



Where Is My Home? *The Czech National Anthem: its Problems, Controversies, and Strengths*

VIKTOR VELEK

Faculty of Fine Arts and Music, University of Ostrava, Czechia

Wydział Sztuk Pięknych i Muzyki, Uniwersytet w Ostrawie

✉ viktor.velek@osu.cz

DOI: 10.2478/prm-2021-0009

I have decided to enrich the spectrum of papers presented at this conference with a commentary on the Czech song *Where Is My Home?* [*Kde domov můj?*]. I deliberately used the term “song,” although it has mainly been perceived as part of the state anthem of Czechoslovakia since 1918 and as the state anthem of the Czech Republic since 1993. But first, let me quote the song’s lyrics and their translation:

Czech (1 st and 2 nd stanzas)	Polish (1 st and 2 nd stanzas) ¹
[: Kde domov můj? :] Voda hučí po lučinách, bory šumí po skalínách, v sadě skví se jara květ, zemský ráj to na pohled! A to je ta krásná země, [: země česká — domov můj! :]	Anonymous, now the most widespread Polish translation. [: Gdzie jest mój dom? :] Woda huczy wśród łąk, bory szumią pośród skał, w sadzie pyszni się wiosenny kwiat, widać że to ziemski raj! Oto jest ta piękna ziemia, [: ziemia czeska — mój dom! :]

1 Older Polish translations were published by Jaromír Václav Šmejkal. See Jaromír Šmejkal, *Píseň písní národu českého* (Praha: A. Neubert, 1935), 230, 279 (one translation by Z. Przesmycki and three different ones by H. Batowski, as well as two Polish paraphrases; pp. 219–220).

[: Kde domov můj? :]
 V kraji znáš-li Bohu milém,
 duše útlé v těle čilém,
 mysl jasnou, vznik a zdar,
 a tu sílu, vzdoru zmar:
 To je Čechů slavné plémě,
 [: mezi Čechy — domov můj! :]

[: Gdzie jest mój dom? :]
 Czy znasz w ziemi, miłej Bogu,
 Wrażliwe dusze w zdrowych ciałach,
 Umysł jasny, powstanie i pomyślność,
 I siłę tę, zgubę przeciwności:
 Oto Czechów sławne plemię,
 [: Pośród Czechów jest mój dom. :]

English (1st and 2nd stanzas)²

Anonymous, now the most widespread
 English translation.

[: Where is my home? :]
 Water roars across the meadows,
 pinewoods rustle among crags,
 the garden is glorious with spring blossom,
 paradise on earth it is to see.
 And this is that beautiful land,
 [: the Czech land, my home! :]

[: Where is my home? :]
 If, in a heavenly land, you have met
 tender souls in agile frames,
 of clear mind, vigorous and prospering,
 and with a strength that frustrates all defiance,
 that is the glorious race of Czechs,
 [: among the Czechs is my home! :]

English (1st and 2nd stanzas)

(English translation of the poetic
 paraphrase by Josef Václav Sládek)³

[: Where is my home? :]
 Over leas are waters streaming,
 On the hills blue forests dreaming,
 Flowers wolds, Spring's happy skies,
 Like as earthly Paradise!
 There's the land so full of beauty,
 [: Czechia, my fatherland! :]

[: Where is my home? :]
 Where God self to man had spoken,
 Gentle be, but never broken,
 Ever cheerful, hopeful, strong,
 Bravely thwarting any wrong,
 There's the land of manly honor,
 [: Czechia, my fatherland! :]

Briefly on the Genesis

In 1834, the composer František Škroup set a poem by the playwright Josef Kajetán Tyl to music, thus creating a song for a play.⁴ As the title of the play suggests — *Fidlovačka aneb žádný hněv a žádná rvačka* (literally *Fidlovačka, or No Anger and No Brawl*, where *Fidlovačka* was a shoemakers' fair held

² https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kde_domov_m%C5%AFj [cit. 2021-11-12]

³ Šmejkal, *Píseň písni*, 249, 250.

⁴ František Škroup (1801–1862), a Czech composer and conductor; Josef Kajetán Tyl (1808–1856), a Czech playwright, writer and actor.

in Prague) — it was a Czech response to the Viennese farce. The premiere took place on 21st December 1834 in Prague at the Estates Theatre (Stavovské divadlo); the play was repeated for the first and last time on 11th January 1835, to a meagre audience. We could summarise this briefly as follows: The Czech anthem comes from a play that failed! What proved lasting was only the song *Where Is My Home?*, which received a round of applause both at the premiere and when repeated. It survived as an independent piece and soon became part of the repertoire of so-called social patriotic songs.

Before we move on to the transformation of the song *Where Is My Home?* into the national anthem and, subsequently, the state anthem, let us dwell for a moment on the period that preceded the March of the revolutionary year 1848.

- 1 First, let us look at the European context.

Where Is My Home? is a typical example of artistic reflection on the so-called “national consciousness.” It has roots at the civic-state level (as, for example, in France and England), or in the ethnic-linguistic sphere (which was the case with Germans as well as Czechs).

- 2 Let us now briefly explore the development of the Czech national revival.

Notably, *Where Is My Home?* reflects gradual inclusion in all the three phases of this process:

- a. the scholarly phase, associated with the words “homeland” and “patriotism,” ended approximately in 1829 with the death of Josef Dobrovský⁵; its typical characteristic was the belief in the messianic mission of Russia;
- b. the national-campaigning phase emphasised the words “nation” and “nationality;”
- c. the mass phase typically had a political subtext (either intentionally encoded or naturally acquired).

In Europe, state anthems were created in different ways. In some cases, an anthem was a song that emerged as part of a revolution (France). In other cases, the impulse came “from above,” i.e. had its origins in the court environment (Austria, England). The state anthem for the nations of the Habsburg monarchy of 1798, i.e. the one with the incipit *Gott erhalte...* (in the

⁵ Josef Dobrovský (1753–1829), a Czech philologist and historian.

Czech version *Zachovej nám Hospodine...*, in English *God save...*), was the result of joint work by the composer Joseph Haydn and writer Lorenz Leopold Haschka. There were also situations where an old spiritual song, a march, a folk song or — as in the Czech and Polish case — an art song of a patriotic character later became an anthem.

There was no strongly felt need to have a purely Czech national or even state anthem in the Czech environment at the beginning of the 19th century. Although the population of the Lands of the Bohemian Crown was linguistically diverse (Czech- and German-speaking), it in fact pursued the same goals until 1848. What the two linguistic communities had in common was land-related patriotism, the pursuit of political liberalisation and democratisation, the study of the country's history, as well as other elements. However, the revolutionary year 1848 and the nationalist boom fully revealed the controversies which later culminated in the so-called Czech-German conflict-ridden community.

