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**Singing One`s Image: Slavic National and State Anthems
as Realms of Memory or ‘Blemishes’ on the Face of History**

Abstract

This essay presents a chronological and typological overview of the Slavic national and state anthems through the lens of Pierre Nora’s notion of “realms of memory”. A special focus is placed on the common practice of appropriating foreign and older national anthems and transforming them into new hymns. The Slavic state anthems are classified into three groups: anthems that have gradually become lasting realms of national memory, anthems that have the potential to become national realms of memory, and anthems that have failed to achieve a status of a realm of memory. Among the latter are the state anthems, created specifically for the needs of some of the totalitarian regimes in the Soviet block that are viewed today as ‘blemishes’ on the face of national history.

Keywords: National and State Anthem(s); realms of memory; Slavs.

Резюме

**Да изпееш своя образ: славянските национални и държавни химни
като места на паметта или ‘петна’ в историята**

Есето разглежда в хронологичен и сравнителен план славянските национални и държавни химни от гл. т. на постановката на Пиер Нора за „места на паметта“. Представена е типологизация на химните като теоцентрични, етноцентрични и партоцентрични и е отделено внимание на практиката словесни и/или музикални фрагменти от чужди или собствени предишни химни да бъдат инкорпорирани и превръщани в нови „свои места на паметта“. Химните са класифицирани на такива, които съвременно са се превърнали в трайни места на паметта; химни, притежаващи потенциала да се превърнат в места на паметта и химни, които не са успели да се наложат като такива. Сред последните са и химните, създадени да обслужват тоталитарните партийни режими в Съветска Русия, Украйна, Беларус и България, които са оприличени на ‘петна’ в националната история на тези народи.

Ключови думи: национални и държавни химни; места на паметта; славяни.

Anthems and Memory

If nations emerge and establish themselves as imagined communities², national anthems represent the highest peak of the imagined vision. Even before they become a part and a parcel of the state’s symbolism, some patriotic songs synthesize the emotional energy of the ethnic group shaping its aesthetic

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² Anderson, B. *Imagined Community*. London–New York: Verso, 1983, p. 2.

self-awareness and cultural distinctiveness. When a song is turned into a national anthem³, its trinity of lyrics, music, and politics transcends any purely intra-communal functions to emerge as a means of the symbolic auditory distinction of the respective nation. While in a foreign environment the anthem's impact is predominantly musical, for the country's nationals the anthem functions as an integral part unifying the past, present, and future visions of the ethnic community and its state. National anthems are literary-musical entities which ensure national continuity by allowing the past to exist in the present. In this sense, national anthems represent an imagined reality and an ideal common realm of the collective memory of the highest order of abstraction.

Pierre Nora argues that a sense of historical continuity is linked to certain sites and defines the realm of memory, as “any significant entity, whether material or non-material in nature, which by dint of human will or the work of time has become a symbolic element of the memorial heritage of any community.”⁴ He draws a distinction between ‘history’, which is “the reconstruction, always problematic and incomplete, of what no longer is”, and ‘memory’ which is “life, always embodied in living societies and as such in permanent evolution, subject to the dialectic of remembering and forgetting.”⁵ The distinction between history and memory in Nora's definition could be illustrated by the difference between the two grammatical tenses in which past events are narrated; while history tends to use the past simple tense, the essence of memory resembles the present perfect tense which denotes an action which began in the past and is relevant to the present. This is precisely why patriotic songs function within the ‘realm of memory’ and successfully preserve the bond between history and reminiscence.

The purpose of this essay is to present a historical overview and a typology of the Slavic national and state anthems from the point of view of Pierre Nora's notion of “realms of memory.” A special focus is placed on studying the common practice of appropriating foreign and older native hymns and transforming them into new national realms of memory.

Anthems with Monarchic, Theo-centric and Theocratic Character

State anthems in Europe were established in the era of enlightened absolutism. Those hymns were created shortly before the time when “the Enlightenment and Revolution destroyed the legitimacy of the

³ The terms ‘national’ and ‘state’ anthem become identical, whenever ‘nation’ and ‘state’ are synchronously overlapped. Popular patriotic songs function as national anthems during periods, when the respective nation doesn't have a sovereign state of its own or is part of a multinational federation, or a political union.

⁴ Nora, P. *Realms of Memory*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1996, p. XVII.

⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 3.

divinely-ordained, hierarchical dynastic realm”⁶. Supreme power at the time was still perceived as God-given, and worldly rulers envisioned themselves closer to God than to their royal subjects. *God, Save the King* was the first state anthem of this kind introduced in England in 1745. The English anthem’s lyrics and the music spurred the creation of many monarchic and state songs of praise: *King’s March* (1770) in Spain, *God, Save Our Emperor Franz* (1797) in the Habsburg Empire, *The Sultan’s Marches* (1829-1918) in the Ottoman Empire, etc.

At the height of European absolutism, the only sovereign Slavic state was Russia, and its first official anthem was adopted in 1816. It was preceded by the 1791 informal anthem *Rumble, Victory Thunder!* [*Grom pobedy razdavaysya!*], authored by poet Gavriil Derzhavin (1743-1816) and composer Osip Kozlovskiy (1757-1831). It praised the territorial expansion of the Russian Empire in the last phase of Catherine the Great’s reign (1762-1796). In the spirit of enlightened absolutism, Catherine was glorified in verse as the “gentle mother to us all”, “sagacious Tsarina”, and “a woman great”, identified with the state. Thanks to the Tsarina, Russia spanned vast spaces from the Caucasus, Crimea and the Black Sea to territories in the east. The lyrics even warn: “So the enemies may see that our hands are prepared to reach the end of the world”. Although the anthem was inspired by Russia’s victory over the Ottoman army in 1790, it focuses on celebrating the power of absolutism: the imperial concept of Empire’s boundless territorial expansion and the dominance of Christianity over Islam and Judaism.

The anthem contains many topical references to Catherine and her reign. Surely, this commemorative song comprised both historical facts about her time on the throne and a realm of memory that was to be carried over as an influence on future generations. At the same time, it was only too natural for subsequent Russian emperors to dislike having the state identified solely with Catherine the Great and her victories. The autocratic and nationalistic spirit of the first Russian informal anthem would recur in Stalin’s USSR *State Anthem* and Putin’s Russian Federation *State Anthem*. This shows spirit of *Rumble, Victory Thunder!* as deeply ingrained in the Russian national memory.

