

THE CROATIAN ROUSING SONG (*DAVORIJA*) *NEK SE HRUSTI ŠAKA MALA* IN CZECH MUSICAL CULTURE

VIKTOR VELEK

*Faculty of Fine Arts and Music
University of Ostrava
Černá louka 3398
702 00 MORAVSKÁ OSTRAVA A PŘÍVOZ
Czech Republic*

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Abstract

The history and the revivalistic significance of the Croatian song *Nek se hrusti šaka mala* [Let the Little Fist Clench] in its homeland, where it was suppressed by censorship for many years, is well known. A new insight, however, is that the song also resonated strongly with other Slavic nations. This new perspective is illustrated in the study by a number of examples from Czech musical culture. The study also seeks to shed light on the possible migration of the song and its reception in the Czech environment, which had traditionally been open to the idea of Slavic solidarity. The findings of the research reveal that the song captivated Czechs

not only with its melody and rousing patriotic lyrics but also with its unique history. This methodologically traditional study offers a broader and updated perspective, providing a wealth of new insights, along with a textual appendix and score examples.

Keywords: 1848; revolution; *Nek se hrusti šaka mala*; national revival; nationalism; Czech music; Croatian music

Ključne riječi: 1848; revolucija; *Nek se hrusti šaka mala*; narodni preporod; nacionalizam; češka glazba; hrvatska glazba

The process of the penetration of Slavic folk songs, as well as social songs composed by professional composers or amateurs, into Czech and Slovak musical culture, and their subsequent influence on other works represents a very interesting and, in a way, traditional research topic within Czech and Slovak (formerly Czechoslovak) musicology. However, can we be content with older conclusions of

the following type when full-text searching in digitised publications is now possible, and when politics no longer impede research?

»It is said that political songs were first brought to Prague by Czech and South Slavic students, who came to Prague from Vienna to visit after the return of the first Czech deputation. Among them were Tieftrunk^[1] and Vojta Náprstek,^[2] who probably played a significant role in the creation of *Zpěvník slovanský* [A Slavic Songbook], published in Vienna in 1848 and containing many similar songs. They also brought South Slavic songs previously unknown in Prague, which soon became widespread: *Šablenka brušená* [A Sharpened Little Sabre], *Korak za korakem* [Step by Step], and many similar songs from Moravia, Slovakia and the South Slavic countries. This spirited mood prevailed in other Slavic countries at the time as well. After the failure of the Prague June Uprising in 1848, the young Frič^[3] fled to Croatia, where he was present in Zagreb for the reception of Ban Jelačić. Croatian ladies sang to him under the balcony. And the streets were filled with cheerful national and patriotic songs, including those Frič had heard in Prague. Not only did South Slavic songs spread to our country, but ours were also translated into other Slavic languages.«⁴

The answer to the question posed before the quoted ideas of Bedřich Václavek is clear: previous research must be revised, supplemented and updated. According to contemporary research, the theory that Slavic students brought political songs from Vienna to Prague should be understood as one of the possible theories of their migration and integration into Czech culture. One of the goals of this paper is to investigate other theories and present several new theses on this issue based on updated research. A retrospective view of the state of research in the chosen area offers numerous partial studies or chapters in monographs, thematic conferences, etc. The primary sources concerning the life of the famous Croatian song *Nek se hrusti šaka mala* [Let the Little Fist Clench]⁵ outside Croatia are texts that reflect its Czech and Slovak contrafacta rather than the song itself. The greatest contributions

¹ Václav Vojtěch Tieftrunk (1823–1896) was a journalist, lawyer (notary) and composer. He actively participated in the 1848 revolution in Vienna.

² Vojtěch Náprstek (Adalbert Fingerhut, 1826–1894) was an ethnographer and patron of the arts. While studying law in Vienna, he actively participated in the revolution in Vienna and Prague. After its suppression, he emigrated to the USA and did not return to Prague until 1858.

³ Josef Václav Frič (1829–1890) was a writer, journalist and politician. In 1848, he actively engaged in the revolutionary events in Prague. He was tried and imprisoned but was released in 1859 on the condition of emigration. He returned to Bohemia in 1879.

⁴ Bedřich VÁCLAVEK – František VALOUCH – Jaromír DVOŘÁK (eds.): *Tradice a modernost: Výbor z díla Bedřicha*, Praha: Odeon, 1973, 142.

⁵ The following variant title can also be encountered: *Nek sa hrusti šaka mala*.

As early as 1842, the song was referred to as »das berühmte Lied« – as noted in a report from Pest sent to *Agramer Zeitung* (1 January 1842) and reprinted in the periodical *Moravia*, cf. ***: *Die ilirische Zeitung, Moravia: ein Blatt zur Unterhaltung, zur Kunde des Vaterlandes, des gesellschaftlichen und industriellen Fortschrittes*, 5 (1842) 83, 336. The report describes the performance of national songs in Pest during a musical evening event, presented by the music of the Infanterie Regiment of the Baron Wacquand, and

to the research in the 1950s and 1960s came from a group of Czech musicologists: Vratislav Vycpálek, Jan Racek, Josef Plavec and Bohumír Štědroň.⁶ In 1983, Vladimír Gregor provided an evaluation of their research.⁷ However, the topic has not yet received a comprehensive, detailed treatment, and it is unlikely to in the near future. The golden age of »music Slavistics«, symbolised by the Brno musicological school led by Bohumír Štědroň (1905–1982), has passed, and interest in Slavic studies, including music Slavistics, has radically diminished among Czech students (as well as German and Austrian students). The theme of »Slavic musical solidarity« is only sporadically kept alive through university theses or narrowly focused studies. This text is one such study, aiming to shed light on the fate of the Croatian song in the Czech and Slovak environments throughout the long 19th century.

1. *Nek se hrusti šaka mala (Pěsma Horvatov vu Glogovi leto 1813)*

I first encountered the song in *Zpěvník slovanský* [A Slavic Songbook] (Vienna, 1848),⁸ where it is mentioned as a melody for one of the texts. I came across it a second time while mapping the works of Pavel Křížkovský (1820–1885)⁹ and Bedřich Smetana (1824–1884),¹⁰ and lastly in connection with the interest of composer Arnošt Bohaboj-Tovačovský/Ernst Förchtgott (1825–1874) in Croatian songs.¹¹

This study deliberately avoids providing a detailed history of the song or an in-depth examination of the authors of the music and lyrics. The song's signifi-

it was enthusiastically received by the audience. The next part of the text describe the earlier persecution of the song.

⁶ Jaroslava VÁCLAVKOVÁ: *Písňě roku 1848*, Praha: Svoboda, 1948, 69-70, 77-79. Here, the song lyrics reference singing to the melody of the Croatian song: Peška's *Novonárodní* [A New National Song] and Kolár's *Píseň svobody* [A Song of Liberty]). Pavel KRÍŽKOVSKÝ – Vilém STEINMANN – Jan RACEK (eds.): *Skladebné dílo Pavla Křížkovského. Skladby písňové, sborové a kantátové. Svazek první* [Monumenta musicae bohemicae. Skladebné dílo Pavla Křížkovského; Svazek první], Praha: Melantrich 1949, 18; Vratislav VYCPÁLEK: Aj, vy bratři. Genese jedné revoluční písně, *Lidové noviny*, 58 (5 March 1950, Kulturní neděle) 58, 4; Jan RACEK: Ještě k písni Aj, vy bratři, *Lidové noviny*, 58 (19 March 1950, Kulturní neděle) 67, 2; Josef PLAVEC: *Smetanova tvorba sborová*, Praha: SNKLHU, 1954, 42-43; Bohumír ŠTĚDRŮN: K problému slovanské hudby, in: Jiří Vysloužil – Lev Solomonovič Ginzburg (eds.): *Svazky, vztahy, paralely: ruská a česká hudba*, Brno: Opus musicum 1973, 103-112 (Czech), 112-121 (Russian), 121-122 (English summary).

⁷ Vladimír GREGOR: *Obrozenská hudba na Moravě a ve Slezsku*, Praha: Supraphon, 1983, 165-167.

⁸ Vojtěch [Vojtěch NÁPRSTEK]: *Zpěvník slovanský. II. díl – písňě české, moravské, slovanské a illirské*, Vídeň: Karl Ueberreiter, 1848, 16-19.

⁹ Viktor VELEK: Pavel Křížkovský a česká hudební Vídeň. Unpublished study, in the author's archive.

¹⁰ Viktor VELEK: 1848: Music, Master Jan Hus and Hussitism, in: Stanislav Tuksar – Vjera Katalinić – Petra Babić – Sara Ries (eds.): *Lisinski – Jelačić. Glazba, umjetnosti i politika: revolucije i restauracije u Evropi i Hrvatskoj 1815–1860 / Music, Arts and Politics: Revolutions and Restorations in Europe and Croatia, 1815–1860*, Zagreb: HAZU, Department for History of Croatian Music – Croatian Musicological Society, 2021, 517-551.

¹¹ Viktor VELEK: Ernst Förchtgott / Arnošt Bohaboj-Tovačovský (1825-1874): A Viennese Slav and a Moravian Hussite Rolled into One, *Arti musices*, 54 (2023) 1, 3-32.

cance for Croatian history is generally known,¹² so only the essential minimum needs to be reiterated. The song *Nek se hrusti šaka mala* belongs to the »rousing song« type, best known as *davorija* (battle, war song, which encourages the awakening of national consciousness and calls for the fight for freedom), and it is also the first Croatian *davorija*. It is one of the 6 songs for which Ljudevit Gaj wrote the melody; among the remaining 5 songs, the *budnica* (a type of patriotic lyric song that stirs up national feelings) *Horvátov sloga i zjedinjenje* [The Unanimity and Unification of Croats], better known under its textual incipit *Još Hrvatska nij' propala* [Croatia has not fallen yet] is the most famous. It was created and probably premiered in 1833 (the lyrics were also written by Gaj). Since Gaj had no musical education, Ferdo Wiesner Livadić wrote it down based on Gaj's singing and arranged it for voice and piano.¹³ Both songs (*Još Hrvatska* and *Nek se hrusti*) became the most prominent songs of the Croatian national revival and their lyrics were published in the periodical *Danica ilirska* in 1835¹⁴ and also released separately.¹⁵ Both songs quickly became popular, turning into a musical symbol of the Croatian national revival and taking deep roots in the Czech and Slovak environments.¹⁶ They both drew inspiration from events related to the Lower Silesian town of Głogów during the Napoleonic Wars. The author of the lyrics for *Nek se hrusti šaka mala* was the prominent Croatian writer Ljudevit Farkaš Vukotinović (1813-1893). His lyrics were set to music twice – first by Ferdo Wiesner Livadić, and later by Ljudevit Gaj and his collaborators. (As mentioned earlier, Gaj wrote the melody for six songs, including *Nek se hrusti šaka mala*, the only one he wrote with collaborators.) The second song, which this paper refers to, achieved great success in its genre and became very popular. It was first performed on 10 April 1835.¹⁷

¹² Vjera KATALINIĆ: Ljudevit Gaj i glazba, *Radovi Zavoda za znanstveni rad Varaždin*, 34 (2023), 6-8; Koraljka KOS: Uglazbljeni preporoditelj. Pjesništvo Ljudevita Farkaša Vukotinovića u hrvatskoj glazbi, in: Marijana Vuković – Darija Čaleta (eds.): *Vukotinović. Zbornik znanstvenog skupa »Ljudevit Farkaš Vukotinović (1813. – 1893. – 2003.)«, održanog u Zagrebu 29. i 30. listopada 2003.*, Zagreb: Hrvatski prirodoslovni muzej, 2006, 47-57. Newly published in: Koraljka KOS: *Glazbopisi. Ogledi stari i novi / Texts on Music. Essays Old and New*, Zagreb: Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts – Croatian Musicological Society, 2024, 95-106.

