

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

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Abstract

The song *Nek se hrusti šaka mala* [Let the Little Fist Clench] belongs to the corpus of (Croatian) patriotic/revivalist and (Czech and Slovak) revolutionary songs from the first half of the 19th century. Within the context of Croatian musical history, it needs no introduction, but its fate in the broader Slavic world remained more assumed than truly known for a long time. The author of this study published research on the song's reception in the Czech environment. This work now continues with its reception in the Slovak environment. Slovak revivalists were drawn to the song's patriotic message even before 1848. Within a few years,

several noteworthy contrafacta emerged, which this study presents and contextualises in detail. In the Czech environment, the song received deeper musicological reflection. The situation in Slovakia was different: the song did not enter art music, but remained in its original form as a Slavic revolutionary song.

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

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

This study follows the structure and methodology of the author's previous article published in the last issue of this periodical,¹ which explored the reception of the Croatian song in the Czech environment. The present text turns its attention

¹ Viktor VELEK: The Croatian rousing song (*davorija*) *Nek se hrusti šaka mala* in Czech musical culture, *Arti musices*, 56 (2025) 1, 39-76.

to the song's fate in the Slovak environment, which was markedly different from that of the Czech lands. Typical phenomena included the strong Magyarisation of Slovak culture, limiting opportunities to publish in the Slovak language, gather socially, engage in political expression, etc. The revolutionary year of 1848 in the territory of what was then Upper Hungary differed in many ways from developments in the Czech environment, which were essentially limited to the Slavic Congress, several days of demonstrations and the subsequent rapid defeat by General Windischgrätz's army. The revolution in Upper Hungary should be viewed primarily in the context of the Hungarian Revolution of 1848–1849. It appears that the deeper impact of these dramatic events heightened the reception of the Croatian song. It was only the help of the Russian tsar and his troops that led to the defeat of the revolution in August 1849. This was the end of Slovak dreams of autonomy, union with Czechs or the federalisation of Hungary.

The Slovak revival movement was based on a weak social-cultural base; until the 1860s, Ladislav Fűredy was considered the only professional musician. A specific feature was the fact that efforts to create Slovak national music took place outside the realm of official and professional musical life. The generation of revivalists associated with Ludevít Štúr (1815–1856) achieved success only in the field of literature, as evidenced, among other things, by numerous texts sung to Croatian melodies.

The fate of the Croatian song in Slovakia – with the incipit translated into Slovak as »Nech sa vzteká malá hústka nepriateľov!« [Let the small handful of enemies rage!] – was marginally noted in 1950 by Vratislav Vycpálek in his study.² However, he was probably only familiar with the contrafactum written by Ján Botto. This study presents several other texts and explores their connections.

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

The song described (1835) is a »rousing song« (known as *davorija* – battle/war song), with a potential to awake national consciousness and to call for freedom. The lyrics were written by the well-known Croatian writer Ljudevit Farkaš Vukotinić (1813–1893), and set to music by Ferdo Wiesner Livadić (1799–1879) and later by Ljudevit Gaj (1809–1872) and his collaborators.³

The earliest evidence of the Croatian song being sung in Slovakia is linked to the circle of friends of the prominent Slovak national revivalist Ludevít Štúr.

² Vratislav VYCPÁLEK: Aj, vy bratři. Genese jedné revoluční písně, *Lidové noviny*, 58 (5 March 1950, Kulturní neděle) 58, 4.

³ Koraljka KOS: Uglazbljeni preporoditelj. Pjesništvo Ljudevita Farkaša Vukotinića u hrvatskoj glazbi, in: Koraljka Kos: *Glazbopisi. Ogladi stari i novi / Texts on Music. Essays Old and New*, Zagreb: Department for History of Croatian Music, Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts – Croatian Musicological Society, 2024, 95-106.

Literature devoted to him mentions two events in particular – the first is connected with the ruins of Devín Castle (now part of Bratislava), the second with the presbytery in Hlboké, Senica District.⁴ In both cases, these were gatherings of young Slovak nationalists, with singing playing an important role at these meetings – not only Slovak songs, but also songs from other Slavic nations. The following quote suggests where the Slovaks might have heard the song: »Vukotinovič's second song, 'Nek se hrusti', is often sung, including on 24 April [1836] at Devín by Štúr's followers, who knew it either from there or from Danica (April 1835). In Croatia, Vukotinovič's song was sung on 10 April 1835 at the Schweigert Theatre.«⁵ Hurban's recollection of what followed after the song *Hej, Slováci* [Hey, Slovaks] was sung is often reproduced in literature: »[...] the signal was given to march back while singing the Croatian marching song *Nek se hrusti saka mala Dusmaninov!*«⁶

The song is connected with the presbytery in Hlboké, where the priest, writer and politician Jozef Miloslav Hurban (1817–1888) worked in 1848.⁷ The singing of the song is mentioned in the description of Hurban's birthday celebration held on 19 March 1848.⁸ In the chapter »Jozefská noc meruosmeho roku« [Joseph's Night in the Year 48], Hurban recalled the toast and other events as follows:

»Our young people started singing *Hej, Slováci, Bije zvon slobody* [to J. M. Hurban's lyrics], *Nek se hrusti šaka mala, Doletiše ptice kukavice, Nad Tatrou sa blýska, hromy divo bijú*, etc., and the party continued in the best of spirits, despite some fearful faces. The toasts, each more spectacular than the last, ignited the minds and brought life.«⁹

Research allows us to hypothesise about other disseminators of the Croatian song in Slovakia. These include the following two personalities who clearly demon-

⁴ Peter MACHO – Daniela KODAJOVÁ: *Ludovít Štúr na hraniciach dvoch vekov: život, dielo, dona verzus historická pamäť*, Bratislava: Veda, vydavateľstvo Slovenskej akadémie vied, 2015.

⁵ Rudo BRTÁŇ: *Slovensko-slovanské literárne vzťahy a kontakty: výber zo štúdií a článkov*, Bratislava: Veda, vydavateľstvo Slovenskej akadémie vied, 1979, 116. Cf. also Jozef Miloslav HURBAN: *Ludovít Štúr, Slovenské pohľady*, 1 (1881) 3, 203 and Vjera KATALINIČ: *Ljudevit Gaj i glazba, Radovi Zavoda za znanstveni rad Varaždin*, (2023) 34, 6.

⁶ Jozef Miloslav HURBAN – Ján BÉDER – Edita AMBRUŠOVÁ (eds.): *Obrazy zo života: výber z realistickej prózy*, Bratislava: Slovenské vydavateľstvo krásnej literatúry, 1956, 260 and 322 (an addendum with the translation of the title into Slovak: *Nech sa vzteká malá hŕstka nepriateľov!*).

⁷ Daniela KODAJOVÁ et al.: *Jozef Miloslav Hurban: osobnosť v spoločnosti a reflexii / a personality in society and in reflection*, Bratislava: Veda, vydavateľstvo Slovenskej akadémie vied, 2017.

⁸ Daniel RAPANT: *Slovenské povstanie roku 1848–49. Dejiny a dokumenty, I. díl, Slovenská jar*, Turčiansky Sv. Martin: Matice slovenská, 1937, 223–224. In footnote No. 160, he specifies that the celebration took place on 19 March and not on 18 March, as is often stated. Miroslav HVOŽDARA: *Návštevy u Hurbana na hlbokkej fare, Kresťanská revue*, 55 (1988) 9, 209; Jozef Miloslav HURBAN: *Ludovít Štúr. Kniha tretia*, Turčiansky Sv. Martin: Matica slovenská, 1944, 161; Jozef Miloslav HURBAN – Anna KŘEMENÁKOVÁ – Ján BÉDER (eds.): *Obrazy ze slovenského života*, Praha: Státní nakladatelství krásné literatury, hudby a umění, 1960, 290.