Interpreting the song *Where Is My Home?* presents the fundamental difficulty of the history of the Lands of the Bohemian Crown. The basic question is: How did the playwright Josef Kajetán Tyl understand the word “Čech” [Czech]: as “Tscheche” or as “Böhme”? In linguistic (national) or territorial terms? This question does not concern the first stanza, which is wholly universal in national terms. However, the second stanza contains direct formulations “that is the glorious race of Czechs / among the Czechs is my home” (“There’s the land of manly honor / Czechia, my fatherland”). It should be explained that the term “Böhm” was used for a long time to refer to persons who came from “Böhmen,” i.e. both Czech- and German-speaking inhabitants.

Czech (end of the 2 nd stanza)	English (end of the 2 nd stanza)	English (end of the 2 nd stanza) (English translation of the poetic paraphrase by J. V. Sládek)
...
To je Čechů slavné plémě, [: mezi Čechy — domov můj! :]	that is the glorious race of Czechs, [: among the Czechs is my home! :]	There’s the land of manly honor, [: Czechia, my fatherland! :]

If we take into account that the lyrics of the song *Where Is My Home?* were first printed (on 23rd December 1834) in the Czech original by Bohemia,

i.e. “a newspaper of the Prague Germans,” we are close to the following conclusion: even the Czech Germans interpreted the song universally. There is yet another piece of evidence for a positive attitude on the part of the Czech Germans; in the last quarter of the 19th century, voices criticising *Where Is My Home?* as the Czech national anthem and, potentially, the future state anthem began to appear in the Czech environment. One argument concerning the inappropriateness of this choice was, among other things, that this Czech song was also liked by the Germans! It should be added that, objectively speaking, its popularity with the Czech Germans mentioned above apparently stemmed from the fact that the Czech-speaking population itself confirmed its own character in this song: moderation, restraint, hesitancy, uncertainty, sentimentality, and sensitivity.

The Czech Germans also sought to extol their homeland in artistic form. One example is the poem *An mein theueres Vaterland!* [To My Dear Homeland!] by Karl Viktor Hansgirk⁶, published in the magazine *Libussa: Jahrbuch für 1850* and set to music, for example, by Václav Jan Tomášek.⁷ The lyrics clearly show that Tyl’s “model” had a powerful influence also on the Germans.

Missing Content

Before 1848, many different new stanzas, variations and paraphrases of the song *Where Is My Home?* were composed but, on the other hand, the number of new original Czech patriotic songs (with a new melody and new lyrics or with a new melody and a variation of Tyl’s original lyrics) celebrating the country began to increase as well. In the context of Czech community songs in the second half of the 19th century, the song *Where Is My Home?* had an exceptional, but not a dominant position. There were other

⁶ Karl Viktor Hansgirk (1823–1877), a Czech-German clerk, writer, poet, and editor.

⁷ Karl Viktor Hansgirk, *An mein theueres Vaterland!*, *Libussa* 9, 1850, 1–2. The subsequent unnumbered pages contain the score of Tomášek’s piece for male chorus based on this poem. Václav Jan Křtitel Tomášek (1774–1850), a Czech composer and music teacher.

competing lyrics and songs, which frequently offered listeners such elements missing from *Where Is My Home?*, as:

- A precise definition of the Czech character (territorial details)

1838, František Matouš Klácel: Moravian *Where Is My Home?*
(to the melody of *Where Is My Home?*)

Czech (1st stanza)

[: Kde domov můj? :]
Svatopluka hrad kde stojí,
Haná s Moravou se pojí,
Jaroslav kde světa rek
porazil Tatarů vztek:
A to je ta krásná země
[: zem moravská — domov můj. :]

English (1st stanza)⁸

[: Where is my home? :]
Where Svatopluk's castle stands,
where Haná and Moravia join,
where Jaroslav is the world's hero,
having defeated the Tatars' rage:
And that is the beautiful country
[: Moravian land — my home. :]

- The topic of Jan Hus and Hussitism (Jan Žižka, *Prokop the Great...*)

1838, Babor's *Where Is My Home?*
(to the melody of *Where Is My Home?*)

Czech (1st stanza)

[: Kde domov můj? :]
Tam, kde Žižka světoznámý
svýma dvěma Prokopami
králům dal naučení,
že není k přemožení.
A to jest ten muž tak velký
[: Žižka Achil, vůdce náš! :]

English (1st stanza)⁹

[: Where is my home? :]
Where world-famous Žižka,
by his two Prokops,
showed the kings
that he cannot be overcome.
And that is the great man
[: Žižka Achilles, our leader! :]

8 Šmejkal, *Píseň písní*, 188, 116.

9 Ibidem, 185, 117 “Babor’s songbook” — a manuscript songbook containing, among other things, the lyrics of Czech and Slavic revival songs (first from 1838). Deposited in the National Museum — Czech Museum of Music, call number xvii E 157.

- The specific character of Czech history (Duke Svatopluk, Saint Wenceslas, Charles IV, Czech saints and kings, etc.)

1837, Václav Jaromír Pícek: *My Fatherland* [*Má otčina*]
(to the melody of *Where Is My Home?* or with new original melodies¹⁰)

Czech (3 rd stanza)	English (3 rd stanza) ¹¹
(Kde domov můj? Kde domov můj?) Tam, kde v chrámě Svantovíta Čech své krále svaté sčítá, Václava ctí, Karla má, „Pomiluj ny“ zazpívá: Tam je moje půda spásná, [: půda svatá, domov můj! :]	(Where is my home? Where is my home?) Where in Svantovít's temple Czechs count their holy kings, honouring Wenceslas, having Charles, singing “Lord, Have Mercy on Us”: This is where my land of salvation is, [: holy land, my home! :]

- Militant content

This aspect should be dealt with in more detail: The militant songs connected with the events of the Polish uprising met with a positive response in the Czech environment. Although the uprising did not result in a political reaction among the Czech-speaking population, the artistic inspiration is obvious. Supportive speeches by Czech Polonophiles are well-known thanks to the work of historians. They appeal, for example, for material assistance for the Polish refugees and dissemination of political brochures of liberal orientation (secretly delivered from German countries). Unfortunately, historians put little emphasis on musical documents, such as the song with the incipit *Let sweet hope in us awaken* [*Těšme se blahou nadějí*]:

Josef Th. Krov / Václav Hanka: *Let Sweet Hope in Us Awaken* [*Těšme se blahou nadějí*]

Czech	English ¹²	English ¹³
Těšme se blahou nadějí, že se vrátí zlaté časy, že se nám zas vyjasnějí	Let us rejoice in the blissful hope that golden days will return, that the Bohemian mountains,	Let sweet hope in us awaken, that the times will be restoring, glory to our hills forsaken,

10 Composers: Karel Slavík, Josef Ferdinand Skalický, Arnošt Mašek, and Albín Mašek.

11 Translated for this paper by Radek Blaheta.

12 Translated for this paper by Radek Blaheta.

13 *Česko-Americký zpěvník. Sbirka písní česko-amerických, národních, společenských a zábavných s českým překladem*, 3. vydání (Chicago: Tiskem a nákladem knihkupectví Aug. Geringera, 1890? 1900?), 29–30.