¹³ Franjo KUHAČ: *Ilirski glasbenici. Prilozi za poviest hrvatskoga preporoda*, Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1893, 256; V. KATALINIĆ: Ljudevit Gaj i glazba, 9.

¹⁴ [Ljudevit GAJ]: Još Hrvatska, *Danica ilirska*, 1 (7 January 1835) 5, 1-2 (*Horvátov szloga y zjedinjenje*). [Ljudevit Farkaš Vukotinović]: Nek se hrusti šaka mala, *Danica ilirska*, 1 (4 April 1835) 13, 1 (*Pěsma Horvátovu Glogovi leto 1813*). For the history of the song see Rudo BRTAŇ: *Slovensko-slovanské literárne vzťahy a kontakty: výber zo štúdií a článkov*, Bratislava: Veda, vydavateľstvo Slovenskej akadémie vied, 1979, 116-117.

¹⁵ Ljudevit GAJ (ed.): *Glogovkinje horvatske*, Zagreb: pritiskano pri Franji Suppanu, 1835. *Glogovkinje horvatske* were also published in Buda in 1837 in the *Srpska pčelica* (written in Cyrillic) and as a leaflet in German in 1848. For more details, see Rozina PALIĆ-JELAVIĆ: *Ivan pl. Zajc. Hrvatska nacionalna povijesna trilogija: Mislav, Ban Leget, Nikola Šubić Zrinski*, Zagreb: Croatian musicological society, 2023, 125.

¹⁶ Jaroslav MARKL: *Pisně pražských dělníků*, Praha: Ústav pro kulturně výchovnou činnost, 1977, 25.

¹⁷ K. KOS: Uglazbljeni preporoditelj. Pjesništvo Ljudevita Farkaša Vukotinovića u hrvatskoj glazbi, 2024, 101-102.

Text example No. 1: Ljudevit Vukotinović: *Nek se hrusti šaka mala*, Ljudevit Gaj (ed.): *Glogovkinje horvatske*, U Zagrebu: pritiskano pri Franji Suppanu 1835.

Original text	Free English translation
<p><i>Nek se hrusti šaka mala dušmaninov neka jala ružne vu nas baca strěle, volje već i nam dozrěle: Udrit' će i za nas sat!</i></p> <p><i>Još v Horvatěh ima kervi, nit' ko slabi u prahu čerovi dadu gazit' narodnosti, stare svoje slobodnosti, nit' zatrěti slavski rod!</i></p> <p><i>Sve s' u světu dalje diže, samo mi stojimo niže; bnemo dakle jaram toerdi, koj nam slavsko ime gerdi i zakapa narodnost!</i></p> <p><i>Sve vu krugu toga světa, sedoglavac do děteta, slobodnost želi si zlatu, i prot blaga toga tatu oštrim mečem brani se!</i></p> <p><i>Dakle oštrit' jest nam meče, davor moćni k nam priteče; u potoku kervi jalne prati sve pogerde žalne, budi perva zapověd!</i></p> <p><i>U tom vrědnom svetom boju, věrne bratje silnom broju, najte zadnji bit' Horvati, Slavstva dičnog' silni brati dana vam je jaka moć!</i></p> <p><i>Van se diže iz tog' praha, hajd u smert prez svakog' straha! Zlobu nek razbije zloba! Van, sad van, iz sužnjeg' groba k stanovitom tom vladanju!</i></p>	<p><i>Let the clenched fist rise, let the wrath of our enemies rush, let them hurl their arrows at us: we have grown into mighty strength, our time has come.</i></p> <p><i>They have not yet drained our blood, we are not small worms in the dust, we will not let them take our language or limit our freedom and destroy our glorious nation.</i></p> <p><i>Everything in the world moves on, yet our nation weakens; let us cast off the yoke from our necks, which exists to our shame, to the disgrace of all Croats.</i></p> <p><i>Everyone knows this, from children to the elderly, they long for golden freedom, always defending this treasure with a sharp sword from thieves.</i></p> <p><i>We still have swords to sharpen, we will call for help; then, in the red river of blood, it will be our duty to cleanse the shame.</i></p> <p><i>And in that eternal, holy struggle, let all brothers stand together as our ancestors did when they fought victoriously, united, mighty Croats.</i></p> <p><i>Now, rise from the dust of misery, face death without fear! Let wrath destroy wrath! Forward, from the darkness of the grave to glorious victory.</i></p>

2. The pre-March period and the revolutionary year of 1848

A clear indication of the familiarity and popularity of Croatian songs in the Czech environment can be seen in those that were included in various songbooks

created around 1848 and, generally, in the reports of their performance at gatherings of Czech patriots.¹⁸ So, how, when and by what means did the song make its way into Bohemia and Moravia? As mentioned in the opening quote of this study, politically focused songs were brought by Czech and South Slavic students, frequently those living in Vienna, where Czechs made up the largest ethnic minority. One possible spreader of the songs in Prague could have been the Croatian composer Vatroslav Lisinski (1819–1854), who studied music there (from the autumn of 1847 until 1850)¹⁹ and was in contact with Czech national revivalists. Since Lisinski had joined the Croatian national revival as a secondary school student, he knew the song, and in 1847 he arranged it for a four-part male choir and piano. A transcription of the score (probably made by Kuhač) is kept in the Croatian National Library.²⁰

Lisinski spent the revolutionary year of 1848 in Prague, and was, among other things, one of the Croatian delegates at the Slavic Congress.²¹

Strangely, however, it has yet to be documented with a concrete example that the song *Nek se hrusti šaka mala* was sung in Prague or elsewhere around 1848, either in its original form or in Czech translation. This discovery is based on the absence of reports in the periodical press, memoir literature and correspondence, and the song has not been found in any of the main printed or manuscript songbooks associated with the year 1848. It might seem that the breakthrough point comes with *Píseň svobody* [A Song of Liberty] by Josef Jiří Kolár, which appears in *Zpěvník slovanský* [A Slavic Songbook] (Vienna, 1848, Volume 2) – a more detailed discussion of the song will follow. However, this songbook was the work of Czechs living in Vienna, namely Náprstek and Tieftrunk, who were mentioned in the opening quote of this study. They might have known the song from Vienna. It remains unclear whether they assumed that the song as a whole, or at least its melody, was familiar in Prague, or whether they were confident that it was. Moreover, the songbook may not have been primarily created for an audience in Prague, but for the tens of thousands of Czechs and Moravians living in Vienna. Kolár's text also appears in the manuscript of Babor's songbook (in the War Songs section), but unfortunately it is recorded without any instruction as to what melody should be used to sing the song.²² This songbook, written by the Prague tailor Petr

¹⁸ Especially the songs *Hajde braćo, hajd junáci*, *Još Hrvatska (Však Chrvatska nezhyňula)*, *Liepa naša domovina (Lepa naše domovino)*, *Pod barjakom sakupljena*.

¹⁹ Due to his advanced age, he did not attend the conservatory. He studied harmony under Karel František Pitsch (Principal of the Organ School in Prague) and pursued private lessons in composition and instrumentation with Jan Bedřich Kittl (Principal of the Prague Conservatory).

²⁰ Available at the link: <<https://digitalna.nsk.hr/?pr=i&id=576656>> (Accessed 10 June 2025).

²¹ On Lisinski's years in Prague see Lovro ŽUPANOVIĆ: *Vatroslav Lisinski (1819–1854). Život – djelo – značenje*, Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1969, 60–90.

²² Viktor VELEK: *Písňová husitika a další repertoár v rukopisném zpěvníku „Písňe Baborovy“ / Hus-Hussite Themes and Other Repertoire in the Manuscript Songbook „Písňe Baborovy“ (Babor's Songs)*, *Musicalia. Journal of the Czech Museum of Music / Časopis Českého muzea hudby*, 14 (2022) 1–2, 96–146.

Babor (1818–1887, he began writing the songbook in Vienna in 1838), was compiled gradually, with Czech songs forming its second part, and the dating of the text entry remains uncertain.

Interestingly, the melody of the Croatian song is recorded (with new Czech lyrics, however) in the manuscript songbook of the brewer Karel Maria Jiříček (1821?–1863) from Pardubice.²³ The entry does not mention the Croatian origin, and the melody is associated with a text by Bedřich Peška with the incipit »Ať velebí Vlach své ráje« [Let the Italian praise his paradises] – more on this text, with several synonymous titles, will follow. Jiříček's three-part songbook was compiled between 1845 and 1858. Since the song appears at the beginning of Volume 1, it is highly probable that the entry dates back to 1845.

To support the hypothesis of the song's familiarity in the Czech environment before 1848, it is important to note that there are further Czech revolutionary contrafacta – sporadically represented in both scholarly literature and fiction – that were sung to the melody of the Croatian song. In some cases, the original content was even »transferred« into the new Czech text. Unfortunately, it is difficult to determine the exact dating of most of these adaptations. Let us now proceed to gradually present these examples.

Bedřich Peška-Oustecký (1820–1904): *Novonárodní* / *Novo-Národní* (incipit: »Nechť/Ať velebí Vlach své ráje«) [A New National Song (incipit: Let the Italian praise his paradises)]

Peška ranks among the prominent writers of his time, and his texts enjoyed significant attention for many years. This holds true for his *Vlastenecká* (»Vlasti své buď Čechu věrný«) [A Patriotic Song (incipit: Be faithful, Czech, to your homeland)] from 1861. Among the various musical settings, it is worth noting that the text could be sung to the melody of the song *Hej, Slované!* [Hey, Slavs!]. Later, Peška gained further recognition through the musical adaptation of his text *Svoji k svému* [For Our Own]. Karel Bendl chose a male choir format (1864), while Ludevít Procházka composed it as a song (1862). Peška is also sometimes cited as the author of the lyrics to the song *Sláva vlasti* (incipit: »Sláva Ti, vlasti má«) [Glory to My Homeland (incipit: Glory to you, my homeland)], which was sung in 1848 to a melody from Donizetti's opera *La Fille du Régiment* (specifically the segment »Salut à la France«).²⁴

Peška's text is usually titled *Novonárodní* [A New National Song], though occasionally it appears as *Vlastenecká* [A Patriotic Song]²⁵ or *Na vlast* [To the

²³ Karel Maria JIŘÍČEK: *Zpěvník*, Czech National Museum – The National Museum Library, Praha, call number III E 15/Volume I, No. 4.

²⁴ V. VELEK: *1848: Music, Master Jan Hus and Hussitism*, 545–546.

²⁵ Theodor MOUREK – R. TURNOVSKÝ: *Česko-moravský společenský zpěvník: sbírka 500 nejoblíbenějších písní*, Praha: Theodor Mourek, 1876, 68–69.

Homeland]²⁶. A reliable way to identify it is through the incipit »Nechť/Ať velebí Vlach/Ital své ráje« [Let the Italian praise his paradises]. The text was first published as a poem in the Czech periodical *Květy* in 1843.²⁷ Consisting of seven stanzas, it was often reprinted in a shortened »four-stanza version« (stanzas 1, 2, 3 and 7). Slight variations of synonyms (e.g. dotud/posud) are common.²⁸ The content can be summarised as follows: adoration of Czech patriotism, recollections of the victorious battles of the Czechs over the pagans at the Baltic and over the Tatars, references to the victorious battles of the Czech kings Přemysl Otakar II, Charles IV and George of Poděbrady, reminiscences of Hussitism, the struggle for »justice, honour and freedom« passed from generation to generation, and loyalty to the Habsburg throne is not an obstacle to the development of nationality.