⁹ Jozef Miloslav HURBAN – Ján BÉDER – Edita AMBRUŠOVÁ (eds.): *Obrazy zo života: výber z realistickej prózy*, 290.

strate the migration between Slovakia and Croatia at that time. The first is the amateur clarinetist Dragutin Klobučarić (1794–1886), who was a representative of the city of Karlovac in the Parliament in Bratislava. On 29 September 1839, he performed Otto Hauska's variations for clarinet and orchestra based on the theme of *Nek se hrusti šaka mala* as a soloist at the Bratislava Musikverein. The performance received an ovation from the audience, surprisingly enough also from the members of the Hungarian delegation in the Parliament, who did not recognise that the theme for the variations was a *davorija* (a patriotic song) with anti-Hungarian content.¹⁰ The second personality is the Slovak natural scientist, linguist and publicist Bohuslav/Bogoslav Šulek (1816–1895), who lived in Croatia from 1838 but remained in contact with his homeland – he wrote about the song in correspondence with his friends in Slovakia, specifically in his description of a celebration held in Zagreb on 31 May 1842 (Restoration of Estate Authority in Zagreb).¹¹ Writing about the procession with the flag through the streets of Zagreb, he mentioned that the participants »were playing the famous song: 'Nek se hrusti šaka mala'«, and this sentence is supplemented in a note with the following specification: »It is a song about which a number of Hungarian estates are currently complaining to the king.«¹²

The incipit of the poem *Marš* [March] by Štúr's aide Peter Zábaj Kellner-Hostinský (1823–1873), namely *Nech sa valí Sláva letom* [May Slavia forge ahead], at first glance raises the hope that its structure could be related to the Croatian song. Although no melody is known for this poem, composed on 4 January 1844, the rest of the text contradicts this hypothesis.

Contrafacta

August Horislav Škultéty (1819–1892): *Krásný den* (incipit: »Zříšli slávské širé kraje«) [A Beautiful Day (incipit: If you behold the wide Slavic lands)]

The protestant pastor, writer, collector of Slovak folklore and educator A. H. Škultéty belonged to the circle of Štúr's followers. He took part in the aforementioned trip to Devín on 24 April 1836, where he underwent a »national baptism« and took the name Horislav. He was imprisoned for his patriotic activities during the revolution of 1848. According to Milan Pišút, Škultéty's contrafactum dates from 1839.¹³ It was first published a year later with the instruction to sing it to the melody of the Croatian song.¹⁴ However, Chrástek's songbook from 1862 (with only the

¹⁰ K. KOS: Uglazbljeni preporoditelj, 104.

¹¹ Vladimír MATULA: Bogoslav Šulek a mladé Slovensko, *Historické štúdie*, (1968) 13, 216-217.

¹² *Ibid.*, 216.

¹³ Milan PIŠÚT: *Počiatky básnickej školy Štúrovej*, Bratislava: Učená Spoločnosť Šafaříkova, 1938, 170.

¹⁴ August Horislav ŠKULTÉTY: *Básně Augusta Horislava Škultétyho*, W Prešporku: Tiskem K. B. Wiganda, 1840, 59-60.

lyrics printed) contains the instruction to sing it to the melody of the Slovak song *Hor sa Slovák! Čuj otčinu* [Rise, Slovak! Hear your homeland call].¹⁵ The popularity of the lyrics in later times is evidenced by numerous reprints.¹⁶ The lines lack political or nationalist radicalism; instead, they are notable for their use of natural imagery. The main thematic thread is formed by variously phrased appeals to patriotism and the necessity of dedicating one's life to the homeland, with a strong emphasis on unity with the Slavic world (»Slavia«). (**Text example No. 1**) M. Pišút is also the author of the description of the song's metre, its tone and dissemination:

»The cheerful, encouraging poem *Krásný den* is written in eight-syllable trochees. For the echoes of folk songs, he used the 6+6 Krakowiak verse. It is reminiscent of Polish songs as models. [...] (*Krásný den*) is an encouraging song to the melody of the popular and often sung Croatian song *Nek se hrusti šaka mala dušmaninov* [...].«¹⁷

Text example No. 1: August Horislav Škultéty: *Krásný den* [A Beautiful Day], in: Ján Adolf FERIENČÍK: *Šesťsto Slovenských Ludových Piesní: Sberka Slovenských Ludových Piesní Obsahujúca 687 Pesničiek*, Budapešť: Nákladom Viliama Méhnera, 1894, 426.

<p>Zřišli slavske širé kraje, Jaký vetřík nimi vlaje? Kvitnú lúky hučia lesy, Všetko žije, strojí plesy. Nastal nový, krásny deň.</p> <p>Jen nás, pleme Rastislava, Nemůž posud vzbudit Sláva; Jen syn Nitry, Váhu, Hrona V ťažkém potud spánku stoná — Kdyže uzří krásny deň?</p> <p>I nám Sláva matkou sluje I nám lásku svou venuje, Nuže Tatranští bratové, Buchne zvestovateľové: Žeť vychází krásny deň.</p>	<p>If you behold the wide Slavic lands, What breeze is it that stirs through them? The meadows bloom, the forests echo, All is alive, preparing for festivity. A new and beautiful day has come.</p> <p>Only we, the kin of Rastislav, Still cannot be awakened by Slavia; Only the son of Nitra, Váh and Hron Still moans in his heavy sleep — When will he see the beautiful day?</p> <p>Slavia too is mother to us, She grants us her love as well. So now, brothers of the Tatras, Let the heralds sound aloud: A beautiful day is breaking forth.</p>
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¹⁵ M. Ch. [Michal CHRÁSTEK] (ed.): *Vienec národných piesní slovenských*, V B. Bystrici: Nákladom E. Krčmeryho, 1862, 102-103 (No. 71). Michal Chrástek (1825–1900) was a Slovak literary historian, editor and bibliographer. He compiled the first independent Slovak songbook – *Vienec* [...].

¹⁶ Ján Adolf FERIENČÍK: *Šesťsto Slovenských Ludových Piesní: Sberka Slovenských Ludových Piesní Obsahujúca 687 Pesničiek*, Budapešť: Nákladom Viliama Méhnera, 1894, 426. Cf. also: Karol SALVA et al.: *Národný Spevník*, Ružomberok: Nákladom Knihhtlačiarne Karla Salvu, 1897, 47-48; Karol SALVA: *Národný Spevník*, Ružomberok: Nákladom Knihhtlačiarne Karla Salvu, 1898, 351-352.

¹⁷ M. PIŠÚT: *Počiatky básnickej školy Štúrovej*, 234, 175.

<p><i>Sem sa bratri, sem sa bliže, Koho k rodu srdce víže; Sem sa, kdo chceš slovom, činom Pravým byť Slávie synem — Kdo chceš spatriť krásny deň!</i></p> <p><i>Zasvetime život vlasti, Nechť i hrozí búrne strasti: Nech sa veškeren svet kláti, Našú stálosť nepodvráti! Tak nám vzejde krásny deň!</i></p>	<p><i>Come now, brothers, come in closer, All whose hearts are bound by kin. Come now, you who by word and deed Would be a true son of Slavia — You who long to see the beautiful day!</i></p> <p><i>Let us dedicate our lives to the homeland, Though stormy trials may threaten us: Even if the whole world shakes, It will not break our steadfastness! Thus shall the beautiful day arise.</i></p>
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Ján Botto (1829–1881): *Hor sa Slováč!* / *Prísaha Slováka* / *Pochod* / *K Slovákom* (incipit: »Hore, Slováč, čuj otčinu!«) [Rise, Slovak! / The Slovak's Oath / March / To the Slovaks (incipit: Rise, Slovak, hear your homeland call!)]