České hory, České hlasy!
 Ať jen Český šat se nese,
 mužně hájí mravy dávné,
 nade všecko ono slavné
 pravočeské:

*Milujme se, nedejme se,
 vybijme se, napijme se!
 Milujme se, napijme se
 a pak vybijme se!*

Amen, rač to, Bože dáti!
 Oroduj za nás, Svatý Václave,
 vévodo České země,

Milujme se...

Dokud v nás krev otců plyne,
 hrud' zahřívá, ruce sílí,

sláva Česká nezahyne,
 hlavu vztyčí lev náš bílý.
 Tak jako medvědům v lese
 nepřítelům budeme hráti,
 oni budou tancovatí,
 až zapějeme:

Milujme se...

Bohemian voices will be bright again!
 Let the Bohemian attire be worn,
 manfully defending ancient customs,
 above all that famous
 old Bohemian one:

*Let's love each other, let's be brave,
 let's fight, let's drink!
 Let's love each other, let's drink
 and then fight!*

Amen, may God grant us our request!
 Pray for us Saint Wenceslas,
 Duke of the Bohemian Land!

Let's love...

As long as our fathers' blood flows in us,
*warming up our chest, strengthening our
 hands,
 the glory of Bohemia will not perish,
 our white lion will raise his head.*
*As for the bears in the forest,
 we will play for our enemies,
 they will dance
 when we sing:*

Let's love...

on Bohemia plenty pouring!
 We'll Bohemian dress wear ever,
 never from old customs sever,
 we will praise and cherish ever,
 Old Bohemia!

*Let us love then, let's be daring,
 drink and conquer, no foe sparing!
 Love and fight daringly,
 crush foes unsparingly!*

Amen! May God grant us our pray'r!
 Intercede for us, Holy Wenceslaus,
 thou, Bohemia's noble prince!

Let us love...

Let our father's blood be burning,
in our veins, too vict'ry speeding!

*That our lion, whom all are spurning,
 raise his crest, to honour leading!
 Bear like to our forests hieing,
 to the foe we'll play, till flying.
 Far, they dance, for mercy crying,
 when we're singing:*

Let us love...

German version (GER)

Polen wird für ewig Polen,
 frei und treu der guten Sache, treu der Sache!
 Weiß die Freiheit sich zu hohlen, ühend nur gerechte
 Rache; auf zur Rache!
 Wer die Knechtschaft liebt auf Erden, soll nicht unser
 Bruder werden. Knute soll sein Lohn ihm werden, hin
 schleiche er!

German version (ENG)¹⁴

Poland will forever be Poland,
 free and faithful to the good cause, faithful to the cause!
 By righteous revenge, it will win freedom; raise for revenge!
 He who loves bondage on earth will not become our
 brother. The knout will be his reward, so he may grab it!

¹⁴ Translated for this paper by Radek Blaheta.

*Tapferkeit wird uns beleben,
ewig Ruhm und Fried' uns geben, Freiheit ist das Losungswort,
sie werde in jedem Ort.*

Gott, erleuchte uns're Feinde:
Tyranny allein kann's wahrlich nicht sein, was zum Ziel
uns führe!

Endlich muss doch un'sre Sache, weil sie gut ist,
triumphieren, triumphieren, darum, Brüder, rasch zur
Rache, lasst uns nicht das Recht verlieren, nie verlieren!
Uns're Feinde nicht nach der Zahl, nach unserm Muth,
nach unserm Stahl zählen wir und jagen sie fort, fort, fort:

Tapferkeit wird...

*Valour will enliven us,
giving us eternal fame and peace, freedom is our motto,
may it be everywhere.*

God, enlighten our enemies:
Tyranny alone cannot be what leads us to the goal!

Finally, our cause must triumph, because it is good,
therefore, brothers, swiftly for revenge, let us not lose the
right, never lose it!
Let's judge our enemies not by their numbers, but by our
courage, our strength, and repel them:

Valour will...

The latter song was erroneously considered to be an authentic piece of Czech mediaeval music for many years, for instance by Franz Liszt, who became acquainted with the song in Prague in 1840, setting it to music in the form of a virtuosic piano paraphrase. Later, it turned out to be a musical hoax by the Czech composer Josef Theodor Krov¹⁵, who fled to England. Now we also know the author of the text, Václav Hanka¹⁶, whose name is connected with two other mystifications in the form of purportedly mediaeval manuscripts used by a considerable proportion of the Czech society to support its political programme in the 19th century. The questions of authenticity or non-authenticity divided the Czech nation for many decades. Even though there is nothing about Hussitism in the song *Let Sweet Hope in Us Awaken*, the people named it *Hussite Song* owing to its militant content. It was for its militant spirit and dramatic nature that this song was long a competitor of *Where Is My Home?*.

The central section of the pseudo-Hussite song by Krov and Hanka contains a quote from the mediaeval sacred hymn Saint Wenceslas. The song's authors tried to make it seem ancient: Václav Hanka by including these words, and Josef Theodor Krov by using the old melody.

15 Josef Theodor Krov (1797–1859), a Czech composer and singer.

16 Václav Hanka (1791–1861), a Czech philologist.

Czech lyrics (*Svatý Václave. Svatováclavský chorál*)English lyrics (*Saint Wenceslas*)¹⁷

Svatý Václave, vévodo české země,
kněže náš, pros za ny Boha,
svatého Ducha,
Kyrie Eleison.

Saint Wenceslas, duke of the Bohemian Land,
our priest, pray for us to God,
the Holy Spirit,
Kyrie Eleison.

Nebeské jest dvorstvo krásné,
blaze tomu, ktož tam pójde,
život věčný, oheň jasný,
svatého Ducha,
Kyrie eleison.

Heavenly courtiers are glorious,
blessed is he who enters heaven,
eternal life, bright fire
of the Holy Spirit,
Kyrie Eleison.

Pomoci tvé žádámy, smiluj se nad námi, utěš smutné,
odžeň vše zlé,
Svatý Václave,
Kyrie Eleison.