Text example No. 2: Bedřich Peška-Ouštěcký: *Novonárodní / Novo-Národní* [A New National Song], in: Josef Bojislav PICHL – Josef Leopold ZVONÁŘ: *Společenský zpěvník český. Šesté rozmnožené vydání*, Praha: I. L. Kober, 1863, 12.

<p>1. Nechť velebí Vlach [Ital] své ráje, dubové ať Němec háje; my chválíme s láskou pravou vlasti naše nad Vltavou, slavná jesti Česká zem!</p> <p>2. Českým zpěvem Balt pohanský zákon uslyšel Mesiánský; českým mečem před Tatary^[29], obhájen byl rozkoř jarý osvěty a svobody.</p> <p>3. Dotud stojí pomník slávy nad Baltem i u Vltavy: tamo Čech své voje čítal, zde domácí umky [múzy] vítal Otakar a Karel náš.^[30]</p> <p>4. Čech byl první na půlnoci, co lil pravdy zář do noci, kterouž hájil Prokop statný,</p>	<p>1. Let the Italian praise his paradises, and the German his oak groves; we praise with true love our homeland above the Vltava, for the Czech land is glorious!</p> <p>2. With Czech songs, the pagan Baltic heard the law of the Messiah; by the Czech sword, against the Tatars, the blossoming springtime of enlightenment and freedom was defended.</p> <p>3. The monument of glory still stands by the Baltic and the Vltava: there, the Czech had numerous troops, here, our Otakar and Charles welcomed the muses of the homeland.</p> <p>4. The Czech was the first at midnight to shed the light of truth upon the darkness, defended staunchly by Prokop,</p>
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²⁶ *Na vlast*, manuscript songbook, The Literary Archive of the Museum of the Czech Literature, Praha, call number DS II 34, No. 118. For a description of this songbook see Bohumil RYBA: *Soupis rukopisů Strahovské knihovny Památníku národního písemnictví v Praze, svazek 5*, Praha: Památník národního písemnictví, 1971, 101-102.

²⁷ [Bedřich PEŠKA]: *Novonárodní*, *Květy*, 10 (1 February 1843) 9, 35; Vratislav VYCPÁLEK: *Neznámý autor Smetanovu sboru, Hudební rozhledy*, 8 (1955) 15, 777.

²⁸ J. VÁCLAVKOVÁ: *Písně roku 1848*, 69-70.

²⁹ It refers to the Mongol (»Tatar«) invasion of Moravia in 1241.

³⁰ Přemysl Otakar II (1233-1278), King of Bohemia. Charles IV of Luxembourg (1316-1378), King of Bohemia and Holy Roman Emperor.

<p><i>Jiří zastával udatný,^[31] pro něž válčil český lev.</i></p> <p>5. <i>Aj, kde píd' je české země, oslaveno České plémě, vedeno jen právem k boji, vydobyti vlasti svoji právo, čest a svobodu.</i></p> <p>6. <i>Čeho otec nevynadobyl, čím svou vlasti neozdobil, po tom syn udatně sáhá, ať se svatě právo zmáhá, toť vlastenců krásný cíl.</i></p> <p>7. <i>My strážníci na západě, věrní vlasti, věrní vládě, jen se směle k svému mějme, na zlost nepřátel nedbejme, nemineť nás blahý čas.</i></p>	<p><i>valiantly upheld by George, for whom the Czech lion fought.</i></p> <p>5. <i>Behold, on every inch of Czech soil, the Czech people are honoured, led to battle only by justice, to reclaim their homeland's rights, honour and freedom.</i></p> <p>6. <i>What the father could not win, what he could not adorn his homeland with, the son boldly takes up, so that sacred justice may flourish, this is the noble goal of patriots.</i></p> <p>7. <i>We, the sentinels in the west, loyal to our homeland, loyal to the rulers, boldly claim what is ours, disregarding the spite of enemies, for a time of prosperity shall not pass us by.</i></p>
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In Jiříček's songbook, there are seven stanzas for the single-voice melody in G major (*Novonárodní*), with the heading stating »Slova od Pešky« [Words by Peška] along with an important but somewhat ambiguous note: »Pichl v Pardubicích« [Pichl in Pardubice].³² Josef Bojislav Pichl (1813–1888), a doctor, writer, journalist and organiser, worked as a town doctor in Pardubice, starting in 1843. It appears Jiříček was familiar with the song through Pichl. In 1851, *Společenský zpěvník český* [A Czech Social Songbook] compiled by Pichl was published for the first time, including Peška's text as item No. 17, with instructions to sing it to the Croatian melody. A year later, melodies compiled by František Martinec were published.³³ Martinec later included the melody along with Peška's text in his own songbook in 1865.³⁴

There are minimal changes in the melody. The same melody transcription appears in Jiříček's and Martinec's songbooks, with a minor variation found in Pichl's *Společenský zpěvník český* (Prague, 1863, 6th edition), where an eighth note is split into two sixteenth notes. In this songbook, the musical arrangements were handled by Josef Leopold Zvonař.

³¹ Prokop the Great (Prokop the Bald, c. 1380–1434), Hussite military leader. George of Poděbrady (1420–1471), King of Bohemia.

³² K. M. JIŘÍČEK: *Zpěvník*.

³³ František MARTINEC: *Nápěvy ke Společenskému zpěvníku českému*, Praha: Náklad Jaroslava Pospíšila, 1852, 16. Pichl's notation was not published until the 6th edition of his songbook in 1863 (No. 11), with the notation arranged by Josef Leopold Zvonař.

³⁴ František MARTINEC: *Zpěvný věnec: hojná sbírka nejoblíbenějších písní novověkých a prastonárních, jakož i mnohých slovenských, chorvatských a českých zpěvoherních: s nápěvy*, Praha: Jaroslav Pospíšil, 1865, 13-14.

Jiříček, Martinec 1852, Martinec 1865

Necht' ve-le - bí Vlach své rá - je, Du - bo-vé at' Ně-mec há - je: My chvá - lí - me s lá-skou pra-vou

Vla - sti na - še nad Vl - ta - vou, Slav - ná je - sti Čes - ká zem! slav - ná je - sti

Čes - ká zem! Slav - ná je - sti Čes - ká zem! slav - ná je - sti Čes - ká zem!

Pichl - Zvonář

Necht' ve-le - bí Vlach své rá - je, Du - bo-vé at' Ně-mec há - je: My chvá - lí - me s lá-skou pra - vou

Vla - sti na - še nad Vl - ta - vou, Slav - ná je - sti Čes - ká zem! slav - ná je - sti

Čes - ká zem! Slav - ná je - sti Čes - ká zem! slav - ná je - sti Čes - ká zem!

Music example No. 1: Karel Maria JIŘÍČEK: *Zpěvník* [Songbook], Czech National Museum – The National Museum Library, Praha, call number III E 15/Volume I, No. 4; František MARTINEC: *Nápěvy ke Společenskému zpěvníku českému*, Praha: Náklad Jaroslava Pospíšila, 1852, 16; František MARTINEC: *Zpěvný věnec: hojná sbírka nejoblíbenějších písní novověkých a prstonárodních, jakož i mnohých slovenských, chorvatských a českých zpěvoherních: s nápěvy*, Praha: Jaroslav Pospíšil, 1865, 13-14; Josef Bojislav PICHL – Josef Leopold ZVONÁŘ: *Společenský zpěvník český. Šesté rozmnožené vydání*, Praha: I. L. Kober, 1863, 12.

**Josef Jiří Kolár (1812–1896): *Píseň svobody* / *Válečná* (incipit: »Válka!
Válka!«) [A Song of Liberty / A War Song (incipit: War! War!)]**

A prominent Czech actor and playwright (and the uncle of Bedřich Smetana's first wife, Kateřina Kolářová), Kolár presented his revolutionary text in the form of a leaflet in May 1848.³⁵ He did not specify a melody for the song, leaving it unclear whether the term »píseň« [song] in *Píseň svobody* [A Song of Liberty] was intended purely in a literary sense. The text was initially recited (under the title *Svornost* [Concord]) at a concert in support of the inhabitants of the Ore Mountains (Prague, 27 April 1848).³⁶

Shortly after the leaflet's release in Prague, the aforementioned *Zpěvník slovenský* was published in Vienna. In it, Kolár's text (Volume 2, No. 10, p. 16) is accompanied by an instruction to sing it to the Croatian melody. This could have been an initiative by the editors, Náprstek and Tiefertunk – perhaps the structure of the text evoked the aforementioned melody for them, or they recognised a metrical alignment between Kolár's new text and Peška's older text, prompting them to reference an already familiar melody. Another possibility is that they had heard Kolár's text sung to the Croatian song.

In the »Kolár« entry in *Československý hudební slovník osob a institucí* [A Czechoslovak Music Dictionary of Persons and Institutions], Bohumír Štědroň notes: »Between 1845 and 1849, the first stanzas were sung to the melody of the Illyrian song *Nek se hrusti šaka mala*.«³⁷ However, this is inaccurate in its dating since Kolár's text was undoubtedly not written until early 1848.

Briefly about the content: Through reminiscences of the Hussite period, the text calls upon the Czechs to fight, the key words being »homeland, glory, honour, justice, holy war«. The word »svornost« (concord) carries a dual meaning: in addition to its general sense, it refers to the Prague revolutionary armed corps »Svornost« (Eintracht/Concordia). Kolár's text emphasises Czech ethnicity (see the line »in Bohemia, only Czechs shall reign«) and echoes the image of a »paradise« found in Peška's earlier work – a central image also presented in Josef Kajetán Tyl's *Kde domov můj?* [Where Is My Home?] (1834), the Czech national anthem. Additionally, the motif of the »fist« seems to have been borrowed from the Croatian song.

³⁵ Bedřich Smetana Collection, *Píseň svobody*, Czech National Museum – Bedřich Smetana Museum, Praha, call number MBS 936, W 13/67; *Píseň svobody*, leaflet, Czech National Museum – The National Museum Library, Praha, call number KP 5781.

³⁶ ***: *Localzeitung, Bohemia*, 21 (22 April 1848) 65, 4; ***: *Zprávy z Prahy, Kwěty*, 15 (27 April 1848) 51, 221.

³⁷ Bohumír ŠTĚDRŮŇ: Kolár, Josef Jiří, *Československý hudební slovník osob a institucí*, Vol. 1, Praha: Státní hudební vydavatelství, 1963, 693.

Text example No. 3: Josef Jiří Kolár: *Píseň svobody / Válečná* [A Song of Liberty / A War Song], in: Vojtěch [NÁPRSTEK]: *Zpěvník slovanský. II. díl – písně české, moravské, slovanské a illirské*, Vídeň: Karl Ueberreiter, 1848, 16-19.