This contrafactum, in Czech musicology occasionally pointed out by Josef Plavec,¹⁸ is dated 1848,¹⁹ which is when, after completing his studies in Levoča (1847), the surveyor, collector of folk literature and poet Botto studied at the polytechnic in Pest. At that time, under the influence of revolutionary events, he wrote a paraphrase of Petófi's lyrics of the revolutionary song *Nemzeti dal* (incipit: *Talpra Magyar, hí a hazá!*) [National Song (incipit: Rise, Magyar, homeland is calling)]:²⁰ instead of the phrase »Hor sa, Maďar, vlasť velí ti« [Rise, Magyar, your homeland is calling you] he created the paraphrase »Hor sa, Slováč, čuj otčinu« [Rise, Slovak, hear your homeland call]. Karol Rosenbaum, Slovak literary scholar and literary historian, reprinted the poem (which was probably first published in 1851 in the calendar *Domová Pokladnice*)²¹ in his anthology, using the title *Pochod* [March]²² and drew attention to the first publication of the text:

»Botto also created a loose translation of Alex Petófi's poem *Talpra Magyar* from 15 March. We know two lines, which differ from each other, although both are by Ján Botto. The text [*Prísaha Slováka*, incipit *Hore Slováč, čuj otčinu!*] was published in *Domová Pokladnice* among the songs of volunteers as a song with a melody based on the Croatian song *Nek se hrusti šaka mala*. This too is evidence that, in this case – adapted with a distinct

¹⁸ J. PLAVEC: *Smetanova tvorba sborová*, 43 (for example, the text of the first stanza).

¹⁹ Mikuláš DOHNÁNY: *Historia povstaňja slovenského z roku 1848*, Skalica: Písmom a Tlačivom Fraňa Xaviera Škarničla a sinou, 1850, 33.

²⁰ Rudo BRTÁŇ: *Postavy slovenskej literatúry*, Bratislava: Slovenské pedagogické nakladateľstvo, 1971, 198.

²¹ [JÁN BOTTO]: 11. *Prísaha Slováka*, *Domová Pokladnice. Kalendár na rok obyčejný 1851*, 5 (1851), 249-250.

²² Karol ROSENBAUM: *Bije zvon slobody. Poézia rokov 1848–1849*, Turčiansky Sv. Martin: Matica slovenská, 1949, 79-80.

Slovak national twist – it was not the fact that it was written by a poet from the opposing camp that mattered, but the content and focus of the poem, which the author adapted to the domestic situation and political issues, especially in the refrain.«²³

Finding differences in the poems *Pochod* [March] and *Prísaha Slováka* [The Slovak's Oath] led K. Rosenbaum to publish both poems in his anthology (see pp. 79-80, and 164-165). (see **Text example No. 2**) He added a valuable observation to the content, which deals with the themes of freedom, slavery, family fame, weapons, blood, fire, etc., drawn from the conclusion of the refrain in *Prísaha Slováka*, i.e. from the theme of the throne: »*March* is more liberty-minded. *The Oath* clearly bears signs of political compromise and the influence of alliance with Vienna, which ultimately undermines the song's original meaning.«²⁴

Text example No. 2: Ján Botto: *Hor sa Slováci! / Prísaha Slováka / Pochod / K Slovákom* [Rise, Slovak! / The Slovak's Oath / March / To the Slovaks], for A in: Karol ROSENBAUM: *Bije zvon slobody. Poézia rokov 1848–1849*, Turčiansky Sv. Martin: Matica slovenská, 1949, 79-80; for B in: Karol ROSENBAUM: *Bije zvon slobody. Poézia rokov 1848–1849*, Turčiansky Sv. Martin: Matica slovenská, 1949, 164-165; M. Ch. [Michal CHRÁSTEK] (ed.): *Veniec národných piesní slovenských*, V B. Bystrici: Nákladom E. Krčmeryho, 1862, 85-86; Mikuláš SCHNEIDER-TRNAVSKÝ (ed.): *Tatranské zvuky. I. sošit; hymny a iné príležitostné spevy: na dva hlasy so sprievodom harmonia alebo klavíru: pre školu*, Trnava: Nakladom spolku sv. Vojtecha, 1926, 21-23; [Ján BOTTO]: 11. *Prísaha Slováka, Domová Pokladnica. Kalendár na rok obyčajný 1851*, 5 (1851), 249-250.

A: <i>Pochod</i>	B: <i>Prísaha Slováka</i>	English translation (A) <i>March</i>
<p><i>Hor' sa Slováci! čuj očiinu!</i> <i>Tu čas pravý, maj sa k činu!</i> <i>Miera kľatby dosiahnutá:</i> <i>či chceš voľnosť, a či putá?</i> <i>Pánu Bohu prisahám,</i> <i>že sa priať viac nedám.</i></p> <p><i>Rabmi sme od tisícletia,</i> <i>kľatby dedov na nás letia,</i> <i>že ponad ich voľné kosti</i> <i>štrká puto nevoľnosti.</i> <i>Pánu Bohu prisahám:</i> <i>svojeť v rabstve nenahám.</i></p>	<p><i>Hore, Slováci, čuj očiinu!</i> <i>Tu pravý čas, maj sa k činu;</i> <i>Či v tých putách pohniť chcete,</i> <i>Či si voľnosť vyberiete?</i> <i>Pánu Bohu prisahám!</i> <i>že trón, národ nenahám.</i></p> <p><i>Vy otroci tisícletia,</i> <i>Kľatby dedov na vás letia,</i> <i>Že na ich zbožnej kosti</i> <i>Štrngá puto nevoľnosti:</i> <i>Pánu Bohu prisahám!</i> <i>že trón, národ nenahám.</i></p>	<p><i>Rise, Slovak! Hear your homeland call!</i> <i>Now is the time – stand up and act!</i> <i>The measure of curse is now complete:</i> <i>will you choose freedom or chains?</i> <i>I swear to God</i> <i>that I shall no longer be enslaved.</i></p> <p><i>We have been slaves for centuries,</i> <i>the curses of our forebears fall on us,</i> <i>for above their free-born bones</i> <i>still clatters the chain of bondage.</i> <i>I swear to God:</i> <i>I shall not let my people remain in chains.</i></p>