Russia’s first formal state anthem, *Prayer of the Russians* [*Molitva russkikh*], was adopted by Emperor Alexander I (1801-1825) in 1816. Poet Vassiliy Zhukovskiy (1783-1852) borrowed the idea from the English anthem whose melody was used in a Russian musical symbol. Similar to its source, the glorious Tsar takes central stage in the anthem. Unlike Catherine, who is identified with the Russian Empire, in the formal anthem the Tsar and the state are viewed as separate entities blessed by God. The

⁶ Anderson, B. *Imagined Community*. London–New York: Verso, 1983, p. 7.

worldly ruler as a divine agent of God and Providence is expected to promote good, fight evil and reassert Christian endurance and humility. Statehood was wielded by the Tsar and the Orthodox faith whose common end was to distinguish Russia from other countries. The optimal balance between God, Tsar, and State as well as the emphasis on Russia's Orthodox character have transposed the anthem into 'a realm of memory' for a number of generations belonging to the Russian Orthodox Church and believing in the divine origin of the Tsar's power.

During the reign of the next Russian Emperor, Nicholas I (1825-1855), the lyrics and music of *Prayer of the Russians* were transformed into the anthem *God, Save the Tsar* [*Bozhe, Tsarya khrani!*] in 1834. V. Zhukovskiy shortened the original lyrics to accommodate the text to the new ruler's authoritarian and reactionary politics. In this anthem, the only Orthodox monarch in the world was the sole sovereign, reigning supreme in the name of his own glory. In the spirit of autocracy, the lyrics make neither direct nor symbolic references to Russia and its subjects. The common theme features the unification of all classes and strata around the supreme sovereign who embodies both Statehood and the Orthodox faith. The new, shortened version of the Russian anthem welded the absolutism and theo-centrism of the previous hymns into a theocracy thus concentrating ideology and statehood into the hands of the supreme ruler. Thus was set a model which a century later would degenerate into the personality cult.

The historical time of the anthem *God, Save the Tsar* was characterized by social unrest and disgruntlement with autocracy and theocracy. An increasing number of Russians grew disillusioned with the idea of monarchy's divine nature and started to identify themselves with the homeland and the nation rather than with the Tsar. The last Russian theocratic anthem was an anthem of the status quo, which, stripped of the past, became doomed to oblivion.

As a whole, Russian anthems between 1791 and 1917 were focused on autocracy and Orthodoxy: their main lyrical subjects being God, the Tsar, and the Orthodox faith. This is why the monarchic anthems were perceived more as state rather than as national ones.

The divine nature of the King was also an underlying idea in the *National Song for the Well-being of the King* [*Pieśń narodowa za pomyślność Króla*], conceived as the anthem of the so-called Congress Poland (1815-1867), which was under Russian rule. The text, fashioned after the English anthem, was written in 1816 by Alojzy Feliński (1771-1820) in honor of Emperor Alexander I, the king of Poland at the time (1815-1825). The Poles, however, transformed the chorus of the odious pro-Russian anthem from "God, Save the King" to "God, Give Us Our Homeland Back".

The motive of *God, Save the King* found its way into Serbia's *God of Justice* [*Bože pravde*]. The poet Jovan Đorđević (1826-1900) wrote the eponymous poem in 1872 on the occasion of Prince Milan Obrenović's (1854-1901) self-proclamation of his coming of age. The song, whose melody was written by Slovenian composer Davorin Jenko, became popular and functioned as the country's official anthem until 1918. Although the original lyrics of *God of Justice* were openly focused on the monarchy, the text was saturated with Serbian realities and had the potential to become 'a realm of memory'. Over the years, the chorus-prayer "God Save, God Keep" accommodated various addressees praising God's grace: "the Serbian King, "the Serbian race," "the new glow of the Serbian crown," "the Serbian Kingdom," and finally "the Serbian land, the Serbian race!"

The edited version of *God of Justice* was adopted as Republic of Serbia's state anthem in 2009. The existing anthem, extremely ethnocentric, is devoted to the Serbian people, land and homeland, to the Serbian past, present and future. Overall, *God of Justice* has been solidly established as a realm of Serbian national memory.

After Bulgaria's Liberation from Ottoman dominance (1878), the Russian anthem, *God, Save the Tsar*, was imposed by the provisional Russian authority as the Bulgarian state anthem. At the same time, there were several Bulgarian poets who sought to create hymns in praise of the Bulgarian monarch's personality. Closest in meaning to the Russian anthem was Georgi Agura's (1853-1915) song, entitled *Anthem to His Majesty the Tsar*, performed between 1908 and 1944. The hymn celebrates the monarch rather than the monarchy. Monarchy was viewed as artificially imposed upon the restored Bulgarian Kingdom by the Great Powers. With a number of foreigners placed on the Bulgarian throne, it was not perceived as 'a realm of memory' by all Bulgarians.

Patriotic Songs, Promoted to National and State Anthems

The majority of classical European anthems emerged in the last stage of the formation of nations and "remain[ed] crucial to the construction of a nation-state's European identity"⁷. Certain Slavic peoples, during their National Revival, promoted certain military marches and popular patriotic songs to national anthems. Later, upon restoration of their statehood, those national anthems became state anthems.

The first military march which embodied the status of both national anthem and 'a realm of memory' was the *Song of the Polish Legions in Italy*, written by Józef Wybicki (1747-1822) in 1797. The

⁷ Bohlman, Ph. V. *The Music of European Nationalism*. Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2004, p. 156.

song, whose composer is unknown, has lived in the hearts of many Polish generations as *Poland Has Not Yet Perished* [*Jeszcze Polska nie zginęła*]. The song was written two years after the collapse of the Polish state (1795) and was not meant as an anthem. But it contained the components of a classical national anthem; the musical form of the Mazurka was a popular Polish folk dance whose etymology, like the Polka's, is derived from the name of a large Polish region, Mazowsze. The reminder of past victories had a motivating effect, very much like the patriotic historical novels of Henryk Sienkiewicz (1846-1916) that later served to uplift the morale of the Poles under foreign domination. Although the stanza that listed the countries responsible for the partitioning of Poland was later dropped from the official lyrics, the text declares the Poles's determination for armed struggle against all occupiers and invaders. The various significant geopolitical references are used to represent Poland throughout the song; the core of the anthem is associated with ordinary Poles and the first two lines, "Poland has not yet perished, so long as we still live", identifies the homeland with the Polish people and their past, present and future.

Of all the Polish patriotic songs that rose to the rank of national anthems⁸, *Poland Has Not Yet Perished* is the only one which makes no religious references. Nonetheless, the song was adopted as a state anthem in 1926, at a time when the *Sanation* regime was promoting the Polish language and Catholicism as the main pillars of statehood. The absence of symbols identifying the Poles with the Catholic faith, however, has not prevented *Poland Has Not Yet Perished* from remaining an unequivocal realm of Polish national memory for over two centuries.