<p>1. Válka! Válka! – Prapor věje. Vzhůru Češi, Bůh nám přeje, stůjte pevně při svém právu, chráňte vlast a Čechů slávu! Taký jest po vlasti hluk, Táboritů^[38] zpěv a zvuk.</p> <p>2. Národ Pánem, Národ králem, v právu stojí neobsáhlém nad svým blahem, nad svým zmarem, od cizinců nemá darem. Českou slávu, českou čest, v Čechách Čech jen Pánem jest.</p> <p>3. Ano v Čechách naše ráje, naše zpěvy, naše báje, naše děvy, naše růže, naše hroby, naše lůže [lůžka]. V Čechách Bůh a ďábel Pán našincem má býti zván.</p> <p>4. Kdo jest Čechem, chop se meče, nastanou nám kruté seče, nastanou nám doby hněvu, hrůzy husitických zjevů. Vzchop se, zbroj se český lve! Bůh nás v svatou válku zve! –</p> <p>5. Aj hle, vizte, – vlasti díky, neústupná bojovníky, prapor vlaje, trouby znějí, tisíce ústa pějí. Nepřátelům na odpor: Svornost! Svornost! Český sbor!</p> <p>6. Svornost budiž naším heslem, svornost budiž naším veslem, v této bouři, v tomto boji, v tuhém zmatku pod oboji: Nepřátelům na odpor. Svornost, Svornost, Český sbor.</p>	<p>1. War, war! – The flag is flying! Rise, Czechs, God is with us, stand firm defending your right, protect your homeland and the Czechs' glory! There is such noise in the country, Taborites' singing and sound.</p> <p>2. The Nation is the Ruler, the Nation is the king, standing in boundless justice, above its welfare, above its ruin, it accepts no gifts from foreigners. Czech glory, Czech honour, Bohemia shall be ruled only by Czechs.</p> <p>3. Indeed, in Bohemia lie our paradises, our songs, our legends, our maidens, our roses, our graves, our beds. In Bohemia, both God and the Devil must be invited by us.</p> <p>4. If you are Czech, take your sword, there will be most terrible bloodbath, there will be times of anger, horrors of the Hussite deeds. Pluck up your courage, put your armour on, Czech lion! God invites us to holy war!</p> <p>5. Behold, behold – thanks be to our homeland, unyielding warriors, the flag is flying, trumpets sounding, thousands of mouths singing. Against the enemies, stand firm: Concord! Concord! Czech community!</p> <p>6. Let concord be our motto, let concord be our oar, in this storm, in this battle, in the fierce chaos under both kinds: Against the enemies, stand firm. Concord! Concord! Czech community!</p>
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³⁸ Taborites: A faction of the Hussites associated with the town of Tábor.

<p>7. Kdo jest Čechem, srdcem, duchem, ne jen ústy, aneb sluchem, komu Hus a Žižka³⁹] platí více nežli všichni Svati, Toho chrání peklu vzdor, Svornost, Svornost, Český sbor.</p> <p>8. Bratři! již se k vlasti znejme, cizotě se nepodejme, zhoubcům stůjme na odporu, s Svorností v jednom sboru. Jedno tělo, jedna pěst, to nás úkol, naše cest.</p> <p>9. V bratrském jen obcování, pokvete nám požehnání, Svorností jen, nad převraty ubijeme naše katy. Ať je Pohan nebo Rus, nás požehnal mistr Hus.</p> <p>10. Svornost! Svornost! Prápor věje! Vzhůru Češi, Bůh nám přeje, stůjte pevně při svém právu, chraňte vlast a Čechů slávu: Nepřátelům na odpor, Svornost! Svornost! český sbor!</p>	<p>7. If you are Czech in your heart and spirit, not only by mouth or by hearing, if Hus and Žižka mean to you more than all saints, you are protected by defiance against hell. Concord! Concord! Czech community!</p> <p>8. Brothers! Let us declare for our homeland, do not surrender to foreign rule, stand against the destroyers, united in one community. One body, one fist, that is our mission, our path.</p> <p>9. Only in fraternal co-existence will we be truly blessed. By concord only, over revolutions, will we kill our executioners, be it pagans or Russians. Master Hus blessed us!</p> <p>10. Concord! Concord! The flag is flying! Rise, Czechs, God is with us, stand firm defending your right, protect your homeland and the Czechs' glory! Against the enemies, stand firm: Concord! Concord! Czech community!</p>
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Kolár's text could be sung to melodies other than the Croatian song. In 1848, at least two composers set it to music: Bedřich Smetana (1824–1884) and Albín Mašek (1804–1878).⁴⁰ Smetana's song, known by the synonymous titles *Píseň svobody* [A Song of Liberty] and *Válečná* [A War Song], or by the synonymous incipits »Válka, válka, prapor věje« [War, war, the flag is flying] and »Sláva, sláva, prapor věje« [Hurray, hurray, the flag is flying], was probably not heard in public in 1848, and most probably not even during Smetana's lifetime. It was not published until 1909.⁴¹ Some Smetana scholars, such as Josef Plavec, succumbed to the temptation to compare Kolár's text with the Croatian melody and then with Smetana's melody:

³⁹ Master Jan Hus (*c.* 1370–1415), priest, educator, church reformer and rector of Prague University. Jan Žižka of Trocnov (*c.* 1360–1424), Hussite military leader.

⁴⁰ The setting to their own melodies is the reason why score examples are absent in this study. The same applies to the composition by Mikuláš Schneider-Trnavský, which will be discussed later.

⁴¹ Bedřich SMETANA: *Z pozůstalých skladeb Bedřicha Smetany. XII., První písň. Milenčiny oči, Sbohem!, Smutek opuštěné, Vyzvání, Jaro lásky, Válečná*, Praha: Umělecká beseda, 1909. František BARTOŠ: [A Thematic List of the Works by Bedřich Smetana], typescript, fragment, s.a., p. I, Czech National Museum – Bedřich Smetana Museum, Praha, inventory number S 217/295 (No. 60 is the number of the composition in the list, typescript pages 177–185).

»It is entirely possible that Smetana decided to set this text to music because he disagreed with the 'tame' Illyrian melody. As one of the young, he must have felt the contrast between the passionate text and the gentler melody. When we sing or play both melodies one after the other – the Illyrian and Smetana's – there is no doubt which is more revolutionary: Smetana wins by a landslide.«⁴²

This statement is very problematic. While Smetana's melody is undoubtedly more dramatic, revolutionary and sophisticated, this comparison is ultimately secondary. There is no evidence to suggest that Smetana knew the Croatian melody. Plavec completely ignored the possibility that the »disappearance« of the Croatian song from Czech public life could have been due to intensified censorship after the defeat of the revolution. Kolár's text is highly revolutionary and full of Hussite imagery (notably, both Smetana and Kolár were members of the Svornost society/armed corps), whereas Peška's verses are far more moderate, which likely contributed to their inclusion in over 50 songbooks.

In 1848, Kolár's text was also set to music by Albín Mašek. His choral composition *Válka* [War] was performed on 4 November 1848, at a concert by Zpěvácký spolek akademiků [Singers' Society of Academics] in Prague, and then again by Prague's Hlahol singers' society on 8 December 1865, at Žofín. The piece was also performed in Vienna on 4 November 1861, at a social event in the Zum grossen Zeissig hall.

In 1980, a quite fundamental and unique observation was published by Jaroslav Smolka.⁴³ He noted that in the memoirs of the revolutionary Josef Václav Frič,⁴⁴ another active participant in the revolution is mentioned as another composer of Kolár's text: Antonín Bivoj Chmela, known as Bradáč (a member of the Slavie singers' society and the student legion). Frič describes him as »a good, warmhearted and jovial young man, knowledgeable about both urban and rural life, born in Neznašov/Nedzašov (1826), a technician by profession but also a skilled singer, passionate musician and composer of songs, who also wrote the melody for Kolár's march of Svornost: 'War, war! God is with us.'« This raises the question of whether Frič mistakenly attributed the Croatian melody or Smetana's melody to Chmela. However, if Frič was correct, he pointed to the existence of a third – now unknown – melody by a Czech composer.

⁴² J. PLAVEC: *Smetanova tvorba sborová*, 44.

⁴³ Jaroslav SMOLKA: *Smetanova vokální tvorba: písně, sbory, kantáta*, Praha: Supraphon, 1980, 21. Smolka mistakenly cites the page he used – it is not page 362, but page 369, see the following footnote.

⁴⁴ Josef Václav FRIČ – Karel CVEJN (eds.): *Paměti, svazek 2*, Praha: Státní nakladatelství krásné literatury, hudby a umění, 1960, 392; Josef Václav FRIČ – Ferdinand STREJČEK (eds.): *Fričova čítanka: výbor ze spisů J. V. Friče*, Praha: Josef Uher, 1924, 85.

Anselm Rambousek (1824–1901) – Pavel Křížkovský: *Aj, vy bratří, aj jonáci* (incipit: »Aj, vy bratří, aj jonáci«) [Hey, Brothers, Hey, Young Men (incipit: Hey, brothers, hey, young men)]

Among the significant musical echoes of the revolutionary year 1848 in Moravia is the text by the priest Anselm Rambousek.⁴⁵ Known for his work as an enlightened rationalist and fearless advocate of the Moravian national revival, he was regarded by the police as a modern-day Hussite and a dangerous, politically engaged Slav.⁴⁶ Rambousek's influence parallels that of other revivalists associated with the monastery in Old Brno, such as František Matouš Klácel (1808–1882), a proponent of the Hussite legacy, and the free-thinking abbot Cyril Franz Napp (1792–1867). The monastery itself was a hub of the national movement. It is therefore unsurprising that Rambousek's six-stanza text originated there and was set to music in the form of a choral piece. Jan Racek discovered that »the choral work was first performed in German on 18 March 1848 during a celebration organised by the Brno Männergesangsverein. Essentially, it was a German commemoration of the constitution [...].«⁴⁷ This public performance distinguishes Rambousek's choral work from Smetana's song based on Kolár's text, yet there are certain parallels: both fell into obscurity after the revolution's failure and were revived at the beginning of the 20th century. Another shared feature is the thematic appeal against slavery and tyranny, along with a call for political and national freedom. Rambousek's text highlights the urgency of the moment, foretelling imminent change. Religious imagery pervades the verses, referencing light, hell, salvation, God's judgment and the devil. Notably, the second verse directs its appeal to children and women.

⁴⁵ David SOLNÍČKA: *Život augustiniánského mnicha Anselma Rambouska na pozadí kulturního rozkvetu kláštera na Starém Brně v 19. století*, Bachelor Thesis, Masarykova univerzita, Pedagogická fakulta, Brno, 2007.

⁴⁶ Jan RACEK: *Moravská hudební kultura v době příchodu Pavla Křížkovského. K jubilejním oslavám 130. výročí narození Pavla Křížkovského*, Opava: Společnost Pavla Křížkovského, 1950, 23.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 22; Josef SAJNER: Gregor Mendel a Brno, in: Vítězslav Orel (ed.): *Gregor Mendel, zakladatel genetiky. Populárně vědecký sborník*, Brno: Blok, 1965, 141.

Text example No. 4: Anselm Rambousek – Pavel Křížkovský: *Aj, vy bratří, aj jonáci* [Hey, Brothers, Hey, Young Men], in: Pavel KRÍŽKOVSKÝ – Vilém STEINMANN – Jan RACEK (eds.): *Skladebné dílo Pavla Křížkovského. Skladby písňové, sborové a kantátové. Svazek první* [Monumenta musicae bohemicae. Skladebné dílo Pavla Křížkovského; Svazek první], Praha: Melantrich, 1949, 25.

