavenske glazbene scene. Pregled stanja istraživanja života i djela Tovačovskog jasno pokazuje temeljni doprinos muzikologa Vladimíra Gregora i Bohumíra Štědroňa. Skladateljev rad prikazan je kroz osnovne karakteristike i temeljne klasifikacijske pojmove.

Drugi dio članka sastoji se od dviju istraživačkih tema koje pokazuju određeni (u pozitivnom smislu) »rascjep« identiteta, tj. suživot čisto nacionalnog/patriotskog načina razmišljanja (teme češkog srednjeg vijeka, posebno husitizma s početka 15. stoljeća) i transnacionalnoga/globalnoga razmišljanja, koje se očituje u glazbenom polju slavenske uzajamnosti (obradbe hrvatske narodne glazbe Tovačovskog).

Studija u cjelini potvrđuje da se Tovačovský s pravom nazivao »konzulom slavenske glazbe u Beču« te ukazuje na njegovu važnost za češku zbornu glazbu treće četvrtine 19. stoljeća.