While the nation took center stage in the Polish anthem, the Czech anthem featured the idea of home and the beauty of the homeland. The song *Where Is My Home* [*Kde domov můj?*] was created by the Czech playwright Josef Kajetán Tyl (1808-1856) and the composer František Škroup (1801-1862) as part of a domestic comedy in 1834. Over time, the play itself sank into oblivion, but the catchy tune gained popularity, became a favorite Czech patriotic song, and later, in 1920, included into the Czechoslovak anthem. After the "velvet divorce" with Slovakia in 1993, the song became the state anthem of the Czech Republic.

Of the song's two original stanzas, only the first one survives in the official hymn. The rhetorical question "Where is my home?" runs as the main theme of both stanzas. While the first stanza focuses on the homeland's natural beauty, the second part provides a psycho-physical characterization of the Czech people, connecting them to their home. The meaning of the preferred stanza is inscribed entirely into the

⁸ From the Middle Ages to the First World War as a Polish national anthems were performed the songs *Bogurodzica* [Mother of God], *Boże, coś Polskę* [God Save Poland], *Warszawianka* [Song of Warsaw], *Rota* [Oach].

context of the traditional Czech territorial-religious patriotism. In the early 19th century it was ramified into ethno-linguistic nationalism, without relinquishing the notion of home as a genuine realm of the Czech social consciousness. That is why the beauty of the Czech lands turned out to be more important than the kindness, wisdom and physical strength of the glorious Czech tribe contained in the deleted second stanza, borrowed from Josef Kajetán Tyl's song. The phrase "domov můj" ("my home") is repeated four times in both stanzas in its direct ("my home") and figurative ("my homeland") meaning. At the end of the anthem, both meanings merge calling forth Nora's interpretation of the two superimposed realities: the tangible, physical and material reality and the symbolic, history-laden one. Due to its spontaneously gained popularity, *Where Is My Home* fell into accord with the Czech reverence for home and homeland and naturally became 'a realm of national memory'.

The process of adopting the Croatian national anthem was similar and synchronous with that of the Czech hymn. The poem, *Our Beautiful Homeland* [*Lijepa naša domovino*], by Antun Mihanović (1796-1861) was published in 1835. In the 1860s, the song was performed on solemn occasions, and from 1891 onwards, it emerged as a national anthem. During the Croatian National Revival, the song *Croatia Has Not Yet Perished*, created under the influence of *Poland Has Not Yet Perished*, became extremely popular, yet it could not replace *Lijepa naša domovino*. The text of Mihanović's poem underwent several modifications, and finally, out of the fourteen original stanzas, only the first and the last two made it into the formal version of the anthem. The song emphasizes the close relationship with their ancestors and the idea that the beloved homeland will live on, as long as there are living Croats. *Our Beautiful Homeland* welds together historical and geographical references with the literary-musical praise of the Croats' love of their homeland turning the song into a realm of national memory which is as much imagined as it is real.⁹

In 1834, the Slovak Samuel Tomášik (1813-1887), created the song *Hey, Slovaks* (later renamed *Hey, Slavs*) inspired by *Poland Has Not Yet Perished*. Tomášik's lyrics were a poetic expression of the Romantic ethno-linguistic theory of the Slavs which is based on their common origins, language and pagan beliefs. Tomášik stated that the Slavs would not vanish as long as the Slavic language and spirit stayed alive. The song was used as the hymn of the Slovak Republic (1939-1945), of the SFR Yugoslavia (1945-1992), and later, of the state of Serbia and Montenegro (2003-2006).

⁹ The Croatian anthem *Our Beautiful Homeland* was "materialized" as a realm of memory by created "the unique monument of a hymn in the world".

Monument to the Croatian national anthem <http://www.thebestincroatia.info/ideje/monument-to-the-croatian-national-anthem-1083.html> (accessed 03.02.2019).

In 1844, the Slovak Janko Matúška (1821-1877) wrote *Volunteer's Song*, whose title and lyrics underwent several changes. Between 1920 and 1992 its first stanza, with the new title *Lightning over the Tatras* [*Nad Tatrou sa blýska*], functioned as the second part of the hymn of Czechoslovakia. In 1993, the first two stanzas of the song became the state anthem of the Slovak Republic. The outdated stanzas calling Slovaks to resist the oppressors and emphasizing their belonging to the Slavic community were dropped from Matúška's original text. The hymn's meaning combined with a dynamic tune, resembling the sounds of a mountain brook, adequately reflected the Slovak national character. The song expressed the Slovaks' belief that the lightning would awaken them from their deep slumber and when the storm is over they would have their revival. As the patriotic song *Lightning over the Tatras* became the state anthem, the literary-musical symbolism acquired the meaning of a wish fulfilled and a promise to the forefathers kept, of a common realm of national memory and a site of meeting the past with the present.

Montenegro's state hymn is the only Slavic anthem based on folklore. The folk song *Oh, Bright Dawn of Heroes* [*Oj, Junaštva Svjetla Zoro*], adopted as an anthem as early as 1863, gradually withered throughout the various state unions and federations to which the Montenegrins belonged in the 20th century. The song has been repeatedly edited. After the separation of Montenegro from Serbia in 2004, the verse associating the Montenegrins with the Serbs "You're the only one left for the freedom of the Serbian race", as well as the verses about the massacre of the Montenegrin Muslims, have been removed. In the anthem's current version only the first two lines of the original text remain – "Oh, bright dawn of May/ Our mother Montenegro", and even they have been slightly modified. The anthem proclaims that the country has never known the chains of slavery and celebrates the forbidding mountains and beautiful rivers, spreading the word about the glory of the eternal "mother Montenegro".

In spite of the failed attempts of the Albanian members of the Montenegrin Parliament to replace the phrase "our mother Montenegro" with "our home", the hymn still places a strong emphasis on the common territory, rather than the ethnic origins as a nation-bonding factor. The future will tell whether the politically designed common literary-musical 'realm of memory' will help forge a monolithic national self-awareness.

Ukraine's hymn *Ukraine Has Not Yet Perished* [*Shche ne vmerla Ukraina*] was based on the poem of Pavlo Chubynsky (1839-1884) and the music of Mykhailo Verbytsky (1815-1870). After its publication in 1863, it became a popular patriotic song which had all the makings of a national anthem. Heavily influenced by *Poland Has Not Yet Perished* and *Hey, Slavs* the text had been significantly revised over time. The names of Ukrainian historical figures, of the motifs of the Muscovites as enslavers, and of the

Slavs as fellow brothers had been removed and replaced with a number of geographical references, mapping the country's landscape. The anthem kept its strong message that Ukraine, in its glory and freedom, will not perish, while its unnamed foes will evaporate "like dew in the sun".

The song was the unofficial anthem of the Ukrainian Republic in the period of 1918-1920, and later, in 2003, the first stanza of the original song was adopted as the official state anthem of Ukraine. Ukrainians identify themselves as a young nation, ancestors of the brave Cossacks determined to be the masters of their fate. Once imagined, an independent and successful Ukraine has materialized in the 21st century, transforming itself into an actual 'realm of memory' and embodying the fulfilment of Ukraine's national aspirations.