We beseech you to help us, have mercy on us,
comfort the sad, repel all evil,
Saint Wenceslas,
Kyrie Eleison.

Interestingly, a large proportion of the Czech nation favoured the original sacred song from the 13th century as the best choice for the state anthem! This option was considered particularly at the turn of 1918 and 1919, that is, at the time when Czechoslovakia was formed. The main arguments were the song's undeniable historical value and its representative quality as a potential state anthem. In the 19th and 20th centuries, that song was used as something like a "parallel anthem," along with the imperial hymn *Gott erhalte* and *Where Is My Home?*¹⁸

The Catholic circles in particular wanted *Saint Wenceslas* to become the Czechoslovak anthem. However, in 1919 they did not have any real chance to promote that plainchant for that role. The Catholic poet Jakub Deml (1878–1961) believed that "from the perspective of moral values, the Saint Wenceslas plainchant contains timeless ideas that also correspond to the much neglected needs of the present"¹⁹. Deml also quoted the

17 Translated for this paper by Radek Blaheta.

18 Robert Sak, "Česká 'Píseň písní' v historickém kontextu," in *Státní hymna České republiky v proměnách doby*, ed. Lucie Wittlichová (Praha: Úřad vlády České republiky, 2008), 39.

19 Herman Kolln, *Vznik svatováclavského chorálu* (Praha: Herman Kolln, 2007); Dobroslav Orel, *Svatováclavský sborník: na památku 1000. výročí smrti knížete Václava Svatého*, II. 3: Hudební prvky svatováclavské (Praha: Národní výbor pro oslavu svatováclavského tisíciletí, 1937).

opinion of his friend, symbolist poet Otokar Březina (1868–1929), expressed on 19th May 1921:

The anthem for our new state has been chosen very inappropriately; it is shallow and general, since water roars, pinewoods rustle and gardens look glorious in spring blossom literally EVERYWHERE. Moreover, bad Czech is used, because there should be “bory šumějí” (i.e. the plural form of the verb “šumět”, meaning “to rustle”), not “bory šumí” (singular form), not to mention the second stanza, where we find “vznik a zdar” (literally “birth and luck”) and “vzdoru zmar” (literally “death of defiance”). It is definitely the “Saint Wenceslas” plainchant that should be the anthem of our state. It is the oldest hymn, sanctified by the ages, profound, so everyone finds meaning in it, even those who interpret it differently, for it is a SPIRITUAL song and, listening to it, one can imagine standards, multitudes and troops... And if not the “Saint Wenceslas” plainchant, then at least “Ye Who Are Warriors of God”; this anthem would be good and certainly much better than “Where Is My Home?” where one needs to stop thinking of the content to be able to sing it at all. But this was done according to the will of the Jews, as everything has turned Jewish in our country.²⁰

A similar comment can be found among Březina’s conversations recorded by Emilie Lakomá (entry for 8th March 1925):

I would choose the beautiful Saint Wenceslas plainchant as the national anthem, not “Where Is My Home?” the song from the play *Fidlovačka*. The music and the words of the plainchant hymn are beautiful. “The Courtiers of the Holy Spirit!” What beautiful language! We cannot surpass it, for nothing is more beautiful than serving the spirit.²¹

We know from many sources (mainly from daily press and journals) that Czech society felt the need to sing other anthems after the imperial hymn; usually it was the song *Where Is My Home?*, sometimes the *Saint Wenceslas* plainchant, or the song *Hey, Slavs*.²² The latter “pan-Slavic an-

20 Jakub Deml, “Otokar Březina ve svých hovorech,” *Na hlubinu* 4, No. 6 (1929), 288.

21 *Úlomky hovorů Otokara Březiny*, eds. Otokar Březina, Emilie Lakomá, Petr Holman (Brno: Jota, 1992), 143.

22 For example, the historian Robert Sak recalls a change in the perception of singing the song *Where Is My Home?* directly after the Austrian anthem during the First World War. At first, it was an “expression of Austrian patriotic sentiments,” but soon came to be understood as “comfort and an expression of defiance.” He also gives specific examples. See Sak, “Česká ‘Píseň písní’ v historickém kontextu,” 39.

them” was popular in the Czech environment, but also banned by officials before 1918, who used various means to eradicate it. This was also the case with *Where Is My Home?*, *Saint Wenceslas*, and the Hussite hymn *Ye Who Are Warriors of God*. What was so appealing about the song *Hey, Slavs* for the Czechs? It lacked the characteristics of *Where Is My Home?*, such as the sober Biedermeier mentality, inner peace, modesty, conciliatory resignation, prudence, moderate progress, dreams... Although the song *Hey, Slavs* had its Czech paraphrases with typical content, it did not stand any real chance of becoming the Czechoslovak anthem in 1918 or 1919.

Karel Tůma: *Czech Youth Song* [*Píseň České omladiny*]

Czech (1st stanza)

Kdo jsi Čech, hoj,
v řady naše Božích Bojovníků!
Vlast volá – tys jejím synem,
tož do předních šiků!
Vzmuž se, vzmuž, ty lide český, v této těžké době:
[: Dokaž světu,
jak jsi velký i ve své porobě! :]

English (1st stanza)²³

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

From “Eternal Challenge” to Eternal Controversy

Let us now return to the song *Where Is My Home?* itself. Soon after it was written, it provoked numerous responses. It was precisely those responses that eventually brought what Tyl’s contemporaries and later generations missed in the lyrics. We will refer to categories presented by journalist Jaromír Václav Šmejkal (1902–1941) in his 1935 book *Píseň písní národu českého* [The Song of Songs of the Czech Nation], dedicated to the Czech anthem²⁴:

- text paraphrases (contrafactum): a) local; b) territorial; c) other;
- imitations – looser lyrics, often different music.

²³ Translated for this paper by Radek Blaheta.

²⁴ See footnote 1.