<p><i>Aj, vy bratří, aj jonáci, vizte, jak se svět potácí. Na světlo potácí z chmury, v níž jej měly pekla můry. Sbor !:Každý právo poznávej, o příslušné skutky dbej.:/</i></p> <p><i>A vy panny, dívky krásy, vizte záři naší spásy. Hled'te, děcko ať dospěje, jež se z plínky na nás směje. Sbor !:Každá právo poznávej, o příslušné skutky dbej.:/</i></p> <p><i>Ví bohatý, ví též chudý, odkud všechny naše trudy. Ví to všechněch péče bledá, že nás souží šelma šedá. Sbor !:Každý právo poznávej, o příslušné skutky dbej.:/</i></p> <p><i>Světě, viz, že zlatohlavky ošemetné jsou pijavky. Ty pijavky všeho blaha, světě, poznej svého vraha. Sbor !:Každý právo poznávej, o příslušné skutky dbej.:/</i></p> <p><i>Každý podle Boží rady ztroukotejme hnusné vady; statkem, vtipem, krásou, silou podporujme obec milou. Sbor !:Každý právo poznávej, o příslušné skutky dbej.:/</i></p> <p><i>Jen ať čert se nesebere, mnoho duší nesežere, rozum v chmuru neupadne, mnohé kvítka neuvaďne. Sbor !:Proto každý právo znej, včas o skvělé skutky dbej.:/</i></p>	<p><i>Hey, brothers, hey, young men, see how the world stumbles. It stumbles towards light from gloom, where it was held by the phantoms of hell. Chorus: !:Let everyone know what is just, and do the right deeds.:/</i></p> <p><i>And you maidens, children of beauty, look upon the glow of our salvation. Behold, let the child grow to maturity, smiling at us as from its swaddling ties. Chorus: !:Let everyone know what is just, and do the right deeds.:/</i></p> <p><i>Both the rich and the poor know the root of all our woes. The pallor of worries on every face tells that we are tormented by a grey beast. Chorus: !:Let everyone know what is just, and do the right deeds.:/</i></p> <p><i>World, see that the gold-headed are deceitful leeches, draining away all welfare, world, recognise your murderer. Chorus: !:Let everyone know what is just, and do the right deeds.:/</i></p> <p><i>Let each, by God's guidance, crush vile faults; through wealth, wit, beauty and power, let us uphold our dear community. Chorus: !:Let everyone know what is just, and do the right deeds.:/</i></p> <p><i>Let the devil not rise to devour many souls, to cast minds into gloom, to cause many flowers to wither. Chorus: !:Thus, let everyone know what is just, and do great deeds in due time.:/</i></p>
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»[The melody of the choral piece *Aj, vy bratři* ...] was widely circulated and attributed to Pavel Křížkovský.«⁴⁸ This quote from 1963 makes it clear that the question of authorship posed a problem. The piece was found in Křížkovský's estate by Augustin Alois Neumann (1891–1948), who automatically assumed it was Křížkovský's work.⁴⁹ Jan Racek later documented who else took this information and spread it,⁵⁰ pointed out the presence of this claim in the 1949 edition of Křížkovský's compositions,⁵¹ and noted that Křížkovský had been challenged as an author by Vratislav Vycpálek not long before.⁵² Unfortunately, the challenging of Křížkovský's authorship by Vycpálek, Racek and later Josef Plavec⁵³ did not prevent the mistake of attributing the piece to Křížkovský from being repeated – see Theodora Straková (1955)⁵⁴ and Josef Sajner (1965).⁵⁵ Vycpálek was the first to identify the melody as the Croatian song, but he also expressed concern that research on this matter was unlikely to advance in the near future:

»One possibility remains: that Brno, Prague and Martin [the Slovak town where the poet Ján Botto published his contrafactum] shared a common source, namely the Croatian song already mentioned. The task today is to trace this final source, but this is a great stumbling block. Given the current strained relations between our culture and the representatives of the South Slavic state, it is almost impossible to approach any Serbo-Croatian scholar for assistance without putting him at risk. For this is an overtly revolutionary song, and some of its verses seem as though they were written for the current dire situation of the South Slavic people!«⁵⁶

Vycpálek focused on the variations that the choral setting of Rambousek's text displayed compared to the notations of the melody found in *Nápěvy ke Společenskému zpěvníku českému* [Melodies for a Czech Social Songbook] (1852), compiled by Martinec, and in the sixth edition of the same collection (1863), with the scores edited by Josef Leopold Zvonař. Neither Martinec nor Zvonař attributed the melody to a

⁴⁸ B. ŠTĚDRŮ: Kolár, Josef Jiří, 693.

⁴⁹ Augustin Alois NEUMANN: *Starobrněnský klášter za Křížkovského*, Brno: Spolek pro postavení pomníku Křížkovského, 1926, 7. Augustin Alois NEUMANN: *Acta et epistolae eruditorum Monasterii Ord. S. Augustini Vetero-Brunae. Pars 1. (A. 1819–1850)*, Brunae: [s.n.], 1930, 149, 150; File A. Rambousek, Moravian Land Archives, Brno, collection E4 – Augustiniáni Staré Brno, box 213.

⁵⁰ J. RACEK: Ještě k písni *Aj, vy bratři*, 2.

⁵¹ Pavel KŘÍŽKOVSKÝ – Vilém STEINMANN – Jan RACEK (eds.): *Skladebné dílo Pavla Křížkovského. Skladby písňové, sborové a kantátové. Svazek první*, 18 and 193 (commentary on song No. 13, here *Aj, vy bratři, aj jonáci*) and 25 (score).

⁵² V. VYCPÁLEK: *Aj, vy bratři*. Genese jedné revoluční písně, 4.

⁵³ J. PLAVEC: *Smetanova tvorba sborová*, 43.

⁵⁴ Theodora STRAKOVÁ: Pavel Křížkovský, tvůrce české hudby z ducha lidového, in: Theodora Straková (ed.): *Katalog výstavy „Pavel Křížkovský, tvůrce české hudby z ducha lidového“*, Brno: Moravské museum, 1955, 15.

⁵⁵ Josef SAJNER: Gregor Mendel a Brno, 141.

⁵⁶ V. VYCPÁLEK: *Aj, vy bratři*. Genese jedné revoluční písně, 4.

specific composer. It seems they might have been more aware of its Croatian roots than of any association with Křížkovský.

Shortly after, Jan Racek corroborated Vycpálek's conclusions, observing minor differences by comparing the melody with the version in Jiříček's songbook. He added an apt phrase about the »migratory movement of a largely popularised Slavic social song within the regions of our lands« and concluded with the following statement: »Křížkovský appears to have merely adapted the melody for Rambousek's text. That is, he is not its composer, as previously mistakenly assumed. However, his contribution to this revolutionary song provides the first concrete evidence of Křížkovský's revolutionary democratism [...].«⁵⁷

The musical aspects of the choral work were explored in the greatest depth by Vladimír Gregor, who highlighted a partial textual connection.⁵⁸ Rambousek's opening lines seem to be inspired by those of Ljudevit Gaj's song *Hajde bratjo, hajd junáci, konjaníci i pešaci* [Come, Brothers, Come, Young Men, Horsemen and Infantry]. In addition, it should be noted that Ljudevit Gaj's lyrics *Hajda braćo, hajd junaci* [Come, Brothers, Come, Heroes] were sung in Croatia to two melodies. The first melody [**Music example No. 2a**], the one that inspired Rambousek's opening lines, is reminiscent of the Croatian folk song *Bilo nas je pet vu kleti* [There Were Five of Us in the Cottage] from Podravina and its authorship is uncertain.⁵⁹ It was printed as a leaflet in 1835, and in *Danica* in the same year. The other melody [**Music example No. 2b**] was the one made by Ljudevit Gaj and written down by Dragutin Turányi (1805–1873).⁶⁰ It was performed in Josef Schweigert's play *Das schwarze Kreuz auf der Burg Medvedgrad* in a theatre in Zagreb in 1835. In the songbook *Hrvatska pjesmarica* [Croatian Songbook], edited by Vjekoslav Klaić and published in 1893, it is incorrectly stated that the melody was Polish.⁶¹ Arranged for male choir by Vatroslav Lisinski, it was titled *Hajda braćo, hajd junaci* (**Music example No. 2c**).⁶² However, the setting of Rambousek's text to music more closely reflects the song *Nek se hrusti šaka mala* (**Music example No. 3**).

⁵⁷ Jan RACEK: *Moravská hudební kultura v době příchodu Pavla Křížkovského*, 22, 23. Cf. also Jan RACEK: *Pavel Křížkovský. K 150. výročí jeho narození*, Opava: Okresní kulturní středisko, 1970, 8.

⁵⁸ Vladimír GREGOR: *Obrozenecká hudba na Moravě a ve Slezsku*, 34, 166–167.

⁵⁹ »3 (1603) Davorija. Iz Zagreba. Melodiju ukajdio Vatroslav Lisinski«, Franjo Š. KUHAČ: *Južno-slovenske narodne popevke* = (Chansons nationales des slaves de sud.), Vol. 5, ed. Božidar Širola i Vladoje Dukat, Zagreb: JAZU, 1941, 2–3, <[https://digitalnezbirke.kgz.hr/?pr=iiif.v.a&id=18340&tify={%22pages%22:\[762\]}>](https://digitalnezbirke.kgz.hr/?pr=iiif.v.a&id=18340&tify={%22pages%22:[762]}>) (Accessed 10 June 2025).

⁶⁰ Vjekoslav KLAJČ: *Hrvatska pjesmarica. Sbirka popevaka za skupno pjevanje*, Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1893, 33, <[https://digitalnezbirke.kgz.hr/?pr=iiif.v.a&id=19138&tify={%22pages%22:\[46\],%22view%22:%22scan%22}>](https://digitalnezbirke.kgz.hr/?pr=iiif.v.a&id=19138&tify={%22pages%22:[46],%22view%22:%22scan%22}>) (Accessed 10 June 2025).

⁶¹ Lovro ŽUPANOVIĆ: *Važnost Ljudevita Gaja za hrvatsku glazbu preporodnog razdoblja, Radovi Instituta za hrvatsku povijest*, 3 (1973), 177; Franjo Ks. KUHAČ: *Vatroslav Lisinski i njegovo doba*, Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1887, 158–159.

⁶² Vatroslav LISINSKI: *Hajda braćo, hajd junaci (za muški četvropjev)*. Nacionalna i sveučilišna knjižnica u Zagrebu, Ostavština Vatroslava Lisinskog – Ostavština Franje Ksavera Kuhača, Zbirka muzikalija i audiomaterijala NSK, sign. Lisinski 66, available at <<https://digitalna.nsk.hr/?pr=i&id=576712>>.



Music example No. 2a: Vladimír GREGOR: *Obrozená hudba na Moravě a ve Slezsku*, Praha: Supraphon, 1983, 166; Franjo Š. KUHAČ: *Južno-slovjenske narodne popievke = (Chansons nationales des slaves de sud.)*, Vol. 5, ed. Božidar Širola i Vladoje Dukat, Zagreb: JAZU, 1941, 2-3.

(Poljski napjev.)



Music example No. 2b: Vjekoslav KLAJČ: *Hrvatska pjesmarica. Sbirka popjevaka za skupno pjevanje*, Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1893, 33.

Moderato

Tenori
Bassi

Haj - da bra - čo, hajd ju - na - ci

Music example No. 2c: Vatroslav LISINSKI: *Hajda braćo, hajd junaci (za muški četvorpjev)*, Nacionalna i sveučilišna knjižnica u Zagrebu, Ostavština Vatroslava Lisinskog – Ostavština Franje Ksavera Kuhača, Zbirka muzikalija i audiomaterijala NSK, sign. Lisinski 66, available at <<https://digitalna.nsk.hr/?pr=i&id=576712>>.