Poems, Transformed into Anthems after the Establishment of Statehood

The first Slovenian national anthem was a poem written by Simon Jenko (1835-1869), with music by D. Jenko, *Forward, Flag of Glory* [*Naprej, zastava slave*] (1860). The song was later incorporated into the anthem of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, renamed as the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in 1929. After the proclamation of Slovenia's independence in 1991, this militant song which could hardly express the Slovenian character, was "reassigned" to serve as hymn of the Slovenian army, while France Prešeren's (1800-1849) poem *A Toast* [*Zdravljica*] (1844) became the state anthem. In 1995, the seventh stanza of Prešeren's poem was adopted as state anthem. It calls upon all peoples, including their neighbors, to live in peace, prosperity and neighborliness. In preferring the peaceful *Toast* to the military glory conveyed by *Forward, Flag of Glory*, Slovenians identified themselves with the wish of their greatest compatriot Prešeren to live in freedom and peace, a wish come true, burying any illusions of military glory.

The last Slavic patriotic song to become a state anthem was *Today Over Macedonia* [*Denes nad Makedonia*], 1943. The song was created by Vlado Maleski (1919-1984) and composer Todor Skalovski (1909-2004) ten years after Stalin's Comintern's resolution to create a Macedonian nation and a Macedonian language. In Yugoslavia from 1945 to 1991, the song was the anthem of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia. After the proclamation of the country's independence in 1992 it underwent some minor changes to become the state anthem of the Republic of Macedonia and after the official renaming from the Republic of Macedonia to the Republic of North Macedonia (2019) the song *Today Over Macedonia* remains the anthem of the one of newly created Balkans states. The lyrics focused on the freedom of the Macedonians, identifying themselves with the Krushevo Republic (03-13.08.1903) and several historical figures. The absence of any identifying regional references from the lyrics and the rapidly changing ethnic

composition of the population of the Republic of North Macedonia raise doubts as to the status of the present anthem as an undisputed realm of common national and state memory.¹⁰

Anthems, Created after National Sovereignty was Restored, Obtained or Changed

After the collapse of diplomatic relations with Russia in 1885, Bulgarians no longer used the Russian anthem *God, Save the Tsar* and spontaneously adopted the original German melody, *When the Soldiers March through the City*, as their official state anthem under the title *The Maritsa Rushes* [*Shumi Maritsa*]. The popularity of the hymn was subsequently strengthened by the four wars waged by Bulgarians between 1885 and 1918. Even if the Bulgarian adaptations of the entertaining German song started as early as the 19th century, the multiple tribulations and changes through which the lyrics had to pass, do not provide enough grounds to believe that the genesis of the first Bulgarian state anthem preceded the restoration of the Bulgarian state. The original melody, in various arrangements, passed through the stages of a *Schlager* song, a battle hymn, a military march, and a state anthem. According to the latest revision of the lyrics, Bulgarians are a sovereign nation which remembers the Ottoman bondage, the Liberation and the country's subsequent partitioning, and is determined to continue the fight for freedom and unification. Despite its militant optimism, the lyrics speak of the traumatic wounds of the burdensome past. The flowing of the bloodied Maritsa River dynamically interweaves history and modernity into a call for national continuity. Regardless of the clumsy lyrics and the popular 'schlager' tune, the first Bulgarian state anthem succeeded in becoming a common 'realm of national memory'.

After the dissolution of SFR Yugoslavia between 1992 and 1998, Bosnia-Herzegovina's anthem was the song *You are the One and Only* [*Jedna si jedina*] which, despite its harmless contents, was considered by the Serbs and Croats as an attempt at domination on the part of the Bosnian Muslims in the newly created state. Since 1999, the musical *Intermezzo* has been used as an anthem; ten years later some lyrics were added to it praising the common territory and the goal of unity facing all ethnic groups in the country. The hassles over the creation and acceptance of the lyrics showed the complexities inherent in the formation of symbolic realms of memory within the newly created multi-ethnic and multi-religious states on the Balkans such as Macedonia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro and Kosovo.

¹⁰ The first verses of the anthem, "Today, over Macedonia, a new sun of freedom is born", were probably one of the reasons for the newly created state flag of the Republic of Macedonia of 1995 to be stylised as the nascent "star of freedom", but outside of the country the flag is associated with the Star of Vergina, which, subsequently, made it inappropriate and unacceptable as a state symbol.

Anthems of the Slavic Peoples, Coexisting within Federations and Unions

Throughout much of their past, all Slavs coexisted within multinational empires, federations and state unions with various degrees of national sovereignty. Within the Habsburg and Russian Empires the state anthems of the dominant nations were mandatory for all. After World War I, the state hymns of Czechoslovakia and the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenians were composed of the anthems of the federations' component nations. The formation of Czechoslovakia happened too quickly for the wish of its founding-father and long-time president, Tomáš Masaryk (1850-1937) to forge a single Czechoslovak language and nation. This explains why the state anthem of the newly created republic was a perfunctorily construed linguistic, literary, and musical collage of already mentioned Czech and Slovak patriotic songs. The anthem's heterogeneity of lyrics and melody in particular bears evidence to the fact that Czechs and Slovaks did not have a common 'realm of memory'.

In 1945 the Yugoslav Communist Party replaced the tripartite Serbian-Croatian-Slovenian inter-war anthem with the pan-Slavic hymn *Hey, Slavs*¹¹. Imposed as a provisional state symbol of Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the anthem managed to survive until the federation's dissolution. The original text was translated into Serbian, Croatian, Slovenian and Macedonian. All translations have one thing in common, they skipped the third and fourth stanzas of Tomašik's original which called for the unification of Slavs. The mention of God was obviously unacceptable for atheistic socialism, and the references to the God-given Slavic language and the common Slavic pagan beliefs had to go as well.

From its foundation to 1944, the Soviet Union expressed its multinational state identity through the proletarian *The Internationale*, and later, through anthems focusing on the personality cult and the Party. In contrast, Yugoslavia sought to unite its multilingual and multi-religious populations under the common denominator of the Slavic race. On the one hand, the Yugoslav anthem was not supposed to identify the citizens of Yugoslavia with all Slavs, and on the other, the message of *Hey, Slavs*, sent from 1834 to the future, had long since become outdated failing to provide a basis for the self-identification of Serbs, Croats, Slovenians, Macedonians, Bosnians, and the people of Albanian descent. In the long run, *Hey, Slavs* has remained an artistic expression of a Slavic political project which did not come to fruition.

¹¹ After the World War II, within the context of the preparations for a Balkan Federation, *Hey, Slavs* gained popularity in Bulgaria as well, however, following the tensions between Stalin and Tito, the idea to make it Bulgarian state anthem became outdated.