As clearly evident from the above, Tyl's original lyrics contain something like an "eternal challenge," which creates a constant need for comments or additions. This challenge is possibly present in the very title of the song. For the Czech nation, it may be the fundamental question of whether the country and its nation belong to Western or Eastern Europe. It can be argued that such a simplification of cultural and linguistic affiliations is inadequate. We could certainly add the idea of Central-Europeanism, but this also entails a relation to the West or the East. Where is my home? Apart from Czechs, a great part of Europe asked the same question in the 19th century. Milton's *Paradise Lost* was relevant again, and the image of a dream landscape in Mignon's famous song *Knowest Thou the Land where Citron-Apples Bloom?* from Johann Wolfgang Goethe's *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* [*Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship*]. A number of similar motifs can be found in the emerging Czech literature of the first half of the 19th century.²⁵

In retrospect, it is certain that the search for a home was parallel to the formation and search for the contents of the nation. At the time when the song was written, the meaning of such expressions as the "Czech nation," "Czech country," and subsequently also the "Czech society" was very hazy. An interesting opinion was presented in this context by the writer and literary scientist Vladimír Macura (1945–1999):

The Czech country is definitely not the everyday environment that actually surrounds blind Mareš on the stage; bilingual German-Czech conversations, the hustle and bustle of a busy Prague street and the shoemakers' fair in Nusle, with coarse gestures typical of a farce. On the contrary, the Bohemian country is an ideal land somewhere behind an opaque and impenetrable wall inhabited not by Prague's characters but by the glorious race of Czechs. It is a dream homeland which establishes its existence among the Czechs, at this moment just as mythical (and exclusively among them).²⁶

25 From the period before the revolutionary year 1848, for example, the poems *České lesy* [Czech Forests] and *Země česká* [Czech Land]. Cf. Josef Jaroslav Langer, "České lesy," *Čechoslav* 2, vol. 5 (March 1831), 3–4; Michal Silorád Patrčka, "Země česká," *Květy české* 1, No. 42 (1843), 350–352.

26 Vladimír Macura, "Krajina hymny a krajina literatury," *Literární noviny* 11/45 (November 1993), 1.

This implies that the song *Where Is My Home?* stands at the beginning of the process that would be now called the “Czech project.” Concerning the quotation above, it raises the question of why the playwright Josef Kajetán Tyl chose the song *Where Is My Home?* to be sung in the play *Fidlovačka* by the blind fiddler Mareš. The song could be performed by any other person of the drama. This suggests that Mareš’s blindness may be a certain symbolic intensification, and there may be a hidden meaning in the image of blindness recognised as one’s own limitation... Did Tyl consider his nation blind, blindfolded, or inward-looking? Or was it a reference to the difficult starting position of a nation that did not know its past and, consequently, was unable to look into the future?

The song *Where Is My Home?* has therefore been connected from the outset with certain doubts concerning the suitability of its words and musical component for the national or state anthem. Some of those objections have already been discussed or implied above; the following brief overview summarises the others:

- There is no spiritual dimension in the song, as the “paradise on earth” is defined exclusively in secular terms. That is why a religious paraphrase of the original text soon emerged! This was definitely a sign that patriotic clergy embraced the national revival.
- The writer and journalist Jan Neruda (1834–1891), composer Leoš Janáček (1854–1928), music historiographer Josef Srb-Debrnov (1836–1904), first director of the Czech gymnasium in Olomouc Jan Evangelista Kosina (1827–1899) — are just a few of those who discussed the original lyrics of the song *Where Is My Home?* as those of a future national/state anthem: for them, it was “sugar-candy-like, too sensitive”.²⁷ The teacher and composer Konrád Pospíšil (1859–1910) appealed to his contemporaries in 1907, claiming that the anthem “lacks vigour, courage, strength [...] it is too tame, and therefore also liked by the Germans”. We thus need a new anthem, “as fiery and hard as the Bohemian garnet, as fragrant as the mint of our balks, as strong as the blacksmith’s hands”.²⁸

²⁷ Sak, “Česká ‘Píseň písni’ v historickém kontextu,” 37.

²⁸ “Pro českou národní hymnu,” *Dalibor* 29/18 (January 1907), 166.

- In the newspaper *Moravské listy* of 1892, Leoš Janáček called on Czech poets to write a new text for the song. Jan Neruda had gone even further, when he asked Bedřich Smetana (1824–1884) at the end of the 1870s to compose a new anthem! Smetana allegedly replied as follows:

A true national anthem must burst out of the heart of the people. The song that the people themselves embrace as their anthem will remain one. The song *Where Is My Home?* has so far been the anthem of the Czech people. Let it be sung for as long as our people do not let another one conquer their hearts.²⁹

- In 1907, the above-mentioned Konrád Pospíšil came up with a proposal to announce a competition for both the words and music of a new anthem. The idea probably did not materialise, which is a shame. Every such a proposal subliminally stayed in the minds of the nation, like a seed waiting for someone else to try to revive it.
- An important figure among the critics of the song *Where Is My Home?* as the national anthem was František Adolf Šubert (1849–1915), director of the National Theatre. He recommended the song-like and rhythmically distinctive melody from Smetana's *Braniboři v Čechách* [*The Brandenburgers in Bohemia*] to be used instead of *Where Is My Home?*. He proposed that a different text of his own be sung to the melody of *Uhodila naše hodina* [*Our Hour Has Come*]. The idea was not put in practice after Šubert's death; in 1919, Smetana's music was modified by Metod Doležil (1885–1971) and Šubert's lyrics by someone signed as A. Šn.

Czech lyrics	English lyrics ³⁰
Udeřila naše hodina, otevřely se brány, Bůh dobrý národa vzpomíná, jsme v domě svém zase pány.	Our hour has come, the gates have opened, good God has remembered the nation, we are masters in our house again.
Žijem zas a budem žiti, jak nám káže světa řád.	We live again and we shall live, as ordered by the scheme of things.

²⁹ Šmejkal, *Píseň písni*, 92.

³⁰ Translated for this paper by Radek Blaheta.

Pout dlouhé bídy zbavil nás kleté zvůle pád, slunce svobody již zahřívá české lány.	The fall of the cursed tyranny has freed us from the long poverty, the sun of freedom is warming up Czech fields.
Uděla Čechů hodina, národ vzkříšený vstává, krev jara svaly napíná, díků nebi duše vzdává.	The hour of the Czechs has come, the resurrected nation is rising, spring's blood is tightening its muscles; the soul is offering thanks to heaven.
Slávu předků slávou splatíme, činů velkých nastal čas.	Let us repay our ancestors' glory with glory, the time of great acts has come.
Ať Žižkův boží pravdy štít, svatý Husův hlas, v lásce svorností nás vedou vždy cestou práva	Let Žižka's shield of the truth of God, Hus's holy voice, always lead us in love and concord in the way of law.

- In 1912, Vladimír Nosek published a critique of *Where Is My Home?* in the magazine *Dalibor*. For him, the song was “an expression of the fresh Czech soul awakened after a long night”³¹.

If we add other similar views to this survey, we may conclude that Tyl's lyrics present the small-mindedness and weakness of his contemporaries, their lack of courage and will to act. Or, in other words: *Where Is My Home?* is just as “outside the society” as the question of the authenticity of the so-called Manuscripts. And yet another, much more critical claim: *Where Is My Home?* is a song “not worthy of a free nation; [it is] an embarrassing anachronism, an expression of weakness”³².