²³ *Ibid.*, 23, 191.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

<p>Šabľa, šabľa! nie kovový – pristane ver' junákovi: kto chce, nech si putá nosí, do rúk, bratia, šable, kosy. Pánu Bohu prisahám: rod svoj trýzniť nenahám.</p> <p>A čo je to za človeka, keď mrieť treba, čo uteká, čo mu milšia biedna hlava, než národa jeho sláva? Pánu Bohu prisahám, že svoj národ nenahám.</p> <p>Hore Slovák, vstávaj hore! Zjasnie Kriváň v rannej zore; čo nám časy zlé nasiaty nech krv smyje, oheň spáli! Pánu Bohu prisahám! národ v putách nenahám.</p> <p>Potom naše tiché hroby vencom vd'ačný vnuk ozdobi; vzdychne, padnúť na kolená: Daj im, Bože, oslávenia! Pánu Bohu prisahám: za vlasť, národ život dám.</p>	<p>Čože je to za človeka, Keď mrieť treba, čo uteká, Komu milšia biedna hlava, Jako svojho rodu sláva? Pánu Bohu prisahám! že trón, národ nenahám.</p> <p>Ostrá šabľa šuhajovi Krajšie svedčí než okovy; Kto chce, nech si putá nosí; Do rúk, bratia, šable, kosy. Pánu Bohu prisahám! že trón, národ nenahám.</p> <p>Hore, bratia, hore, hore! Ako Kriváň v rannej zore, Čo nám časy nakydaly To krv smyje, oheň spáli. Pánu Bohu prisahám! že trón, národ nenahám.</p> <p>Potom naše tiché hroby Vencom vd'ačný vnuk ozdobi, Vzdýchme, kľaknúť na kolená: »Daj im, Bože, oslávenia!« Pánu Bohu prisahám! že trón, národ nenahám.</p>	<p>Sabre, sabre! Not the chains – that is what befits a true young man: let whoever wishes wear his chains, brothers, take up sabres and scythes! I swear to God: I shall not let my kin suffer.</p> <p>And what kind of man is he who runs away when it is time to die, who loves his pitiful head more than the honour of his nation? I swear to God: I shall not forsake my nation.</p> <p>Rise, Slovak! Rise up! Kriváň glows in the morning light; what dark times sowed among us all – let blood wash it, fire burn it clean! I swear to God: I shall not let my nation remain in chains.</p> <p>Then our quiet graves will be crowned by grateful grandsons; they will kneel, whispering: God, give them eternal glory! I swear to God: I shall give my life for my homeland and nation.</p>
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Only the text was published in Chrástek's songbook in 1862²⁵ (with the instruction to sing it to the melody of the Croatian song). The same applies to *Slovenský Spoločenský Spevník z národných a prstonárodných piesní* [A Slovak Social Songbook of National and Folk Songs] (1871),²⁶ whose melodies were published in 1874 – song No. 6, *Prísaha Slováka*, is presented here in a two-part arrangement without reference to the Croatian song.²⁷

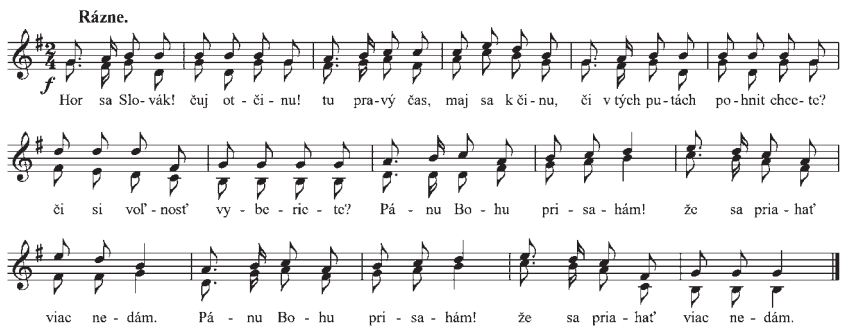
²⁵ M. Ch. [Michal CHRÁSTEK] (ed.): *Veniec národných piesní slovenských*, 85-86 (No. 57).

²⁶ August Horislav KRČMÉRY (ed.): *Slovenský Spoločenský Spevník z národných a prstonárodných piesní*, Banská Bystrica: Nákladom Eugena Krčméryho, 1871 (the text is on pp. 33 and 34, without reference to the singing according to the Croatian song).

²⁷ Karol RUPPELDT (ed.): *Venček slovenských národných piesní, svazek 1*, Praha: vlastním nákladem, 1874;

Miloš RUPPELDT (ed.): *Venček slovenských národných piesní [...] Karola Ruppeldta, osmé pravené vydání, svazek 1*, Bratislava: vlastním nákladem, 1933, 30.

Rázne.



Hor sa Slo-vák! čuj ot - či - nu! tu pra-vý čas, maj sa k či - nu, či v tých pu-tách po - hnit chce - te?
 či si voľ - nost' vy - be - rie - te? Pá - nu Bo - hu pri - sa - hám! že sa pria - hat'
 viac ne - dám. Pá - nu Bo - hu pri - sa - hám! že sa pria - hat' viac ne - dám.

Music example No. 1: Karol RUPPELDT (ed.): *Venček slovenských národných piesní, zväzok 1, Praha: vlastným nákladom, 1874, 7.*

It should be noted that the Slovak composer Mikuláš Schneider-Trnavský (1881–1858) set J. Botto's text *Hor sa Slováč* to music in 1905 with his own melody, as a song accompanied by piano.²⁸

Rázne.



Hor sa Slo-vák, čuj ot - či - nu, tu čas pra-vý,
 maj sa k či - nu! Či v tých pu-tách po-hnit' chce - te; či si voľ - nost' vy - be - rie - te?

Music example No. 2: Mikuláš SCHNEIDER-TRNAVSKÝ (ed.): *Tatranské zvuky. I. sošit; hymny a iné príležitostné spevy; na dva hlasy so sprievodom harmonia alebo klavíru: pre školu, Trnava: nakladom spolku sv. Vojtecha, 1926, 21, excerpt.*

²⁸ Mikuláš SCHNEIDER-TRNAVSKÝ (ed.): *Tatranské zvuky. I. sošit; hymny a iné príležitostné spevy; na dva hlasy so sprievodom harmonia alebo klavíru: pre školu, Trnava: nakladom spolku sv. Vojtecha, 1926, 21-23.*

The same text also caught the attention of Slovak composer Ján Valaštan-Dolinský (1892–1965). He set three stanzas²⁹ to music in the form of a male choir and included it in 1922 as No. 3 in his Op. 4, its main title being *Za slobodu* [For Freedom].³⁰

Oduševnene.

Tenori

Bassi

Hor - sa Slo - vák, čuj ot - či - nu! Tu čas pra - vý maj sa k či - nu!

T. 7

B.

Pu - tá chce - te? či si vol'-nosť vy-be-rie - te? Pá - nu Bo-hu pri-sa-hám:
Či v tých pu-tách po hnit' chce-te,

Music example No. 3: Ján VALAŠŤAN-DOLINSKÝ: *Za slobodu*. Mužské, miešané a detské sbory, Na Brezovej pod Bradlom: nákladom Cirkevného knihkupectva, 1922, 8, excerpt.

Janko Kráľ (1822–1876): *Slovo* (incipit: »Zajasal blesk jasnej zory«)
[The Word (incipit: A flash of clear dawn-light burst)]

The year 1848 also marks the dating of a contrafactum by one of the most radical poets of the Štúr generation.³¹ Kráľ was imprisoned at the turn of 1848–1849 for inciting an uprising, and at the end of 1849 he was captain of a volunteer corps. The text was published in 1861 in the journal *Sokol* and a year later in Chrásťek's

²⁹ Hore, Slováč, čuj otčinu!... [Rise, Slovak! Hear your homeland call!], Ostrá šabl'a šuhajovi... [And what kind of man is he] and Potom naše tiché hroby... [Then our quiet graves].

³⁰ Ján VALAŠŤAN-DOLINSKÝ: *Za slobodu*. Mužské, miešané a detské sbory, Na Brezovej pod Bradlom: nákladom Cirkevného knihkupectva, 1922, 8-9.