Socialist Cult- and Party-centric¹² State Hymns as ‘Blemishes’ and ‘Stains’ on History

Russia has introduced, adapted or changed more state anthems than any other Slavic country because of its history of the longest-existing continuous statehood and because of the many dramatic ideological changes that took place between 1791 and 2000. The anthems of the Russian multi-national Empire, the Soviet Union, and the Russian Federation can be divided into three groups: monarchical, Soviet, and post-Soviet ones. Despite the obvious ideological differences between these groups, most of the Russian anthems bear a striking similarity.

The transition from a monarchical to republican anthemic paradigm is manifested by the song *Workers’ Marseillaise* [*Rabochaya Marselyeza*]. The poem, entitled *New Song*, was written by Petr Lavrov (1823-1900) in 1875, and the tune was borrowed from the original *Marseillaise* (1792) of Claude Joseph Rouget De Lille (1760-1836). The song replaced the anthem *God, Save the Tsar*, which had lost its relevance after the abdication of Emperor Nicholas II in February 1917. The first and final verses of the poem-manifesto dethrone the Tsar and enthrone “sacred labor”. The “tsar-vampire”, who “drinks the blood of the people”, the kulaks and profiteers are stigmatized and doomed to destruction by their gravediggers, the proletarians. Through a narrative in the first-person plural the hymn changes the main subject of the Russian government from a “Strong, stately Orthodox Tsar” of the former era to the collective governance of the “working class people”.

Having a programmatic and transitional meaning, the first Soviet anthem failed to become a site of memory not only because it was used as an official anthem for only a year and was not favored by Lenin, but for some objective reasons. The motto of the French Revolution, *Liberty, Equality, Fraternity*, was replaced by Marx’s call, *Proletarians from all over the world, unite!* Thus, during its transition from a monarchic to a Soviet form of state government, Russia failed to form a civil society and create an anthem that would unite the whole nation. The elimination, often physical, of certain classes of the Russian population from the seemingly egalitarian Soviet society did not allow for *Workers’ Marseillaise* to be perceived as a symbol of national unity.

The anthem introduced by the Provisional Government turned out to be provisional indeed. Within a short time, the extreme worldview represented by Lavrov’s poem, along with the rapid establishment of the proletarian dictatorship, became stark reality in Soviet Russia. The Bolsheviks, ‘opening an era of

¹² The term ‘party-centrism’ (and its derivatives) is my neologism. I coined it following the pattern of such established terms as ‘theo-centrism’, ‘anthropocentrism’, and ‘ethnocentrism’, to express the central role of the Party in social life and literature during the period of Communist and Nazi totalitarianism.

proletarian revolutions’, attempted to impose socialism throughout the world and replace national bourgeois states with an international fatherland of the working classes.

Between 1918 and 1944, a condensed version of *The Internationale*, originally written by Eugène Pottier (1816-1887) in 1871, with music composed by Pierre Chrétien Degeyter (1848-1932) in 1887, was used as the state anthem of the RSFSR and the USSR. The Russian rendition of the original was essentially a more cosmopolitan and aggressive version of the *Workers’ Marseillaise*. While Lavrov’s song was religiously neutral and refers only to the lands of Russia, *The Internationale* includes God into the circle of doomed protagonists along with the Tsar, the kulaks, and the capitalists. The new Soviet anthem distinguished the world of monarchy and capital from the world of labor, and extended the workers’ solidarity of the *Russian Marseillaise* “from Dnepr to The White Sea, and from Povolzhye to Far Caucasus”, to “the hungry slaves all over the world”. The unification, preached by the text is extremely class orientated: it denies religion and ignores ethnic self-identification, so that the anthem could not become ‘a realm of memory’ for any particular nation. The Soviet version transforms *The Internationale* into an imaginative anthem of an imagined future classless society.

The military and political changes at the end of World War II provoked the USSR to switch around the two main Soviet hymns. In 1944 *The Internationale* became the anthem of the Soviet Communist Party, and the melody of the *Hymn of the Bolshevik Party*, composed by Alexander Alexandrov (1883-1946) in 1938, became the musical basis for the new *State Anthem of the USSR*. The new hymn, better known as *Unbreakable Union*, is a musical reflection of the ‘unexpected’ redirection of the Soviet ideological paradigm away from internationalism and towards nationalism. The anthem is downright cult-centric and, as Martin J. Daughtry points out, more nationalistic than national.¹³

Under Stalin’s guidance, Sergey Mikhalkov (1913-2009) and Gabriel Ureklyan (1899-1945) shaped the lyrics of the new Soviet anthem by combining ideas and phrases from previous Russian official and unofficial hymns. The address from the earliest Russian informal hymn, “Hail to you for this, o’ Catherine”, was replaced by “Be glorious, our free Fatherland”; the wish “Long live Russia, a free country [...] the mighty state” from *Hymn of Free Russia*¹⁴ was changed into “Long live the creation of the will of the people, the united, mighty Soviet Union!”; the territorial extensions, in Catherine II’s anthem were transformed into an “unbreakable union of free republics”, and the cosmopolitan proletarian dominance of *The Internationale* was reduced to “peoples’ friendship”. In the new anthem, there was no class division or

¹³ Daughtry, M. J. Russia’s New Anthem and the Negotiation of National Identity. – *Ethnomusicology* 47, (2003): p. 48.

¹⁴ This song, based on the lyrics by Konstantin Ballmont (1867-1942), glorified Russia and foretold her great destiny.

favoritism, while derivatives of the word “people” were used eight times. Several contradictory and ambiguous places in the text worth noting are. Among the ‘free republics’ Great Russia was first amongst equals uniting all others in a Union, which was voluntary, on one hand, but unbreakable and everlasting on the other; it is also unclear to whom the claim “we were raised by Stalin to be true to the people” refers: to the Soviet people, if such a people existed, to the Russian people, or to other nations. The flag, simultaneously a state symbol of the USSR and of the Communist Party, was both a “Banner of the Soviets” and a “Banner of the people”.

Personal names in the Russian hymn appeared for the first time since 1791. The great Lenin like a ‘messiah’ “illuminated our path” and the ‘father of the nations’, Stalin, continued the work of the ‘mother of Russians’, Catherine II, (“gentle mother to us all”) raising his children and inspiring them to great feats. An additional stanza, personally ordered by Stalin, emphasized the military power of the Red Army. In the context of the time, Russian enemies from the hymns of Catherine and Nicholas I were replaced by seemingly unidentified invaders whom [we] “will sweep out of the way”.