Alla marcia

Aj, vy bra - tři, aj, jo - ná - ci, viz - te, jak se svět po - tá - ci. Na svět-lo po - tá - ci z chmu ry,

SBOR

v niž jej mě - ly pe - kla mů - ry. Kaž - dý prá - vo po - zná - vej, o při - sluš - né

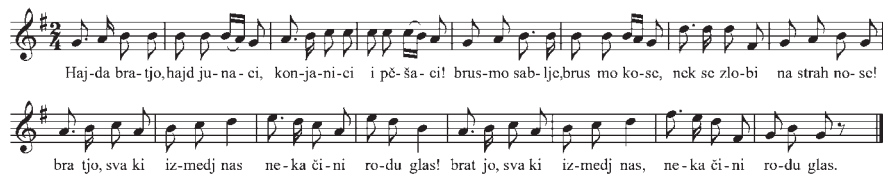
skut - ky dbej. Kaž - dý prá - vo po - zná - vej, o při - sluš - né skut - ky dbej

Music example No. 3: Pavel KŘÍŽKOVSKÝ – Vilém STEINMANN – Jan RACEK (eds.): *Skladebné dílo Pavla Křížkovského. Skladby písňové, sborové a kantátové. Svazek první [Monumenta musicae bohemicae. Skladebné dílo Pavla Křížkovského; Svazek první]*, Praha: Melantrich, 1949, 25.

Gregor noted that *Zpěvník Slávie roku 1848* [A Slávie Songbook of 1848]⁶³ includes an »Illyrian song« titled *Naprřed* [Forward], with the incipit »Hajde, bratjo, hajd, junáci« [Come, brothers, come, heroes]. Another melody to the same words can be found in *Sbírka písní slovanských* [A Collection of Slavic Songs], published in 1851 in Brno,⁶⁴ where Rambousek encountered it.⁶⁵

Naprřed. In: *Zpěvník Slávie* (1848)

Vesele



Hajda bratjo. In: *Sbírka písní slovanských* (1851)

Bystře



Music example No. 4: *Naprřed*, in: *Zpěvník Slávie* (1848), 7, National Library of the Czech Republic, Praha, call number 59 E 001704; *Hajda bratjo*, in: *: *Sbírka písní slovanských*, *Svazek 1, sešit 1*, Brno: M. Perna, 1851, [20].**

Gregor initiated further inquiries into the melody's true origins, suggesting that the melody had been used for the previously mentioned Peška's song *Novo-národní*:

»The very incipit does not point to a South Slavic origin but rather to a domestic folk and dance foundation. [...] Be that as it may, the melody had circulated in social singing before 1848. Vycpálek also asserts [*Lidové noviny*, 5 March 1950, Kulturní neděle] that 'the melody must have originated before 1848, as evidenced by Jiříček's manuscript *Songbook* from 1845'.⁶⁶

⁶³ *Zpěvník Slávie*, National Library of the Czech Republic, Praha, call number 59 E 001704, p. 7.

⁶⁴ ***: *Sbírka písní slovanských*, *Svazek 1, sešit 1*, Brno: M. Perna, 1851, [20].

⁶⁵ V. GREGOR: *Obrozenská hudba na Moravě a ve Slezsku*, 166.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 167.

Quite logically, inquiring into the origin of the melody, Gregor came to some interesting conclusions – he brought a new dimension to the issue in the form of Moravian and Silesian folklore, thus an area suitable for deeper current comparison beyond the limits of this historiographically oriented study:

»If Křížkovský merely adjusted the song's melody in terms of tempo and time, and if, at the time, he was deeply engaged in studying Moravian folk songs (from Sušil⁶⁷), it is plausible that he chose a folk dance melody from Moravia or Silesia that suited Rambousek's verses. Indeed, the choral refrain set to the words 'Každý právo poznávej' [Everyone know justice, see the second part of **Music example No. 3**] does not differ at all from the folk dance melodies found in the refrains of many duple-time dance songs from our regions, such as the 'Kozak' dance from the Těšín area (J. Mojžíšek), the 'Dráteník' dance from Lachia, or the Wallachian 'Kovářský' dance. These features closely align with Eastern Moravian dance songs, which might have served as a model for Křížkovský's faithful adaptation of the melody. Therefore, Křížkovský's involvement, at least in the arrangement of the original folk melody, cannot be entirely dismissed.«⁶⁸



Music example No. 5: Vladimír GREGOR: *Obrozená hudba na Moravě a ve Slezsku*, Praha: Supraphon, 1983, 167-168.

The prominent Czech hymnologist Karel Konrád (1842–1894), in one of the instalments of his series *Záhřeb* [Zagreb], also referenced the incipit form »Hajdo bračo, hajd junáci, nek se hrušti šaka mala!« [Come on, brothers, forward, young men, clench your young fists!], attributing it to Štriga.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ František Sušil (1804–1868) was a priest and collector of Moravian folklore. He published the collection *Moravské národní písně s nápěvy do textů vřazenými* [Moravian National Songs with the Melodies Included in the Lyrics] in instalments from 1853 to 1859 and then as a complete edition in 1860.

⁶⁸ V. GREGOR: *Obrozená hudba na Moravě a ve Slezsku*, 168.

⁶⁹ Karel KONRÁD: *Záhřeb, Slovanský sborník statí z oboru národopisu, kulturní historie a dějin literárního a společenského života*, 6 (October 1887) 10, 474.

3. The period after 1850

From the musical heritage associated with the Croatian song, only Peška's *Novonárodní/Vlastenecká* entered Czech musical culture in the second half of the 19th century. Works by »Pseudo-Křížkovský«, Smetana and Mašek faded into obscurity. After 1850, however, three notable developments can be observed: the creation of several new contrafacta (one of which was adapted for a mixed choir) and harmonisations featuring either the original Croatian lyrics or their Czech translation, as well as the creation of a purely piano arrangement.

3.1. Contrafacta

**Vincenc Furch (1817–1864): *Slavozpěv* (incipit: »Palma na bojišti zkvítá«)
[A Hymn (incipit: A palm blooming upon the battlefield)]**

The contrafactum by Vincenc Furch, a significant figure of Czech culture in Vienna, where he lived through the 1848 revolution, can only be reliably dated by its publication date and content. Furch's verses were first published in 1850 and republished in 1874 to mark the 10th anniversary of his death.⁷⁰ In both cases, the title of the poem is followed by an instruction to sing it to the melody of the Croatian song. However, it remains unknown whether the song was performed, either publicly or privately. The text itself is a patchwork of various revolutionary events, referring to the Hungarian uprising, events in Serbia and Slovakia, and even a Russian motif and echoes of the Hussite wars. It mentions several individuals associated with the events of 1848.

Text example No. 5: Vincenc Furch: *Slavozpěv* [A Hymn], in: Vincenc FURCH: *Písně a balady z války uherské*, Praha: Tiskem a nákladem Jana Spurného, 1850, 192-195.

<i>Palma na bojišti zkvítá, bílá holubice litá, vítězoslavní vojáci z bojiště se domů vrací, Ozdobeni vavřínem – Sláva bojovníkům všem!</i>	<i>A palm blooming upon the battlefield, a white dove soaring through the sky, victorious, triumphant soldiers returning home from the fray, adorned with laurel wreaths – glory to all the warriors!</i>
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⁷⁰ Vincenc FURCH: *Písně a balady z války uherské*, Praha: Tiskem a nákladem Jana Spurného, 1850, 192-195. Vincenc FURCH: *Vincence Furcha Básně*, Praha: Národní kněhtiskárna I. L. Kobera, 1874, 373-375.

⁷¹ János Hrabovszky (1777–1852) was a military commander, arrested in early 1849, sentenced to death, later pardoned after his sentence was commuted.

⁷² Đorđe Stratimirović (1822–1908) was a commander of the Serbian army during the Serbian uprisings of 1848 and 1849. Stevan Knićanin (1807–1855) led a volunteer corps in 1848 to aid Austrian Serbs against the Hungarian rebels. Josif Rajačić (1785–1861) was a Serbian patriarch, administrator of Serbian Vojvodina and metropolitan in Sremski Karlovci and Karlovac.

Rakouský trůn už se bořil,
Maďar zvláštní říš si tvořil,
Němec trhal k Frankobrodu,
společně se zvali k hodu
Na zabitém Rakousku –
Slovan pokazil jim hru.

Sláva národu Srbskému,
jenž se proti Hrabovskému^[71]
slavně bránil hned v začátcích,
v strašných svatodušních svátcích;
Kletba Maďaronovi,
Hrabovskému zrádcovi!

Sláva vůdcům Srbských reků
budou v nejpozdějším věku
skvíti se tři Srbů jména,
hvězdným věncem ozdobená
Živio Stratimirovič!
Kničanin a Rajačić!^[72]

Skví se ve krvavé záři
bohatýrští hraničáři,
jako jejich pradědové
jsou i oni hrdinové –
sláva nekonečná jim
hraničářům udatným!

V jejich čele rytíř stojí
pevně jako skála v boji,
jako Bayard^[73] bez ouhony –
zvučte slavně všechny zvony.
Zvučte Jelačičovi,
horvatskému banovi!

Tisíc let noc Tatry kryla,
též se bleskem vyjasnila –
pod Jiskrou^[74] jak v minulosti
stál tam mužně v přítomnosti
Hurbanem a Štúrem^[75] zván,
mnohý Čech a Moravan.

Důkaz činné lásky dali,
krev svou cedit neváhali
za Slovenské drahé bratry,
oltářem jim byly Tatry,
obřad svatý slavili,
oběť Slávě pálili.

The Austrian throne was crumbling,
the Hungarians were forging their own realm,
the Germans tore their way to Frankfort,
and together they invited one another
to feast upon the corpse of Austria –
but the Slavs ruined their plans.

Glory to the Serbian nation,
which bravely defended itself
against Hrabovszky from the very beginning,
during the dreadful Pentecost days;
curses on the Hungarians,
and the traitor Hrabovszky!

Glory to the leaders of Serbian heroes,
the names of three Serbs
will shine through the ages,
adorned with wreaths of honour –
Hail Stratimirovič!
Kničanin and Rajačić!

In the bloody glow of battle,
the heroic Grenzers shine,
as their forefathers did before them.
They too are heroes –
eternal glory to them,
the valiant Grenzers!

At their head stands a knight,
firm as a rock in battle,
as noble as Bayard, untarnished –
let the bells ring in his honour.
Ring for Jelačić,
the Ban of Croatia!

A thousand years the Tatras lay in darkness,
but now they too are lit by lightning –
as in the past under Jiskra,
so many Czechs and Moravians
now stand firm again,
called by Hurban and Štúr.

They gave proof of their devoted love,
shedding their blood without hesitation
for their dear Slovak brothers,
the Tatras became their sacred altar,
where they performed holy rites,
offering sacrifices for Slavic glory.