³¹ Janko KRÁĽ – František FRÝDECKÝ (eds.): *Kytka ballád, dum a piesní*, Pacov: Přemysl Plaček, 1919, 62.

songbook (accompanied by the instruction to sing it to the melody of *Hor sa Slovák! Čuj otčinu*).³²

Scholars have described the text as a celebration of the October Diploma, yet its lines resonate strongly with the spirit of 1848. Central themes include an awakening of patriotic feeling, freedom, equality, disregard for sacrifice, harmonious relations between nations («Chorvát, Maďar naši bratři» [The Croat, the Magyar – they are our brothers]), and a call against the domination of one nation over another.

Text example No. 3: Janko Král: Slovo (incipit: »Zajasal blesk jasnej zory«) [The Word (incipit: A flash of clear dawn-light burst)], in: Janko Kr. [Jan KRÁL]: Slovo, Sokol: časopis pre krásno, umenie a literatúru, 2 (1861) 4, [25].

<p><i>Zajasal blesk jasnej zory ponad vrchy, ponad hory: zahučte, slovenské polia, sloboda nás k činom volá. Hore, za česť, slobodu slovenského národu!</i></p> <p><i>Kto si Slovák z duše, z rodu, teraz sa hlás ku národu; rovnosť práva, život nový, odmyká ústa, okovy. Hore, za česť, slobodu slovenského národu!</i></p> <p><i>Povedala vrana vrane, že nás šklbať neprestane; sľubov, rečí krásnych dosti – veríme len skutočnosti. Hore, za česť, slobodu slovenského národu!</i></p> <p><i>Nehľad'me na škodu, na zisk; tam sa spojme, kde je nátlak; ako reťaz držíme spolu – zradca, kto vystúpi z kolu. Hore, za česť, slobodu slovenského národu!</i></p> <p><i>Chod'me mierne, pevne, vážne; kde treba, vystúpme rázne, nech vlasť našu váhu skúsi; čo chceme, to stať sa musí! Hore, za česť, slobodu slovenského národu!</i></p>	<p><i>A flash of clear dawn-light burst above the hills, above the mountains: let the Slovak fields now thunder, freedom is calling us to act. Rise up, for the honour and freedom of the Slovak nation!</i></p> <p><i>If you are Slovak by soul and birth, now is the time, stand with your nation; equal rights and a new life are unlocking mouths and chains. Rise up, for the honour and freedom of the Slovak nation!</i></p> <p><i>One crow told another: they will go on plucking us forever; enough of promises and beautiful words – we trust only what is real. Rise up, for the honour and freedom of the Slovak nation!</i></p> <p><i>Let us not look at loss or gain; let us unite where pressure strikes; let us hold together like a chain – anyone who breaks ranks is a traitor. Rise up, for the honour and freedom of the Slovak nation!</i></p> <p><i>Let us walk calmly, firmly, with resolve; and where needed, act boldly, so our homeland feels our weight, what we demand must come to be! Rise up, for the honour and freedom of the Slovak nation!</i></p>
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³² Janko Kr. [KRÁL]: Slovo, Sokol: časopis pre krásno, umenie a literatúru, 2 (1861) 4, [25].

^M Ch. [Michal CHRÁSTEK] (ed.): *Veniec národných piesni slovenských*, 113-115 (No. 78).

<p><i>Chorvát, Maďar naši bratři, nech každý má, čo mu patrí; nadvláda len právo haní – všetci sme rovnakí páni. Hore, za česť, slobodu slovenského národu!</i></p> <p><i>S krivdami von! tie netajme, práva si národné hájme; nebojme sa žiadnej moci, inakšie sme len otroci. Hore, za česť, slobodu slovenského národu!</i></p> <p><i>Jarmili nás dosiaľ' všade, verili sme podlej zrade, v nevěli nám srdce skleslo: sloboda je naše heslo! Hore, za česť, slobodu slovenského národu!</i></p>	<p><i>Croat, Magyar, they are our brothers; let each have what is rightfully his; domination only disgraces the law – we are all equal masters. Rise up, for the honour and freedom of the Slovak nation!</i></p> <p><i>Let us expose injustice, not hide it, let us defend our national rights; fear no power, no authority, otherwise we are just slaves. Rise up, for the honour and freedom of the Slovak nation!</i></p> <p><i>They enslaved us everywhere, we trusted lies and were betrayed, our hearts sank under oppression: freedom is our motto! Rise up, for the honour and freedom of the Slovak nation!</i></p>
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2. The period after 1850

Contrafacta

*****: *Hor sa Slováč, hor sa dvíhaj* (incipit: »Hor sa Slováč, hor sa dvíhaj«)
[Rise, Slovak, Rise Up (incipit: Rise, Slovak, rise up)]**

This incipit belongs to an election song composed of four stanzas, sung to the melody of the song *Hore Slováč, čuj otčinu*, i.e. inspired by the aforementioned text by Ján Botto.³³ The text calls on Slovak patriots to take action, defend their mother tongue and national rights, and to unite.

³³ ***: *Volebné pesničky*, Turč. Sv. Martin: Kníhtlač v Turč. Sv. Martine, [1870-1873], 8.

Text example No. 4: *: *Hor sa Slovák, hor sa dvíhaj* [Rise, Slovak, Rise Up], in: ***: *Volebné pesničky, Turč. Sv. Martin: Kníhtlač v Turč. Sv. Martine, [1870-1873], 8.***

<p><i>Hor sa Slovák, hor sa dvíhaj svoje rodné práva si háj, rod slovenský, jazyk rodný, aby národ bol slobodný. Pánu Bohu prisahám ---- hlas len dám.</i></p>	<p><i>Rise, Slovak, rise up, defend your native rights, your Slovak kin, your mother tongue, so the nation may be free. I swear to God that I shall only give my vote to ----.*</i></p>
<p><i>Muž za mužom v každom meste poraz všetko, čo je v ceste, svornosťou sa raz oslávmе, k novej voľbe sa dostavme. Pánu Bohu prisahám ---- hlas len dám.</i></p>	<p><i>Man by man, in every town, sweep aside all that blocks the way, let us be honoured by unity, let us come forward to a new election. I swear to God that I shall only give my vote to ----.</i></p>
<p><i>Nech svet vidí, že čo chceme sami vydobíť si vieme, tuho spolu keď držíme všetko dostať musíme. Pánu Bohu prisahám ---- hlas len dám.</i></p>	<p><i>Let the world see that we can achieve what we want, if we hold together tightly, we must get it all. I swear to God that I shall only give my vote to ----.</i></p>
<p><i>Spojme sa a milujme sa, držme sa a nedajme sa, Boh vidí že krivdu máme, držme sa a vyhráme. Pánu Bohu prisahám ---- hlas len dám.</i></p>	<p><i>Let us unite and love each other, stand firm and never yield. God sees the wrongs done to us, let us stand strong and we shall win. I swear to God that I shall only give my vote to ----.</i></p>

* The name of the election candidate can be inserted as needed.

Ján Drahotín Makovický (1818–1884): *Majálesová* (incipit: »Hor sa chlapci, tu je Máj«) [A May Song (incipit: Come, boys, May is here)]

Venček slovenských narodnich piesní – in this songbook published in 1874, the song *Majálesová* [A May Song] (No. 47, pp. 51-52) deserves special mention. It contains two texts. First, there is a text notated for two voices with the incipit »Hor sa chlapci, tu je máj« [Come, boys, May is here] without any connection to the Croatian melody.