For the following two decades after the denunciation of Stalin’s personality cult, the State anthem of the USSR was being performed without lyrics inside the Soviet Union, and with the original lyrics abroad. At the initiative of Leonid Brezhnev (1906-1982) in 1977 S. Mikhalkov shortened the anthem removing from the text Stalin’s name as well as the verses glorifying the Red Army thus lending the anthem a distinctly party-centric character. This version of the anthem was an attempt to cleanse the Soviet social memory of the ‘blemishes’ of Stalinism. The old anthem under a new guise made use of Vladimir Mayakovsky’s idea in his poem *V. I. Lenin* (1924): his verse “the Party and Lenin are twin brothers” was paraphrased into “the Party of Lenin, the strength of the people, leads us to the triumph of Communism!”. The shortened and modified version of the Soviet state anthem was not without a precedent after all, it was similar to the conversion of the hymn *Prayer of Russians* into *God, Save the Tsar*. While the first conversion was undertaken in the name of theocracy, the second one was made for the sake of party-centrism.

Overall, the *State Anthem(s) of the USSR* could be seen as an ideologically-transformed sequel to the Russian imperial anthems whose theocratic nature was transformed and re-focused on the personality cult and the party. While the monarchic hymns served the Tsar alone, the proletarian ones claimed to serve the whole society, however little they could fulfill this promise. The Soviet hymns express subordination of the state and nation to the Party which triggered the disaffection of quite a few Russian citizens who could

not take pride in or identify with those hymns. Therefore the so-called Soviet hymns remain in the Russian memory more like ‘blemishes’ on the Russian history, than as consensual realms of memory.

With the collapse of the USSR and the subsequent establishment of the Russian Federation in 1992 the anthem’s text became outdated; therefore *Patriotic Song*, composed by Mikhail Glinka (1804-1857), was used as a state anthem by the year 2000. After a nation-wide contest, and by the order of President Vladimir Putin in 2000, S. Mikhalkov was called for the third time to adapt new verbal subject matter¹⁵ to composer A. Alexandrov’s music. The text of the latest Russian anthem is again rather eclectic and fraught with compromises; it is a mixture of the ideas and lyrics of the previous hymns confirming Nora’s claim, that “the transition from memory to history requires every social group to redefine its identity by dredging up its past”¹⁶. Only the words “Be glorious, our free Fatherland” remained unchanged in the transposition of the *State Anthem of the USSR* into the text of the *State Anthem of the Russian Federation*. The address – “a reliable stronghold of peoples’ friendship!” – was mitigated in the new wording by a reference to the earlier statement: “age-old union of fraternal peoples”. The anthem seemingly dismissed the idea of Communism in the Soviet hymns, achieved a re-sacralisation of the country (“Russia – our sacred homeland”) and put an end to Soviet atheism in the line “this native land protected by God!”¹⁷. The call for national reconciliation and unity (“Popular wisdom, handed down to us by our ancestors”) corresponds to the new national holiday which is none other than the date of the October Revolution, transformed by Russian authorities into Day of Agreement and Reconciliation.

On the whole, this is Russia’s most state-centric anthem and it is not by chance that its text, along with the geographical parameters (“From the southern seas to the polar lands there spread our forests and fields”¹⁸), abounds in synonyms for Russia: our “sacred homeland”, “beloved country”, “free Fatherland” and “native land”. ‘Loyalty’ is no longer associated with Stalin, the Party, and the ideas of Communism, or the red flag, but with the Homeland alone (“Our strength is derived through our loyalty to the Fatherland”). In conclusion, the latest anthem is not only a return to Russia’s pre-revolutionary past; thanks to the preservation of the tune of the *Hymn of the Bolshevik Party*, it implicitly reverences the era of Communism. Yet, the *State Anthem of the Russian Federation* is the first Russian anthem in which past, present, and future intersect and mingle weaving people and country into one whole. This is the first

¹⁵ Mikhalkov anthem’s versions remind the so-called *Gavriliada* by poet Nicephorus Liapis from the famous Ilya Ilf and Evgeni Petrov novel *The Twelve Chairs* (1928).

¹⁶ Nora, P. *Realms of Memory*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1996, p. 10.

¹⁷ Compare with *Prayer of the Russians*: “The land of the first throne,/ Orthodox Russia,/ God, do save!”

¹⁸ Compare with *Rumble, Victory Thunder!*: “Danube’s swiftly flowing waters/ Are at last in our firm hands;/ Caucasus respects our prowess,/ Russia rules Crimean lands.”

Russian anthem which unites state and nation and has the prerequisites to become ‘a realm of memory’: “always embodied in living communities”, a site of memory maintaining connections with history and with memory.

Spurred by the leadership of the USSR, in the 1944-1952 period, the Soviet Republics created their own anthems, which were knock-offs of the *State Anthem of the USSR*. Together with the name of the respective nation and a modicum of local flavor, those anthems invariably referred to the names of Lenin and Stalin, the friendship between Russia and other nation “for all eternity”, the common road to Communism, and the greatness of the Soviet state. Similar anthems were created in Romania¹⁹ and Bulgaria. A certain deviation from this boilerplate version was the anthem of the Georgian SSR, pointing out that Georgia gave the world the great Stalin – “destroyer of the slavery of nations”. After the dethronement of Stalin’s cult of personality, the lyrics of these hymns were edited to erase the name of the ‘father of nations’. The ‘Stalinist versions’ of the Soviet and pro-Soviet anthems were thus transformed from cult-centric to party-centric.

The lyrics of the anthem of socialist Ukraine were written by the poet Pavlo Tychyna (1891-1967) in 1949 and were a most demagogical interpretation of the Russian and Soviet policy towards Ukraine. The song told the tale of how Ukraine found its happiness within the Soviet Union, where it was equal among equals and free amongst the free. The anthem praised the Soviet Union, the homeland of the “brother nations”, and the eternal place of Ukraine within it, as well as the friendship of the Ukrainians with the Russian people, who, helped by Lenin’s bright ideas and Stalin’s wise leadership, would raise Ukraine to new heights. The modifications made in 1977 to the *State Anthem of the USSR* affected the Ukrainian anthem too, in which Stalin was replaced with “the collective leadership of the Party” in 1978. In general, the hymn expressed more admiration of the USSR than of Ukraine.

Written one year before Stalin’s death, the anthem of the Byelorussian SSR was not much different from the other Soviet anthems. In Mihai Klimkovich’s (1899-1954) lyrics set to the music of Nestar Skalowski, the lines expressing sincerity and eternal friendship between Russians and Byelorussians, “living in a happy, free land”, rang truer than in the Ukrainian anthem. The chorus mentioned the obligatory names of Lenin and Stalin but some praise of the Byelorussian people had also found its way.

¹⁹ In the first Romanian socialist anthem (1953-1977), the party, socialism and Lenin were present, however the name of Stalin was missing, while in the second one (1977-1990), the nation, united by the party, socialism and communism, remained, together with some Romanian socialist references.