After 1918

The birth of Czechoslovakia on 28th October 1918 also brought the need for an official anthem. Shortly after that date, the Prague wholesaler V. Chmel donated 3000 crowns to the Council of Czech Writers as the prize in a competition for the new words of the state anthem. Several proposals to change the anthem are known, mostly highlighting the need for a less lyrical text,

³¹ Sak, “Česká ‘Píseň písní’ v historickém kontextu,” 38.

³² *Ibidem*, 40.

but also for the merging of the Czech and Slovak parts, and even the addition of a third part, representing the Carpathian Ruthenia. One of the requirements was to have a “ceremonial symbolic song” as a national and state symbol, a symbol of statehood. An interesting idea was also suggested by T.G. Masaryk. On 7th May 1919, he received representatives of the Syndicate of Czechoslovak Daily Press, telling them, among other things: “We need a new popular national anthem that would suit all the citizens. I am very well aware that there are emotions at work here that really need to be taken into account regarding the country’s symbols”³³. Masaryk developed the idea in an interview for Vienna’s *Die Zeit* in July 1919: “Today we have two national anthems; it would be better if we only had one that suited everybody regardless of nationality”³⁴. Now it seems to us that the problem lay elsewhere. The Slovak part of the anthem was accepted by both the Slovaks and the Czechs, who found in it what they lacked in the Czech anthem — a militant spirit and dramatic nature. The two-part anthem was thus both lyrical and dramatic. The result was a situation not known in other countries, i.e. the search for a state anthem, announcing competitions, etc.

Very soon, voices appeared criticising the fact that, without a broader social debate and somehow automatically, the song *Where Is My Home?* had been accepted as the state anthem. The literary critic Miloslav Hýsek (1885–1957) described this situation as follows: the song *Where Is My Home?* became the national anthem “by the power of the national soul” and the state anthem “through its history by the will of the nation”³⁵.

What should be said by way of conclusion? Voices critical of the anthem *Where Is My Home?* continue to emerge. In 2018, the public rejected the new instrumentation by the composer Miloš Bok (born 1968). Its creation was initiated by the Czech Olympic Committee with the intention of providing official orchestral, orchestral-vocal, and vocal versions. The composer Varhan Orchestrovič Bauer’s (born 1969) experiment of 2008 met with a similarly cool response from the public.

33 Ibidem, 41, 63.

34 Ibidem, 40, 63.

35 Ibidem, 40, 62.

To conclude, this is my answer to the question of why the Czech anthem is still an open problem both in terms of its music and lyrics: We must realize that Tyl, when writing the text, and Škroup, when working on his farce, did not plan to write an anthem. The stage song *Where Is My Home?* simply became an anthem!

ILLUSTRATIONS/ILUSTRACJE

Illustration 1. Josef Theodor Krov, Václav Hanka, *Těšme se blahou nadějí* (source: Ed. Bedřich Václavěk, Robert Smetana, *Písňě české společnosti 19. století. Český národní zpěvník*, Praha, 1949).

169. Husitská I.
J. T. KROV

Pohodně

Těš-me se bla-hou na-dě-jí, že se vrá-tí zla-té ča -
Zdlouha
sy, zla - té ča - sy, že se nám zas vy-jas-ně - jí

če - ské ho - ry, če - ské hla - sy, če - ské hla - sy!

Stejným ruchem a kynně

Ať jen če - ský šat se no - sí, muž - ně há - jí mra - vy dáv - né,
na - de - vše - cko o - no slav - né prá - vo - če - ské:

Rázně, čerstvě

Mi - luj - me se, ne - dej - me se, vy - bij - me se, na - pij - me se,
Zdloužěji
mi - luj - me, na - pij - me se a pak vy - bij - me se.

Zdlouha, vážně

A - men, rač to Bo - že dá - ti, o - ro - duj za
nás, sva - tý Vá - cla - ve, voj - vo - do če - ské ze - mě.

Rázně, čerstvě

Mi - luj - me se, ne - dej - me se, vy - bij - me se, na - pij - me se,
mi - luj - me, na - pij - me se a pak vy - bij - me se!

324

Illustration 2. Josef Theodor Krov, Václav Hanka, *Těšme se blahou nadějí*.
 Source: *National-Lieder aller Völker für eine Singstimme* (Berlin, Verlag der
 Schlesinger'schen Buch- u. Musikhandlung, ed. Prague 1842).

Nationallieder
 № 44.

BÖHMISCHES NATIONALIED
HUSSITENLIED.
PJSEŇ HŮSITSKÁ (z patnáctého století.)
 Berlin, Schlesinger'sche Buch- u. Musikhandlung.

GI T A R R E.

GESANG.

PIANO.

Wesele, srdcerne a kratce.

1. Laßt die süsse Hoffnung walten, dass die Zeiten wieder kehren, wieder kehren, wo im glückli-
 2. Uns'rer Väter Bluthurdenglühe uns, der Arm in Kraft er- he- he, Kraft er- he- he, dass nie Böhmen

1. Těšme se blahou na- dě- gj. Že se wrátj zla- té ía- sy; zla- té ía- sy; Že se nám zas
 2. Dokud u nás krewotcú ply- ne, Hrud zah- vj- wú, ru- ce sj- lj, ru- ce sj- lj; Sláva Česká

- chen Entfal- ten Böhmens Hügel sich ver- klä- ren, sich ver- klä- ren! Laßt nur Böhmens Tracht uns tragen,
 Buhm, ver- hli- he, stolz der wei- sse Leu sich he- he, stolz sich he- he! Bā- ren gleich in Wald- ge- he- gen
 wy- ga- sně- gj Če- ské ho- ry, Če- ské bla- sy, Če- ské bla- sy. At' gen Čes- slj' šit se ne- ž se
 ne- sa- hy- ne, Ha- wu zly' vj- lew nás bj- ly; lew nás bj- ly; Tak ga- ko med- uedumie le- se

ritard. in tempo.

ritard. in tempo.

ritard. in tempo.

S. 2571. (**)

Mit Erlaubnis des Original-Verlegers Herrn J. Hoffmann in Prag.

Illustration 4. *Kde domov můj?* (Praha 1918, an edition with instructions for correct interpretation).

K D E D O M O V M Ů J ?

Národní [hymna česká.
Slova napsal Josef Kajetán Tyl.

Andante con moto ♩ = 88. 1.) *Složil František Škroup.*

p 2.) 3.) 4.)