Text example No. 5: Ján Drahotín Makovický: *Majálesová* [A May Song], in: Karol RUPPELDT (ed.): *Venček slovenských národných piesní, svazek 1, Praha: vlastním nákladem, 1874, 51-52.*

<p><i>Hor sa chlapci, tu je Máj, lipa sa razvila; otvára sa v háji ráj, teplá je už choiľa, veselme se v Máji, tu v zelenom háji.</i></p> <p><i>Hor sa chlapci, kým kvitne jaro nášho života, lebo nám už nesvitne, starosti nás schytia! Veselme se v Máji, tu v zelenom háji.</i></p> <p><i>Hor sa chlapci do spevu zanótmе si smelo, kým nám roky rancami neposipú čelo. Veselme se v Máji, tu v zelenom háji.</i></p> <p><i>Hor sa chlapci, ešte raz zanótmе si smelo, že ubohý národ náš milujeme vrelo! Veselme se v Máji, tu v zelenom háji.</i></p>	<p><i>Come, boys, May is here, the linden has bloomed; paradise is opening up in the grove, it is warm now. Let us rejoice in May, here in the green grove.</i></p> <p><i>Come, boys, while the spring of our life is still in bloom, for it will not return again, worries will soon take hold! Let us rejoice in May, here in the green grove.</i></p> <p><i>Come, boys, let us sing boldly, before the years bring us grey hair. Let us rejoice in May, here in the green grove.</i></p> <p><i>Come, boys, one more time, let us sing loudly that we love our poor nation with all our hearts! Let us rejoice in May, here in the green grove.</i></p>
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This is followed by a text with the incipit »Rannie zhasly dávno zore« [The dawn faded long ago] (see **Text example No. 6**) and the instruction to sing it to the melody of song No. 6 (*Prísaha Slováka*, incipit: »Hor sa Slováč, čuj otčinu«), i.e. which is the piece featuring the Croatian melody in two-part notation. The 1884 edition of the songbook (No. 45, pp. 53-54) contains only the notated text with the incipit »Hor sa Slováč, čuj otčinu«, written by »J. D. Makovický«. What connects both texts under No. 47 (in the 1874 edition) is the attribution to the same author, J. D. Makovický, referring to Ján Drahotín Makovický (1818–1884), a teacher, cultural figure and member of volunteer corps in 1848.³⁴

Ján Čajak (1863–1944): *Pieseň mládeže školskej v Háji / Majálesová* (incipit: »Rannie zhasly dávno zore«) [A Song of School Youth in Háji / A May Song (incipit: The dawn faded long ago)]

Makovický and the text with the incipit »Rannie zhasly dávno zore« deserve closer attention. (**Text example No. 6**) It can also be found in songbooks under the title *Pieseň mládeže školskej v Háji*.³⁵ It should be noted that it was sung to the melody used for the text *Hor sa Slováč, čuj otčinu* (Ján Botto), i.e. to the Croatian melody. But now to the question of Makovický's authorship: The poem was included by editor Rudo Brtán in his anthology of Ján Čajak's poetry, almost certainly because *Pieseň* appears in Čajak's handwritten personal diary (on page 14). The

³⁴ K. RUPPELDT: *Venček slovenských narodnich piesní*, 51-52.

³⁵ Háji – a location north of Liptovský Mikuláš where school May celebrations, outings and national entertainment events were held.

question remains, however, whether this was not simply a transcription. Brtáň further adds to the text: »it is sung to the melody of *Hej, Slováci*, etc. *Nek se hrusti saka mala* [...] It was a different incipit than S. Tomášik's mazurka [*Hej, Slováci!*], because the rhythm of the song *Nek se hrusti šaka mala dušmaninov* (by Croatian revivalist L. Farkaš Vukotinić) was different, as was the melody.«³⁶

Text example No. 6: Ján Čajak: *Pieseň mládeže školskej v Háji* [A Song of School Youth in Háji], in: Ján ČAJAK – Rudo BRTÁŇ (eds.): *Zrná*, Bratislava: Tatran, 1979, 141; Karol RUPPELDT (ed.): *Venček slovenských národných piesní, svazek 1*, Praha: vlastním nákladem, 1874, 52.

<p><i>Ranné zhasli/Rannie zhasly dávno zore, slniečko sa dvihá hore, škovránok vysoko lieta, včela/včelka blúdi z kvetov kveta/z kvet do kveta: (v) temnej noci zhynul sen, svitnul jara krásny deň/den!</i></p> <p><i>Sem sa, šuhaj, sem do kola letom/letkom bystrého sokola! už zástava voľno veje, mladosti/radosti spev srdcia/srdciam hreje: Sem ťa volá jara Máj, každý vršek – les i háj!</i></p> <p><i>Nač je život bez živosti, nač je prísnošť bez voľnosti? Takýto byť jednotvárny nezná šuhaj žiaden švárny: Takto volá jara máj, každý vršek – les i háj!</i></p>	<p><i>The dawn faded long ago, the sun is rising, the lark is flying high, the bee is wandering from flower to flower: the dream vanished in the dark of night, a bright spring day has dawned!</i></p> <p><i>Come now, young man, into the circle, fly like a sharp-eyed falcon! The banner is waving freely, the song of youth warming our hearts. Springtime May is calling you, from every hilltop, wood and grove!</i></p> <p><i>What is life without liveliness, what is strictness without freedom? A life so dull and colourless no dashing youth would ever choose. Thus calls the springtime May, from every hilltop, wood and grove!</i></p>
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G. Sokolovič [Cyril Gabriel Zaymus/Zajmus] (1843–1894): *Spoločná* (incipit: »Hore, bratia, hore hlasy«) [A Common Song (incipit: Rise, brothers, raise your voices)]

The pseudonym »G. Sokolovič« was used by Cyril Gabriel Zaymus/Zajmus (1843–1894), a Catholic priest, writer and teacher. In 1861, he published several poems in the periodical *Priateľ školy a literatúry*, including one entitled *Spoločná* [A Common Song] with the note »To be sung to the melody of *Nek se hrusti šaka mala*.«³⁷ The poem was written at the end of his studies at the seminary in Banská

³⁶ Ján ČAJAK – Rudo BRTÁŇ (ed.): *Zrná*, Bratislava: Tatran, 1979, 141, 223.

³⁷ G. SOKOLOVIČ: *Spoločná*, *Priateľ školy a literatúry: príloha k Cyrillo-Methodovi*, 3 (18 May 1861) 20, 153.

Bystrica, where he was already active as a patriot. The text is full of radical content (revenge, freedom, shackles, chains, slavery).

Text example No. 7: G. Sokolovič [Cyril Gabriel Zaymus/Zajmus]: Spoločná [A Common Song], in: G. SOKOLOVIČ: Spoločná, Priateľ školy a literatúry: príloha k Cyrillo-Methodovi, 3 (18 May 1861) 20, 153.