In Hungary, two failed attempts were made to create a new socialist anthem or replace the old one with another song. The communist authorities managed only, in the 1949-1956 period, to have the Hungarian state anthem, starting with *God, bless Hungary*, performed without lyrics.

The de-Stalinised version had Stalin replaced by a double mention of the Party. Lenin's name was referred to only once, while the USSR was presented as a "union of brothers" and a "manly family". It is worthwhile to draw attention to the trinity of "Party, homeland, Byelorussian people", to which the lyrics gave unambiguous praise, and the gradation: "Byelorussian people", "our free people", and "our Soviet people".

The 2002 anthem of Belarus is a combination of the lyrics of the former hymn and the anthem of the Russian Federation. Belarus continues to identify its victories with Russia, and its present with the current "union of brothers", with which it coexists (in)formally.

Bulgaria showed the largest diversity within the Soviet hymnal uniformity, having changed its state anthems four times between 1944 and 1991. After the communists came to power in 1944 transforming the monarchy into a people's republic, Krum Penev's (1901-1986) poem *Hello, Our Republic* [*Republika nasha, zdravey*] was used as an anthem from 1947 to 1951. The anthem's lyrics interpreted the recent anti-fascist past and the free republican present of the country.

At the time when the so-called republican anthems were being created in the USSR, a contest was held in Bulgaria to create a new socialist anthem, with lyrics "equally poetical and political", i.e. as close to the Soviet ones as possible. The lyrics of the socialist anthem *Bulgaria, Dear* [*Bulgario mila*] were produced jointly by a dozen well-known poets. The republican essence of the previous anthem was further detailed by the obligatory boilerplate components of the Soviet anthems: "the union with the mighty brotherly Soviet people", and "Lenin's and Stalin's great sun", etc. Bulgarian specifics were "distinguished" through the address "Bulgaria, Dear" and a reference to the single name of the Bulgarian communist leader Georgi Dimitrov (1882-1949), which was unique in the socialist hymnal practice. The other words and phrases in the anthem were so common that they could apply to any country and people: "our dear homeland", "for all the peoples in the world", everywhere "the fields are ploughed" (if not always in communist harmony), "factories are built", "mines are open", etc.

After Stalin's dethronement, Bulgarian communists resolved the hymnal "Stalin Case" faster than the Soviets. It was not until 1977 that Stalin's name was officially deleted from *The State Anthem of the USSR* although his remains had been removed from Lenin's mausoleum much earlier, in October 1961. As early as 1964, Bulgarians resolved the issue with Stalin's name in a manner Stalin would have hailed: instead of 'removing' Stalin from the hymn, they decided to introduce an entirely new Bulgarian state anthem. The new anthem was created by the communist poets Georgi Djagarov (1925-1995) and Dimitar Metodiev (1922-1995), based on Tsvetan Radoslavov's (1863-1931) song *Dear Homeland* [*Mila Rodino*]

(1885), whose lyrics were significantly modified after its author's death. After 1964, only the first line, "Proud Stara Planina," and the chorus, "Dear Homeland, you are heaven on earth, your beauty, your splendor, are endless", remained from the original song. In accordance with the new *zeitgeist*, two new stanzas were added which were a pastiche of the Bulgarian and Soviet anthems. The party-centric version of *Mila Rodino* was a perfunctory ideological combination of patriotism and socialist internationalism. While Communist party-centrism was distinctively emphasized by the words "A great Party leads our victorious ranks", the pro-Soviet theme was ingeniously disguised in the symbolic image of Moscow, always standing with the Bulgarians, "in labor and battle". The new anthem was a small step towards Bulgaria's national emancipation from the USSR, yet the presence of foreign state symbols in the lyrics cast doubt over the true extent of Bulgaria's sovereignty. Despite its obvious party-centric and transparently pro-Soviet character, the latest Bulgarian socialist hymn was markedly more moderate than the anthems of the USSR, the UkSSR and BSSR, because it had 'shed' the obligatory camouflage of socialist symbols, which made it harder for a nation to identify with the lyrics of its state and party anthem.

A virtue of this version was the fact that the "party-centric cancer cells" were isolated in separate stanzas, keeping them from infecting the rest of the lyrics. The removal of the party-centric verses in 1990 gives reason to believe that, the modified version of the old Bulgarian state anthem, will facilitate a transformation from socialist 'blemish' to a possible 'realm of national memory'.

The Great Appropriation: Making the Foreign One's Own

In his book *The Music of European Nationalism* Philip Bohlman rhetorically asks: "Just what is and what is not national about national anthems?"²⁰. Migration of themes, leitmotifs, and melodies was typical for most of the European state anthems and Slavic anthems make no exception. The overview of Slavic anthems so far has shown that there is a visible relationship between the history and the typology of a good number of them. The typological similarities are accounted for by direct or indirect literary and musical influences, caused by the identical stage of development of the transferring and receiving nation. The intertwining contacts and typology helped transform established foreign realms of memory from one's own and old native verses into new hymns.

The lyrics and music of the English anthem, *God, Save the King*, influenced the creation of the Russian monarchic hymns, which in turn led to the invention of the (pseudo-)Polish anthem *National Song*

²⁰ Bohlman, Ph. V. *The Music of European Nationalism*. Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2004, p. 154.

for the Well-being of the King, the Bulgarian Anthem to His Majesty the Tsar and, to some extent, the Serbian God of Justice. The Polish patriotic song *Poland Has Not Yet Perished* provided the incentive for the creation of the pan-Slavic anthem *Hej, Slavs*, which in its turn influenced *Ukraine Has Not Yet Perished*. After a number of lyrical changes, the German melody *Wenn die Soldaten durch die Stadt marschiern* became the Bulgarian national anthem, *The Maritsa Rushes*.

Even if this overview of Slavic hymns addresses mainly their literary aspect, anthems are a syncretic product of lyrics and music. Although it is the “verbalization rather than the vocalization which bestows the national imprint upon an anthem”²¹, the practice shows that while there are anthems without words, there are no anthems without music. To the instrumental performances of the Spanish *King’s March* and the *Sultan’s Marches* of the Ottoman Empire can be added the wordless Hungarian anthem *God, Bless Hungary* between 1949 and 1956. Here belong the instrumental performances of the *State Anthem of the USSR* after the dethronement of Stalin’s personality cult as well as the anthem *Intermezzo* of Bosnia-Herzegovina (1999-2009) and the state hymn of the Republic of Kosovo (2008). From the viewpoint of reception, an anthem’s musical component is more important than the literary one, mainly because its effect transcends language barriers.