1. Kde domov můj, kde domov můj? Voda
2. Kde domov můj, kde domov můj? V kraji

5.) *mf* 6.)

hu - či po lu - či - nách, bo - ry šu - mi po ska -
znáš - li bo - hu - mi - lém du - še ú - tlé vtě - le

p 7.) 10.) *mf* 11.)

li - nách, v sa - dě skví se 8.) ja - ra květ, zemský
či - lém, my - sl ja - snou 9.) znika zdar, a tu

12.) 13.) *p* 14.)

ráj to na po - hled! A to je ta krá - sná
si - lu vzdoru zmar: to je Če - chů sla - vné

15.) *f* 16.)

ze - mě, ze - mě že - ská - domov
plé - mě, me - zi Če - chy - domov

17.) *pp*

můj, ze - mě že - ská - domov můj!
můj, me - zi Če - chy domov můj!

Illustration 5. Václav Josef Rosenkranz, František Jaroslav Vacek-Kamenický, *Kde je můj kraj?* (source: *Starosvětské písně národní a znárodnělé z Čech a Moravy*, Praha 1939).

6. Kde můj je kraj?

Zvolna Slova FR. J. VACEK-KAMENICKÝ - nápěv V. J. ROSENKRANZ

Kde můj je kraj, kde má je vlast? To jmé-no má nej - vět - ší slast! Ne -

ní to blud, ne - ní to klam, zem českou za svou vlast že mám; ne - ní mi ze - mě, ja - ko ze - mě, hlas

pří-ro-dy mlu-ví to ve mně, a srd-ce mé vo - lásplesem, v Če chách že já jen do-ma jsem!

Z. 1129 V.

The image shows a musical score for the song 'Kde můj je kraj?'. It consists of three systems of music. Each system has a piano accompaniment on the left and a vocal line on the right. The piano part is in 3/4 time and features a simple harmonic accompaniment with some triplets. The vocal line is in a higher register and includes various ornaments and slurs. The lyrics are in Czech and are written below the vocal line. The tempo is marked 'Zvolna' (Ad libitum). The score is numbered 'Z. 1129 V.' at the bottom.

Illustration 6. Karel Slavík, Václav Jaromír Pícek, *Má otčina* (male choir, an edition of 1937).

VLASTENECKÉ SBORY 1

1. Má otčina [SEBROVÝ ARCHIV č.8.]

(V. J. Pícek)

Rázně, ne velmi čerstvě $\text{♩} = 96$ KAREL SLAVÍK

TENOR LH. *p* Tam, kde věn - ěi mo - dré ho - ry ti - síc hra - dů svý - mi

BAS LH. *p*

f bo - ry, *f* s Kr - ko - no - šem *p* Šu - ma - va, *p* s La - bem já - sá

mf Vi - ta - va, *mf* s Kr - ko - no - šem *f* Šu - ma - va, *f* s La - bem já - sá

p Vi - ta - va, *mf* tam, kde Ot - ců ze - mě krá - sná, *mf* re - kov - ná vlast,

f do - mov můj, *ff* tam, kde Ot - ců ze - mě *f rit.* krá - sná, *p* re - kov - ná vlast, *p* do - mov můj.

Originály v hudebním oddělení knihovny Národního muzea v Praze, značka IV-B 41

Edition MELPA č. 24.
Melantrich, Praha - Pazdřice, Brno. Melpa 24 - Ol. P. 596

Provozování je přípustné pouze za uštědného a řádně zakoupeného materiálu. - Veškerá práva této úpravy - zejména provozovací - vyhrazena.

Illustrations 7–8. Hubert Doležil, A. Šn., *Česká píseň svobody – Udeřila naše hodina* – an adaptation based on a chorus by Bedřich Smetana from the opera *Braniboři v Čechách*; front page and incipit (Praha 1918).

N Á R O D N Í H Y M N Y

ČÍSLO
1a.

Česká píseň svobody:
UDEŘILA NAŠE HODINA
Dle sboru
BEDŘICHA SMETANY
ze zpěvohrny "Braniboři v Čechách" pro zpěv lidu upravil
A. Šn. a H. D.
ÚPRAVA PRO ZPĚV S PRŮVODEM PIANA.

CENA 1 K.

Uměleckých Snah č. 149a.
VEDE A VYDÁVÁ NAKLADATEL B. KOČÍ V PRAZE I. FRANTIŠKOVO NÁBŘ. 14.

Vážným pohybem pochodovým, slavnostně a mohutně.

1. U - de - ři - la na - še ho - di - na,
2. U - de - ři - la le - ču - bo - di - na.

1. o - te - vře - ly - se brá - ny,*) Bůh do - broj ná - ro - da vzpo - mí - ná:
2. ná - rod ve - ští - se - níj vsá - vá, krev - ja - ná sva - ty ná - pí - ná,

BIBLIOGRAPHY/BIBLIOGRAFIA

- Česko-Americký zpěvník. *Sbírka písní česko-amerických, národních, společenských a zábavných s českým překladem*. 3. vydání. Chicago: Tiskem a nákladem knihkupectví Aug. Geringera, 1890? 1900?
- Československá vlastivěda IX (Umění. Sv. 3. Hudba). Edited by Josef Macek. Vol. 1. Praha: Orbis, 1971.
- Jakub Deml, "Otakar Březina ve svých hovorách." *Na hlubinu* 4, No. 6 (1929).
- Karl Viktor Hansgirk, "An mein theueres Vaterland!" *Libussa* 9 (1850).
- Markéta Kabelková, "Kde domov můj = Where is my home." In *Státní hymna České republiky v proměnách doby = The Czech Republic's national anthem down the ages*. Edited by Gabriel Gössel et al. Praha: Úřad vlády České republiky, 2008.
- Kde domov můj: varianty a parafráze*. Smil: jazykem o jazyce; sv. 3. Praha: Paseka, 2004.
- Herman Kølln, *Vznik svatováclavského chorálu*. Praha: Herman Kølln, 2007.
- Josef Jaroslav Langer, "České lesy." *Čechoslav* 2, vol. 5 (March 1831).
- Locus amoenus — místo líbezné: symposium o české hymně, Praha 27.10.1993*. Edited by Jiří Šubrt and Jiří K. Kroupa. Praha: KLP: Ústav pro klasická studia Akademie věd České republiky, 1994.
- Vladimír Macura, "Krajina hymny a krajina literatury." *Literární noviny* 45 (November 1993).
- Dobroslav Orel, *Svatováclavský sborník: na památku 1000. výročí smrti knížete Václava Svatého*. II. 3: Hudební prvky svatováclavské. Praha: Národní výbor pro oslavu svatováclavského tisíciletí, 1937.
- Písně české společnosti 19. století. Český národní zpěvník*. Edited by Bedřich Václavek, Robert Smetana. Praha: Svoboda, 1949.
- "Pro českou národní hymnu," *Dalibor* 29/18 (January 1907).
- Sak, Robert Sak, "Česká 'Píseň písní' v historickém kontextu" = "The Czech 'Song of the songs' in its historical context." In *Státní hymna České republiky v proměnách doby = The Czech Republic's national anthem down the ages*. Edited by Gabriel Gössel et al. Praha: Úřad vlády České republiky, 2008.
- Michal Silorád Patrčka, "Země česká." *Květy české* 1, No. 42 (1843).
- Slovník české hudební kultury*. Edited by Petr Macek. Vol. 1. Praha: Editio Supraphon, 1997.
- Jaromír Václav Šmejkal, *Píseň písní národu českého*. Praha: A. Neubert, 1935.
- Stanislav Souček, *Dvě pozdní mystifikace Hankovy*. Rozpravy České akademie věd a umění; třída III, číslo 59. Praha: nákladem České akademie věd a umění, 1924.
- Úlomky hovorů Otokara Březiny*. Edited by Otokar Březina, Emilie Lakomá, Petr Holman. Brno: Jota 1992.