<p><i>Hore, bratia, hore hlasy, nech sa zlobia vražní d'asi, nech jim zlosť bár prekypuje, a žľč srdce naplňuje. Zhod'me putá nevole, zapomeňme na bôle.</i></p> <p><i>Pomsta dlhá z nás už sklesla, zora spásu nám priniesla, lúče slnka už sa skvejú, a slobody znaky vejú. Zhod'me putá nevole, zapomeňme na bôle.</i></p> <p><i>Tisícročné už reťaze netlačia viac Tatry väze, zlostná už osudu ruka zmizla, i jej strašná muka. Zhod'me putá nevole, zapomeňme na bôle.</i></p> <p><i>Zmyje/Zmije naše sa už tratia, živly rabstva nás nehatia, na obzore nám už svitá, blahá nádej nás už víta. Zhod'me putá nevole, zapomeňme na bôle.</i></p> <p><i>Rany pekelnej choroby z dlhovekej nectnej doby už sa lieča, už sa hojajú, už sa časy lepšie strojú. Zhod'me putá nevole, zapomeňme na bôle.</i></p> <p><i>Hoj! už bratia sa nebojme, vedno k sláve sa už spojme, roíme hlasy medzi sebou i s Tatrou našou stobou. Zhod'me putá nevole, zapomeňme na bôle.</i></p>	<p><i>Rise, brothers, raise your voices, let the spiteful demons rage, let their anger overflow, let their bitterness fill their hearts. Let us cast off the chains of hate, let us forget all suffering.</i></p> <p><i>The long thirst for vengeance has left us, the dawn has brought us salvation, the sun's rays are shining brightly, and the symbols of freedom are flying high. Let us cast off the chains of sorrow, let us forget all suffering.</i></p> <p><i>No more do thousand-year chains weigh down Tatra's limbs, the cruel hand of fate has vanished, and its torments with it. Let us cast off the chains of hate, let us forget all suffering.</i></p> <p><i>Our serpents are disappearing, the forces of bondage no longer oppress us, light is rising on the horizon, blessed hope is coming to greet us. Let us cast off the chains of hate, let us forget all suffering.</i></p> <p><i>The wounds of that infernal sickness from a long and shameful age are now healing, slowly closing, better times are taking shape. Let us cast off the chains of hate, let us forget all suffering.</i></p> <p><i>Hey! Brothers, let us fear no more, let us now unite for glory, let us raise our voices together with our hundred-peaked Tatra. Let us cast off the chains of hate, let us forget all suffering.</i></p>
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Adolf Peter Zátúrecký (1837–1904): *Hrmavá / Kto je Slováč* (incipit: »Kdo je Slováč – sem medzi nás«) [A Thunderous Song / Who Is Slovak (incipit: Who is Slovak – come stand with us)]

In the same year as Zaymus, Adolf Peter Zátúrecký (1837–1904) – a teacher, writer, linguist, folklorist and cultural figure – also published verses set to the melody of the Croatian song. In 1861, he was working as a teacher in Liptovská Sielnica. From its very first publication in the *Tatran* calendar, the poem included instructions to be sung to the melody of the aforementioned song,³⁸ and it was later reprinted in various songbooks.³⁹ Right from the opening, the text makes a forceful call to rise from the graves and take up the struggle for the national cause.

Text example No. 8: Adolf Peter Zátúrecký: *Hrmavá / Kto je Slováč* [A Thunderous Song / Who Is Slovak], in: Adolf Peter ZÁTÚRECKÝ: *Hrmavá, Tatran: Letopis [...] Kalendár na rok obyčajný 1861, 1 (1861), 203-204.*

<p><i>Kdo je Slováč – sem medzi nás – dávno hrmí ohromný hlas: »Vstaňte z mŕtvych, hrob vyberte, rany tisícročné hojte!« Veľmi dlho sme spali, ľudia na nás čakali.</i></p> <p><i>Kdo syn ľudu do roboty! Nebojs biedy! Nebojs psoty! Truhlu umrlčiu na hlave vynes si sám – to je prave. Dravé hieny zduria sa že sám mŕtvý dvíhá sa!</i></p> <p><i>Kdo syn Tatry – nech zapeje a leňochov rozohreje, A pracovným dodá chuti A dumného nezarmúti. Hoj pri harfe hlučne pej, že nám je už veru hej!</i></p> <p><i>Kdo syn Slávy – nech bojuje, nech s jej odporci neduje. Na matke je ešte muka – nič nestojí, kto len kuká. Blaze zpieva »Rodáci, majme radosť i v práci!«</i></p>	<p><i>Who is Slovak – come stand with us – a mighty voice has long been thundering: «Rise from the dead, break open your graves, heal the wounds of a thousand years!« We have slept far too long, people have been waiting for us.</i></p> <p><i>Who is a son of the people – act! Fear no want, fear no hardship! Carry the coffin on your head yourself – that is right. The ravenous hyenas will rage in fear that the dead man has risen!</i></p> <p><i>Who is a son of Tatra – let him sing and stir those who lie in idleness, and give strength to those who toil, and not trouble the thoughtful soul. Strike the harp with thunderous song, at last, we are truly happy!</i></p> <p><i>Who is a son of Slavia – let him fight, and never consort with her foes. Our mother still suffers greatly – those who only watch are worthless. Let him sing with joy: »My people, let us find joy even in labour!«</i></p>
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³⁸ A. P. [Adolf Peter] ZÁTÚRECKÝ: *Hrmavá, Tatran: Letopis [...] Kalendár na rok obyčajný 1861, 1 (1861), 203-204.*

³⁹ M. Ch. [Michal CHRÁSTEK] (ed.): *Veniec národných piesní slovenských*, 118-119 (No. 80, lyrics to the melody sung to the lyrics of *Hor sa Slováč! Čuj otčinu*).

Conclusion

The search for Slovak echoes of the Croatian song *Nek se hrusti šaka mala* in the Slovak environment has yielded a surprisingly rich set of findings. In terms of quantity, they are comparable to those in the Czech environment; however, with regard to spectrum/typology, they are limited strictly to lyrics. Among Slovak contrafacta, the version by Ján Botto occupies a special position. The later texts demonstrate just how inspiring Botto's verses proved to be.

The literature indicates that the song was already popular before 1848 among Slovak patriots associated with the national revivalist Ludevít Štúr. The study confirms this with certainty and provides additional evidence, while also presenting other texts clearly inspired by the Croatian original (works by A. H. Škultéty, J. Botto, J. Král, J. D. Makovický, J. Čajak, G. Sokolovič and A. P. Záturecký).

In the Czech environment, there is no equivalent circle in which the song became truly embedded. The first reports of Czech reception of the Croatian song appear only around a decade after it was sung among Štúr's supporters. The reasons for this delay are open to speculation: during the period between the Congress of Vienna (1815) and the revolution of 1848, there was a strong interest in Polish revolutionary songs in the Czech environment (due to geographical proximity and linguistic comprehensibility) and in rediscovering its own militant songs, such as those from the Hussite era. One must also take into account the fascination with romantic musical forgeries, such as the »pseudo-Hussite« song *Těšme se blahou naději* [Let Sweet Hope in Us Awaken].

The migration of South Slavic repertoire is a well-established topic of research not only in Czech and Slovak musicology but also within South Slavic musicological schools.⁴⁰ Although technological advances today provide better opportunities for sharing research findings, this migration still presents numerous unclear areas. This is particularly evident in the revolutionary year of 1848, which was a highly turbulent period in terms of migration, and therefore remains unclear and, in a way, unpredictable for researchers – open to hypotheses.

In the case of *Nek se hrusti šaka mala*, the migration route of the Croatian song's melody and lyrics cannot be precisely determined, either for the Czech or the Slovak echoes. Regarding the Slovak reflection, the most likely explanation is transmission through personal contacts, namely Slovaks living in Croatia who maintained ties with their homeland (e.g. Bohuslav/Bogoslav Šulek).