The adaptation of foreign music is as common as was the appropriation of ideas and lyrics from foreign anthems. The first Russian anthem, *Prayer of the Russians*, used the melody of the English royal hymn; the melody of the Serbian anthem was composed by the Slovenian Davorin Jenko; the music of *Hey, Slavs* was similar to the melody of the Polish hymn; the tune of the old Bulgarian anthem *The Maritsa Rushes* was borrowed from a German *Schlager*, while that of the current national anthem *Mila Rodino* comes from a Jewish song, and the Russian *Worker’s Marseillaise* used the original French music. The anthems of the USSR and the Russian Federation use the melody of the *Hymn of the Bolshevik Party*. As a matter of fact, the music of the Soviet and Russian anthems is much more impressive filling Russian citizens with pride and foreigners with respect than the variety of ideological verses, crudely tailored to A. Alexandrov’s melody.

However, the appropriated foreign ideas, lyrics and melodies have not always succeeded in becoming lasting realms of national memory when adapted as ‘their own’. Studying those anthems shows that only those patriotic songs which passed the test of time by gaining national popularity and by abandoning any text unacceptable to the respective country’s nationals, have been preserved in the national

²¹ Gunther, E. F. *The Voice of the Nations: European National Anthems and their Authors*. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1995, p. XV.

memory. This explains why the anthems of Poles²², Czechs²³, Slovaks and Croatians did not change and were not replaced by pro-Soviet party-centric surrogates.

All Slavic anthems have been “subject to the dialectic of remembering and forgetting”²⁴, and the multiple changes to the official and unofficial anthem versions resemble the collective ways of song writing and the spread of folklore. Most often the changes were ideological or aimed at the aesthetic streamlining of the lyrics. The strongest collectivist and ideological intervention in the creation of state anthems is found in the Soviet and pro-Soviet anthems, collectively penned by poets under the guidance of Communist leaders.²⁵

Conclusion

A review of the National hymns of the thirteen Slavic states gives reason to classify them as follows: anthems, dedicated to the monarch; patriotic songs, created before the restoration or establishment of sovereign states, which were gradually promoted to national and state anthems; poetic works, written in the past, but transformed into anthems upon the formation of their own or of a new kind of (federal) statehood; anthems, specifically created as such, upon the restoration or constitution of statehood; and Communist party-state hymns.

Of all theo-centric state hymns, only the Serbian anthem *God of Justice* became a lasting realm of memory because it adequately expressed the Serbs’ national identity.

The international and ‘synthetic’ hymns used within the Slavic federations and unions did not become common realms of memory because they failed to contribute to the creation of monolithic Soviet, Yugoslav and Czechoslovak nations.

The express naming of ruling monarchs, ideologues, historical persons and party leaders in the anthems inevitably led to changes in the anthem lyrics and harmed the respective anthem’s prospects to become a lasting realm of memory. Of all anthems referring to historical persons, the only survivors are

²² After the World War II the Polish communist leader Bolesław Bierut offered to the famous proletarian bard Władysław Broniewski (1897-1962) to write lyrics for a new socialist anthem, but he has received by the poet a sheet that says only: *Poland has not yet perished*.

²³ However, at Czechoslovakia in late 1940s and the ‘50s, as the Polish journalist M. Szczygieł recalls, “Every day at midnight, at the end of its broadcast, Radio Prague played the Soviet national anthem.”. Szczygieł, M. *Gottland*. Melville House Publishing, NY, 2014, p. 80.

²⁴ Nora, P. *Realms of Memory*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1996, p. 3.

²⁵ The involvement of Stalin and Bulgarian communist leader, Todor Zhivkov (1911-1998), in party-central hymnography is reminiscent of Miloš Forman’s film *Amadeus* (1984), where Emperor Joseph II expresses his “competent” opinion on Mozart’s brand new opera: “Too many notes.”.

Poland Has Not Yet Perished and *Today over Macedonia*; the latter raising some doubts about the identification of all Macedonian citizens with the freedom fighters mentioned in the anthem.

The fact that over a long period of time, only the Poles, Serbs, Czechs, Slovaks, and Croats did not change their national anthems, shows that the national self-image and its artistic and hymnal self-identification had been formed during the Slavic Revival period. Those types of anthems emerged as patriotic songs, which, over time, grew into national ones, and after the establishment or restoration of statehood, naturally obtained a state anthem status. Before becoming a lasting realm of national memory, the literary-musical self-identification had already passed from generation to generation, each one identifying with or streamlining the established lyrics. Stable realms of memory are hymns in which the national consciousness prevails over the ideological one.

In many cases, however, “it is perhaps more productive to regard an anthem not as the static reflection of a monolithic ideology but rather as a polysemous text through which national identity is constantly being negotiated.”²⁶ Government and ideology shifts have impacted most strongly Russians and Bulgarians who would change their official anthems most radically. The difficulties surrounding the creation and consensual acceptance of the hymns of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Montenegro expose the complexities involved in forming common sites of memory within multi-ethnic and multi-religious states.

The anthems forcibly imposed on Poles and Bulgarians by Russia and the hymns created specifically for the needs of totalitarian states, turn out to be problematic in view of state sovereignty. The overtly pro-Soviet socialist anthems have demonstrated the inequality of citizens within the state which inevitably prevented the literary-musical state symbols from possibly becoming a consensual realm of memory. In this sense, socialist state-party anthems are ‘blemishes’ upon the historical memory, rather than aesthetic realms of national unity. The attempts to have these anthems, by de-ideologization of their lyrics, serve both the preservation of hymnal continuity and the restoration. This restoration of popular consensus can be described as follows: the Russian post-communist anthem looks like an overcoat, stitched with the strong thread of the music of the *Hymn of the Bolshevik Party*, from the shreds of the former imperial and Soviet anthems; the Byelorussian anthem looks like a child’s coat, made from an elder brother’s worn-out overcoat, while the Bulgarian one looks like a favorite landscape tapestry with its ‘blemishes’ removed by dry cleaning.

²⁶ Daughtry, M. J. Russia’s New Anthem and the Negotiation of National Identity. – *Ethnomusicology* 47, (2003): p. 42.

Slavic patriotic songs are turned into hymnal realms of memory only when past and present perceptions touch and merge, and when the literary-musical substance becomes a memory “always embodied in living societies”. Those hymns are part and parcel of a national tradition, which according to Pierre Nora, “is memory that has become historically aware of itself”²⁷. Eventually, following Nora’s reasoning that “memory is absolute, while history can only conceive the relative”, we may classify Slavic state anthems into three types of realms of memory: anthems, which have gradually become lasting realms of national memory; anthems, intended to, but failing to perform as such; and official anthems, which have yet to become national realms of memory.

Finally, let us not forget that “memory [...], by defining the relation to the past, shapes the future”²⁸.

²⁷ Nora, P. *Realms of Memory*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1997, p. IX.

²⁸ Nora, P. *Realms of Memory*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1996, p. 11.