BIOGRAM

Viktor Velek — A musicologist, Head of the Chair of Theory and History of Fine Arts at the Faculty of Fine Arts and Music of the University of Ostrava and a researcher at the Masaryk Institute and Archives of the Czech Academy of Sciences. He graduated from the Faculty of Education of the University of South Bohemia in České Budějovice (MA in 2001) and completed doctoral studies in musicology at the Faculty of Arts of the Masaryk University in Brno (PhD in 2010) and the University of Vienna (Dr. Phil. in 2008). His varied research concerns the musical culture of Czechs abroad (especially in Vienna), the musical life of Slavs in Vienna, the musical forms of Czech historical national traditions (e.g. *St Wenceslas*, Master Jan Hus, Jan Amos Komenský / Comenius, T. G. Masaryk and music), Slavic reciprocity in music and the musical culture of Czech Germans). He also contributes to the popularisation of science.

ABSTRACT

Where Is My Home?
The Czech National Anthem: its Problems, Controversies, and Strengths

There are many countries in which the national anthem has its permanent place not open to discussions. With the Czech national anthem *Where Is My Home?*, however, the case is precisely the opposite. It first appeared under this title in a theatrical farce in 1834 and soon became popular across the nation. In the second half of the nineteenth century, it went through

BIOGRAM

Viktor Velek — Muzykolog, kierownik Katedry Teorii i Historii Sztuki na Wydziale Sztuk Pięknych i Muzyki Uniwersytetu w Ostrawie oraz pracownik naukowy Instytutu i Archiwum Masaryka przy Czeskiej Akademii Nauk. Ukończył studia magisterskie na Wydziale Pedagogicznym Uniwersytetu Południowoczeskiego w Czeskich Budziejowicach, a także doktoranckie na Wydziale Sztuki Uniwersytetu Masaryka w Brnie (stopień doktora w 2010 roku) oraz Uniwersytecie Wiedeńskim (doktorat w 2008 roku). Jego różnorodne zainteresowania naukowe obejmują m.in. kulturę muzyczną diaspory czeskiej za granicą (szczególnie w Wiedniu), życie muzyczne wiedeńskich Słowian, muzyczne formy czeskiej tradycji narodowej (*Pieśń o św. Wojciechu*, postacie Jana Husa, Jana Amosa Komenskiego / Comeniusa; T.G. Masaryk a muzyka), relacje międzysłowiańskie w muzyce oraz kulturę muzyczną czeskich Niemców. Prowadzi także działalność popularyzującą wiedzę i osiągnięcia naukowe.

STRESZCZENIE

Gdzie jest mój dom?
Czeski hymn narodowy: problemy, kontrowersje i mocne strony

Istnieje wiele krajów, w których hymn narodowy ma swoje stałe miejsce, które nie podlega dyskusji. Zupełnie inaczej jest w przypadku czeskiego hymnu narodowego *Gdzie jest mój dom?*. Po raz pierwszy pojawił się pod tą nazwą w farsie teatralnej w 1834 roku i szybko zdobył popularność w całym kraju. W drugiej połowie XIX wieku przeszedł fazy upolitycznienia

a phase of politicisation (various textual paraphrases, performances at demonstrations as an anti-Habsburg symbol, a resulting ban on singing the piece) as well as one of criticism (in which it was pointed out that the lyrics were outdated and archaic). It was at that time that proposals for the creation of a new “national anthem” were made, while the Catholic circles considered the mediaeval sacred song Saint Wenceslas, which had had a representative function in the state from time immemorial, as a potential candidate. Late in 1918, the entire song *Where Is My Home?* “automatically” became the first of the two parts of the Czechoslovak national anthem, but critical voices could still be heard and alternative proposals were made. The debate was revived after the fall of Communism, and even now there are efforts to “modernise” the official music version. The present paper is an attempt to discover the causes of the controversy around the anthem *Where Is My Home?*. This will be done by focusing on its genesis (inspirations), analysing its content and psychological dimension, considering the critics’ reservations, competition, etc. An interpretation will also be attempted as to why *Where Is My Home?* has withstood all the attacks and remained the national and state anthem.

KEYWORDS Czech national anthem, Czech state anthem, nineteenth century, song, Czech national revival

(różne parafrazy tekstu, wykonywanie go w ramach demonstracji jako symbolu antyhabsburskiego, zakazy śpiewania) oraz krytyki: wskazywano m.in. na jego przestarzały i archaiczny tekst. W tym czasie pojawiły się propozycje stworzenia nowego „hymnu narodowego”, ale jednocześnie w kręgach katolickich jako potencjalny hymn postrzegano średniowieczną pieśń religijną *Saint Wenceslas*, która od niepamiętnych czasów pełniła funkcję państwowo-reprezentacyjną. Pod koniec 1918 roku pieśń *Gdzie jest mój dom?* „automatycznie” stała się pierwszą z dwóch części czeskosłowackiego hymnu narodowego, choć nadal słychać było głosy krytyki i pojawiały się nowe propozycje. Dyskusja na ten temat odżyła po upadku komunizmu, a nawet obecnie podejmowane są próby „unowocześnienia” oficjalnej wersji muzycznej. W niniejszym artykule podjęta zostanie próba wyjaśnienia przyczyn kontrowersyjności hymnu *Gdzie jest mój dom?* poprzez skupienie się na jego genezie (inspiracji), analizę elementu treści i poziomu psychologicznego, wzięcie pod uwagę zastrzeżeń krytycznych, propozycji konkurencyjnych pieśni itp. Zostanie również przedstawiona interpretacja faktu, że przetrwał on wszystkie ataki i wciąż pozostaje hymnem narodowym i państwowym.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE czeski hymn narodowy, czeski hymn państwowy, XIX wiek, pieśń, czeskie odrodzenie narodowe