<p><i>Stane se, co stát se musí – nahnali dost strachu Rusi, jakož praví ancikristi, jakož hrozí panslavisti – Ha ha, osud konečně přivolał je skutečně!</i></p> <p><i>Sláva Rusům! – – Maďar plesal, rakouský trůn již již klesal, tu se Rusi přiválili a Görgeye^[76] obtočili, zápas počal krvavě, a skončil se mlhavě.</i></p> <p><i>Sláva bud' i Haynau-ovi^[77], hromovému vítězovi, co blesk mezi vrahy vrazil, a tím spojení jim zkazil; Sláva vojsku celému, Rakouskému, Ruskému.</i></p>	<p><i>What must happen will happen – the Russians struck fear into their foes, denounced as antichrists, feared as formidable Pan-Slavists – ha, ha, fate finally called them forth!</i></p> <p><i>Glory to the Russians! – – The Hungarians rejoiced, the Austrian throne began to crumble, then the Russians swept in, encircling Görgey, the struggle began in blood, and ended in a haze.</i></p> <p><i>Glory to Haynau, the thunderous victor, who struck lightning among the murderers, shattering their unity; glory to the armies of Austria and Russia.</i></p>
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František Ladislav Čelakovský (1799–1852): *Tělocvičná* (incipit: »Rychle, hoši! seřaďme se«) [An Exercise Song (incipit: Hurry up, boys! Let us line up)]

A paraphrase of the text written by a prominent figure in Czech cultural and political life was created in 1850. »[The verses] were not published until 1869 in the journal *Škola a život*, along with the original melody arranged for a mixed-voice quartet by V. Švajcr. In the same year, they were reprinted with minor textual adjustments (for girls), this time with musical accompaniment by Fr. Kaván.«⁷⁸ However, Přemysl Ježek's cited findings require clarification: the journal *Škola a život* published only the text (No. 2, p. 18; **Text example No. 6**), which serves as a

⁷³ Possibly Fort Boyard, completed in 1857.

⁷⁴ Jan Jiskra of Brandýs (1400–1469) was a Czech and later Hungarian warrior who spent 22 years, with interruptions, in the territory of present-day Slovakia.

⁷⁵ Ludovít Štúr (1815–1856) was a deputy of the Diet of Hungary in 1848 and 1849, participant in the 1848 revolution, codifier of modern standard Slovak, teacher, writer and journalist.

Jozef Miloslav Hurban (1817–1888) was a Protestant pastor, politician, writer and co-founder of the first Slovak National Council.

⁷⁶ Artúr Görgey (1818–1916) was a Hungarian military leader and politician, supreme commander during the Hungarian War of Independence (1848, 1849). After the Hungarian army's surrender in August 1849, he was considered a traitor, although this was not his decision.

⁷⁷ Julius Jacob Heinrich Friedrich Ludwig Freiherr von Haynau (1786–1853) was an Austrian general. He played a significant role in suppressing revolutions in Italy and Hungary.

⁷⁸ Přemysl JEŽEK: Čelakovského „Píseň při tělocviku«, *Ruch v tělovýchově a sportu*, 7 (1 August 1952) 31, 14.

general call to physical exercise, accompanied by the following editorial note: »This song was composed in 1850 to the melody of a well-known South Slavic song, which Mr. V. Švajcr^[79] arranged for a mixed-voice quartet. To our knowledge, it has not yet been published elsewhere. Thanks to the kindness of Mr. J. Malypetr,^[80] at whose request Čelakovský composed this song, we are able to present it here. The quartet arrangement will be included in an upcoming supplement to 'Šk.[Škola] a Živ.[Život]'.«

The score – with instructions for singing it as »the national Croatian song« – was eventually published in the journal's supplement, i.e. *Štěpnice* (Vol. 15, 1869, No. 9, p. 142):

Tělocvičný sbor.

(Čelakovský.)

(Národní charvátská.)

Živě.

Soprán.
Alt.
Tenor.
Bass.

Ry - chle ho - ši se - řad' me_ se, cvi - če - ní ted' za - po - čne se, kaž - dý měj se na po - zo - ru,
by vše ko - nal hned po slo - vu. Jest - li po - zor - ni bu - dem, po - chva - ly si
do - bu - dem, jest - li po - zor - ni bu - dem, po - chva - ly si do - bu - dem.

Music example No. 6: František Ladislav Čelakovský: *Tělocvičná*, *Štěpnice: příloha pedagogického časopisu Škola a život: čítanka pro mládež československou*, 15 (1869) 9, 142.

⁷⁹ V. Švajcr – possibly referring to a singing teacher at a Czech real school in Prague, mentioned in the memoirs of the poet Adolf Heyduk, cf. Adolf HEYDUK: *Můj první nakladatel, Zvon: týždenník belletristický a literární*, 2 (1905) 12, 177.

⁸⁰ Jan Malýpetr (1815–1899) was a teacher and promoter of physical education, co-author of the Czech terminology for physical education and one of the founders of the Sokol physical education organisation.

Text example No. 6: František Ladislav Čelakovský: *Tělocvičná* [An Exercise Song], *Štěpnice: příloha pedagogického časopisu Škola a život: čítanka pro mládež československou*, 15 (1869) 2, 18.

<p><i>Rychle, hoši! seřad'me se, cvičení teď započne se; každý měj se na pozoru, by vše konal hned po slovu. Jestli pozorní budem, pochvaly si dobudem.</i></p> <p><i>Vzhůru, bratři! k běhu, skoku, svého mistra mějme v oku; k cvičnému se mějme dílu, rozvíjejme těla sílu. Síla jest života květ, síla řídí celý svět.</i></p>	<p><i>Hurry up, boys! Let us line up, the exercise is about to begin; everyone pay attention, and follow every command. If we are attentive, we will earn praise.</i></p> <p><i>Up, brothers! Run and jump, let us follow our master; let us dedicate ourselves to the exercise, let us build the strength of our bodies. Strength is the flower of life, strength controls the whole world.</i></p>
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František Matouš Klácel (1808–1882): *Píseň Obcí Svobodomyslných* [A Song of the Freethinking Communities]

In 1869, Klácel left his homeland and, in the United States, attempted to establish a non-conformist religious society based on the love of people and their charity. Although this endeavour did not find fulfilment, its traces remain very valuable. It is possible that a text relevant to this study was published in the society's periodical, *Hlas*. The existence of a contrafactum was first noted by Břetislav Parůžek in 1908, who also published the text.⁸¹ A comparison with Rambousek's text is necessary, as both Klácel and Rambousek spent several years (including in 1848) at the monastery in Old Brno. A plausible hypothesis is that, after approximately 20 years, Klácel recalled Rambousek's text only faintly, and where he could not remember the original, he created a new text in the spirit of the original. Klácel also partially altered the order of the stanzas.

Text example No. 7: František Matouš Klácel: *Píseň Obcí Svobodomyslných* [A Song of the Freethinking Communities], in: Břetislav PARŮŽEK: *František Klácel (dokončení)*, *Česká škola*, 7 (15 July 1908) 23, 363.

<p><i>Čas, již čas, chrabří rodáci! Vězte, jak se svět potácí. Chce na světlo duch ze chmúry, však mu brání pekla kůry. Sbor !:Proto každý pravdu znej, o příslušné skutky dbej!:</i></p> <p><i>Ví bohatý, ví to chudý, odkud hlavní naše trudy. Ví to všech nás pění bledá,</i></p>	<p><i>The time has come, brave compatriots! See how the world stumbles. The spirit seeks to emerge from the gloom, yet is hindered by hell's oppressive grasp. Chorus: !:Therefore, everyone know the truth, and do the right deeds!:</i></p> <p><i>Both the rich and the poor know the root of our main woes. The pallor of our worries on every face tells</i></p>
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⁸¹ Břetislav PARŮŽEK: František Klácel (dokončení), *Česká škola*, 7 (15 July 1908) 23, 363.

<p>že nás svírá můra šedá. Sbor /:Proto každý den již znej, o příslušné skutky dbej!:/</p> <p>Světě, viz, že černohlávky ošemetné jsou pijavky. V těch pijavkách světla blaha, světě, poznej svého vraha. Sbor /:Každý již to pravě znej, o příslušné skutky dbej!:/</p> <p>Zdaleka se duch již hlásí, vizte záři naší spásy. V plínkách již se na nás směje, obce, hleďte, ať dospěje. Sbor /:Každá Obec spásu znej, o příslušné skutky dbej!:/</p> <p>Každý dle vesměrné rady rozkotějme hnusné vady; skutkem, všeho umu silou podporujme obec milou. Sbor /:Každý úkol Obec znej, o jednoty slávu dbej!:/</p> <p>Zlý duch často k nám se dere, mnohou duši zas pobere, mnohý rozum v chmůry padne, mnohé kvítko zas uvadne. Sbor /:Proto každý sebe měj, včas o skvělé skutky dbej!:/</p>	<p>that we are oppressed by a grey moth. Chorus: /:Therefore, know it every day, and do the right deeds!:/</p> <p>World, see that the black-headed are deceitful leeches, draining away the welfare of light, world, recognise your murderer. Chorus: /:Everyone, know what is right, and do the right deeds!:/</p> <p>The spirit calls out from afar, behold the radiance of our salvation. It is smiling at us as from its swaddling ties, communities, let it grow to maturity. Chorus: /:Every community, know your salvation, and do the right deeds!:/</p> <p>Let each, by universal guidance, destroy vile faults; through deeds, by the power of all skill, let us uphold our dear community. Chorus: /:Know every task, community, and strive for the glory of Unity!:/</p> <p>The evil spirit often approaches to us, stealing many souls again, casting many minds into gloom, causing many flowers to wither. Chorus: /:Therefore, everyone protect yourself, and do great deeds in due time!:/</p>
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**»Pedagogické kontrafaktum« (incipit: »Po mezích a hájích«)
[A Pedagogical Contrafactum (incipit: In baulks and groves)]**

Vratislav Vycpálek was the first to note, in 1950, the existence of a contrafactum with a »pedagogical text« that was sung to the melody of the song *Nek se hrusti šaka mala* in schools.⁸² He included only one stanza, which urges children to focus on the path in nature and not be distracted by their surroundings. The original form of the text is in question.

Text example No. 8: »Pedagogické kontrafaktum« [A Pedagogical Contrafactum], in: Vratislav VYCPÁLEK: Aj, vy bratři. Genese jedné revoluční písně [Aj, Vy Bratři. The Genesis of One Revolutionary Song], *Lidové noviny*, 58 (5 March 1950, Kulturní neděle) 58, 4.

<p>Po mezích a hájích, sadě, krácejme si pěkně v řadě, nedejme se kvítím plésti, jež rozkvétá dál od cesty, nezabočme do polí, hospodáře to bolí.</p>	<p>In baulks and groves, in orchards, let us walk in a neat line, let us not be distracted by the flowers, blooming further from the path, let us not turn into the fields, for it pains the farmer.</p>
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⁸² V. VYCPÁLEK: Aj, vy bratři. Genese jedné revoluční písně, 4.

3.2. Harmonisations with the original text or its Czech translation

Josef Leopold Zvonař (1824–1865)

The phrase »said by Franjo Kramarić« appears in a two-part notation of all seven stanzas of a song titled *Davorija* (*Nek sa hrusti šaka mala*) in *Zpěvníček pro dívčí školy* [A Songbook for Girls' Schools]. It was first published in 1864, and the editor, Josef Leopold Zvonař, included it as the only Croatian song in the collection.⁸³ Thus, the first notated version of the original Croatian text appeared in the Czech environment. The relationship between Zvonař and Kramarić (perhaps referring to the author of *Slovensko-němský slovar* [A Slovenian-German Dictionary]) is unclear.

Bujaje.

mf Nek se hru - sti ša - ka ma - la duš - ma - ni - nov ne - ka ja - la ruž - ne u nás ba - ca strě - le,

mf vo - lje već i nam do - zrě - le u - dri - o j'i za nas sat, u - dri - o j'i

za nas sat u - dri - o j'i za nas sat, u - dri - o j'i za nas sat

Music example No. 7: Josef Leopold ZVONAŘ (ed.):
Zpěvníček pro dívčí školy, Praha: Kober, 1864, 93-95.