In theory, the possibility of transmission through Slovak students studying in Budapest cannot be ruled out either. Czech students in Vienna often played such

⁴⁰ Berenika SZYMANSKI-DÜLL – Lisa SKWIRBLIES (eds.): *European Theatre Migrants in the Age of Empire. Personal Experiences, Transnational Trajectories, and Socio-Political Impacts. Palgrave Studies in Performance and Migration*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2025; Dagmar FREIST – Sabine KYORA – Melanie UNSELD (eds.): *Transkulturelle Mehrfachzugehörigkeit als kulturhistorisches Phänomen. Räume – Materialitäten – Erinnerung*. Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, 2019.

a mediating role even before 1848 (and in fact continued to do so until 1918) – specifically, it was Vojta Náprstek who published *Slovanský zpěvník* [A Slavic Songbook] in Vienna in 1848, thereby introducing Prague circles to the repertoire popular among the predominantly Czech and Moravian Slavs in Vienna. He included a Czech contrafactum in his songbook, along with the instruction to sing it to the melody of the Croatian song. However, this cannot be considered the introduction of the Croatian melody into the Czech environment, as the song had already been recorded several years earlier in the manuscript songbook of K. M. Jiříček. In Prague, it may also have gained popularity through the Croatian student Vatroslav Lisinski, who studied there.

A number of Slovak contrafacta reflect the impact of the 1848 military events and appeal to national courage. Czech contrafacta from the same period often offer more: they include reminiscences of mediaeval Czech military victories (for instance, the lyrics by J. J. Kollár), while V. Furch's lyrics sound like a »chronicle of the events of 1848«, with an emphasis on loyalty to the Habsburg throne.

It is also worth comparing the differing approaches of Czech and Slovak musicology in researching the echoes of the song. Czech musicology has a foundation to build upon. The song did not escape the attention of researchers focusing on the composers Bedřich Smetana and Pavel Křížkovský. The former was of greater interest to the Prague school of musicology (which is also linked to research into the life and work of V. Lisinski in Prague), while the latter to the Brno school. These facts led to parallel discussions of the Croatian song by respected Czech musicologists, including Jan Racek, Vratislav Vycpálek, Josef Plavec and Vladimír Gregor. In this sense, a Slovak equivalent is lacking – the song was mainly noticed by literary scholars, as the Slovak lyrics inspired by the Croatian original were written by major Slovak authors. Mentions in music-focused literature are usually brief and list-like. It therefore seems that the song is too marginal a topic for Slovak musicology, in the sense that the treatment of the fate of a foreign song in the context of its own musical culture is still reserved only for phenomena such as anthems – lyrics on the theme of the pan-Slavic *Hey, Slavs!* or the Czech *Where is my home?* did arise in the context of Slavic music in the past. An exception in the Czech context is, for example, the interest in the echoes of songs from the Polish Revolution of 1830 in Czech culture.⁴¹ Slovak echoes can therefore be examined primarily from the perspective of the text (and, in this sense, studies by Slovak literary scholars can be found in musicological anthologies),⁴² while Czech responses stand out for the breadth of musical adaptation.

⁴¹ Vladimír GREGOR: *Polské revoluční písně z let 1830–1831 v českých zemích*, *Slezský sborník*, 64 (1966) 4, 488-510; Bohumír ŠTĚDROŇ: *Polské ohlasy v české hudbě*, *Časopis Národního musea*, 122 (1953) 1, 349-492.

⁴² Rudolf BRTÁŇ: *Z hudobného života bratislavských študentov v prvej polovici 19. storočia*, in: Alexandra Tauberová (ed.): *Česko-Slovenské hudobné vzťahy*, Bratislava: Obzor, 1974, 43.

It should be noted, however, that the song is missing from lists of Croatian songs popular in the Czech environment around 1848 – for example, *Složno, Slavská řeč* (*Brod nek čuti udarca*) or *Grobničko polje* (*Prosto zrakom ptica leti*). Unlike the Slovak environment, there is no evidence of public performances in Bohemia or Moravia.

A common feature of both the Czech and Slovak responses is that, either consciously (or depending on previous tradition) or unconsciously (as if the melody intuitively evoked determination, combativeness, courage and vigour), the contrafacta's lyrics preserved the original character of the Croatian song.

Despite their detail and effort to address the essence of the issue, studies devoted to both the Czech and Slovak receptions of the Croatian song still leave certain areas of research unexplored. The material and hypotheses presented here offer a solid basis for considering when and by whom the Croatian original was first taken up – whether for its melody or its lyrics. It also opens up the possibility of considering how the reception of the song (or its echoes) was influenced by censorship and to what extent by the usual »filter of time«. It is possible that in the Czech environment before 1848, and even in that year, the Croatian original was not known, and the public was content with the fact that the new Czech lyrics were sung to the Croatian melody.

Although the song *Nek se hrusti šaka mala* was not as big a »hit« around 1848 as, for example, the songs *Naprej, Hej, Slované!* or *Složno*, this study suggests that its place within the broader theme of »Slavic musical mutuality« was more significant than previously assumed.

Future research might explore the reception of the song *Nek se hrusti šaka mala* in other Slavic cultures – not just in the closest ones, such as Slovenian or Serbian. A promising impulse is the fact that the song's lyrics were printed in 1849 in the Polish collection *Zbior pieśni sławiańskich* (published by the Towarzystwo Czytelni Polskiej w Cieszynie, printed by Karol Prochaska in 1849).

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Sažetak

HRVATSKA DAVORIJA NEK SE HRUSTI ŠAKA MALA U SLOVAČKOJ GLAZBENOJ KULTURI

Ovaj se rad usredotočuje na recepciju hrvatske davorije *Nek se hrusti šaka mala* u slovačkoj glazbenoj kulturi i nastavak je prethodno objavljene studije o recepciji navedene davorije u češkoj glazbenoj kulturi. Na temelju brojnih primjera pokazuje se da se pjesma u ovom okružju pjevala već prije 1848. godine, čak i u svojoj izvornoj verziji. U češkom kontekstu nema sličnih nalaza. Pjesma je intenzivno odjeknula u Slovačkoj tijekom revolucionarne 1848. godine, a sljedećih godina melodija se često koristila za nove tekstove (kontrafaktura). Sadržaj tekstova bio je vrlo relevantan u slovačkom okružju iako je niz pjesama inspiriranih mađarskom glazbom ili posuđenih iz češkog okružja imao sličan utjecaj na slovačke stihove općenito. Melodija pjesme postala je osnova za niz kontrafaktura – u nekim slučajevima bile su obojene radikalno revolucionarnim ili nacionalističkim tonom, a u drugim su autori naglašavali slavljenje prirode i slavne prošlosti.

Rad najprije predstavlja recepciju pjesme u slovačkom okružju, nakon čega slijedi jasna podjela na njezin razvoj prije i poslije 1848. Rezultati istraživanja ne uključuju samo dokumentirane kontrafakture i mapiranje pojave pjesme u glazbenoj praksi nego i razmišljanja o njezinim mogućim migracijskim putovima. Čini se da su pioniri u izvedbi pjesme bili studenti i Slaveni naseljeni u Beču, kao i Slovaci koji su radili u Hrvatskoj i održavali kontakte sa svojom domovinom. U Slovačkoj se najstarijim »domom« pjesme može smatrati krug oko nacionalnog preporoditelja Ludevíta Štúra. U češkom okružju nije se pojavilo analogno središte. Studija također pruža retrospektivu prethodnih istraživanja: slovački dio karakterizira prevlast interesa za tekst, pri čemu je značajan poticaj za daljnji rad pružio pjesnik Ján Botto. U Slovačkoj nije uspostavljena veza između pjesme i umjetničke glazbe, što je temeljna razlika prema razvoju u češkom kontekstu.