Arnošt Bohaboj-Tovačovský/Ernst Förchtgott (1825–1874)

The relationship of this Moravian figure, active in the Slavic music scene in Vienna, to Croatian songs has been presented in *Arti musices* (see footnote 11).

»[Harmonisations] arose from external needs, as repertoire pieces for Croats, Serbs and other Slavs united in the 'Slovanský zpěvácký spolek' [Slavic Singers' Society]. The harmonisations of the songs in which the piano has a secondary role to mediate modulations and connect the individual songs are simple; they do not contradict the spirit of the song, but they also do not elevate it to the level of artistic stylisation, cleansed of the roughness of folk primitiveness.«⁸⁴

⁸³ *Davorija* – a type of lyric-epic poem, a very popular form in Croatia during the 1830s and 1840s. The content was typically a call to fight for national freedom. The song also appears in the same place in the 1875 edition, i.e. issue No. 21 (86), on pages 93-95.

⁸⁴ Emil AXMAN: *Morava v české hudbě 19. století*, Praha: Matice česká, 1920, 42.

It was probably first performed on 4 May 1871 at an extraordinary social event of the Slavic Singers' Society and again at an event of the same society and the Slovanská Beseda society on 20 May 1873 (held in honour of the Slavic participants in the World's Fair). This self-citation directly relates to the harmonisation of the song *Nek se hrusti šaka mala*:

»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.«⁸⁵

Allegro a'la marcia ben marcato

Music example No. 8: Ernst Förchtgott / Arnošt Bohaboj-Tovačovský: Hrvatska narodna pjesma *Nek se hrusti šaka mala* (transcription in Horník's collection), Czech National Museum – Czech Museum of Music, call number XVII A 190.

Ludvík Kuba (1863–1956)

The original Croatian text, along with the Czech translation, was not offered in a songbook until the end of the 19th century by Ludvík Kuba, a painter, teacher and collector of Slavic musical folklore. The text was translated into Czech by Bohumil Daďourek,⁸⁶ and Kuba himself added a piano accompaniment to the melody.

⁸⁵ V. VELEK: *Ernst Förchtgott / Arnošt Bohaboj-Tovačovský (1825–1874): A Viennese Slav and a Moravian Hussite Rolled into One*, 18.

⁸⁶ The first stanza of Daďourek's translation can often be found published, see the aforementioned publications by Vratislav Vycpálek (1950) and Josef Plavec (1954).

Bujaře. pochodem.

mf

Nechť se zdví-há pěst za - řa - tá, nechť ne-přá-tel zlo-ba chvá - tá, nechť si me-tá na nás stře - ly:

Bujaře. pochodem.

mf

k moc - né sí - le jsme vy - spě - li, při - šla na - še ho - di - na, při - šla na - še

f

ho - di - na, při - šla na - še ho - di - na, při - šla na - še ho - di - na!

*Red. **

Music example No. 9: Ludvík KUBA (ed.): *Slovanstvo ve svých zpěvech. Kniha IX., Písně charvatské / sborník národních a znárodnělých (významných) písní všech slovanských národů* [translated by Bohumil Daďourek], Poděbrady: Ludvík Kuba, 1892, 116-117.

In the collection *Slovanstvo ve svých zpěvech* [Slavdom in its Songs] (1892), specifically in *Díl V., Písňe jihoslovanské, část III – kniha IX.* [Volume V, South Slavic Songs, Part III – Book IX], the song is listed as No. 61.⁸⁷ It is uncertain whether Kuba knew the song from the Czech environment, or if he encountered it during his travels in the Balkans, or if one of his South Slavic friends sent it to him. Kuba's contemporary Ferdinand Polenský (1862–1938) included the Croatian song in Czech translation in his songbook twelve years later, in 1904.⁸⁸ Kuba published the song in G, while Polenský did so in F only as a monody.

3.3. Instrumental harmonisations and variations

Jan Malát (1843–1915)

Vratislav Vycpálek highlighted the existence of a piano arrangement titled *Necht' se zdvihá pěst zaťatá* [Let the Clenched Fist Be Raised] in his monograph on the prominent violin teacher and composer Jan Malát.⁸⁹ Vycpálek mentions that the piece was included (as No. 85 on page 49) in the collection *Slovanská lípa* [Slavic Linden], published at the composer's own expense in 1894. Alongside the piano version, there is also a version for two violins. The collection includes seven Croatian songs, and the discussed song appears with its main title in Croatian, with the Czech translation as a secondary title.

⁸⁷ Ludvík KUBA (ed.): *Slovanstvo ve svých zpěvech. Kniha IX., Písňe charvatské / sborník národních a znárodnělých (významných) písní všech slovanských národů* [translated by Bohumil Daďourek], Poděbrady: Ludvík Kuba 1892, 116–117; Ludvík KUBA (ed.): *Album charvatské: 62 národní písně* [translated by Bohumil Daďourek], Praha: L. Kuba, 1892.

⁸⁸ Ferdinand POLENSKÝ: *Společenský zpěvník sokolský s nápěvy. II. díl. Z luhů slovanských a cizích*, Praha: Ferdinand Polenský, 1904. The songbook was later recalled by Vycpálek, see V. VYCPÁLEK: *Aj, vy bratři. Genese jedné revoluční písně*, 4.

⁸⁹ Vratislav VYCPÁLEK: *Jan Malát: život a dílo*, Praha: Orbis, 1944, 219. Malát is also the author of a cycle of fourteen characteristic pieces *Děvy slovanské* [Slavic Maidens] (various settings), in which No. 8 is the piece titled *Chorvatka* [A Croatian Maiden]. Jan MALÁT: *Slovanská lípa. 100 lidových písní všech slovanských národů*, Praha: vlastním nákladem, 1894, 49.

Nek se hrusti šaka mala.

Necht' se zdvihá pěst za'tatá.

Charvatská.

Tempo di marcia.

Předehra **Píseň**

Dohra

Music example No. 10: Jan MALÁT: *Slovanská lípa. 100 lidových písní všech slovanských národů*, Praha: vlastním nákladem, 1894, 49.

It should be added that several composers used the song *Nek se hrusti šaka mala* as a theme for variations:⁹⁰

- Croatian Ivan Padovec (1800–1873): *Variations for Guitar* (performed in Varaždin in 1838);
- Austrian (violinist, violin teacher and composer who lived in Zagreb for 20 years) Antun/Anton Kirschofer (1807–1849): variations for orchestra, i.e. for voice and orchestra (performed in Zagreb in 1839) and also for violin and piano;
- Hungarian Anton Ebenhöch: *Variations for Flute* (performed in Zagreb in 1836, the score is lost);
- the Czech composer, pianist and choirmaster (who lived and worked in Karlovac) Oton Hauska/Hauška (1809–1868): *Variations for Clarinet and Orchestra in B-Flat Major* (premiered in Bratislava in 1839).

⁹⁰ R. PALIĆ-JELAVIĆ: *Ivan pl. Zajc*, 125; K. KOS: *Uglazbljeni prepородitelj*, 2024, 103–104.

Conclusion

The study provides an introduction to the penetration of Slavic songs into the Czech environment around 1848. It draws on a number of sources, especially Czech printed songbooks from this and earlier periods. One of the key findings of the research is that when tracing the migration of the song *Nek se hrusti šaka mala*, it is essential to consider related repertoire, in this case the Croatian song with the incipit *Hajda braćo, hajd junaci*. The study primarily expands and refines earlier research by Czech musicologists, especially Vladimír Gregor, Josef Plavec and Jaroslav Smolka. Numerous musical examples and transcriptions of lyrics contribute to greater clarity, allowing for precise observation of the evolution of individual lyrics and melodic variants. The diverse spectrum presented demonstrates that the reception of the song outside Croatia needs to be reconsidered. The study provides ample evidence of the popularity of its melody and lyrics.

Where questions remain after the research has been conducted, the study often offers hypothetical solutions. These include the consideration of the role of the Croatian composer Vatroslav Lisinski, who was studying in Prague and was in contact with prominent Czech patriots. Another line of thought discusses the possibility that the song made its way into Bohemia and Moravia from Vienna, where a significant Czech minority lived. The study is by no means a definitive end to the reception of Croatian song abroad. The author has also completed a Slovak reflection on the song *Nek se hrusti šaka mala* and has prepared it for publication in a forthcoming volume of the present journal.

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*Sažetak*HRVATSKA DAVORIJA NEK SE HRUSTI ŠAKA MALA
U ČEŠKOJ GLAZBENOJ KULTURI

U ovom se radu istražuje recepcija hrvatske davorije *Nek se hrusti šaka mala* u češkoj glazbenoj kulturi. Brojni primjeri potvrđuju da je navedena davorija bila prisutna u toj sredini i prije 1848, no osobito tijekom te revolucionarne godine. Sljedećih godina njezina se melodija često prenamjenjivala za nove tekstove. Sadržaj pjesme nije bio široko prihvaćen u češkoj sredini jer su mnogi slični tekstovi već bili prisutni u drugim češkim pjesmama. Hrvatska davorija utjecala je, dakle, primarno svojom melodijom, pod koju su se često podmetali novi tekstovi (kontrafaktura). Novi stihovi kretali su se od radikalno revolucionarnih ili nacionalističkih tema do slavljenja prirode, veličanja povijesnih postignuća i, povremeno, duhovne tematike. Nakon 1848. godine u češkoj sredini javlja se nekoliko glazbenih obrada davorije, što odražava uobičajenu praksu obrade slavenskih pjesama.

Članak započinje recepcijom davorije u češkom glazbenom životu, nakon čega slijedi podjela na njezinu povijest prije i nakon 1848. Uz pregled kontrafakturnih postupaka i glazbenih obrada davorije u radu se analiziraju mogući putovi njezine migracije. Čini se da je davorija *Nek se hrusti* svoje prve interpretatore pronašla među studentima i Slavenima koji su živjeli u Beču, kao i Slovacima u Hrvatskoj koji su održavali veze sa svojom domovinom.

Članak nudi i retrospektivu prethodnih istraživanja. Ističu se uglazbljenja dvaju čeških tekstova: stihove pjesme *Píseň svobody* [Pjesma o slobodi] Josefa Jiříja Kolára, koji su se pjevali na melodiju hrvatske davorije, 1848. nanovo je uglazbio Bedřich Smetana, utemeljitelj češke nacionalne glazbe. No, Smetanina je skladba otkrivena tek nakon njegove smrti, što zanimanje za melodiju hrvatske popijevke stavlja u drugi plan. Hrvatska melodija za Kolárov tekst predviđena je u pjesmarici *Zpěvník slovanský* [Slavenska pjesmarica], objavljenoj u Beču 1848. U Moravskoj se jedna verzija hrvatske popijevke dugo pripisivala skladatelju Pavlu Křížkovskom, koji je odigrao značajnu ulogu u rodoljubnoj zbrojskoj glazbi u Moravskoj, slično Smetaninu utjecaju u Češkoj. Ova verzija bila je obrada za muški zbor na tekst Anselma Rambouseka koji počinje s »Aj, vy bratři, aj jonáci« [Hej, braćo, hej, junaci]. Rad se nadovezuje na istraživanja koja su 50-ih godina 20. stoljeća proveli češki muzikolozi Jan Racek, Vratislav Vycpálek, Josef Plavec, a kasnije i Vladimír Gregor. Iako mnogi od njihovih zaključaka ostaju valjani, ova studija ih dopunjuje i dorađuje, odnosno ažurira. Članak je komplementaran s promišljanjem recepcije davorije *Nek se hrusti šaka mala* u slovačkoj kulturi (koja je u planu za objavu u idućem svesku časopisa *Arti musices*).